

THE SANSKRIT QUOTATIVE: A HISTORICAL AND COMPARATIVE STUDY¹

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In 1967, Kuiper proposed that the Sanskrit quotative, marked by *iti*, owes its origin to Dravidian influence. This claim is now generally accepted as an argument for early substratum influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit. Unfortunately, arguments for this hypothesis, as well as the counterargument in Hock 1975, are based on very cursory examinations of synchronic and diachronic evidence, both in Sanskrit (and other Indo-European languages) and in Dravidian (and other relevant non-Indo-European languages). This paper attempts to provide a fuller account of the history of the Sanskrit quotative, of its possible Indo-European antecedents, of the parallels in the earliest attested relevant non-Indo-European languages (Sumerian, Accadian, Elamite), and of the evidence provided by the non-Indo-European languages of South Asia (Dravidian, Munda, Tibeto-Burman). For some of these, especially for much of Dravidian, for Munda, and for Tibeto-Burman, the available evidence is quite limited, making it difficult to come to conclusions about prehistoric stages. Combined with the fact that all the other ancient Indo-European languages (Hittite, Homeric Greek, Latin, and Avestan), as well as the ancient Near Eastern languages, have quotative formations, this situation makes it difficult to maintain Dravidian influence for the structure and development of the Sanskrit quotative. While this conclusion may perhaps not be accepted by ardent advocates of early Dravidian influence on Sanskrit, it is hoped that the linguistic observations on which it is based, especially those for Sanskrit, will be useful and interesting to all linguists.

1: Ever since Kuiper (1967) introduced the construction into the discussion,² the Sanskrit quotative has figured prominently in papers arguing for early, pre-Rig-Vedic influence of Dravidian on Sanskrit. Cf. e.g. Emeneau 1969 and 1971 (both reprinted in Emeneau 1980, thus apparently still reflecting his views), as well as Hamp 1976 (without reference to Kuiper). The only dissenting voice seems to have been that of Hock 1975.

Unfortunately, only three of these papers engage in any fuller discussions of syntactic evidence,³ namely Kuiper 1967, Hock 1975, and Hamp 1976. Even these, however, do not offer a sufficiently detailed syntactic study of the Sanskrit quotative, of its possible Indo-European cognates, or of its possible non-Indo-European sources. True, Kuiper attempted to detail the different contexts in which the quotative particle *iti* is used in (Rig-Vedic) Sanskrit. However, his discussion was geared toward making comparisons with Iranian, Dravidian, and Munda, rather than toward providing a full account of the Sanskrit evidence. Moreover, his discussion of Munda and especially of Dravidian is excessively cursory. Hock's dissenting 1975 account of the Rig-Vedic evidence and of relevant constructions in outside Indo-European languages, as well as of non-Indo-European evidence, suffers from similar defects. Finally,



Hamp's paper was concerned mainly with the word order of iti, not with other aspects of its syntax.

It would be a mistake, however, to attribute the defects of these papers solely to the narrow, immediate concerns of their authors. Rather, the major reason lies in a veritable dearth of earlier work on the Sanskrit quotative and its potentially related constructions in other languages. And this dearth is attributable to the fact that until quite recently, quotatives did not create much interest among linguists. (Recent work, such as Kachru's (1979) study of the quotative in selected South Asian languages, must therefore be highly welcomed, even if it may not cover the whole chronological and geographical range.)

For Sanskrit we at least have the treatments of Delbrück (1888:529-34) and Speijer (1886:380-88). The latter provides a quite adequate picture of the post-Vedic, Classical period, to which we can now add the discussion in Kachru 1979. Delbrück's account of the Rig-Vedic situation likewise is good, but his description of the later Vedic situation is too cursory. Moreover, being chapters or paragraphs in much more general treatments of Sanskrit syntax, both accounts are quite condensed.

For two of the other early Indo-European languages, Hittite and Latin, the standard handbooks and dictionaries provide at least some useful information. But for languages like Avestan and Homeric Greek there seems to be no adequate coverage. Outside of Indo-European the situation is even more desperate. Thus, as Hamp (1976, n. 31) aptly observed, even Dravidian has not yet received adequate descriptive and comparative treatment. True, the literary languages of the South and their quotative constructions have been described fairly well. However, for the other, "tribal" languages it is much more difficult to find adequate descriptions. It is probably because of these lacunae that Masica (1976:189) claimed that the quotative is not found in the Central and Northern Dravidian languages. For other language families, we depend on stray remarks in the grammars of individual languages.

2: The major purpose of this paper is to initiate a fuller study of the Sanskrit quotative and of possibly related constructions in other languages. The major focus will be on the Sanskrit quotative and its development in observable history. This will be followed by a briefer survey of the evidence of other ancient Indo-European languages. Next I will attempt to characterize similar constructions in relevant non-Indo-European languages. Finally, I will draw on the evidence thus amassed to assess the hypothesis that the Sanskrit quotative reflects Dravidian influence. While this latter assessment may perhaps not sway many of the scholars committed to the 'Dravidian' hypothesis, I hope that the rest of the paper will be interesting and useful to all linguists, no matter what their stand on the Dravidian substratum issue.

3: One of the difficulties in dealing with a topic like 'the quotative' is one of definition: Presumably a quotative construction consists of direct discourse characterized by a special lexical or morphological marker. But must that marker be obligatory, or may it be optional? And if so, how "optional" may it be? Is it sufficient to have such marked constructions next to verbs of speaking, or should they be found more generally, such as with verbs of thinking, or without any overt governing verb? Etc., etc.

Rather than getting tangled up in a definitional morass, I will restrict myself to the minimal definition that there must be at least some degree of syntactic standardization, such that the marker is not just an occasional phenomenon, and that there be a relatively small number of possible variants for the marker. (Without such a minimal definition, we would probably be forced to find "quotatives" in all languages.)

Beyond that, I will try to characterize the various quotative constructions in terms of the following parameters. This, I feel, has the advantage of describing all the various quotatives within the same framework, thus making comparison easier. Moreover, it makes it easier to describe historical changes in given quotative constructions. At the same time, however, for many languages this method of description points out the appalling lack of detailed information available at this point. Clearly, all that can be done in such situations is to list those features for which I have information and to leave the blanks as challenges for further research.

3.1: The first parameter is that of relative "obligatoriness". In some cases (Sanskrit, Greek, Avestan), this parameter can be established statistically. In others, some impressionistic judgments are possible. For some, however, I am unable to give any indications.

3.2: The second parameter concerns the morphosyntax of the quotative: What are the lexical items/morphemes employed as a marker? If these are verbal, are they finite or non-finite? What is their ordering relative to direct discourse (QUOTE)? What is the position of QUOTE relative to the governing verb (SPEAK)? (Note that the term SPEAK will here be used in a technical sense, covering all the verbs under (i)-(v) below, if appropriate, i.e. if they govern QUOTE.)

3.3: The third parameter addresses more clearly syntactic (and pragmatic) questions, namely the kinds of verbs which govern the quotative construction, as well as the use of quotatives in other contexts, i.e. without SPEAK. In this discussion I have benefited greatly from the thorough analysis in Kachru 1979, although the nature of the data has made it necessary to make certain modifications. One of these is that I do not set up a separate category for verbs of non-oral communication (such as 'write'), since with the exception of the ancient Near Eastern languages, this category is not relevant at the early time depth of the Vedas, the Avestan texts, etc. The syntactic categories which I distinguish are the following:

(i) SAY: verbs of oral communication. (Examples of quotatives with 'write' etc. found in the ancient Near Eastern languages will be classified in this category.)

(ii) THINK: verbs of thinking which cross-linguistically may be construed like SAY, with a QUOTE of the thought, but also (like verbs of believing) with factive complementizers.

(iii) KNOW: verbs of cognition and believing which commonly are construed as factives.

(iv) HEAR: verbs of oral perception which may be used with the QUOTE of what is heard, but which more frequently are used in other constructions.

(v) SEE: verbs of visual perception which are semantically affiliated with HEAR (as perception verbs), but which a priori are not expected with QUOTE.

(vi) Ø, i.e. the absence of any SPEAK. In and by itself this category is not particularly remarkable, since languages without quotatives may have QUOTE without any overt SPEAK. What makes this category interesting is the fact that languages with quotatives seem to have a tendency toward specialized uses of this Ø-construction. Some of these are detailed below.

(vii) CAUSE: The use of a Ø-quotative to indicate that QUOTE states the cause or purpose for the action referred to in the "main clause", as in (1) below. The starting point for such a use probably lies in constructions of the type (2), where an originally intended reading (a) is reinterpretable as (b).

- (1) vaideśikah asmi iti pṛcchāmi (Class. Skt.)⁴
'Since I am a stranger, I ask (you) ...'
- (2) ... vārunah akarot iti tū evā eṣāh etāt karoti (SB 5.4.3.2)
(a) 'Varuṇa did it' (so thinking) he also does it'
(b) 'Because Varuṇa did it, (therefore) he also does it'

(viii) NAME: The use of the quotative construction to name or label persons or things.

(ix) QU: The quotative marker with question words, presumably a special development of (viii).

(x) EMPH: The use of the quotative for emphasizing an NP; probably a specialization of (viii).

(xi) ONOM: The use of the quotative marker with onomatopoeia.

(xii) OTHER: Other special developments in the use of the quotative.

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4: The discussion of the Sanskrit quotative is complicated by the existence of competing constructions which at different times interact with the quotative. These competing constructions can be briefly characterized as follows, with illustrations from the Rig-Veda.

(a) A PARTICIPIAL structure of the type (3), in which the verb of the lower, QUOTE clause is participialized and, with its subject, is assigned case in the higher clause according to the following rules: The case is nominative if the subject of the lower clause is coreferential with the higher subject; elsewhere it is accusative (which in the passive, of course, turns into a nominative). In its full form, as just described, this construction is quite rare in the Rig-Veda. However, it is supported by parallel constructions with verbs of sensory perception, including HEAR which shows signs of being a SPEAK verb (cf. the fact that in (4) it is the message, not the action described, which is heard); cf. (4) and (5). Where the corresponding finite structure would have the copula, the participial construction always seems to delete the copula. (Note that also elsewhere 'be' is quite commonly deleted.) For synchronic SPEAK, this is the most common variant of the construction; cf. (6).

Although in many cases it is difficult to distinguish this construction from simple 'naming' structures (as in (7)), there are again parallel structures with sensory-perception verbs (whether functioning as SPEAK or not), as well as with vid- 'know' (cf. (8)), which show that the account proposed here must be on the right track. Because of the extensive structural differences between the participial quoting structures and the corresponding finite-verb quotes, they can only be considered indirect quote constructions.⁵

- (3) ... māpsai nivācanāni śāmsan (10.113.10)
SPEAK pple.
'I may think (myself to be) speaking speeches'
= 'I may think that I am making speeches'
- (4) ... tvām rtuthā yātāntam ... śṛṇōmi (5.32.12)
pple. SPEAK⁶
'I hear you requiring in due order' = 'I hear that you require in due order' (Sim. *ibid.*:11; with man- 'think', 10.73.10)
- (5) arupāh mā ... vṛkaḥ ... yāntam dadārśa (1.105.18)
pple. 'saw'
'a yellow wolf saw me going'
- (6) ... sayūjēh hamsām ṛhuh (10.124.9)
SPEAK
'they say a swan (to be/is) the friend ...'
- (7) utā kāpvam nṛṣādah putrām ṛhuh (10.31.11)
SPEAK
'and they say K. (to be) N's son'/'they call K. N's son'
- (8) revāntam ... tvā śṛṇōmi (8.2.11)
SPEAK
'I hear you (to be) rich' = 'I hear that you are rich'
(Sim., with vid- 'know', 1.10.10)

(b) A construction marked by the relative pronoun YA- or, more rarely, by the interrogative pronoun KA-; cf. (9)-(14). (The latter, KA- construction occurs freely with pṛcch- 'ask'; but in that case, the structure is indistinguishable from direct discourse. Only structures with vid- 'know' and SAY are relevant to the present discussion.) Because of the interrogative-pronoun variants it is tempting to consider these to be indirect questions. Note however that structures like (12), which have no probable direct-question counterparts, cause difficulties. Moreover, the 'modal shift' so common in other Indo-European languages (from indicative to optative or subjunctive) is exceedingly rare; cf. Debrunner 1948. Example (13) is one of a few Rig-Vedic examples.⁷ Even so, it seems preferable not to include these structures among the direct discourse constructions.

- (9) pṛcchāmi yātra bhūvanasya nūbhīh (1.164.3)
SPEAK YA-
'I ask where the navel of the world is'
- (10) prā brūhi ... yāh idām kṛṇōti (10.87.8)
SPEAK YA
'Proclaim who does this'

- (11) vidmā ... te yāthā mānaḥ (1.170.3)
'know' YA-
'We know how your mind (is disposed)'
- (12) yāḥ vṛtrāsya sīnam ... ābhariṣyat prā tām ... uyāca (2.30.2)
YA- conditional SPEAK
'she proclaimed (him) who would bring revenge on Vṛtra'
(Direct discourse would have the future tense.)
- (14) kāḥ īm veda ... kād vāyab dadhe (8.33.7)
'know' KA-
'who knows of him what strength he puts on'

(c) Also UNMARKED quote structures may occasionally be instances of indirect discourse, such as (15) below, with shift in person (from first to third). However, as Debrunner 1948 correctly noted, these structures are exceedingly rare.⁷ Normally, these constructions exhibit no shift in person or mood and must therefore be considered UNMARKED DIRECT DISCOURSE, as in (16) and (17).

- (15) śūnaḥśēpaḥ āhvāt ... ṛdityām āva enam ... vāruṇaḥ saṣṛjyād
SPEAK sg.3
'Ś. called out to Ṛ. (that) V. should release him (= Ś)'
(1.24.3)
- (16) ... tām ... sōmaḥ āha tāva ahām sakhyē nyōkaḥ (5.44.14)
SPEAK
'to him Soma said "I am at home in your friendship".'
- (17) utā enam āhuḥ ... pārā dadhikrē asarat ... (4.38.9)
SPEAK
'and they say of him "D. has gone off ..."'

It is these unmarked constructions, then, which most directly are relevant to the discussion of the Sanskrit quotative.

5: The Rig-Veda

5.1: The Rig-Vedic use of the quotative may be common, but not obligatory. Thus in book 10, the ratio between QUOTE marked by *iti* and unmarked QUOTE is 17 : 24.⁸ This ratio seems to hold good also for the rest of the Rig-Veda. The actual numbers, however, may vary. Thus it seems that QUOTES, whether quotative or unmarked, occur much more frequently in the later portions of the Rig-Veda. (Cf. 5.5 below.)

5.2: As elsewhere in Sanskrit, the quotative marker is *iti*, a word found in Sanskrit also in independent use, meaning 'thus'. In the Rig-Veda it is difficult to find unambiguous instances of this independent use. All possible instances can also be given a quotative interpretation, as shown by the various translations by different scholars; cf. e.g. (18). However, the multiplicity of different readings suggests that none of the quotative interpretations is cogent. (Such uncertain passages will be ignored in the subsequent discussion.⁹) In the Brāhmaṇas, however, clear examples can be found, such as (19) below.

- (18) *iti* cid hī tvā dhāna jāyantam (/) māde-made anumādanti vīprāḥ /
ḍjīyab dhṛṣṇaḥ sthirām & tanuṣva(/) mā tvā dabhan yatudhānaḥ
durēvaḥ // (10.124.4)
'for thus the inspired ones jubilate to you, the victor of booty, in every intoxication. Even stronger, bold one, extend the bow; the ill-intentioned warlocks shall not outwit you.'
(Reference of *iti*?— Possibilities: (a) to verse 2: *navanta ... mādeṣu* 'shout in their intoxications' (cf. the *māde-made anumādanti* of this verse; i.e. play on the word *māde*); (b) to verse 3, addressed to the 'you' of this verse; (c) to the second half of this verse, which then would be the QUOTE of *anumādanti* 'jubilate'; (d) no such reference, but simply the meaning 'thus')
- (19) *iti* āgre kṛṣati ātha *iti* ātha *iti* ātha *iti* (ŚB 7.2.2.12)
'he first plows thus/in this manner, then thus, then thus, then thus' (In the oral tradition of the text this was accompanied by appropriate gestures)

5.3: In terms of the relative position of *iti*, SPEAK, and QUOTE, we may distinguish the following sub-types: an '*iti*-initial' construction, with both *iti* and SPEAK (in either order) preceding QUOTE, as in (20); a '*SPEAK*-final' construction, with *iti* + SPEAK after QUOTE, as in (21); and an '*Embracing*' construction, with SPEAK before QUOTE and *iti* after, as in (22).

- (20) *iti* bravīti vaktāri rārānaḥ / vāsoḥ vasutvā kārāvaḥ aneḥāḥ
SPEAK (10.61.12)
'(thus) says the giving speaker "Through the goodness of the good, the singers are guiltless"'
- (21) yāḥ indrāya sunāvāma *iti* āha (5.37.1)
SPEAK
'who says to Indra "We shall press"'
- (22) nākiḥ vaktā nā dāt *iti* (8.33.15)
SPEAK
'no one is about to say "He shall not give"'

The frequency of these constructions relative to each other and to the corresponding unmarked QUOTE constructions can be preliminarily illustrated by means of the following table. (Working with various indexes for *iti*, I believe I have been able to give a complete picture for the quotative. For the unmarked construction, my collection outside book 10 cannot claim to be exhaustive. However, the relationship between pre- and post-posed SPEAK should not be seriously affected by this.)

	SPEAK + QUOTE	QUOTE + SPEAK
[+ <i>iti</i>]	<i>iti</i> -initial: 5	SPEAK-final: 22
	Embracing: 10	
	Total: 15	
[- <i>iti</i>]	52	4

To these figures must be added a few examples of SPEAK and/or *iti* inserted into QUOTE, as in (23).

- (23) idám udakám pibata *iti* abravItana (/) idám vā ghā pibatā muñja-
SPEAK
nejanam (1.161.8)
"drink this water" you said, " or drink this rinsewater"

In these structures we find two instances of SPEAK + QUOTE + *iti* + QUOTE, five of QUOTE + *iti* + SPEAK + QUOTE, and 3 of (*iti*-less) QUOTE + SPEAK + QUOTE. In addition, RV 10.34.12 has a complex structure with a SPEAK-like oath-taking expression surrounding QUOTE and then followed by SPEAK. (This construction will be ignored.)

5.4: QUOTE may also occur without SPEAK, with or without *iti*. Constructions marked by *iti*, such as (24)-(26), are easily located. On the other hand, for unmarked constructions the absence of any unambiguous clues makes the situation more difficult. I have tried to include only the most obvious examples in my count, such as (27)-(29).¹⁰ My figures for this construction therefore may be a little conservative.

With these caveats, the ratio between unmarked and marked SPEAK-less constructions can be given as 9 : 6.

- (24) prā vaya āpa vaya *iti* āsate taté (10.130.1)
'they sit at the spread-out (sacrifice) (saying/thinking)
"weave hither, weave thither"
- (25) námah námah *iti* urdhvāsah anakṣan (10.115.9)
'they have approached (with the words) "honor, honor"
(Sim. *ibid.*; but note that the first half of the verse has QUOTE followed by *iti* ... SPEAK, and so does the preceding verse. That is, we could be dealing with 'carried-over' SPEAK.)
- (26) tvāṣṭe duhitré vahatūm kṛpoti (/) *iti* idám víśvam bhúvanam sám
eti (10.17.1)
"Tvaṣṭṛ is arranging for the marriage of (his) daughter",
(hearing, thinking, saying this) this whole world assembles'
(There may be some question as to which verb of speaking should be supplied here. The metrical break before *iti*, however, suggests that the verb should be compatible with what follows.)
- (27) utá mātā mahiṣám ānu avenad (/) amf tvā jahati putra devāb
'and the mother looked after the buffalo (saying) "My son,
these gods are leaving you' (4.18.3)
- (28) parāyatm mātāram ānu acasta (/) ná ná ānu gāni ānu nū gamāni
'He looked after his departing mother (thinking) "I will not
not go (= I will not remain), I will go" (4.18.3)
- (29) frāyatf ... bhūtām ... ví astabhñāp rōdasī viṣno eté (7.99.3)
'You, Viṣṇu, stemmed apart these two worlds (with the words/
so that) "You shall be full of sustenance"

Finally, as a matter of curiosity, it might be mentioned that there is one Rig-Vedic verse in which *iti* occurs multiply, in a fashion which makes it

difficult to be certain which instance of *iti* is "the" quotative particle; cf. (30). (The evidence of this verse is disregarded in the present discussion.)

- (30) *iti* vai *iti* me mánah (/) gām āśvam sanuyām *iti* / kuvit somāsya
"SPEAK"
apām *iti* (10.119.1)
'Thus (?), thus (?) indeed (is) my mind "I would win cow (and)
horse" (thus (?)), "perhaps I have drunk soma" (thus (?))'

5.5: The data summarized in 5.3-4 can be interpreted in several ways. However, for the present discussion the relationship between the sub-types of the quotative and the manner in which they are embedded in the chronology of the Rig-Veda are the most significant.

Chronologically, the three sub-types of the quotative are distributed in the Rig-Veda as follows:

	Early	Middle	Late
<i>iti</i> -initial	3		2
SPEAK-final	5	6	11
Embracing	2	2	6

At first sight, the most striking phenomenon might be the overall increase of quotative attestations in the Late period. However, it is questionable whether that increase is meaningful. For QUOTES in general, whether marked by *iti* or not, seem to occur more frequently in the late portions of the Rig-Veda. Thus my (incomplete) count for corresponding *iti*-less constructions jumps from 22 in the Early and Middle portion to 34 in the Late Rig-Veda. The ratio between marked and unmarked constructions, however, seems to remain fairly constant at all stages of the Rig-Veda. Thus the ratio in book 10, a collection mainly of Late hymns, is roughly the same as for all of the Rig-Veda:

	marked	unmarked	ratio
Book 10	17	24	1 : 1.4
All of RV	37	56	1 : 1.5

Significant differences can however be observed if the relations between the three sub-types of the quotative are considered:

(a) The *iti*-initial construction definitely is in the minority compared to those in which *iti* follows QUOTE (i.e., the SPEAK-final, Embracing, and SPEAK-less constructions). The total ratio is one of 5 : 38, disregarding structures with *iti* inserted into QUOTE. Moreover, in later Sanskrit, *iti*-initial constructions become exceedingly rare.

(b) The SPEAK-final type is considerably more vigorous. In fact, the figures above suggest a 100% increase in its use from the Early¹² and Middle¹³ periods to the Late Rig-Veda.¹⁴ However, given the noted general increase of QUOTES in the Late portions, it is difficult to judge whether that increase is meaningful.

(c) The case is quite different for the Embracing construction. Though the numbers are small, there does seem to be a significant increase in the Late Rig-Veda, from twice each in the two preceding stages¹⁵ to six times in the Late period.¹⁶ Moreover, as will be seen in subsequent sections, this increase marks only the beginning of what ultimately turns out to be the most productive quotative pattern.

Of these three patterns the most likely archaism is type (a). The greater popularity of SPEAK-final (b) might perhaps suggest an innovation. However, it can also be explained in terms of a polarization with the unmarked construction: Since the latter clearly prefers SPEAK before QUOTE (by a ratio of 52 : 4), the *fti*-quotative comes to prefer the mirror-image order QUOTE + SPEAK (by a ratio of 22 : 5, disregarding the embracing construction). Given this alternative explanation, it is possible that both (a) and (b) are inherited. Because of its marginal use (with a total of only 5 attestations for all of the Rig-Veda, the inserted *fti* + SPEAK pattern (cf. 5.3 above) probably likewise is an archaism. (On the other hand, the two instances of SPEAK + QUOTE + *fti* may be considered influenced by, or comparable to, the Embracing construction.)

The most clearly innovated pattern is the Embracing type (c). Moreover, in light of the facts just noted, this construction can easily be explained as a Rig-Vedic innovation, namely as a compromise between the order SPEAK + QUOTE of the preferred unmarked construction and the order QUOTE + *fti* of the (heretofore) preferred quotative. This process may have been aided by the fact that in SPEAK-less QUOTE constructions, *fti* always follows QUOTE. If this construction is accounted for as resulting from the deletion of SPEAK, this latter order is not surprising, since as we have noted, the type QUOTE + *fti* + SPEAK was more productive than the *fti*-initial construction. After deletion, however, a construction QUOTE + *fti* can be reinterpreted as having the syntactic structure (31), rather than (32). That is, *fti* changes from being a member of the SPEAK clause to being one of QUOTE. As a consequence it would now no longer be necessary for *fti* and SPEAK to be clause mates.

- (31) [[QUOTE *fti*] (SPEAK)] (innovated construction)
 (32) [[QUOTE] *fti* (SPEAK)] (earlier construction)

5.6: There is evidence that such a syntactic reassignment of *fti* has in fact taken place: In the *fti*-initial and SPEAK-final constructions, *fti* could act as the initial element of the clause containing SPEAK. For the *fti*-initial type this is shown by the line- and clause-initial position of *fti* in (20) above (similarly in 10.95.18 and, with preceding "extrasentential" vocative, in 10.97.4). Notice that line breaks ordinarily coincide with clause boundaries. For the SPEAK-final type, note line- and clause-initial *fti* in (26) above and (33) below, as well as (34)-(36) which show *fti* as the first element of clause-initial strings.¹⁷

- (33) tvám stoṣāna ... // *fti* tvā agne ... ṛṣayah avocan (10.115.8-9)
 SPEAK
 'We shall praise you ...' (thus) the ṛṣis said to you, Agni'
 (34) ... *fti* ca brávat (6.54.2)
 SPEAK
 'and QUOTE he shall say'

- (35) ... *fti* céd avocan (10.109.3)
 SPEAK
 'if QUOTE they said'
 (36) ... *fti* yád vādanti (10.37.10)
 SPEAK
 'when QUOTE they say'

On the other hand, excepting two (ambiguous) instances where *fti* occurs in the middle of a line/clause,¹⁸ all other (i.e. 8) cases of the Embracing construction have *fti* clause- or line-finally, as in (37).

- (37) yé Im āhuh surabhīḥ nīh hara *fti* / (1.162.12)
 SPEAK
 'who say of it (the battle horse) "(it is) good-smelling, take it away"'

5.7: The syntactic/pragmatic contexts in which the quotative construction (and QUOTE in general) can be used in the Rig-Veda are as follows:¹⁹

(a) With SAY (cf. e.g. (20), and (33)-(37)). This includes not only verbs meaning 'say, speak, tell', but also *nu-* 'shout' (Ø, 8.96.14), *rap-* 'whisper' (Ø, 10.10.11, 10.61.11), *is-* 'order' (Ø, 8.96.14), *nādh-* 'implore' (*fti*, 1.109.3), *sikṣ-* 'instruct' (Ø, 10.95.17), as well as *ghōṣa* *śśit* 'there was a noise/shouting' (*fti*, 10.33.1). For simple 'say, speak', there is also a rival construction with (quasi-)participialization, of the type exemplified in (6) and (7) above.

(b) A special sub-type of SAY is *prach-* 'ask': Though permitting QUOTE (as in 2.12.5, 8.77.1 with *fti* and 1.164.6, 8.45.4, etc. with Ø), this verb quite commonly occurs in the 'indirect-question' construction discussed in section 4 above; cf. e.g. example (9).

(c) With THINK; cf. (38) and (39), the latter with a noun of thinking. Other examples occur at 10.146.4 (*fti*) and 10.34.5 (Ø, *ā-dhī-* 'reflect').

- (38) yád ... nā marai *fti* mānyase (8.93.5)
 SPEAK
 'when you think "I will not die"
 (39) utá syá nah ... matīḥ (/) āditīḥ *fti* ā gamat
 "SPEAK"
 'and this (is) our thought "May Aditi come with succor"'

With THINK, however, the more commonly found pattern is the participial construction discussed in section 4; cf. e.g. example (3).

(d) With HEAR: I have found only one example of this structure, without *fti*, namely (40) below. Elsewhere, HEAR is found in the participial construction as in (4) and (8).

- (40) utá tvám ... āru (/) yás te vāṣṭi vavākṣi tát (8.45.6)
 SPEAK
 'and hear/listen you: "If someone wants something from you, that you order ..."'

(e) On the other hand, with KNOW and SEE, no QUOTE constructions are found. For KNOW, there are a few examples of the participial construction (as in 1.10.10); but the normal pattern is the 'indirect-question' type exemplified in (11), (12), (14). For SEE, I have found only participial constructions, as in (5).

5.8: As the earlier discussion has shown (cf. also examples (24)-(29)), there are quite a number of SPEAK-less, or \emptyset -examples, both with and without *iti*. Most of these are of no great interest, except to the extent that they may have helped bring about the developments sketched in 5.5.

There is however one example which deserves closer examination. This is example (26) which Kuiper (1967) considered to be an instance of the CAUSE construction of later Sanskrit (for which cf. section 3, examples (1) and (2)). While this is no doubt a possible interpretation, it is by no means the only possible one. For as the glosses to (26) show, there are a number of other possible readings. Similar ambiguities can moreover be occasionally found with *iti*-less constructions, as in (29). However, none of these constructions provides incontrovertible evidence for the CAUSE pattern in the Rig-Veda. At best, they show the ambiguities from which the later CAUSE type may have arisen by reinterpretation.

5.9: Of greater interest are the following constructions which, as (46) shows, may be found with \emptyset -SPEAK. These constructions might perhaps indicate the existence of the NAME construction. This would especially be the case in (46).

- (41) *tām ehuṣ suprajāḥ iti* (9.11.4.1)
 'him' SPEAK sg.N/V
 'they say of him "(He is) rich in progeny"
 OR: 'they say to him "(O you,) rich in progeny"
 OR: 'they call him "rich in progeny"'
- (42) *yāḥ enam ādīdeśati (/) karambhād iti pūṣaṇam* (6.56.1)
 'him' SPEAK sg.N/V
 'who says of him, of Pūṣaṇ "(He is) a porridge-eater"
 OR: 'who says to him, Pūṣaṇ "(O you,) porridge-eater"
 OR: 'who calls him, Pūṣaṇ, "porridge-eater"'
- (43) *utā ghā nēmaḥ āstutaḥ (/) pūmān iti bruve paṇḍi* (5.16.8)
 sg.N SPEAK
 'and many an unpraised niggard is talked about "(He is) a man"
 OR: 'and many an unpraised niggard is called "a man"'
- (44) ... *sānaśrutam (/) indraḥ iti brayftana* (8.92.2)
 sg.A sg.N SPEAK
 'say of the one of ancient fame "(He is) Indra"
 OR: 'call the one of ancient fame "Indra"'
- (45) *yāḥ mā mōgham yāstudhāna iti āha* (7.104.15; sim. ibid.16)
 'me' sg.V SPEAK
 'who falsely says to me "O warlock"'
- (46) *indo indraḥ iti kṣara* (9.6.2)
 'O juice, flow (thinking) "(I am) Indra"
 OR: 'O juice, flow (as/called) "Indra"'

Constructions like these are used frequently in the later language for the purpose of naming things or persons. A characteristic of these later constructions is the fact that they look like the quasi-participial naming constructions discussed in section 4 (and illustrated in example (7)), in that the person or thing named appears in the accusative case (except in the passive, where the nominative is used instead). The name, however, is introduced in the nominative case, as a quasi-QUOTE marked by *iti*.

There are however several difficulties with the interpretation of the Rig-Vedic examples. First of all, the case marking of the quoted NP is ambiguous in (41)-(42): Both nouns could either be nominative or vocative, the latter being a case not permitted in the naming construction of the later language. Moreover, (45) offers a clear case of a vocative. At the same time, however, (43)/(44) show that also nominatives can occur in this context.

Secondly, contextually parallel structures make it possible to interpret the above examples as genuine QUOTES. Thus, example (37) contains a plain nominative as the first "clause" of its QUOTE. And the context makes it clear that this is not a naming construction, but a construction with omitted copula (*surabhīḥ asti*) '(it is) good-smelling'. Moreover, this example, as well as many others (such as (16) and (17)), shows that the accusative preceding such a reduced clause and coreferential with its subject need not be a person 'named' by means of the QUOTE, but can simply be the person to whom or about whom the QUOTE is uttered.-- For (45) there is the parallel structure (47), found in the same hymn and in the same verse as the second occurrence of (45). And this structure can be interpreted only as a genuine QUOTE. -- For (46), there is the parallel (48), in which a copula-less direct-quote interpretation seems to be the only possible analysis. Given this evidence, then, the NAME interpretation is not the only possible analysis for (41)-(46); but all the readings given in the glosses are a priori equally possible. We thus have no certain evidence for the NAME construction in the Rig-Veda.

- (47) *yāḥ mā āyātum yāstudhāna iti āha (/) yāḥ vā rakṣāḥ śuciḥ asmi iti* Bha
 'me' SPEAK
 'who says to me, the one not being a warlock, "O warlock", or who, being a rakṣas, says "I am pure"...' (7.104.16)
- (48) *induh indraḥ iti bruvān* (9.63.9)
 SPEAK
 'saying "The juice (is) Indra"'

As a matter of fact, it may well be argued that the NAME construction secondarily resulted from a reinterpretation of structures like (41)-(46) as somehow akin to the participial naming construction. What may have helped in this development is the quasi-passive type (43): Because of the passive-like nature of *bruve* 'is called/talked to, about', the quoted NP would have to appear in the nominative both in an *iti*-less genuine QUOTE construction and in the participial construction; cf. (49). The resulting ambiguity could then be extended to the *iti*-quotative, as in (50). (Both (49) and (50) are unattested as such; but structures of this sort would be possible in the Rig-Veda.)

- (49) pañiḥ pūmān bruve
 ag.N ag.N SPEAK
 (a) 'the niggard is talked about "(He is) a man"
 (b) 'the niggard is called a man'
- (50) pañiḥ pūmān iti bruve
 ag.N ag.N SPEAK
 (a) 'the niggard is talked about "(He is) a man"
 (b) X

5.10: The evidence of the Rig-Veda, the earliest stage of Sanskrit, then can be summarized as follows.

Rig-Vedic Sanskrit had a quotative structure marked by iti 'thus' which coexisted with an iti-less construction and thus was only optional. Both constructions could occur with SAY (including prach- 'ask', which however preferred other, indirect constructions), as well as THINK and HEAR. (The latter two however show strong competition from indirect constructions.) In addition, both the quotative and the iti-less construction can occur without any overt SPEAK, in which case a CAUSE reading is occasionally possible for either construction. There is however no evidence for this being an established use of the quotative. There are also ambiguous structures which indicate the potential for reinterpretations leading to NAME-quotatives. Again, however, there is no unambiguous evidence that such constructions have already arisen. (In addition, there is as yet no evidence for the use of the quotative with KNOW and SEE which, instead, use indirect constructions.)

The Rig-Veda does however offer evidence for the development of a new constructional type, in so far as the morphosyntax of the quotative is concerned. Where early on, Rig-Vedic Sanskrit seems to have had three major variants of the quotative, one iti-initial, a second SPEAK-final, and a third with iti + SPEAK inserted into QUOTE, a new, Embracing construction is seen to be coming in, in which SPEAK precedes and iti follows the QUOTE.

6: The Atharva-Veda²⁰

The Atharvanic quotative shows a very marked development vis-à-vis even the late Rig-Vedic stage. This manifests itself in all areas: in the extent to which the quotative has become obligatory, in the morphosyntax of the construction, and in the syntactic/pragmatic uses of the structure.

6.1: In terms of frequency, an examination of books 1-8 shows a ratio of 12 : 5 between SPEAK + QUOTE structures with and without iti. If SPEAK-less constructions are included, the ratio is 14 : 5. (In book 10 of the Rig-Veda the ratio was 17 : 24 !) Moreover, while the verse sections of the Atharva-Veda contain about 15 examples of SPEAK-less iti-constructions, I have found no comparable constructions without iti. In short, then, the marked quotative is well on its way toward becoming quasi-obligatory.

6.2: As far as its morphosyntax is concerned, the quotative no longer seems to be attested in its iti-initial variety. And the ratio between SPEAK-final and Embracing quotatives shows a marked development toward predominance of the latter construction, as can be seen from a comparison of Late Rig-Vedic, Atharva Verse, and Atharva Prose. (Note that it is generally acknowledged that the Prose sections are relatively late in the Atharva-Veda. In the Prose sections I ignore repetitions of the same collocation within a given "hymn".)

	Late RV	AV Verse	AV Prose
QUOTE + <u>iti</u> + SPEAK	11	13	5
SPEAK + QUOTE + <u>iti</u>	6	12	8

6.3: Perhaps the most striking and interesting changes can be observed in the syntax/pragmatics of the quotative:

(a) Impressionistically, it seems that indirect constructions are very much on the wane, for all relevant verbs, except SEE which does not show any quotative constructions as yet. Still, occasional indirect constructions may be found, such as (51).

- (51) vidmā vañ ... yātaḥ ... īḥyase (AV 7.76.5)
 SPEAK YA
 'We know whence you are born'

(b) In addition to a greater incidence of quotatives with THINK, we now also observe quotative constructions with HEAR (while in the Rig-Veda we only found one example of an iti-less QUOTE), as well as with vid- 'KNOW', a category not yet taking QUOTE in the Rig-Veda; cf. (52) and (53). This latter extension can be taken as resulting from the reinterpretation of THINK as 'believe (to be true)', hence 'KNOW (to be true)'.

- (52) ... saptagr̥dhr̥ḥ īti śuśrumā vayām (AV 8.9.18)
 SPEAK

'... (They are) seven-cultured" (so) we have heard'

- (53) bhūmīḥ īti tvām abhiprāmanvate jānṣḥ (/)
 SPEAK

nīrṛtiḥ īti tvā ahām pāri veda sarvātaḥ (AV 6.84.1)

SPEAK

'People think of you (as) "earth", I know you completely (as) "Nīrṛti" (= "perdition")'

(c) As the (translation of the) last example shows, there is good reason to believe that at this stage a NAME variant of the quotative has developed. This is indicated first of all by a larger number of relevant constructions than were found in the Rig-Veda. In the Rig-Veda, constructions which might possibly qualify as NAME quotatives amount to only 6 out of a total of 46 iti-constructions; i.e. the ratio is about 1 : 8. In Atharva-Veda verse, 11 out of 40 iti-quotatives are interpretable as NAME constructions; i.e. the ratio is about 1 : 4. More important, however, is the evidence of (54), where nāmadhēyam 'name' is explicitly specified, and of (56) where an iti-less NP in a parallel construction strongly suggests that iti is inserted without recourse to a (deleted) SPEAK, but simply as a naming device. Note that in a Rig-Vedic passage comparable to (54), no iti is found; cf. (55).

- (54) sāmvasavaḥ īti vañ nāmadhēyam (AV 7.109.6)
 "Sāmvasus" (is) your name'

- (55) ghr̥tāsya nāma ... yād āsti (/) jīhvā devānām ... (RV 4.58.1)
 'which is the name of ghee: "tongue of the gods ..."'

- (56) uđavátī dyaúḥ avamā (/) pflumatī itī madhyamā /
 tṛtīyā ha pradyaúḥ itī (AV 18.2.48)
 'watery is the lowest heaven, "full of pīlus" the middle one,
 the third (ia) the "foreheaven" ...'

This new NAME construction was to acquire a considerable degree of popularity in the later language, including in grammatical literature. Its attractiveness seems to have lain in the fact that it made it possible to "integrate" lexical items into a syntactic context in their citation (nominative or stem) form, without further adjusting that form in accordance with its grammatical status within the sentence. (For the probable origin of this construction, cf. section 5.9 above.)

6.4: In addition, there is evidence that the Atharva-Veda is in the process of developing a CAUSE variety of the quotative, viz. a use of the quotative to indicate purpose. Disregarding infinitival constructions, the Rig-Vedic device for marking purpose clauses was a structure with yáthā 'so that' + subjunctive, as in (57). Similar constructions continue in the Atharva-Veda; cf. (58). Beside these, however, we find constructions like (59) and (60), without yáthā, but with subjunctive, and with the particle īti.

- (57) gṛhān gacha gṛhapātnī yáthā ásaḥ (RV 10.85.26)
 subj.
 'go home so that you be lady of the house'
- (58) huvé devīm áditim ... saḥtānām madhyamesthāḥ yáthā ásāni
 subj.
 'I invoke divine Aditi so that I be the midmost of my fellows'
 (AV 3.8.2)
- (59) sárvaḥ sāmahvi óśadhīḥ (/) itaḥ naḥ pārayā[n]²¹ itī (AV 4.17.2)
 subj.
 'I have called together all the herbs (thinking) "May they save us from this"'
- OR: 'I have called together all the herbs so that they may save us from this'
- (60) kāḥ asya bāhū sāmabharad (/) vīryam karāvād itī (AV 10.2.5)
 subj. accented
 'who brought his arms together so that (?) he do something heroic' (Sim. ibid.17, 6.128.1)

What is especially interesting is that in a number of examples (cf. (60) vs. (59)), the verb of such īti + subjunctive clauses is accented, indicating that the clause functions as a dependent clause, just as does a yáthā construction. (Elsewhere, however, main-clause verbs within a QUOTE normally are unaccented.)

Moreover, there is other evidence suggesting an (incipient) equivalence between yáthā clause and īti construction. One consists of their apparent interchangeability in (61). The other, in the occurrence of an apparent blend between the two constructions; cf. (62).

- (61) asaú me smaratād itī (/) priyāḥ me smaratād itī /
 devāḥ prá hiḥputa smarām (/) asaú mām ānu śocatu //
 yáthā mama smārād asaú (/) ná āmuṣya ahām ... /
 devāḥ prá hiḥputa smarām (/) ... (AV 6.130.2-3)
 'so that yonder (man) love me, so that the dear one love me,
 O gods, send love, may yonder (man) burn after me.
 'so that yonder (man) love me, not I him ..., O gods ...'
- (62) tvaṣṭā tām asyaḥ ā badhnād yáthā putrām janād itī (AV 6.81.3)
 subj.
 'Tvaṣṭr shall bind that on her so that she may give birth to a son'

In terms of internal Sanskrit evidence, this new construction can be explained as the result of reinterpretation of potentially ambiguous constructions such as Rig-Vedic, īti-less (26) and its īti-quotative counterparts.

6.5: Other innovations include the first instance of a pattern which becomes prominent in the Vedic Prose of the later Samhitās and the Brāhmaṇas and which might be referred to as 'Ritual Quotative', i.e. a sacred formula quoted during a ritual act and marked by īti, usually without an accompanying SPEAK; cf. (63).

- (63) ... piśācān sárvaṇ darśaya (/) itī tvā rabhe ośadhe (AV 4.20.6)
 "..." make (me) see all the Piśācas" (with these words) I take you, O herb'

Another fore-runner of a construction quite common in Vedic Prose, but not found elsewhere in the early language, is that given in (64), in a passage from Atharvanic Prose. This is the use of the quotative with FEAR.

- (64) tāsyaḥ jstāyaḥ sárvaṃ abibhed iyām evā idām bhavisyati itī
 'fear'
 'of her, when she was born, everything was afraid (thinking)
 "this one will indeed become this world" (AV 8.10.1)

6.6: The most striking innovation of the Atharva-Veda, however, is the use of quotative īti with ONOMATOPOEIA, cf. (65), (66), and (67).

- (65) pṛthivyām te nipēcanam bahīḥ te astu bāl itī (AV 1.3.1-9; re-
 ONOM. frain)
 'on the earth be your outpouring, outside of you, "splash"'
- (66) ajēna kṛvāntaḥ śītām (/) vṛṣēṇa ukṣantu bāl itī (AV 18.2.22)
 'making you cool with the goat, let them sprinkle you with rain,
 "splash"'
- (67) bhūg itī abhīgataḥ (/) śāl itī apākrāntaḥ (/) phāl itī abhīṣṭitaḥ
 "bounce", he has come; "whist", it is gone; "bang", it has trodden'²² (AV 20.135.1)

For Kuiper (1967) and Emeneau (1969), these structures were clearly due to Dravidian influence. Kuiper, to be sure, did note something of a Rig-Vedic ante-

cedent, the expression bāi itthá (= bād itthá) 'indeed, truly, etc.', which contains an interjection vaguely reminiscent of the above bāi, bhūg etc., plus a cognate of iti; cf. e.g. (68) below. Now, in many of its attestations, itthá may be looked upon as a simple emphazier. Occasionally, however, it is used in the meaning 'thus' and may, like iti, be used even with SPEAK; cf. (69)-(70).

Kuiper does not pursue this matter. As it turns out, however, Avestan has evidence for similar uses of its cognate iōā (YAv. iōa/iōa), as well as for the quotative use of that particle; cf. 12.5-6 below. While this does not prove that the itthá of bād itthá was quotative and thus a more or less direct ancestor for the iti of (65)-(67) above, the parallel is tantalizing. Still, given that RV bād is not an onomatopoeic interjection, the way of caution would advise against such a direct connection.

- (67) bād itthá mahimā vām ... pāniṣṭhāb ... (RV 6.59.2)
'truly, your greatness is praised most ...'
OR: 'thus indeed (it is): Your greatness is praised most' (?)
(Sim. 1.141.1, 5.67.1, 5.84.1)
- (68) satyām itthá vṛṣṇā id asi (RV 8.33.10)
'truly thus (it is): You are the bull'
- (69) apāb indraḥ ... turāṣāt / itthá sṛjanāb ... ārtham ... viviṣub
'Indra, conquering the might (released) the waters; thus released, they pursued their duty' (RV 6.32.5)
- (70) ... bhāvā mṛjīkāh / itthá grāntāb ... syāma ... goṣātamāb
SPEAK
'" ... Be merciful," (thus) praising (you) may we be the most cow-winning'
(RV 6.33.5; sim., with vad- 'speak', 6.18.5)

The normal pattern for onomatopoeia in the Rig-Veda, disregarding derived nominals, seems to have consisted of a choice of the following:

(a) The onomatopoeia is turned into a verb-stem and then inflected as a verb, such as probably in hégati 'whinneys', próthati 'snorts', as well as in participial jájh, jhatf (RV 5.52.6) 'laughing' or 'hissing', jáñ, jatf (RV 1.168.7) 'blazing, flaring (of fire)'.
(b) The onomatopoeia is extended by the verb kr- 'do, make', as in ciscā kṛpoti 'makes a whizzing sound (of an arrow)' (RV 6.75.5), hīñ-kr- 'make the sound hīñ (of a cow)' (RV 1.164.27, 28), kikirī-kr- 'scratch' (RV 6.53.7, 8), akkhālf-kṛtyā 'jubilating' (RV 7.103.3); cf. also phāt karikrati 'they keep making "crash"' (AV 4.18.3).

(c) The onomatopoeia is extended by bhū- 'be, become', as in alalā-bhā-vantf 'rustling (of water)' (RV 4.18.6), jáñ, jāñ- bhāvan 'blazing, flaring (of fire)' (RV 8.43.8).

What is common to all of these processes is an attempt not to use an onomatopoeic expression by itself, but to "integrate" such words into the ordinary vocabulary--and the syntax--of the language by turning them into a recognizable--and syntactically usable--category, namely into verbs. (In fact, the coexistence of jáñ, jatf and jáñ, jāñ- bhāvan suggests that for 'spur-of-the-moment'

expressions, any of these processes could equally well be used, i.e. that they all were "equal" in implementing a conspiracy against using plain, unextended onomatopoeia.)

Given this background, it is perhaps not surprising that once the NAME construction with iti had been introduced into the language, as a device to "integrate" names etc. into the rest of the sentence without further syntactic adjustment (cf. 6.3 above), it could be used as an additional device for "integrating" onomatopoeia into the rest of the sentence, coexisting with the other devices throughout the remainder of the (Vedic) language.

That there may have been a time lag between the development of the NAME construction and the special ONOM use of the quotative is suggested by the following considerations. The NAME construction is found throughout all the various chronological layers of the Atharva-Veda. ONOM, however, appears only in contexts which look like late additions: The hymn in which (66) occurs was not included in the more conservative Paippalada recension of the Atharva-Veda. And though some of the material of the hymn from which (65) is taken is found in the Paippalada, the quoted passage itself is not, suggesting that it is a later addition to a pre-existing hymn. As for (67), it occurs in the very problematic 'Kuntāpa hymns' which had not yet been included in the Atharva-Veda at the time that the grammatical analysis reflected in the pada-pēṭha was undertaken. Bloomfield (1899:100-1) very aptly describes the changes in the ritual which must have led to the late inclusion of these hymns into the Vedas. At the same time, however, variants of (65) and (66) appear in the latest Vedic hymn collections--in KS 13.9, TS 3.3.10.2--and a variant of (67) is found in the non-canonical and frequently quite late Rīg-Vedic 'khi-las' (5.18). It is therefore probable that the construction had come into existence by the end of the Vedic-Poetry period, and before the Vedic-Prose stage which will be discussed next.

6.7: The evidence of the Atharva-Veda thus suggests the following developments: The quotative is well on its way to becoming quasi-obligatory, both compared to unmarked QUOTE and to the indirect constructions. Of its three major Rīg-Vedic variants, the iti-initial structure is too rare to even be attested, and the Embracing pattern is well on its way toward predominating over the SPEAK-final one. HEAR and KNOW are now attested with quotatives. A NAME variant of the quotative has developed which in turn may have furnished the basis for an ONOM construction. In addition, a purpose variant of the CAUSE construction, a 'Ritual Quotative', and the use of the quotative with FEAR can be observed to be developing.

7: Vedic Prose

The language of the prose texts of the post-Atharvanic Sāphtās, as well as of the Brāhmaṇas and Aranyakas, shows the quotative construction almost fully developed to its state in the Classical language.

7.1: Compared to other, indirect or direct quote constructions, the quotative is now virtually de rigueur. Thus in two samples from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, selected because of their different subject matter and style,²³ iti constructions outnumber other constructions by 31 : 1 and 27 : 2 respectively. (The figures are even more impressive if the (mostly SPEAK-less) quotes from

the Vājasaneyī-Saṃhitā and the explanatory restatements and paraphrases are included: 55 : 1 and 31 : 2, respectively.)

This is not to say, however, that *īti*-less QUOTE and indirect constructions are entirely wanting. Thus in the two samples there are one example of a participial construction with KNOW and two examples of 'indirect questions' with THINK, respectively. Elsewhere, occasional examples of *īti*-less QUOTE can be found, as in (71). (Cf. also 7.4 below.) In general, it can be stated that SAY may occasionally be used with the participial construction (cf. e.g. (75), inside QUOTE) and unmarked QUOTE; THINK and KNOW with the participial construction and 'indirect questions'; and SAY may also occur with 'indirect questions' where genuine questions are being asked, as in (72).

- (71) yādi it tū anyē vādanti kās tāt saṃdhām upeyāt (ŚB 2.4.3.10)
SPEAK
'if now others say "who would incur this combination (of mistakes)?" ...'
- (72) brūhi yātaḥ khānema (ŚB 3.3.3.11)
SPEAK
'say where we should dig'

This competition between different constructions may perhaps be responsible for the occasional appearance of syntactic blends, such as (73) with 'indirect-discourse' marker yāthā 'that' and quotative *īti*. Moreover, it may account for the fact that where SPEAK interrupts a QUOTE, *īti* may occasionally be placed only at the end of one of the QUOTE fragments (cf. (74)), although the normal pattern has *īti* at the end of all fragments (cf. (75)).

- (73) sāḥ ṛtām abravīt yāthā sārvaṣu evā samāvad vāsāni *īti* (MS 2.2.7)
SPEAK
'he swore an oath that "I will live with all of them equally"'
- (74) idām ḥ hí ānuḥ rākṣāṃsi yoṣitam ānusacante tād utā rākṣāṃsi
SPEAK
evā rētaḥ ādadhati *īti* (ŚB 3.2.1.40)²⁴
'for "here (on earth)," they say, "the rakṣases pursue young women and then the rakṣases put their seed in".'
- (75) ātra u sāḥ kāmāḥ ūpṣptaḥ *īti* ha sma āna māhitthiḥ yām cārakāḥ
SPEAK
prājāpatyē paśāu ānuḥ *īti* (ŚB 6.2.2.10)
SPEAK
'"Therein that wish was obtained," (so) Māhitthi once said, "which the carakas say (to be) in the Prajāpati-victim".'

As noted earlier, Vedic Prose also offers examples of non-quotative *īti* meaning 'thus', cf. (19) above. (In the first of the two Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa samples referred to earlier, there happen to be five such examples. Overall, however, this use is found much more rarely.)

7.2: The tendency, observed in the Atharva-Veda, toward predominance of the Embracing construction over against the SPEAK-final variety of the quotative can be observed even more fully in Vedic prose. In the two Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa samples studied in detail, the ratios between the two constructions

are 19 : 1 and 18 : 5, respectively.)

7.3: An innovation in the area of morphosyntax, occasioned no doubt by the increasing number of uses for the quotative, is the fact that at this stage of the language we find the first examples with 'nesting' of *īti*-quotatives within *īti*-quotatives, as in (76).

- (76) hiranyāyī īti vaī abhyūktā īti (ŚB 6.3.1.42)
'(saying) "it is said (to be) 'golden'."'

There is, however, as yet no evidence for a possible 'pile-up' of *ītis* at the end of a QUOTE, as it can be found in the later, Classical language. Rather, such a 'pile-up' seems to be actively avoided, as in (77), where instead of expected ONOM-*īti* plus QUOTE-final *īti*, only a single *īti* is found. (In the Classical language, this would come out as (78), with double *īti*.)

- (77) ... tām juhuyād dēvāṃsō yāsmāi tvā Idē tāt satyām unariprutā
bhaṅgēna hatāḥ asaū phāt *īti* (ŚB 4.1.1.26)
'he should sacrifice with that (saying) "O divine sprig, for what I pray to you (let) that (be) true; (let) this man (be) struck by destruction-from-above, 'crash'."'
- (78) ... asaū phāt *īti* *īti*

7.4: The area of syntax/pragmatics likewise exhibits innovations in the use of the quotative.

(a) One of these is the fact that the quotative may now be used also with SEE; cf. (79). This innovation no doubt is attributable to generalization from HEAR to other verbs of sensory perception.

- (79) sā ha etād evā dadarśa anaśanātayā vaī me prajāḥ pārābhavanti *īti*
'see' (ŚB 2.5.1.3)
'he then saw "These creations of mine are perishing of hunger"'

(b) The NAME construction now appears in a new function, namely that of characterizing technical terms (80) and of serving as italics, to characterize quoted forms in discussions of a technical, philological nature; cf. (81).

- (80) tē vaī etē pāripaśavye *īti* śhuti (ŚB 3.8.1.16)
'these two libations are "pāripaśavyas"'
- (81) yāḥ *īti* śkam akṣāram akṣāram *īti* tryākṣāram (ŚB 6.3.1.43)
'yāḥ(īā) one syllable, akṣāram (ī) trisyllabic'

(c) A further extension of the NAME construction, a structure marking EMPHASIS, has developed by this time; cf. (82). (The accusative case marking in (82) might perhaps suggest that this is unrelated to the NAME quotatives. However, as (83) shows, also the NAME construction occasionally may retain the accusative of the unmarked construction, rather than switching it into the nominative.)

- (82) dvāu trfn īti evā pitāmahn somapān vindanti (ŚB 5.4.5.4)
 du.A pl.A pl.A
 'they find only two or three (not more) soma-drinking fore-
 fathers'
- (83) tātab āsurāb rauhipām īti agnīm cikyire (ŚB 2.1.2.13)
 sg.A sg.A
 'then the Asuras built themselves the "rauhipa" Agni/fire'

(d) the 'Ritual Quotative', the beginnings of which were noted in the Atharva-Veda, now is fully established. It is frequently found followed by a restatement or paraphrase. While the Ritual Quotative almost invariably is unaccompanied by any overt SPEAK, but is always followed by *īti*, the subsequent restatement may or may not be followed by SPEAK and/or *īti*. Example (84) may serve as an illustration of some of the patterns which can be found.

- (84) devāsya savitūb savé īti (/) devēna savitrā prāsutab īti etāt(/)
svargyāya śaktyā īti (/) yātha etēna kārmanā svargan lokam
iyād evām ō etāt ānā (ŚB 6.3.1.14)
 SPEAK

'... "at the impulse of divine Savitr" (= VS 11.3b); that (is) "impelled by god Savitr" (= the explanation/paraphrase); "with power to the heavenly (world)" (= VS 11.3c); "so that by this act one might go to the heavenly world" (= explanation/paraphrase), that he says'

7.5: Finally, in addition to further instances of FEAR with *īti*-quotative and the Purpose variety of CAUSE with QUOTE + *īti* (cf. sections 6.4 and 6.5), Vedic Prose also offers the first attestations of a truly 'causal' CAUSE construction. And while the other two constructions just mentioned retain certain characteristics (in terms of subjunctive mood and optional accentuation of the verb), the causal construction has no such overt features of subordinate structure; cf. (85). However, the frequent occurrence of the causal correlative tāsmād 'therefore' after such causal quotative constructions clearly suggests a dependent-clause interpretation.

- (85) yañām ... tanavai īti tāsmād ādityām carūm ... nīrvapati
 '(Because/thinking) "I will ... spread the sacrifice", therefore
 he prepares the Aditya pap ...' (ŚB 3.2.3.7)

At the same time, however, at this stage of the language it still seems to be always possible to supply an expression like 'thinking', as in the gloss above. Where such a reading would not be possible, i.e. where the causal relationship between dependent and main clause is conceived of as an objective one, existing independently from the thinking of the agent of the main clause, different structures are found, as in (86) and (87).^{24a}

- (86) yād dāśadaśa ēkaikam camasām anuprāsrptāb bhāvanti
tāsmād u evā daśapēyam (ŚB 5.4.5.3)
 'because each time ten (men) creep after the cup, therefore it
 is called the daśapeya (= the one to be drunk by ten)'

- (87) yād eṣām rājanāb rājasūyayājīnāb āsuḥ tād ha sma tād abhyāhuḥ
 'because their kings were performers of the rājasūya, therefore
 they used to say this' (ŚB 5.5.2.5)

This restriction on the use of the causal construction clearly indicates the origin of the structure, namely as a reinterpretation of quotatives with deleted THINK.

7.6: The major innovations of Vedic Prose, then, lie in the development of 'nesting' *īti*-quotatives (but with a constraint against *īti* 'pile-up'), the use of the quotative with SEE, the extension of the NAME quotative to technical terminology, its use as an equivalent of italics in technical discussions and to indicate emphasis, and the development of a Causal variety of the CAUSE construction (limited to causes existing in the mind of the main-clause agent). In addition, Vedic Prose shows further extensions of the Embracing quotative at the expense of other competing constructions, as well as fuller use of the 'Ritual Quotative'. At the same time, however, older, rival constructions persist (leading to occasional blends between indirect and quotative constructions). Moreover, we find occasional instances of archaic *īti* 'thus', used non-quotatively.

8: The Classical Language

The post-Vedic language described by Speijer (1886:379-88) does not differ markedly from the Vedic-Prose situation just described. (Even syntactic blends between indirect and quotative constructions continue to be found; cf. *ibid.* 382-3.) The main differences can be briefly characterized as follows:

(a) The occasional appearance of *īti*-initial quotatives, as in (88) below, seems to suggest that though moribund and not appearing in the post-Rig-Vedic earlier language, this construction never was completely lost.

- (88) īti ca enam uvāca duḥkhitā / suhrdāb paśya ...
 'and (thus) she, distressed, said to him "See the friends ..."'

(b) *īti* may appear after QU(estion words), as in kim īti 'why' (lit. 'saying what').

(c) The quotative may be used to state 'objective' CAUSE, not just a causal relationship existing in the mind of the main-clause agent; cf. example (1) above.

9: Sanskrit summary

Surveying the evidence of Sanskrit we find a constantly expanding use of the quotative construction, especially that of the Embracing variant. This expansion can be diagrammed as follows.²⁵ (The inserted quotative is ignored.) Given this increasing expansion and reshaping of the construction, from very modest, and morphosyntactically quite different beginnings in the Rig-Veda, to the full panoply of attestations in the Classical Language, it is not difficult to see in the quotative a Sanskrit innovation, just barely in its beginning stages in the earliest, Rig-Vedic language. At the same time, however, it is also possible to argue that in the shape in which it appears in the Early Rig-

Veda, the quotative may be essentially inherited and that the innovations which have taken place lie in the gradual reinterpretation, reshaping, and expansion of the construction.

To more meaningfully decide between these two competing interpretations, it will be necessary to look at outside, comparative evidence

	Obligatoriness/Frequency				Syntax/Pragmatics																		
	G	I	F	E	CAUSE																		
					SAY	THI	KNO	MEA	SEE	Ø	Pur.Caus.	NAME	QU	EMPH	ONOM	OTHER							
Early HV	}	C	R	{	F	R	}	+	(+)¹	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
R					C																		
Late RV					F	C																	
AV	}	C/F	-	{	C	C	}	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Late AV					C	P																	
Ved. Pr.					F	R	F																
Class.					F	R	F																

Notes: ¹Only *fti*-less construction; ²'Ritual Quotative' (or, in the Classical Language, quotation of authorities, etc.); ³With FEAR; ⁴Not 'objective' cause; ⁵Also 'technical' uses.

II: COMPARATIVE INDO-EUROPEAN

10: Latin and Hittite (Anatolian)

The only other two ancient Indo-European languages which are generally acknowledged to have a quotative construction are Latin and Hittite (and other ancient Anatolian languages related to Hittite).

10.1: In Latin,²⁶ the quotative construction is marked by the finite-verbal form *inquit*, *inquam* 'says, say', usually (but not necessarily always) inserted into QUOTE after the first word or constituent of the quotation; cf. the examples below. In general, this quotative construction requires the presence of SAY or of an easily recoverable SAY. However, some special uses can be discerned. One is found in the quotation of scriptural authority, where however a verb of speaking is easily supplied; cf. (89). Similarly, the use as a 'definitory' construction, as in (90), is not too difficult to derive from a literal interpretation of *inquam* as 'I say'. The most specialized use seems to be that found in (91), where *inquit* marks the objections of a hypothetical opponent in what is hypostasized as a 'real' argument.

(89) *furem ... luce occidi vetant XII tabulae: 'cum ... hostem ... teneas, nisi se telo defendit' inquit, 'etiamsi ... non occides ...'*

¹the 12 Tablets prohibit killing a thief by daylight: "When you should hold an enemy, unless he defends himself with a weapon" "even if ..., you should not slay ..."

(90) *has compedes, fasces, inquam, hos laureatos*
'these fetters, "these laureled powers of authority" (I say)'
= 'these fetters, i.e. these laureled powers of authority'

(91) '*parva inquit est res*'; at magna culpa
'(one might say) "the case is (of) small (significance)",
but the guilt (is) great'

Note that though the Latin quotative construction is not excessively rare, it is dwarfed in much of Classical literature by the indirect accusative-cum-infinitive construction.

10.2: Unlike Latin *inquit/inquam*, the Hittite and general Anatolian quotative marker *va(r)* is quite commonly used. True, there may be occasional exceptions, especially in the mythological texts and in short verbal exchanges; cf. Friedrich 1967:148-50. But ordinarily the particle is used; cf. (92) beside (93).

Ever since Götze and Pedersen (1934:74) proposed it, the generally accepted derivation of *va(r)* has been from the verb Hitt. *ver-iyā-* 'call, invoke'. To Götze and Pedersen's mind, such a derivation would have parallels in the [clitic-shortening] development of quotative Russ. *de*, OPol. *dzie*, Czech *prý* from earlier full verbs of saying. [These earlier full forms are **dējati* 'put, say' for Russian and Polish, *pravy* 'said' for Czech.] Recently, however, Joseph (1981, 1982) has proposed a different source, namely Hitt. *ivar* 'like, as', for which Joseph finds parallels in the development of *like* into a quotative particle in certain American English dialects, an apparently similar development in Neomelanesian, and the use of particles meaning 'like, thus' in Buang (New Guinea) and in Tibeto-Burman Lahu.²⁸ Given that both 'thus' and SPEAK can frequently function as quotative markers, Joseph's hypothesis may well constitute a credible alternative. (I would feel more comfortable, however, if it could be shown how Hittite non-deictic *ivar* 'thus, like' could acquire the deictic meaning 'thus' normally found with such quotative markers.)

Be that as it may, the morphosyntax of the particle is quite simple: To the extent that it is used at all, *va(r)* occurs in the characteristic initial strings of the Anatolian languages, following the first (presumably accented) element of each quoted sentence.

Ordinarily the quotative is governed by SAY. However, 'name', 'inscribe' may also be found. In a number of cases with omitted SPEAK, it is also possible to supply a verb like THINK, but SAY cannot be ruled out.

Frequently, however, the preceding SPEAK may be further accompanied by deictic *kiššan* 'thus'; cf. e.g. (92) below. (Additional examples may be found in Friedrich 1967 and elsewhere (passim).) Note that this introductory formula may also occur where no quotative particle occurs in the QUOTE; cf. (93).²⁸

(92) *nu man kiš(š)an kuiški memai annišan-var-an LUGAL-iznanni kuwat SPEAK*

tittānut (/) kinunma-wa-šši kurur kuwat hatrieškiši (/)
man-war-ašmukan šulliyāt kuwapi Ū-UL

'Now, if someone speaks as follows "Why did you formerly place him on the throne? And why are you now declaring war on him?" (In answer, I say) "If he had never started hostilities with me ..."'

(Apology of Hattusilis 3.73-77)

- (93) [nu ki]ššan memahhi kiez ø mahhan [ni]ngir zig-ø-az ^DKAL
 SPEAK
 KUSkuršaš (Ritual of Anniwiyaniš 4.2-3)
 'Now I speak thus "As these have drunk, so drink you, KAL of
 the Shield' (Sim. ib.3.35-44; but 1.28-29 has wa.)

The last sentence of example (92) also shows that the quotative marker may characterize a QUOTE not accompanied by an overt SPEAK. In (92), it is easy to recover an 'I answer'. However, there are contexts where such an analysis would be more difficult. The most striking construction of this sort which I have found is (94), in which the most likely interpretation seems to be that QUOTE specifies the reason or CAUSE for the fact that there is no recompense.

- (94) takku SAL-an kui[š]ki pittenuzzi (/) EGIR-andama[š]m[a]šja
 [š]jardiyaš paizzi (/) takku 2 LÚ.MEŠ našma 3 LÚ.MEŠ akkanzi
 šarnikzi[1] NU.GÁL [z]ik-wa UR.BAR.RA kišat
 'If anyone elopes with a woman, and a rescuer goes after them,
 if two men or three men die, (there is) no recompense "You
 have become a wolf"' (Selections from the Code, 2.29-30)

Other special uses of the ø-SPEAK quotative seem to be the appearance of quotative -wa- in Hieroglyphic Hittite, in what Dressler (1970:387) plausibly refers to as 'talking' inscriptions (of the type "I am the monument of ..."), and perhaps also the Palaic example (95) below (cf. Carruba 1972:16 and 20).

- (95) [nuku] pašullašaš ti[ya]z tabarni LUGAL-i papazku-war ti
 [anna]zku-war ti ... (KUB XXXV.165vs.21-22)
 'And now, sungod of the gods (?), for Tabarna, the king, you
 (are) "father", you (are) "mother" ...'

Unfortunately, the interpretation of this inscription is made difficult by the presence of several hapax legomena, as well as the uncertain value of the ku preceding war. Still, it is possible that we have here something akin to the NAME variant of the Sanskrit quotative.

Hittite and the other Anatolian languages thus offer clear evidence for a quasi-obligatory quotative particle -wa(r)- which normally is incorporated into the initial string following the first word of each clause of the QUOTE. Beside with overt SPEAK (= SAY), it may also be used with ø-SPEAK. And this construction shows some probable evidence for extended, secondary or specialized uses (as in (94) and in the 'talking' inscriptions of Hieroglyphic Hittite), and some possible evidence in (95). In addition to, and sometimes instead of, the quotative particle -wa(r)-, Hittite quite frequently shows kiššan 'thus' preceding QUOTE.

11: Homeric Greek

As noted in my other contribution to this volume, Homeric Greek has a Final Formula which ordinarily indicates the end of a single-speaker direct quote or of an (extended) verbal exchange between several speakers. This Final Formula comes in two basic variants, one consisting of the defective verb ē '(he) said', the other of hōs 'thus' plus a verb of speaking, most usually a finite form of phē/pha- 'speak'; cf. (96) and (97). In the first three books

of the Iliad, out of 60 cases where this Final Formula could occur, only 5 do not show it. That is, in Homeric Greek, this construction appears to be quasi-obligatory.

- (96) Pēleídēs d' ... prosēeipe ... / ... / hōs phátō Pēleídēs ...
 SPEAK
 'But the son of Peleus spoke ... QUOTE ... (Thus spoke the
 son of Peleus) and ...' (Il.1.223-45)
- (97) tēn d'apameibomēnos prosēphē ... Akhilleús/ ... / ē kaī
 SPEAK
 'to her, answering, spoke Achilles QUOTE (He spoke) and ...'
 (Il.1.214-19)

This Formula usually occurs after a QUOTE introduced by a preceding SAY, as in the above examples. Sometimes a related noun may appear instead of the verb. Exceptions to this pattern are exceedingly rare. I have noted only the types exemplified in (98) and (99). Note however that in (98) there is a noun of speaking next to finite HEAR; and in (99) a verb (or noun) of speaking is easily supplied. In both cases, the Final Formula is used, even though in (99) no explicit SAY is found in the structure preceding QUOTE, and in (98) the finite verb is HEAR.

- (98) ... ameflikton d' óp' ákousan / ... / ē kaī ... (Il.11.137-43)
 'voice' HEAR
 'but they heard an ungentle voice QUOTE (He spoke) and ...'
- (99) aipsa d' ep' Aíanta prófei kéruka Thoótēn / ... / hōs éphat ...
 'sent'
 'Forthwith he sent to Aias the herald Thootes (with the words)
 QUOTE (Thus he spoke) ...' (Il.12.342-51)

In terms of its quasi-obligatoriness and the relatively few variants which it permits, the Homeric Greek Final Formula clearly qualifies as a quotative. However, it is remarkable that there is no strong evidence for extended uses of the construction, with or without ø-SPEAK.

In concluding this section it might be mentioned that in addition to the Final Formula, a variant of one of its sub-types may occasionally occur preceding QUOTE, in a 'generic-quote' construction; cf. (100). (Cf. also note 27 of my other contribution to this volume.)

- (100) hōde dé tís eipesken Akhaiōn te Trōon te / ... / hōs éphan ...
 SPEAK
 'and thus would say one or another of the Achaeans or the Trojans QUOTE (Thus they spoke) ...'

12: Avestan²⁹

As noted by Kuiper (1967), Avestan has a construction with uti 'thus' which in many ways resembles the early Rig-Vedic iti-construction, but which also differs from it in its morphosyntax. In the following I will take a closer look at the Avestan evidence, including a construction overlooked by Kuiper.

12.1: In addition to indirect constructions similar to those of Sanskrit, Avestan also has two direct quote constructions, one employing the particle uiti 'thus', the other having no special particle. Both of these can be used with SAY and THINK; the unmarked construction additionally can occur with HEAR, FEAR, and Ø-SPEAK; cf. the examples below.

- (101) mraoṭ ahurō mazdā spitamāi zaraθuštrāi ... (Yt.10.1)
SPEAK
'A.M. said to Z., the Spitamide, QUOTE'
- (102) uityaōjanā miθrāi vouru.gaoyaoitēe ... (Yt.10.1)
SPEAK
'Thus speaking (they cry to/address) M.V. QUOTE'
- (103) iθa mainyete duxšvaranā / noit̄ imaṭ vīspəm dužvarštem (Yt.10.105)
SPEAK
'"Thus", thinks the ill-fated, "(it is) not all this illdoing ..."
OR: 'Thus thinks the ill-fated ...' (?)
- (104) aθāṭ fraša ḥm.rāzayata ātarš ... uiti avaθa maḥhānō (Yt.19.47)
'thus' SPEAK
'then A. stood up, thinking thus QUOTE'
- (105) sraotū ... gūšahva tū ahurā / kō airyamā aḥaṭ (Y 49.7)
SPEAK SPEAK
'let him hear, listen you, O A. "What Aryan shall be ...?"'
- (106) yahmat ... fraterasenti ... mōi tū iθra ahurahe ... vaēyāi
FEAR
jasaeṃa (Yt.10.68-9)
'wherefore they are frightened ... "May we not meet here with the charge of the ... lord"'
- (107) srīra daθšiti daēmāna ... kō mām yazāite ... (Yt.10.107-8)
'he looks around (lit. he places/gives beautiful eyes) (thinking/saying) "Who will worship me? ... "'

12.2: Except perhaps for (103), all the above examples have SPEAK (± uiti) before QUOTE; and that is in fact the most common pattern. However, a minor pattern is that found in (108), with (uiti +) SPEAK inserted into QUOTE.

- (108) ušta aḥmāi naire mainyāi / uiti mraoṭ ahurō mazdā / āi ašāum
SPEAK
zaraθuštra (Yt.10.137; sim. ib.138, Yt.19.53)³⁰
'"Hail to the authoritative man" said A.M. "O truth-owning Z."'

12.3: The relative frequency of the uiti-construction over against the unmarked structure is subject to considerable fluctuation. Thus in the Gāthas, the ratio of uiti to Ø is 1 : 10 (counting as one single instance the 9 repetitions of the formula taṭ θwā pərəsē ... 'that I ask you QUOTE' in Y 44). In the hymn to Mithra it is 5 : 16. In the total Romanized selection of Reichelt 1911, the ratio is 17 : 100. However, that ratio is skewed by two factors: One is the frequent use of the Verbal Exchange Formula (cf. (109) and the discussion in section 16 of my other contribution to this volume); and that formula

never occurs with uiti. The other consists of 20 instances of the formula exemplified in (110), in which yazata/yazanta 'worshipped' is followed by jaōyaṭ/jaōyan 'prayed' which with the subsequent QUOTE specifies the 'content' of the worship. In its structure, this formula is parallel to what we find in (111), where uiti + SPEAK takes the place of jaōyaṭ (in the same hymn). If we exclude these formulaic expressions, the ratio will be more like that in the hymn to Mithra, namely 17 : 35. (If only the Verbal Exchange Formula is excluded, the ratio will be 17 : 55.) Even with these adjustments, however, the uiti-construction must be said to be used quite sparingly.

- (109) ā dīm pərəsaṭ zaraθuštrō (Y 9.1) (Sim. 44 x elsewhere)
SPEAK
'Z. asked him QUOTE'
- (110) təm yazata ... āṭ ḥīm jaiōyaṭ (Yt.5.17-18) (Sim. ib. 19 x)
'her he worshipped ... , and to her he prayed QUOTE'
- (111) təm yazata ... paitivacaḥaṭ uiti vacābiš aojanō (Yt.5.76)
'with speech' 'with words' SPEAK
'He worshipped her with speech, thus speaking with words QUOTE'

12.4: What is especially interesting is that uiti almost invariably occurs next to SPEAK (cf. e.g. (102) and (104)), at best separated from it by a noun of speaking (cf. (111)). More than that, when placed next to aoj-'speak', uiti quite frequently appears in its sandhi form uity- (as in (102)). Considering that sandhi across word boundary, in Avestan, is limited to words which form a single phonological unit (mainly to compounds), this suggests that there has been an (incipient) univerbation of uiti with SPEAK.

Examples (102), (104), and (111) further show uiti occurring with a participle of SPEAK. This is no accident, for of the 17 instances of uiti + SPEAK in Reichelt 1911, fully 11 have a participle of SPEAK. Moreover, this uiti + SPEAK-participle construction may be used either with a 'higher', finite-verb SPEAK (as in (111)), or with a non-SPEAK higher verb (cf. (104)), or with no higher verb at all (as in (102)). Considering that present participles are not normally used by themselves or with non-Aux.-verbs, the use of participles of SPEAK in constructions like (102) and (104) suggests the need for a special explanation. The most probable explanation seems to be that uiti + participle of SPEAK has become a synchronically productive quotative marker. (Structures like (108), with finite SPEAK, then might be archaisms.)

While this interpretation of the participial uiti + SPEAK construction as a synchronically productive quotative marker may be somewhat speculative, it is I believe safe to state that the general uiti + SPEAK (or Ø-SPEAK) construction is comparable in its range of uses to Homeric Greek and comparable to Latin in terms of the frequency with which it is employed.

12.5: There is evidence that in addition to this quotative construction, Avestan developed another quotative marker. As apparently first noted by Geldner (1885:246-7), a couple of very late texts, whose functions vis-à-vis the earlier hymns is comparable to that of Vedic Prose in relation to the Vedic hymns, offer iθa 'here; (thus)', once also iθa 'thus; (here)', indicating 'Ritual Quotes' as in (112) and (113). (Note however that this marker is not obligatory.) Unlike the uiti + SPEAK construction, this iθa/iθa regularly occurs

after the quoted passage, although string-initial elements (such as para īm in (112)) may intervene between QUOTE and the marker.

- (112) dazda manaḥō para īm iōa manaḥe cinasti (Y 19.13)
SPEAK
"dazda manaḥō" (a quotation from Y 27 on which Y 19 is a commentary) teaches/means "for the thought/for thinking"
- (113) yaṭ dīm dāmabyō cinasti mazda iōa təm yəṭ ahmāi dāman (ib.14)
SPEAK
"mazda" (= Y 27.13b mazdāi) teaches/means that he (exists) for the creatures (and) that the creatures (are) for him³¹

Etymologically, the iōa of these constructions creates certain difficulties, since it seems to reflect earlier idē 'here' (cf. Skt. ihā 'here'), an unlikely quotative marker. However, the one-time occurrence of quotative iōa, combined with other considerations, provides a clue toward a more satisfactory explanation, identifying the iōa of these constructions as a descendant of earlier iōā 'thus', a cognate of Skt. ithā: First of all, there is independent evidence for a merger of θ and ō (< d) in the spoken language of late Avestan; cf. e.g. Skt. veda, GAV. vaēdē : YAv. vaēōa beside vaēθa 'knows', Skt. padya-te 'falls, goes' : YAv. paiōyāite 'he shall fall' beside paiθyeiti 'goes', etc. Secondly, that such a merger led to the interchangeability of earlier idē 'here', and iōā 'thus' is suggested by occasional uses of iōa in the meaning 'here' and of iōā as meaning 'thus'; cf. (114) and (115). In addition, the use of iōa in (116) is strikingly similar to that of ithā in RV bāḍ ithā (cf. (67) above).³² Moreover, the occasional use of deictic relatives of iōa, viz. aθa and avaθa 'thus', in reference to a following QUOTE (cf. (117) and (118), as well as (104) with uiti + avaθa) suggests that iōā likewise must have been usable to refer to QUOTE.³³ Finally, note that conversely, the ordinary quotative marker uiti shows occasional attestation in the meaning 'thus'; cf. (119).

- (114) mā avi zəm ni.urvise iōa mē tūm həm.caraḥa antarə.arəθəm nmānahe (Yt. 17.60)
'do not go down to the earth. Here wander around in the interior of my house ...'
- (115) nōiṭ zī īm zā šā yā dareya akaršta saēta ... iōa carāiti huraōa yā dareya apuθra aēiti (V 3.24)
'for the earth (is) not happy which lies unplowed (for) long, thus/likewise/just as a beautiful woman who goes childless (TOF) long'
- (116) bāōa iōa āfrasāne daḥubyō bāōa iōa aēni bərəθi ... (V 3.27)
'truly (thus (it is)), I will go to the countries, truly (thus (it is)), I will go on to give birth ...'
(Sim. *ibid.* 29, except the second bāōa occurs without iōa)
- (117) yō avaθa vṛāxmanyata (Yt.19.43)
SPEAK
'who spoke thus at the meeting QUOTE' (Cf. (104), *ibid.* 47)
- (118) aθa mraoṭ ahurō mazdā (Āfrīnakān 4.3)
SPEAK
'Thus spoke A.M. QUOTE'

- (119) yōi varhēušā ā manaḥō šyeintī yaścā uitī (Y 39.3)
'who (masc.) hold on to the Good Thought and who (fem.) thus/likewise'

12.6: The late Avestan 'Ritual Quotative' construction with iōa/iōa thus can be identified as an earlier iōā 'thus' construction, and thus as ultimately related to the quotative uiti 'thus' construction: Apparently uiti and (*)iōa represent different specializations of constructions in which a deictic adverb meaning 'thus' was used to focus the listener's attention on a particular QUOTE. While uiti was almost entirely specialized in this new function (the type (119) seems to be limited to three examples), iōā--like aθa and avaθa--largely retained its original deictic function, becoming quotative only in the 'Ritual Quotative'.

12.7: In conclusion it might be noted that the normal use of uiti + SPEAK before QUOTE, the rarer insertion into QUOTE, and the positioning of *iōa after QUOTE indicate an original freedom of occurrence comparable to that of iti + SPEAK in early Rig-Vedic (cf. 5.3-5). This impression of comparability is further supported by the fact that just as in the Rig-Veda (cf. section 5.3), the Avestan order of the quotative particle and SPEAK may in a few rare cases be reversed; cf. (120).

- (120) aōāē-ca uiti (V 4.47)
SPEAK
'and I say (thus) QUOTE'

The dynamics of the Avestan constructions, however, differ from what we find in Sanskrit: There is no evidence in Avestan for the complex developments found in the late Rig-Veda and especially in the post-Rig-Vedic language. Moreover, unlike the Sanskrit quotative, the Avestan constructions remain quite optional throughout the attested history of the language.

13: Other Indo-European languages

Attested considerably later than the languages so far discussed, the other Indo-European languages do not seem to offer in their earliest stages any unambiguous evidence for quotative constructions. In some of the languages, however, some such constructions did develop. The case is most clear for Slavic, where as noted in 10.2, Russian, Old Polish, and Czech have a particle de, dzie, prý respectively, which can be traced to earlier SPEAK. To these might be added the similar Russian (slang) mol. Constructions marked by these particles (which usually take the second position within QUOTE) may or may not be preceded by 'independent' SPEAK. The constructions are used in various contexts, similar but perhaps not identical to the use of the German subjunctive in reported speech. These may range from quoting someone without taking responsibility for the accuracy of what is being quoted, to just a simple repetition of what the speaker has said earlier. Unlike the German subjunctive construction, however, these Slavic particles are always used with direct QUOTE.³⁴

A quasi-quotative construction is found in the quotha of earlier Modern English, as in (121) below. However, this construction is limited to very special (ironic, etc.) pragmatic settings.

(121) The fickle moon, quotha, I wish my friends were half as constant³⁵

A more recent development is that noted by Joseph (1981) for (it's) like in colloquial Ohio English, as a marker of "internal" quotation--an approximate representation in the form of reported speech of what someone had in mind but did not express.' In some ways, of course, the use of a construction with like, rather than thus, is quite unusual. However, one may conjecture that this regional development (a) is parasitic on the more general use of like in colloquial American English and (b) may have proceeded from a structure of the sort (it's) like this.

Developments of this sort are interesting in that they show that quotative constructions may arise at various times, through independent developments. Moreover, they show that similar elements (verbs of speaking and adverbs meaning 'thus') may be drawn on in such independent developments. At the same time, however, it is interesting how rare such developments seem to be in the more modern Indo-European languages of Europe. This makes the appearance of quotative constructions in all the early Indo-European languages^{35a} so much more remarkable.

14: Summary of the Indo-European evidence

All of the ancient, earliest-attested Indo-European languages^{35a} have some kind of quotative construction. The morphosyntax of these constructions may differ considerably, as indicated in the following table. Moreover, even to the extent that languages might agree on using SPEAK, 'thus', or a combination of these as quotative marker, the actual morphemes employed differ (as between Skt. iti, Av. uiti/iθa, Gk. hōs 'thus'). Also the degree of obligatoriness may differ, with Hittite and Homeric Greek having the construction most consistently, Avestan and Latin showing it much more sparingly, and Rig-Vedic Sanskrit holding an intermediate position. All of the languages, however, agree on permitting the construction only under quite limited syntactic/pragmatic conditions: mainly with SAY and to some extent also with THINK; with HEAR the construction occurs seldom at best. Hittite and Latin, however, also show evidence for some specialized uses of the construction; and so does Avestan with its (late) 'Ritual Quotative'. (None of these, however, are comparable to the full panoply of uses found in Classical Sanskrit.)

In spite of these differences, however, it is--as noted--remarkable that all of these languages should have quotative formations. Moreover, disregarding the differences in morphosyntax and specialized uses which can easily be attributed to independent innovations, the languages show a remarkable agreement in the syntactic/pragmatic contexts in which they permit their respective quotatives. It is, I believe, hardly likely that this situation should be due to chance. It therefore seems more attractive to attribute the construction to the proto-language.

True, this does cause certain difficulties as far as the morphosyntax is concerned. But these are not insurmountable. Thus the appearance of the quotative particle in clause-second position (within the QUOTE) in Hittite and Latin can be attributed (a) to the pattern with quotative marker inserted into QUOTE and (b) to the fact that the marker may well have become clitic and thus--syn-

	Obligatoriness	Quotative marker thus' SPEAK	Morphosyntax of major quotative marker			
			Before QUOTE	In QUOTE	After QUOTE	Other
Sanskrit (Early RV)	C	+	R	R	F	R ¹
Avestan	C/R	+ (+) ²	F	R	R ¹	
Hittite (Anatolian)	F	(+) ³ + ⁴	-	F	-	
Homeric Greek	F	+ ⁵ + ⁶	(R) ⁷	-	F	
Latin	C/R	+	-	F	-	

Notes: ¹Embracing construction; ²If univerbation of uiti + SPEAK is accepted; ³In the rarely attested 'Ritual Quotative'; ⁴Frequently preceding QUOTE, even without quotative -wa(r)-; ⁵But note Joseph's connection with ivar 'as, like'; ⁶Both 'thus' + SPEAK and plain SPEAK are used; ⁷Only in the rare 'generic quote' pattern.

chronically functioning as sentence clitic for QUOTE--would have gone into clause-second position in accordance with Wackernagel's Law.

Noting now the prominent role played by words meaning 'thus' in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek, and the optional use of 'thus' in Hittite,³⁶ as well as the role of SPEAK in Greek and Latin (and also perhaps in Hittite), it is possible to reconstruct a syntactic pattern with 'thus' + SPEAK as a quotative construction for Proto-Indo-European and to permit this structure to occur before, after, and inserted into QUOTE: All we need to allow for is the possibility that just as in independent uses, 'thus' and SPEAK were subject to constant morphological and lexical remakings (cf. Skt. itthā/itthām, īti, tāthā, Av. uiti, iθa, aθa, ayaθa, Hitt. kiššan, Gk. hōs, hōde, etc., Lat. ita, sic, all meaning 'thus, so'), so also in their quotative uses they could undergo some remaking, especially as long as the etymological meaning/function of the construction was still quite transparent. Where through reinterpretation, however, one or the other of the two markers becomes the major quotative marker and where the position of that marker gets to be relatively fixed, at that point the construction would tend to become frozen, permitting little or no further change.

In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that a different, 'areal' explanation is conceivable, namely that the appearance of quotative constructions in these ancient Indo-European languages was due to influence from the ancient Near Eastern prestige languages which, as we shall see presently, had quotative constructions of similar structure. What may be attractive about this explanation is the fact that as the prestige of these ancient Near Eastern languages and their cultures declined, so apparently did the use of quotatives in the Indo-European languages (except for Sanskrit which by this time, however, can be assumed to have been safely located in another quotative area,

that of South Asia). For note that there does not seem to be any evidence for a survival of the Avestan, Homeric Greek, and Classical Latin quotatives in the later (quasi-)descendant languages. (Note that though later Greek may occasionally show constructions reminiscent of the Homeric patterns, these lack the obligatoriness and the relative standardization of the Homeric structures.)

Attractive as this alternative analysis may appear, however, I am bothered by the assumption that the Near Eastern influence reached as far west as Latin. Moreover, it may be the disappearance of quotative constructions which is an areal phenomenon, just like the change from SOV to SVO syntax in (most of) continental Europe (cf. Hock 1982). In fact, this disappearance of the quotative may geographically be more limited than would appear at first sight. For later Greek and Iranian (Persian), as well as Armenian show direct-discourse structures (without change in person or mood) introduced by a new set of markers: Gk. (h)ōti, MPers. ku, NPers. ki, Arm. (e)the, bam (etc.); cf. Hock 1975:107 and Friedrich 1943. And as Friedrich (ibid.) shows, constructions of this sort are found also in Georgian (with postposed -o) and Turkish (with diye 'having said').

Whether we attribute the early Indo-European quotative constructions to inheritance or to areal influence, however, the conclusion seems inescapable that quotative constructions remarkably similar in their morphosyntax and syntactic/pragmatic uses to what we find in early Rig-Vedic are found also in the other early Indo-European languages and that this remarkable similarity can hardly be attributed to independent developments.

III: NON-INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

15: Ancient Near Eastern languages

15.1: The earliest attested language, Sumerian, is reported to have had a quotative construction marked by -e-še, perhaps an 'emphatic' form of a verb eš- 'say'. This construction, however, seems to have been used quite rarely. Moreover, it could apparently be used independently, in non-quotative contexts. The syntactic position of this form was post-QUOTE. (Note that Sumerian was an SOV language.) Cf. e.g. Jestin 1946:331-5.

15.2: Accadian (likewise an SOV language) also has a quotative construction which, however, seems to be used more commonly. (Even so, other constructions were available, such as unmarked QUOTE (von Soden 1952:208), or dependent clauses introduced by kīma 'that' (ibid.233).) The Accadian quotative construction either was introduced by preposed enma (later umma) 'thus' or marked by inserted mi or me (a shortened form of enma) which frequently, but not necessarily occurs after the first element of QUOTE. (Cf. von Soden 1952:176, 178.) Examples would be the following.³¹ Note that (122) shows that the quotative construction may be used without overt SPEAK. I have, however, not found any evidence for specialized uses of the quotative.

(122) enma iškūn-dagan ana lugala-ra
'Thus (says/writes) I.D. to L.QUOTE'

(123) apunama guitumma-me eqlam ula a'ruš a taqbi
'Do not under any circumstances say "The Gutaeans (are here, therefore) I did not cultivate the field"'

Given that Accadian SOV is commonly attributed to Sumerian influence, (cf. e.g. Riemschneider 1969:16), it is tempting to see Sumerian substratum also in this construction. However, as noted earlier, the Sumerian quotative construction is quite rare. Moreover, its morphosyntax (postposed SAY) is rather different from the preposed or inserted 'thus' of Accadian.

Similarly, one might perhaps be tempted to see Accadian influence in the Hittite quotative. In this case, the morphosyntax would in fact be much more similar, especially if preposed Hitt. kiššan 'thus' is taken into consideration and if -va(r)- is derived from iwar via a meaning 'thus'. However, as we have seen, the Hittite pattern has parallels also in the other ancient Indo-European languages.

15.3: Also Elamite had a quotative construction, marked by something like an old, cliticized shortened absolutive of a verb SAY which is placed after QUOTE; cf. Friedrich 1943. In addition, however, the examples in Friedrich suggest that QUOTE often is preceded by structures of the sort 'He spoke thus' or even longer expressions; cf. e.g. (124), where na-an-ri preceding QUOTE is the synchronically productive absolutive of a verb of speaking.

(124) hi ši-la ap ti-ri-iš na-an-ri QUOTE ma-ra
'thus' 'spoke' 'saying'
'He spoke thus, saying QUOTE'

Apparently this construction could be employed also with THINK. I have not seen any evidence for specialized uses of the construction.

This "exuberant" type of construction, with multiple instances of SPEAK as well as of 'thus', looks rather different from the Sumerian and Accadian constructions, but may compare well with some of the early Indo-European constructions, as well as with Classical Tibetan (cf. below).

Here again, direct influence from Sumerian or Accadian may be difficult to justify. At the same time, however, there does now seem to be sufficient evidence to suggest the existence of a quotative linguistic area in the ancient Near East, an area with which perhaps also Proto-Indo-European or at least prehistoric Indo-Iranian, Greek, Anatolian, and Latin may have been affiliated.

16: The languages of South Asia

The interpretation of the evidence furnished by the various non-Indo-European languages of South Asia is made difficult by several factors. Perhaps the most important of these is that none of the languages is attested anywhere as early as Rig-Vedic Sanskrit. Many are attested only since the last century, or even later. Even under the best of circumstances we are therefore required to go back beyond the actually attested data, (closer) to the reconstructed proto-stage, before we can meaningfully compare these languages with early Rig-Vedic.

This is further complicated by the fact that except for the great literary languages (Tibetan; Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam), thorough grammatical descriptions either do not yet exist or are hard to get at for the non-specialist. Even where descriptions do exist, however, they often do not go beyond the morphology and/or morphosyntax of quotative constructions.

Moreover, just as a number of modern Indo-Aryan languages have lost the old quotative (replacing it with the Persian *ki*-construction or similar structures), so also a number of non-Indo-European languages seem to lack quotative constructions. And just as some Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Nepali, Bengali, Oriya, Dakkhini Hindi/Urdu, and Marathi) have quotative constructions but do not agree with each other (or with Sanskrit) on the marker of the constructions, so also we find patterns of disagreement in many of the non-Indo-European languages of South Asia.

As a matter of area linguistics we may say that there is on one hand a Southern group of Dravidian languages, comprising the old literary languages, but also many of the neighboring "tribal" languages, in which postposed absolutive of a Proto-Dravidian *an/en/in-* (hereafter: *an-*) 'say (so)' are used to mark quotatives. To the North of this there is a 'Central' area in which quotatives seem to be found in most of the languages (whether Dravidian, Munda, or Indo-Aryan), but in which there is less agreement on the choice of quotative marker and on its morphosyntax. Intruding into this area is the large group of (North-Central and) Northwestern languages which lacks comparable constructions. This group comprises, among others, Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Kashmiri on the Indo-Aryan side, Brahui on the Dravidian side, and Korcu and Kharia on the Munda/Austro-Asiatic side. To the East of this area, however, we find two quotative areas: Bengali and Oriya on one hand, Nepali on the other. (Are these two areas linked with each other, or does the 'Northwestern' area extend between them?) And to the North and East we find in Tibeto-Burman a further group of quotative languages. Like the 'Central' group, these languages show a great degree of variation in quotative markers.

The greatest difficulty lies in interpreting these patterns. Kuiper (1967), attributing the 'Southern' *an*-absolutive to Proto-Dravidian, evidently felt that it was this Dravidian pattern which spread to the Indo-Aryan and Munda languages with quotatives, and that the differences in marking observed in the non-Dravidian languages result from different directions taken in calquing the Dravidian construction. On the other hand, Masica (1976:189) apparently took essentially the same pattern of distribution as indicating a need for caution in this matter. Note however that his belief that North and Central Dravidian had no quotatives must have been based on insufficient evidence (cf. below). Before trying to tackle this difficult issue of interpretation, it would seem best to take a closer look at the evidence.

17: Dravidian

17.1: The four literary languages of the South clearly have a quotative marked by an absolutive of the verb *an-* which is postposed to QUOTE. This in turn normally seems to be followed by SPEAK, although given other evidence for extraposition in Dravidian, I would not be surprised to find occasional examples of extraposed QUOTE + quotative marker which would thus resemble the Embracing construction of Sanskrit. Unfortunately, however, information on patterns of this sort is virtually impossible to come by, using standard reference works.

In terms of their syntactic/pragmatic uses of the quotative, these languages show patterns strikingly similar to Sanskrit; cf. Kachru 1979. However, the use of quotatives with QU does not seem to be attested for either Kannada or Tamil, the two Dravidian languages studied by Kachru. And Tamil shows no

quotatives with either HEAR or SEE. On the other hand, Indo-Aryan Marathi has virtually all of the Sanskrit uses, except those with ONOM and SEE. And Nepali, likewise Indo-Aryan, has all the Sanskrit uses outside of NAME, EMPH, QU, and ONOM. In this respect, then, the differences between modern Dravidian and Indo-Aryan are not overwhelming. What is remarkable, though, is that none of them seems to have the full panoply of uses found in Classical Sanskrit.

It is also interesting to note that the morphology of the quotative marker shows variation, within a given language, across different languages, and through history. Thus as Kachru notes, Tamil and Kannada have two different absolutive formations each. Moreover, as Kuiper showed, the modern Tamil *enru* seems to be a replacement of an earlier *ena*, which outranks *enru* in Old Tamil by a ratio of 200 : 26. Finally, as Kuiper notes, Old Tamil *enru* is, with two exceptions, always used 'in its full lexical meaning' (1967, note 41.)

17.2: Moving further to the North, we find some kind of quotative construction in apparently all the Dravidian languages other than Brahui. However, the further North we go (roughly speaking), the greater the differences from the Southern pattern.

Thus Pengo has two quotative markers, *inji* and *injele*, but unmarked QUOTES frequently occur instead of quotatives; cf. Text 1.8, 9; 6.1, 12 vs. 6.3, 7-9, 10, 11 in Burrow and Bhattacharya 1970. The postposed quotative markers *injele* (etc.), *injihī* (etc.) of Kuvi often are accompanied by *ele* 'thus'. QUOTE may in addition frequently be preceded by *ele icesi* 'said thus'. That is, unlike the Southern languages, Kuvi frequently uses structures similar to the Sanskrit Embracing quotative, as well as structures involving an element 'thus'. Finally, finite (*ele icesi*) may occur after QUOTE instead of the non-finite quotative markers. (Cf. the texts in Israel 1979.)

No information has been accessible to me concerning the syntax/pragmatics of quotatives in this area.

17.3: Yet further North we find Malto with a possibly archaic, synchronically unmotivated quotative particle *ay*, but also with unmarked QUOTE, as well as with extraposed structures in which QUOTE is followed by absolutive-like, 'conditional' *anko/ankah* 'saying, speaking', which always seems to be a part of the following, independent main clause. That is, in these structures, the absolutive-like form of SPEAK does not seem to be part of the preceding QUOTE, but seems to be functioning as a link with the following clause, an element which in terms of surface structure belongs to the following sentence. In addition, *tan*, *je*, and *ki* 'that' may be used after SAY, THINK, and SEE. Cf. Mahapatra 1979:197, 199, and text.

Kurukh uses a 'conjunctive participle' of one of its verb for SAY to mark direct discourse, employing this construction also to mark Purpose; cf. Hahn 1911. However, the verb employed is *bāc-*, not a cognate of *an-*. Moreover, the 'conjunctive participle' is simply the finite verb agreeing in person and number with the main verb and optionally linked with it by *ki* or *darā*. Finally, note that in Hahn's Kurukh version of the Prodigal Son, all direct discourse is unmarked and that a similar situation is found in the examples of Vesper (1971).

Brahui, finally, apparently has no traces of a comparable quotative.

17.4: This evidence can be interpreted in several different ways. On one hand one might claim that the lack of a quotative in some of the languages and the disagreement in the choice of marker and in morphosyntax between many of the languages, as well as the chronological differences between, say, Old and Modern Tamil, indicate that Proto-Dravidian lacked a quotative construction. (It is on the grounds of such arguments that Kuiper (1967) claimed that the quotative constructions found in many of the Munda languages cannot be inherited but must be borrowed from Dravidian.) A necessary corollary to this claim would have to be the assumption that the remarkable degree of agreement in the choice of an- as the basis for the quotative marker of most of the Dravidian languages is attributable to cross-linguistic diffusion, presumably from (one of) the Southern literary languages. Toward the Northern periphery of this diffusion area, then, the change would have slowly lost momentum, leading to the noted irregularities and aberrancies in the languages of the transition area.

This claim might be countered by pointing to the synchronically unmotivated quotative marker ay of Malto, which can be taken to suggest that quotative constructions, even if now no longer de rigueur, have a long prehistory even in this language. This argument would be strengthened if it could be shown that ay can be plausibly derived from an earlier form of an-. It might therefore be argued that the quotative is in fact inherited in Dravidian, and that it was originally built on the verb an- 'say (so)'. This argument, too, would require certain corollary assumptions: First, one would have to argue that whatever the morphology of the original construction, it could undergo morphological renewal (as in O.Ta. ena vs. Mod.Ta. enru; cf. also Kuvī finite icesi (?)). Moreover, one might have to claim that Kurukh bācas (ki/dara) shows that even the verbal root could undergo such a renewal. As for the fact that unmarked QUOTES are more common in the Northern area and that there is no inherited quotative at all in Brahui, this would have to be attributed to the influence of Munda and/or (regional) Indo-Aryan.

Some variant of this second analysis may well be correct. Still, one would feel more comfortable if for instance Malto ay could be shown to go back to an appropriate form of an-; or if relics (in 'frozen' onomatopoeia, perhaps) of the old quotative could be found in Kurukh and/or Brahui; or if the optional ele 'thus' of Kuvī could be plausibly accounted for; etc.

Even more difficult is the question of the morphosyntax of the original quotative construction. Should we assume that the quotative marker syntactically belonged to QUOTE (as it certainly seems to do in the Southern languages) or that it was a linking element, connecting QUOTE to the following sentence (as it seems to be in Malto)? Similarly, should we assume that the fairly rigid QUOTE + quotative marker + SPEAK structure of the Southern Dravidian languages is inherited or that the extrapolated, embracing structures found for instance in Kuvī are more original?

The most difficult issue, however, is that of the original syntax/pragmatics of the quotative. Should we attribute the patterns found in the Southern languages to Proto-Dravidian? Note that one would feel more comfortable about doing so if the relevant facts in the other Dravidian languages were better known. Even then, however, the difficulty arises as to whether we should reconstruct the more fully developed pattern of Kannada or the more restricted

structures of Tamil. (Given the general conservatism of Tamil, the decision should perhaps be made in favor of this language (?).) Moreover, we have to contend with the fact that a number of Modern Indo-Aryan languages have comparable patterns and that Classical Sanskrit shows the most fully developed system.

Under these circumstances it would be difficult to argue for or against any of the following propositions:

- (a) The extended syntax/pragmatics of the quotative is entirely Dravidian in origin;
- (b) The extended syntax/pragmatics of the quotative is entirely Indo-Aryan in origin;
- (c) The extended syntax/pragmatics of the quotative originated in a third language group;
- (d) The extended syntax/pragmatics of the quotative results from convergent and mutually reinforcing developments in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian (as well as, perhaps, in other languages of the area).

18: Munda/Austro-Asiatic

As Kuiper (1967, with ample references) pointed out, a number of the Munda languages have quotative constructions, marked by forms of verbs of speaking, although the verb selected as a marker and its morphological make-up may differ. Combined with the apparent absence of a quotative in Korku and Kharia, this fact is interpreted by Kuiper as showing 'that this construction has been introduced in relatively recent times,' presumably under Dravidian influence.

However, as noted earlier, if we applied the same kind of reasoning to Dravidian, we might have to claim that also in that group of languages the quotative cannot be inherited. Moreover, we have just seen that if we do reconstruct a quotative for Proto-Dravidian, then we must allow for morphological and lexical renewal or even loss in some of the individual languages. Surely, what is acceptable practice for Dravidian must be acceptable also for Munda. Finally, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Hock 1975:90), quotative markers derived from different verbs of saying are found also in the non-Indian languages Mon, Khmer, and Nicobarese, which belong to the same, larger, 'Austro-Asiatic' family as Munda. Here as elsewhere, therefore, the possibility of inheritance cannot be ruled out.

Note that in the case of Munda, our knowledge of extended uses of the quotative is even more restricted than for the "tribal" Dravidian languages, except that Kuiper makes reference to the use of the quotative with ONCM in some of the Munda languages.

19: Tibetan and Tibeto-Burman

As noted by Hamp (1976:361 with note 33), Hock (1975:90), and Joseph (1982), quotative constructions are found also in (Modern) Tibetan, Gurung, Lahu, Lushai, and Burmese. In many cases the quotative particles are synchronically opaque; but note Mod. Tib. ge (quot.) beside gag (quot./SAY); cf. Goldstein and Kashi 1973:114-15. Note also the (Northeast India) Kokborok quotative particle hinzy, whose -zy looks suspiciously like the verbal absolutive marker; cf. Karapurkar

1976:99. And in Lahu the marker seems to mean 'thus, so'.

The earliest attested language of this group, Classical Tibetan, shows even more interesting constructions, similar in their morphosyntactic "exuberance" to ancient Elamite, involving preposed SPEAK plus preposed di 'this' and postposed de 'that', elements such as skad(a) 'speech', pre- and postposed ces(a) 'thus', as well as pre- and postposed absolutival forms of SAY, such as (ba)sgoo 'saying'; cf. Jäschke 1883:84-5, as well as pp. 38 and 108.³⁹ Interestingly, the sentence dividers in Jäschke's text sample suggest that the postposed combination of ces(a) 'thus' + absolutive of SAY belongs with QUOTE, not with the following sentence.

Perhaps, then, some quotative construction is native also to Tibeto-Burman. Unfortunately, however, it is again difficult to get any information of the syntactic/pragmatic uses of the construction.

20: The larger area

As can be seen from the discussion in sections 15 - 19, quotative constructions are found over a vast territory, stretching from the ancient Near East, through South Asia--and even beyond, to the Far East (cf. Hamp 1976:361 with note 33). Recurrent features of the quotative constructions found in these languages are (a) some, usually non-finite form of SAY and/or (b) a particle meaning 'thus'.

This 'areal' aspect of the quotative opens up the possibility that any of the languages or language families historically attested with a quotative may owe the construction at least in part to convergent developments, rather than to straight inheritance. However, given the uneven chronological attestations (ranging from the 5000-year old record of the Ancient Near East to the present-day evidence of some of the "tribal" languages), given the large number of languages and language families involved, and given the lack of reliable information on the (pre-)history of most of these, it must at this point be considered impossible to establish a single source for the quotative and to trace the processes through which the construction spread through the area.

IV: SANSKRIT RECONSIDERED (CONCLUSION)

21: The findings of the preceding sections and the evidence for quotative constructions in all of the early Indo-European languages have important repercussions for an assessment of the claim that the Sanskrit quotative resulted from Dravidian influence:

The early Rig-Vedic morphosyntax and syntax/pragmatics of the iti-quotative do not seem to differ in any appreciable manner from the various patterns found in the other ancient Indo-European languages or in the non-Indo-European languages of the ancient Near East. Specifically, the morphosyntax and syntax/pragmatics of early Rig-Vedic are remarkably similar to what we find in Avestan (except that Avestan has two constructions in complementary distribution, one marked by uifi 'thus', the other by iōā 'thus').

The Embracing construction of Late Rig-Vedic and especially of the later language, to be sure, differs appreciably from what we find in any of these other

ancient languages. True, as we have seen in 5.5, it is possible to motivate this innovated construction in terms of the synchronic structure of Rig-Vedic Sanskrit. Still, the absence of similar developments in other Indo-European languages and the fact that in the non-Indo-European languages of South Asia, structures of this sort are possible (as in South Dravidian) or even common (as in some of the "tribal" Dravidian languages, as well as in Classical Tibetan), suggest that the development may have been due to areal pressures. It does not follow, however, that these pressures must have come from Dravidian. For as noted earlier, it is by no means clear whether Embracing constructions (with extraposition of QUOTE plus quotative marker) should be reconstructed as a common phenomenon of Proto-Dravidian, or whether the stricter pattern QUOTE + quotative marker + SPEAK of the Southern Dravidian languages should be reconstructed. If the latter should be the case, then of course the Embracing construction of Sanskrit, with its extraposition of QUOTE + iti, would be quite un-Dravidian. Moreover, given that extraposition is an eminently Indo-European phenomenon, it might be possible that the Embracing quotative of Sanskrit and the rebracketing of the quotative marker with the preceding QUOTE likewise is an essentially Indo-European development, and constitutes one of the elements which Sanskrit contributed to the South Asian convergence area.

A much more promising area would be that of the syntax/pragmatics of the quotative. For in the other ancient Indo-European languages, as well as in the ancient Near Eastern languages, that syntax/pragmatics was rather "shallow", with only SAY and THINK (occasionally also HEAR), as well as \emptyset , governing the quotative, and with very few specialized uses of the quotative. If it should turn out that the impressive array of uses found in Classical Sanskrit and, in somewhat diminished form, in Modern Tamil, Kannada, Bengali, Oriya, Nepali, Marathi, and Dakkhini Hindi/Urdu, is limited to South Asia, then the increasing development of Sanskrit toward such a complex quotative syntax may constitute a component of the "Indianization" of Sanskrit.

Even here, however, it seems necessary to exercise some caution. For in our present state of knowledge we cannot be sure (a) whether the extended quotative syntax is an exclusively South Asian feature and (b) to what extent that syntax may be attributable to Sanskrit, to Dravidian, to other languages of the area, or to convergent and mutually reinforcing developments in all of these languages. Note that as we have seen, all the Sanskrit uses of the quotative can be explained in terms of purely internal developments, involving re-interpretations and generalizations. In fact, the more fully developed range of uses found in Classical Sanskrit (as compared to Modern Tamil and Kannada) makes it somewhat difficult to attribute the total pattern to Dravidian influence.

The best that can be said, then, at our current state of knowledge, is that the development of the Embracing construction and of various special syntactic/pragmatic uses of the quotative in later Sanskrit may constitute part of the "Indianization" of Sanskrit. It is not, however, possible to state with any degree of certainty the extent to which these developments are attributable to internal Sanskrit developments, to outside influence, or to a convergent combination of the two. Nor does our current state of knowledge permit the claim that if there was outside influence, that influence can have come only from Dravidian.

Clearly, what would be needed to come to more informed judgments in this matter is a significant increase in our understanding of the structure and history of the various non-Indo-European languages and language families of South Asia. It is my fervent hope that this challenge will be met, especially by scholars who would like to argue for outside, non-Indo-Aryan influence on Sanskrit.⁴⁰

NOTES

¹Research on this paper has been in part supported by 1979-80 and 1982-83 grants from the University of Illinois Research Board. I have also benefited from discussions and correspondence with the following scholars: M. B. Emeneau, P.B.J. Kuiper, C. Masica, E. Polomé, F. Southworth, S. N. Sridhar. Needless to say, these scholars would not necessarily agree with all the conclusions reached in this paper.-- For perspicuity's sake, Sanskrit examples will be given in their pre-pausal form, not in their attested sandhi form. Quotative particles and related linguistic forms are characterized by double underlining; quoted material, by single underlining.

²Bloch (1934:325-8) and Mayrhofer (1953:355) anticipated Kuiper. However, Bloch had certain reservations about claiming Dravidian influence, and Mayrhofer felt that there might have been a pre-Dravidian and pre-Sanskrit substratum from which both Sanskrit and Dravidian got their quotatives.

³Emeneau's 1969 paper expands on Kuiper's discussion of onomatopoeia + iti in post-Rig-Vedic Sanskrit.

⁴Classical Sanskrit examples quoted in this paper are from Speijer 1886.

⁵Note however that Debrunner 1948 prefers not to consider this a type of indirect discourse (or of direct discourse).

⁶śru- 'hear' is attested once in the Rig-Veda with direct discourse; cf. 5.6, example (40) below.

⁷Possible additional Rig-Vedic examples of such more 'orthodox' indirect discourse constructions, not listed in Debrunner, are found at 4.18.6, 5.27.4 (with preceding iti), 5.30.2, 5.48.5, 10.52.1 (2x).

⁸QUOTE + iti at 10.17.1, 24.5. 33.1, 34.6, 61.12, 73.10, 95.18, 97.4, 109.3, 115.8-9 (4x), 119.1 (2x), 130.1, 146.4. Unmarked QUOTE at 10.9.6, 10.11, 18.1, 22.6, 23.2, 27.18; 34.4, 5.12, 13; 40.5, 11; 52.1, 61.18, 79.4, 82.2, 88.17, 95.17; 97.17, 22; 109.4, 120.9, 129.6, 164.1.

⁹Rig-Vedic passages with such uncertain interpretation of the function of iti are: 1.138.3, 4.1.1, 5.7.10, 5.27.4 (followed by indirect discourse), 5.41.17, 5.53.3, 6.62.7, 8.30.2, 10.27.3, 10.61.26, 10.120.4. In addition there are considerable difficulties in interpreting the occurrences of iti in 1.191.1 and 5.52.11; cf. Hock 1975, note 22.

¹⁰Other examples occur at 5.30.9, 8.24.30, 10.18.9, 10.23.2, 10.52.4, 10.61.8.

¹¹This chronology is for the purposes of this paper stated in terms of Arnold's (1905) division of the Rig-Veda into five strata: Archaic (A), Strophic (S), Normal (N), Cretic (C), and Popular (P). For ease of exposition and so as to have sufficiently large numbers for statistical comparison, I have combined the first two and the last two of these and, with some renaming, divided the Rig-Veda into the following three chronological strata: Early (= A + S), Middle (= N), Late (= C + P).-- I am fully aware that there are a number of problems with Arnold's criteria for determining chronological affiliation. However, I don't know of any other full chronologization which could satisfactorily replace it. Moreover, some comfort can be derived from the fact that the quotative was not one of the criteria used by Arnold in determining his chronology.

¹²The attestations are at 5.61.8, 8.92.2, 8.93.5, 9.101.5, 10.73.10.

¹³4.25.4, 4.33.5, 4.35.3, 5.37.1, 9.39.1, 9.63.9.

¹⁴1.109.3, 1.161.9 (2x), 6.54.1, 7.41.2; 7.104.15, 16 (2x); 10.33.1, 10.109.3, 10.146.4.

¹⁵Early: 8.32.15 and 10.24.5; Middle: 4.33.5 (2x).

¹⁶1.162.12, 1.164.15, 2.12.5 (2x), 6.56.1, 9.114.1.

¹⁷For definition and discussion of this term, cf. my other contribution to this volume. Note that ca and ced (< ca + id) never can be clause-initial, and that ced must be second in its clause.

¹⁸Both at 2.12.5.

¹⁹Here, \emptyset indicates non-quotative; iti, quotative.

²⁰A great deal of Atharvanic material has been taken over verbatim from the Rig-Veda. This material is ignored in the following discussion.

²¹The text has -d (sg.3) which, however, makes no sense.

²²This follows the translation of Bloomfield (1899), who takes this difficult passage to be a riddle, the answers being: 'the dog', 'the leaf', 'the hoof of an ox'.

²³These passages are (a) SB 8.1.1, 8.1.3-4, 8.2.1.1-6, 12-18, and (b) 11.5. 1. (a) contains (in 8.1.1 and 8.2.1) sections heavily quoting from the ritual texts of the Yajñasaṁeyī-Saṁhitā, with brief explanatory restatements or paraphrases and (in 8.1.3-4), less 'text-bound' explanations of the ritual. (b) contains the story of Uryaṣṭi and Purūravas, with the text of RV 10.95 used as the direct quotations of the two protagonists. Though containing a few explanatory restatements or paraphrases of that text, this selection represents a much less 'technical', much more 'literary' variety of Vedic Prose.

²⁴A similar passage, with iti 'omitted' after the second, final fragment of QUOTE, is found at JB 2.128-30. Conversely, there are a few cases where iti may appear after each sentence of a longer QUOTE, even if there is no intervening

SPEAK; cf. the following example:

yám ... kāmáyeta kaódhukā syā́d fti fśam ... ádī fti (MS 3.2.5)
'of which he should desire "May it be hungry;" "I have eaten its strength ..."'

^{24a}I have found only one possible exception, namely (ii) below. However, the context is such that this passage can be explained as a case of dittology: The preceding paragraph contains (i) which, following the general rules of Vedic Prose, gives an 'internal', 'subjective' reason for an action. Both (ii) and (iii), on the other hand, state 'external', 'objective' reasons, where it would be impossible to insert or supply something like 'with this thought'. In (iii) this reason is stated by means of a dependent-clause structure, marked by hi 'for, because', following what appears to be the normal practice of Vedic Prose. The deviation from that practice in (ii) seems most naturally explained as due to the influence of (i) in the immediately preceding paragraph. (It is of course possible that 'dittological' structures of this sort formed the basis for the post-Vedic extension of causal fti to 'external', 'objective' contexts.)

- (i) ... tām ha sma tām purā́ brāhmanā́p ná taranti ánatidaghdā́ agnínā́ vaiśvanarḗna fti (SB 1.4.1.14)
'that (river) the earlier brahmins did not use to cross (think-ing/because) "A.V. has not burned it over"'
- (ii) ... tād ha ákṣetratarā́m iva śsa ... ásvaditam agnínā́ vaiśvanarḗna fti (ibid.15)
at that time it (= the area near the river) was quite uncultivated, because A.V. had not tasted it'
- (iii) ... sá ápi ... sám iva evá kopayati távat śítā́ ánatidaghdā́ hi agnínā́ vaiśvanarḗna (ibid.16)
'that (river) roars through (the area), as it were, so cold (is it), because A.V. has not burned it over'

²⁵For most of the abbreviations see section 3. In addition, note that R = rare, C = common, F = frequent. Also, I = fti-initial, F = SPEAK-final, E = Embracing quotative; G = general frequency (for all quotative structures). (For G, the frequency rating is made in comparison to competing constructions; for I, F, and E, it is between these three constructions only.) Finally, the names of the various sub-types of SPEAK are given only in terms of their first three letters.

²⁶The data are taken from the Thesaurus, s.v. inquam.

²⁷I am not, however, convinced of the usefulness of the Sanskrit evidence cited by Joseph: As far as I can see, iva 'like, as' never has any meaningful quotative value, comparable to that of fti or other quoted-speech markers.

²⁸Unless otherwise indicated, examples are taken from the selections in Sturtevant 1935. References to these are by descriptive title, followed by section and line number. For ease of exposition I give a quasi-phonetic interpretation of the syllabic transcription, without any vowel length indications. And to more clearly set off QUOTES, I make no distinction in underlining between Sumerograms and other portions of the text.

²⁹For Avestan I rely on the evidence of the Romanized portions of Reichelt's (1909 and 1911) selections. In addition I have worked through the Gāthas and the Hymn to Mithra in their entirety. For these I have used the editions of Humbach (1959) and Gerahevitich (1967). To save space, I have in many cases indicated the location of QUOTE merely in the glosses.

³⁰For other references, cf. Bartholomae 1904, s.v. uiti.

³¹The interpretation of this passages seems to be difficult.

³²In fact, RV bā́d (once bā́dē) has been connected with Av. bā́d, bā́da; cf. e.g. Debrunner 1957:92 with references. Note however that Bartholomae (1904, s.v.) points out that bā́d is a hapax legomenon, the usual form being bā́. Moreover, on the Sanskrit side, one would need to account for the retroflex, not dental stops. Presumably, however, this could be done in terms of contamination from the ritual interjections vā́sat, śraú́sat, for which see Wackernagel 1896:41, 172, etc.

³³Except for the ambiguous (103) above, I have not noted any such examples with iśa 'thus'. The closest thing would be passages like iśa at yazamaidē ahurēm (Y 37.1, sim. Y 39.1,3) 'thus we worship A.', without QUOTE (or any other obvious referent for iśa).

³⁴I am grateful to my colleague, Frank Gladney, for providing information on the use of the Slavic constructions.

³⁵Cf. the OED, s.v. quotha

^{35a}Except for Old Persian which, however, is attested only in royal proclamations, with very little opportunity for the use of quotative constructions.

³⁶Also Latin occasionally has ita 'thus' with SPEAK. However, the examples in the Thesaurus (s.v.) seem to be generally followed by indirect (infinitival or dependent-clause) structures, as in ita laudabunt: bonum agricolam (acc.) 'they will praise him thus, (as being) a good farmer ...'

³⁷These examples are taken from Riemschneider 1969:162-3.

³⁸Friedrich's presentation does not make it possible to be absolutely certain as to which of the three initial words means 'thus, in this way'.

³⁹I apologize for the perhaps unconventional transliterations of Jäschke's Tibetan-script examples.

⁴⁰An appropriate conclusion to this paper might consist of the revival of an obsolete, quasi-quotative English expression, found in books of the 16th century: ftisig, quoth Hans Henrich Hock.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXTUAL REFERENCES

Avestan: V = Videvdāt; Y = Yasna; Yt. = Yasht.

Sanskrit: AV = Atharva-Veda; JB = Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (Caland's selections);

KS = Kāthaka Samhitā; MS = Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā (non vidi); RV = Rig-Veda;
SB = Satapatha Brāhmaṇa; TS = Taittirīya Samhitā; VS = Vajasaneyī Samhitā.

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