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Interpretation of the I-pronoun in contexts of subordination in the *Hindi* language and indexicals

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Abstract

The present work investigates the properties of the *Hindi* pronoun *mæ̃* in subordinate contexts and other facts related to indexicality. In order to account for the anomalous coreference between the first person pronoun in embedded contexts with an argument of the superordinate clause, we studied similar phenomena attested in some logophoric languages (Ewe, Manambu, Gokana, Chadic languages), with special reference to reported speech techniques. Moreover, we explored the facts related to subordination, the verbal system and the indexical properties of the *Hindi* language. Accordingly, we have also analyzed the complementizer *ki*, which seems to hold great importance in relation to this phenomenon, and the pronominal system. Furthermore, we studied the facts concerning obviation and Double Access Reading (DAR) in *Hindi* and *English/Italian*. Our proposal is that *Hindi* shows indexical properties that are visibly different from those of *English* and *Italian*, and that these properties are at the core of the anomaly at issue. In this regard, we suggest that the first person pronoun in *Hindi* has a weaker indexical attribute, by assuming it is assigned only a [+ speaker] trait, in spite of the assumed [+speaker] and [+ utterer] traits with regard to English and Italian.

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I. Introduction

The purpose of this work is to account for an anomaly found in *Hindi*, concerning the interpretation of the I-pronoun, *mæ̃*, in embedded contexts.

As a matter of fact, in English and Italian the first person pronoun has a strong deictic reference – viz. it always refers to the speaker which holds the *hic et nunc* properties. However, in *Hindi* it may refer to the superordinate subject, overriding the indexical features, which are naturally embodied by this pronoun.

Nevertheless, this phenomenon is not uncommon to other natural languages. The reasons that lie at the core of these facts, though, are cross-linguistically varied. On one hand, there are logophoric properties that regard those languages employing a special set of pronouns (or morphemes), when referring to an entity already mentioned in the discourse – which appears in the superordinate clause, often as a third person pronoun. On the other hand there are indexical properties that may be different according to the language at issue, which are responsible for the interpretation of those items – such as *yesterday, tomorrow, I, you, etc.* – usually associated with deictic[1] referees.

As a matter of fact, in English the following sentence entails only one possible reading for the embedded pronoun – *I* identifies with the speaker:

(1) $John_i$ said that $I_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ am a hero

Conversly, according to the data presented by Schlenker (2003) among others, in Amharic the first person pronoun has a different interpretation – in embedded contexts it refers to the superordinate subject:

(2) $John_i$ said that I_i am a hero

[1] In this paper we will use the term 'deictic' in the spirit of Giorgi (2008):
"The word DEICTIC here stands for the ostensive gesture pointing to a person present in the context" – Giorgi (2008), p. 172

As far as *Hindi* is concerned, we have found the same interpretation:

(3) jɔn$_i$ ne kahā ki mæ̃$_i$ nāyak hữ
John-ERG say.PERF that I hero am
John$_i$ said that I$_i$ am a hero

Outline of this work

In order to account for these facts, in Ch. II we first questioned the subordinative properties of *Hindi*, giving a bird's-eye view on its syntactical system. Accordingly, we explored notions found both in traditional grammars – cfr. K.P. Guru through Caracchi (1992) – and in much more modern approaches, such as those of Kachru (1980) or Srivastav (1991).

However, this analysis did not prove sufficient for explaining why the phenomenon was triggered only by some verbs, and not by others.

Thus, in Ch. III we had to deal with the verbal system of the language, trying to understand the relations between syntax and mood, that are thought to be at the core of this and other related facts, like obviation and indexicality. So, we have tried to present a unified picture of the verbal system, again comparing traditional approaches (Caracchi 1992, Montaut 2012) with works by Kachru (1980, 1984, 2006).

Given the fact that other languages showed similar phenomena, in Ch. IV we also focused on some African and New Guinea languages, such as *Ewe*, *Gokana*, *Manambu* and *Chadic languages*, giving special importance to the *reported speech* techniques, which seem to be tightly related to their logophoric properties. The most relevant work cited in this regard was the pioneering essay by Clements (1975), *The logophoric pronoun in Ewe: its role in discourse*. Following his investigation, other related works have here been considered – it is worth mentioning, among others, the study on *Manambu* by Aikhenvald (2007).

Therefore, in Ch. V we enquired about the pronominal system of *Hindi*, in order to understand if there was a bond between the phenomenon at issue and the pronouns, as was the case for the logophoric languages.

Hence, in Ch. VI we focused on the indexical properties of the language, for a better insight into the features that adverbs and pronouns display in subordinate contexts. In this regard, we compared languages, showing Double Access Reading, with *Hindi*. We then studied the *reported speech contexts*, looking for a parallelism between *Hindi* and the logophoric languages.

Accordingly, we thought necessary to further investigate the role of the *ki* complementizer that still remains partly unclear. We, thus, focused on the first person pronoun in *Hindi* and compared it with the phenomenon known as *first person logophoricity*.

Ultimately, in Ch. VII we discussed the phenomenon of *obviation* that will be considered of key importance for investigating the *a priori* reasons for the anomaly at issue. We then sketched a unified vision of all these facts summarizing them in a table that will be the topic of the last chapter (Ch. VIII), raising some questions concerning the validity of the *competition theories*.

Notes on data

In the preparation for this work, we found that the literature on *Hindi* with regards to its indexical properties and the phenomena discussed in the next pages was scarse or even absent. This notwithstanding, we found interesting publications and researches on related topics, regarding other languages about, for instance, the logophoric pronouns.

The spirit of this research was influenced by the *chomskyan* approach to language, adopted at my university (Science of Language department). The works by Giorgi, Giorgi & Pianesi, and Costantini were my reference for the evaluation of the indexical properties of the language.

Given the absence of data about *Hindi* in this regard, I had to personally refine the knowledge of the language I had previously acquired during my bachelor degree course. Accordingly, I moved to India for three months for both gathering data on the topic for my work and for improving my language competence.

As far as data collecting is concerned, I focused mainly on the judgement of native speakers, through questionnaires I managed to have them fill in. However, for some topics – such as obviation – it was difficult to gather genuine information. In spite of this, I also kept in contact with a few teachers from the Landour Language School (Mussoorie, Dehradun), where I attended my language studies while abroad. I had the chance to provide them with the data I found in my research along with my analysis and they kindly gave me their feedback and comments.

An important tool I was able to exploit was the ELRA EMILLE/CIIL corpus W0037[2], which contains data related to many South Asian languages (Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sinhala, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu). It was kindly provided for free by Elda S.A., Paris, for research purposes. The data I queried regarded *Hindi*, with a source of approximately 12,390,000 words.

Another field of investigation covered the written language, which ranged from genuine *Hindi* literature – short stories by Premchand – to foreign literature translated into *Hindi* – the Holy Bible and a contemporary novel by J.K. Rowling, “Harry Potter and the prisoner of Azkaban”.

Apart from this, comments and other judgements of native speakers have always been considered of great value.

[2] http://catalog.elra.info/product_info.php?products_id=696

II. Subordination in *Hindi*

Syntactical structure

Hindi is a head-final language with a syntactical structure similar to that of the SOV languages, despite the fact that in embedded clauses the complement is on the right.

Thus, it normally shows *attribute-noun* pattern with the verb in final position, even though the word order may be modified according to pragmatical choices by means of constituent focus, as in example (5), borrowed from Yamuna Kachru (2006)[3].

(4) citranshi bengaluru-ke vishvavidyālay-mẽ paṛhtī hæ
Chitranshi Bangalore-of university-in study.IMP AUX
Chitranshi studies in Bangalore's university

(5) dillī-kā lāl kilā
Delhi-of.sgm red.sgm fort.sgm
(the) Red Fort of Delhi

(6) ām miṭhā phal hotā hæ
mango-NOM sweet.sgm fruit.sgm be.IMP AUX
Mango is a sweet fruit

(7) rām-ne kahā ki prakāsh-ne acchā kām kiyā thā
Ram-ERG say.PERF that Prakash-ERG good work do.PERF AUX
Ram said that Prakash had done a good job

(8) mohan ne shyām ko apnī kitābẽ de dĩ̃ [4]
Mohan-ERG Shyam-DAT self-f. book.f.pl. √give INT.PERF
Mohan gave his books to Shyam

a. mohan ne apnī kitābẽ **shyam ko** de dĩ̃

[3] Kachru, Yamuna. 2006. "Hindi", London Oriental and African Language Library, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia
[4] The transliteration has been adapted to the style of the current paper.

b. mohan ne de dĩ **shyam ko** apnī kitābẽ
c. mohan ne de dĩ **apnī kitābẽ** shyam ko
d. shyam ko mohan ne **apnī kitābẽ** de dĩ
e. shyam ko apnī kitābẽ **mohan ne** de dĩ
f. shyam ko de dĩ **apnī kitābẽ** mohan ne
g. shyam ko de dĩ **mohan ne** apnī kitābẽ
h. apnī kitābẽ shyam ko **mohan ne** de dĩ
i. apnī kitābẽ mohan ne **shyam ko** de dĩ
j. apnī kitābẽ de dĩ **mohan ne** shyam ko
k. apnī kitābẽ de dĩ **shyam ko** mohan ne
l. **de dĩ** mohan ne apnī kitābẽ shyam ko
m. **de dĩ** shyam ko mohan ne apnī kitābẽ
n. **de dĩ** apnī kitābẽ mohan ne shyam ko
o. **de dĩ** apnī kitābẽ shyam ko mohan ne

The examples above show how the structure within the sentence may be modified according to the meaning intended by the speaker. Whenever there is a focus, the constituent usually moves before the verb (see 5) or, in the case of sentences l-o, where the verb is focused, the verb itself moves to the front.

Subordination

Kachru (1980) in his “Aspects of hindi grammar” mentions ten different classes for the subordinating conjunctions, each introducing a specific type of embedded clause:

a. relative-correlative forms (*jo* ‘which’ – *vo* ‘that’, *jab* ‘which time’ – *tab* ‘then’, *jahɑ̃* ‘which place’ – *vahɑ̃* ‘there’, *jītnā* ‘which quantity’ – *utnā* ‘that much’, *jæsā* ‘which kind’– *væsā* ‘that kind’ etc.)

b. complement clause: ‘that’ *ki*

c. purpose clause *islie*… ‘for this’ (ki ‘that’)

d. reason clause *kyõ*ki ‘because’

e. concessive clause *hālɑ̃ki* ‘even though, however, etc.’

f. conditional clause *agar/yadi* ‘if’ – *to* ‘then’

g. other *nahĩ to* ‘otherwise’, *æsā na ho ki* ‘it should not be the case that’, *cāhe* ‘no matter…’

Relative-correlative forms

As for the relative-correlative forms, *Hindi* shows a full paradigm covering every wh element. In fact, there is a group of pronouns specialized for relativization. While English deploys the same form for both the interrogative element and the relative one, as in (6) and (7), *Hindi* uses the *wh* set for the interrogatives only, see (8), while for the other construction needs *ad-hoc* elements, as in (9).

(9) **when** did you go to the market?

(10)I went to the market **when** you told me

(11)āp bazār **kab** gaẽ?
you.HON[5] market when go.PERF

(12)**jab** āp ne mujhse kahā
when.REL you.HON-ERG me-INSTR say.PERF
tab mæ̃ bazār gayā
then I market go.PERF

[5] Honorific form

This property seems to be borrowed from Sanskrit, in which the pronoun system was threefold, as suggested by Davison (2006) in her work. The table below shows how the demonstrative in Sanskrit becomes an interrogative by changing the first letter into a *k*, and into a relative by changing the first letter into a *y*. *Hindi and Urdu*[6], similarly, show the same strategy: the demonstrative *yahɑ̃*, meaning 'here', changes into *kahɑ̃* ('where?') for the interrogative and into *jahɑ̃* ('where-rel') for the relative.

Table 1. "Threefold system of pronouns Sanskrit vs Hindi/Urdu"[7]		
	Sanskrit	Hindi/Urdu
Relative	yas 'who-rel.'	jo 'who, which-rel'
Interrogative	kas 'who?'	kaun 'who?'
Demonstrative	sas/tat 'he/that'	yah/vo 'this/that'
Relative	yátra 'where-rel.'	jahɑ̃ 'where-rel.'
Interrogative	kva 'where?'	kahɑ̃ 'where?'
Demonstrative	tátra 'there'	yahɑ̃/wahɑ̃ 'here/there'

Accordingly, the English sentence given in (8) will be translated as in (9):

(13)I went **where** you told me to go

(14)**jahɑ̃** āpne mujhse jāne ko kahā
where-rel you-ERG me-INSTR go.INF-to say.PERF
mæ̃ **vahɑ̃** gayā
I there.CORR go.PERF

[6] Often referred to as one language, due to their common grounds and very close affinities in terms of syntax and morphology, but with lexical differentiations brought about with the establishment of the Pakistan, by *persianizing Urdu* and *sanskritizing Hindi*.
[7] Cfr. Davison (2006), p.3

It is worth noticing how the relative element usually appears in first position, this being the more standard construction in *Hindi*. However, as many grammars and papers suggest – cf. among the others, Srivastav (1991) and Ramaglia (2005) – the relative clauses are built in three different ways, so that (10) may be translated with (11)-(13):

(15)The girl who is standing is tall

(16)[jo laṛkī khaṛī hæ] vo lambī hæ
REL girl standing is she tall is

(17)vo laṛkī [jo khaṛī hæ] lambī hæ
that girl REL standing is tall is

(18)vo laṛkī lambi hæ [jo khaṛī hæ]
that girl tall is REL standing is

Srivastav in her work refers to these types as left-adjoined, embedded and right-adjoined relative clauses respectively. According to her, sentences (11)-(13) all share the same underlying structure given below:

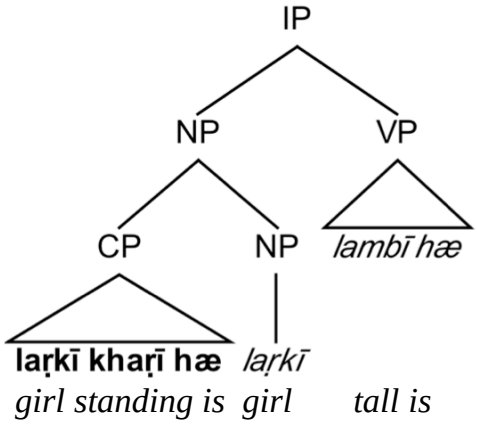

Figure 1[8]- Srivastav RC structure

[8] Srivastav (1991), p. 643

Her analysis suggests ultimately that there are two types of relative clauses: the *right-adjoined*, (13), originated inside the NP and later extraposed at S-Structure and the *left-adjoined*, (11), that are adjoined at D-Structure to the CP.

(19)[$_{IP}$[$_{CPi}$ which girl is standing] [$_{IP}$ she$_i$ is tall]]

While the *right-adjoined* construction behaves like a noun modifier, the *left-adjoined* is a *"quantificational phrase binding an argument position inside the main clause"* [9].

On the other hand, Ramaglia (2005), following Cinque (2005), suggests another description of the relatives given above, referring to them as *correlatives* (11), *head-adjacent post-nominal* (12) and *extraposed post-nominal* relative clauses (13)[10].

As far as multiple relatives are concerned, *Hindi* allows them only if left-adjoined, supporting the thesis discussed by Srivastav that they are ultimately generated in that position at D-Structure.

(20)jis laṛkīNE$_i$ jis laṛkeKO$_j$ dekhā usne$_i$ usko$_j$
which girl-ERG which boy-ACC see.PERF she-ERG him-ACC
pasand kiyā
like do.PERF

(21)*us laṛkīNE$_i$ us laṛkeKO$_j$ dekhā
that girl-ERG that boy-ACC see.PERF
jisne$_i$ jisko$_j$ pasand kiyā
which-ERG which-ACC like do.PERF
Which girl saw which boy, she liked him

[9] Dayal (1995) p.179-180 - note that Dayal Veneeta and Srivastav Veneeta both refer to the same author.
[10] for further insights, refer to Ramaglia (2005)

Another interesting trait of *Hindi* is that the forms used as *correlates* are in fact the pronouns normally employed in different contexts:

(22)**vo** kām karegā
that work do-FUT.sgm
He will work

(23)**yah** uskī bahin hæ
this his/hers-OF sister is
This/She is his/her sister

(24)**ve** hamare dost hæ̃
those our friends are
They are our friends

(25)**ye** nahĩ̃ āe̋gī
these NOT come.FUT.plf
These/they will not come

As mentioned above, following Davison (2006), *Hindi* shows a full paradigm for the relative constructions resembling the threefold system of Sanskrit: for each *wh* element a *correlate* and a *relative* element also appear:

Table 2. "Relatives, correlatives and interrogatives in *hindi*"

Relative	Correlative	Interrogative
jab 'when-rel'	tab 'then'	kab 'when'
jidhar 'which direction-rel'	udhar 'there'	kidhar 'which direction?'
jitnā 'how much-rel'	utnā 'that much'	kitnā 'how much?'
jaisā 'which kind-rel'	vaisā 'that kind'	kaisa 'which kind?'
jaise 'which way-rel'	vaise 'that way'	kaise 'which way?'
jo kuch 'whatever'	vo 'that'	kyā 'what?'
jo koī 'whoever'	vo 'that'	kɔn 'who?'
jab kabhi 'whenever'	tab 'then'	kab 'when?'
jahā̃ kahĩ̃'wherever'	vahā̃ 'there'	kahā̃ 'where?'

Moreover, being *Hindi* a SOV language, it usually places the *wh* element *in situ*, in contrast with what used to be in Sanskrit:

(26)āp kal vahɑ̃ **kyõ** gae?
you-polite yda there **why** go.PERF
Why did you go there yesterday?

What is relevant to the current dissertation is the fact that *Hindi* does employ the correlatives in many contexts, among which the propositions introduced by the *ki* complementizer, which will be discussed later on.

Accordingly, let us consider the following example, in which an embedded proposition is first introduced by a demonstrative in the matrix clause:

(27)[ek aṭkal **yah**$_{\mathbf{i}}$ hæ [**ki** nikaṭ bhaviṣyă mẽ rājyă mẽ
one hypothesis **this** is **that** near future in state in
sanvædhānik sankaṭ upasthit ho saktā hæ]$_i$]
constitutional crisis present √be can.IMP AUX
One hypothesis is that in the near future a constitutional crisis can rise in the state. (Lit. One hypothesis this is that…)

Complement clause ki 'that'

So far we have stated that *Hindi* is a SOV and *head-final* language, implying an underlying structure as in *Figure 2.*, but looking at clause complementation we see some interesting facts.

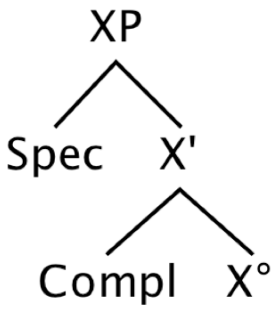

Figure 2. "XP structure for head-final languages"

According to Srivastav (1991), *"Hindi is an SOV language that allows scrambling and has null arguments. A special feature of its phrase structure is that nonfinite complements precede the verb, while finite complements follow it"* [11].

[11] Srivastav (1991) p.641

In fact, the subordinate clauses introduced by the *ki* complementizer are placed after the verb of the matrix clause and feature [+finite] traits in the morphology of the verb:

(28)[ve (yah)$_i$ kahte hæ̃ [**ki** bhārat to[12] māc jītegā]$_i$]
they this say.IMP AUX that India-EMPH match win.FUT
They say that INDIA will win the match (lit. This they say, that…)

(29)[mæ̃ (yah)$_i$ soctā hữ [**ki** tum yahā̃-se jāo]$_i$]
I this think.IMP AUX that you here-from go.IMPER
I think you should go from here (lit. I think this, that you go from here)

As shown in (24) and (25) a *resumptive* pronoun as well, *yah*, may appear in the matrix clause, in order to show coreference between the matrix clause and the *ki*-clause, as the indexes suggest. However, it is an optional element, since (26) and (27) are fully acceptable:

(30)ve kahte hæ̃ ki yah bæṭhak mahattvăpūrṇ hæ[13]
they say.IMP AUX that this-meeting important is
They say that this meeting is important

(31)pradhānmantri ne kahā ki ve rājyă mẽ
primeminister-ERG say.PERF that he.HON state in
kānūn-vyăvasthā kī sthiti se cĩtit hæ̃[14]
law&order of situation from worried is.HON(are)

---

[12] In this case, *to* is an emphatic form used to give stress to the constituent it refers to:

a. mæ̃-ne to māc jītā (tumne nahĩ̃)
I-ERG-stress match win.PERF (you-erg NEG)
It was me who won the match, not you (I won the match, not you)

[13] ELRA catalogue (http://catalog.elra.info), THE EMILLE/CIL Corpus, catalogue reference: ELRA W0037

[14] ibidem

The prime minister said that he is worried about the law and order situation in the state

On the other hand, if we come across an embedded clause that has no [+finite] traits, then, as expected by Subbarao (1984) while comparing *Hindi* with other head-final languages, the sentence appears before the V°, as its complement, following the structure given in Figure 1.

(32)mæ̃ ne [unke āne] kī k͡hābar sunī[15]
I-ERG [they-of come.INF.OBL] of news hear.PERF
I heard the news of their coming

Purpose, reason and concessive clauses

The complementizers that introduce the purpose clauses are *islie* (*yah*[16] 'this' + *lie* 'for') or *tāki*. As it is true for English and Italian as well, this clause type requires the trait [+Subjunctive] for the embedded clause mood.

(33)prakāś *islie* ghar par rahā ki vo kamre mẽ
Prakash for-this house at stay.PERF that he house in
ārām kar sake
rest √do can.SUBJ
Prakash stayed at home so that he may be able/could rest in the room

The reason clause may be introduced by the complementizers *kyõki* 'because' or *cũki*.

[15] Subbrao (1984), p.8 ex. (4)
[16] The oblique form of *yah* is *is*

(34)sumit k͡hūś hæ kyõki uske dost ā rahe hæ̃[17]
Sumit happy is-PRES because his friends √come PROG AUX
Sumit is happy because his friends are coming

For concessive clauses usually *hālã̃ki* is employed:

(35)hālã̃ki uskā sapnā sākār hogā yā nahĩ̃,
even if his dream concrete be-FUT or not
abhī kuch kahā nahĩ̃ jā saktā hæ[18]
right now something say.PERF no PASSIVE can AUX
Although his dream will be fulfilled or not, it is difficult to say at the moment

Conditional clauses

Conditionals in *Hindi* play an important role for our understanding of how the aspect is of core importance in the language. In fact, it has priority over the temporal coordinates, for instance, as we shall see later.

The *protasis* is introduced either by *agar* or *yadi*, both with the same meaning, 'if'[19]. This particle might also be omitted. The *apodosis*, on the contrary, needs to be preceded by *to* 'then'.

As far as the verb tense is concerned, *Hindi* deploys the indicative, the subjunctive or the so-called 'Hypothetical' [20], which is ultimately just an instance of the *imperfective participle* (present participle). This is

[17] Subbarao (1984) p.143, ex 727 b.
[18] ELRA
[19] The difference lies in the origin of the words: *agar* is borrowed from Persian and *yadi* from Sanskrit
[20] Cfr. Caracchi (1992), 8.1.16-18

interesting because the imperfective participle does not show tense in itself, but aspect. [21]

The indicative appears in those contexts, which imply a real fact in the condition such as:

(36)yadi tumne bhagvān se prārthnā kī hæ
if you-ERG Lord-INSTR prayer do.PERF AUX
to vo tumhārī rakśā zarūr karegā[22]
then he your defence for sure do.FUT
If you have prayed to the Lord, he will certainly protect you.

or a possibility for a condition to arise:

(37)agar tum sandeś samay par pahũcā doge to tumko
if you message time-on √deliver INT.FUT then you-DAT
inām milegā[23]
prize meet.FUT
If you deliver the message on time, you will get a reward

[21]Furthermore, the imperfective (present participle) is used for habits, continuatives, generic statements (cfr. Ch. III, p.22)

a. prakāś roz skūl jātā hæ/thā
Prakash everyday school go.IMP
AUX.PRES/AUX.PAST
Prakash goes/used to go to school everyday

b. esḍīo bāzār samiti ke paden adhyăkś
S.D.O. local market association of ex officio chairman
hote hæ̃ (from ELRA)
be.IMP AUX
The Sub Divisional Officer is chairman ex-officio of the local market association.

[22] Cfr. Caracchi (1992), 12.2.10.1
[23] ibidem, 12.2.1.10.2

On the other hand, the subjunctive is employed whenever uncertainty is present in the possibility of the condition to be fulfilled:

(38)agar āp āgyā dẽ to kyā mæ jāũ?
if you.HON permit give.SUBJ then WH I go.SUBJ
If you allow me, then shall I go?

When there is no real fact or possibility in the protasis, then the hypothetical tenses are used, which can appear in three forms [24]:

- *generic [present participle]*
- *imperfect [present participle + present participle of honā 'to be']*
- *past [generic past + be present participle of honā 'to be']*

(39)agar āp āj/kal vahɛ̃ jāte to āp usse
if you.HON tda/yda there go.IMP then you.HON her-with
milte
meet.IMP

a. If today you went there, you would meet her.
b. If you had gone there yesterday, you would have met her

As the above example shows, the generic hypothetical can either be placed in the past or in the present, according to the context and indexical elements given in the sentence: the morphology of the verb does not convey such information.

[24] It is interesting to note how the tense is actually shown by the presence of other elements in the construction, rather than the present participle, namely the auxiliary and the generic past

The imperfective hypothetical, which adds emphasis to the imperfective aspect of the imperfect participle by inserting next to it the imperfect participle of the verb *honā* 'be', behaves similarly:

(40)agar mæ̃ roz kasrat kartā (hotā)
if I daily workout do.IMP be.IMP
to mæ̃ pratiyogitā jitā hotā
then I competition win.IMP be.IMP

a. If I worked out daily, I would win the competition

b. If I had worked out daily, I would have won the competition

As for the past hypothetical, it implies a situation of unreality in the past, delivering only the *b* reading of the examples above:

(41)agar vo āī hotī to mæ̃
if she come.PAST be.IMP then I
usse milā/miltā hota
her-with meet.PAST/IMP be.IMP
If she had come, I would have met her.

For the *apodosis* it is possible to use either an imperfective hypothetical or a past hypothetical without any interesting difference in the meaning, but a slight emphasis on the non-fulfillment of the event.

Other subordinate clauses

Other subordinate clauses are also possible in *Hindi*. A few examples are given below:

– *nahĩ to 'othewise'*

(42)apnā purā nāṣṭā khā lo,
self whole breakfast √eat INT.IMP
nahĩ to ghar se nahĩ nikloge

otherwise house-from NEG go out.FUT
Eat all your breakfast, otherwise you will not manage to get out of home

– *æsā na ho ki 'it should not be the case that'*

(43)skūl mẽ dhyān se suno, æsā na ho ki
school at attention-with listen.IMP this way NEG be.SUBJ that
parīkhṣa ke lie kya paṛhnā cāhiye tumhẽ na mālūm ho
exam-for what study.INF need you.DAT NEG know be.SUBJ
Listen attentively at school, it should not be the case that you don't know what to study for the exam

– *cāhe… 'no matter what, whatever, ...'*

(44)muśarraf ne phir dohrāyā ki ātankvād cāhe
Musharraf-ERG then restate.PERF that terrorism no matter
vah kisī bhī rūp mẽ ho, ham uskī nindā karte hæ̃
it what ever form in be.SUBJ we it-of condemn AUX
Musharraf repeated that in whatever form it may be, we condemn terrorism.

Complementizer ki: further analysis

Since *ki* is a complement clause introducer, it is not surprising that it co-occurs with *verbs of communication* (say, state, tell, etc.), *perception* (see, hear, etc.), *thinking/belief* (think, consider, etc.) and *volitional verbs* (wish, want, etc.). Nonetheless, *ki* also appears in *predicate constructions* (it is true/false that, etc.) as in:

(45)acchī bāt hæ ki āpko nɔkrī milī hæ
good thing/matter is that you.HON-DAT job meet.PERF AUX
It is good that you have found a job

Table 3. below contains some of the most common verbs per category:

Table 3. "Verbs of communication, perception, thinking and volition"		
Communication	– *kahnā* – *bolnā* – *batānā* – *pūchnā* – *likhnā* – *prakaṭ karnā*	– say – speak – tell – ask – write – assert
Perception	– *sunna* – *sunāī denā* – *dekhnā* – *dikhāī denā*	– hear – (happen to) hear – see – (happen to) see
Thinking	– *samajhnā* – *sochnā* – *vishvās karnā* – *patā honā* – *patā lagāna*	– consider – think – believe/trust – be aware of – find out
Volition	– *chāhnā* – *icchā karnā* – *āśā honā*	– want – wish – hope

In the following examples, a hint on how these verbs behave in conjunction with *ki* is given:

(46)kahte hæ̃ ki sankaṭ jaldi k͡hātām hogā
say.IMP.impers AUX that crisis soon finished be.IND.FUT
It is said that the crisis will be soon over

(47)bahut se[25] kisān bhāī yah kahte hæ̃ ki acchī upjāū zamīn
many.ish farmer broth. this say.IMP AUX that good productive soil

[25] The sā/se/sī particle may be associated with the English –*ish* suffix or with *sort of, kind of* constructions. It conveys approximation (as in *yellowish*) and likeness. For example:

a. nilā sā kapṛā 'the blueish cloth'

bhī apne āp ūsar ba jātī hæ[26]
also by itself sterile become.IMP AUX
Many farmer-brothers say that the fertile soil as well becomes barren by itself.

(48)… ɔr pūchā ki kyā vo is māmle kī jɑ̃̃c ke lie
and ask.PERF that WH s/he this matter of investigation for
tæyār hæ
ready is
...and asked whether s/he was ready for an investigation on this matter

(49)banglādeś ne bīesef se pūchā hæ ki
Bangladesh-ERG B.S.F.-INSTR ask.PERF AUX that
'kyā sacmuc biesef ke ve posṭ bhārtīy sīmā mẽ the?'
WH really BSF of those post Indian boundary in were
Bangladesh asked the B.S.F. if those checkposts of theirs were within Indian boundaries

(50)unhõne dekhā ki bālak ke cārõ or
they-ERG see.PERF that boy of four directions
agnī jal rahī hæ
fire √burn PROG AUX
They saw that fire was burning all around the boy

(51)æsā viśvās kiyā jātā hæ ki sr̥ṣṭi kā astitvă
such hope do.PERF PASS AUX that creation of existence
inke pūrv nahĩ̃ thā
these-of before NEG was
It is believed that there was no existence of creation before them

In the next chapter we shall see how the *Hindi* language regulates the distribution of mood and aspect. This will help to give a clear image to the

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b. chotī sī kursiyɑ̃̃ '*very small chairs*'

[26] ELRA

phenomena we will discuss in Ch. V-VII, related to indexicals properties and the pronominal system.

III. Verbal system in *Hindi* - moods

The *Hindi* language has five moods: *indicative, subjunctive, contingent, presumptive and imperative*[27]. The only moods that have independent morphology are the *subjunctive*, the *contingent* and the *imperative*. The others use forms borrowed from non-finite tenses, like *imperfect* and *perfect participles*, and *auxiliaries*.

Indicative

In *Hindi* the indicative mood is used to make an assertion. It shows a varied range of tenses and aspects.

Present tense

The present tense of the verb 'to be', honā, is the following:

Table 4: Present tense *honā* 'to be'	
mæ̃	hữ
tū	hæ
vah	hæ
ham	hæ̃
tum	ho
ve/āp	hæ̃

It is used either for predicative constructions or as an existential:

(1) vo merā dost hæ
he me.POS friend is
He is my friend

(2) bāgīce mẽ do devdār hæ̃
garden in two pinetrees are
There are two pine trees in the garden

[27] Cfr. Kachru (2006)

This is also the form for the present auxiliary used in other constructions.

Besides, the verb *honā* has also another present tense, used for generic statements, like the following:

(3) All the mangos are sweet

(4) sab ām miṭhe hote hæ̃
all mangos sweet be.IMP AUX

It is formed, like for the present tense of the other verbs, with an *imperfective participle*[28] and the *present auxiliary*.

Table 5: Compound present tense *honā* 'to be'

mæ̃	hotā/ī	hữ
tū	hotā/ī	hæ
vah	hotā/ī	hæ
ham	hote/ī	hæ̃
tum	hote/ī	ho
ve/āp	hote/ī	hæ̃

[28] The imperfective participle, or present participle, is formed by adding to the verb root the suffixes: -tā/-tī , -te/-tī agreeing in gender (male/female) and number (singular/plural) with the noun they refer to. It has also an adjectival use, in constructions like the following:

a. mæ̃ne dɔṛtī (huī) laṛkī ko dekhā
I-ERG run.IMP (be.PERF.PART) girl-ACC see.PERF
I saw the girl running (Lit. I saw the running girl)

The other verbs follow the same pattern:

Table 6: Present tense *jānā* 'to go'		
mæ̃	jātā/ī	hữ
tū	jātā/ī	hæ
vah	jātā/ī	hæ
ham	jāte/ī	hæ̃
tum	jāte/ī	ho
ve/āp	jāte/ī	hæ̃

The present tense is used whenever an habitual action needs to be predicated. It shows the imperfective aspect of an event. Thus, it may be intuitively understood why its adjectival use shows an ongoing event, in contrast to its perfective counterpart[29] that shows an accomplished/finished event.

(5) kariśmā roz bas se skūl jātī hæ
Karish daily bus by school go.IMP AUX
Everyday Karishma goes to school by bus

Imperfective past tense

The auxiliary has its own paradigm for this tense.

[29] The perfective participle is formed by adding to the verb root the following suffixes: -ā/-ī, -e/-ĩ, agreeing in gender (male/female) and number (singular/plural) with the noun they refer to. It also has an adjectival use as shown in the following example:

a. mæ̃ne bætī (huī) laṛkī ko dekhā
I-ERG sit.PERF.PART AUX.PERF girl-ACC see.PERF.PART
I saw a girl sitting (the action is completed)

Table 7: Imperfect past tense *honā* 'to be'	
mæ̃	thā/thī
tū	thā/thī
vah	thā/thī
ham	the/thĩ
tum	the/thĩ
ve/āp	the/thĩ

As for the present tense, the imperfect past is formed with the *imperfective participle* of the main verb and the *imperfect past* of the auxiliary. This is also the case of the verb *honā*, as seen before.

Table 8: Imperfect past tense *jānā* 'to go'		
mæ̃	jātā/ī	thā/thī
tū	jātā/ī	thā/thī
vah	jātā/ī	thā/thī
ham	jāte/ī	the/thĩ
tum	jāte/ī	the/thĩ
ve/āp	jāte/ī	the/thĩ

(6) do sāl pahle mizān mahīne mẽ dehrādūn
two years before Mizaan month in Dehradun
ātā jātā thā
come-go.IMP AUX.PAST
Two years ago Mizaan used to come and go to Dehradun every month

Generic Past

This tense is used when the exact timing of an event needs to be unspecified in the discourse: it conveys the perfective aspect of it, predicating its

accomplishment. Its form corresponds to the *past participle*, agreeing in gender and number with the subject[30].

(7) vo apne deś vāpās gayā
he self country back go.PERF
He went back to his country

Present Perfect

In comparison with the generic past, the *present perfect* entails a link with the present: it resembles the use of the English counterpart. It is employed whenever the event needs to be reported to the present. It is built by adding to the generic past the present auxiliary.

(8) vo sṭeśan pahuncā hæ
he station arrive.PERF AUX.PRES
He has arrived at the station

Plusperfect Past

This tense shows a time connection between two past actions, one preceding the other or it is simply used when a remote event is mentioned. It is formed by adding to the generic past the past auxiliary.

(9) pradhānmantri ne muśkil niścit kī thī
Prime Minister-ERG difficult decision do.PERF AUX.PAST
The Prime Minister had taken a difficult decision

[30] The past participle is built by adding to the verb root the suffixes: -ā/-ī, -e/-ɛ̃ for masculine/feminine, singular/plural respectively. It is subject to phonetics changes when the verbal root ends with a full vowel (for instance, *batānā* ‘to tell’, *√batā > batāyā*). There are verbs that undergo exceptions, among whom *honā* ‘to be’ (huā), *karnā* ‘to do’ (kiyā), *pīnā* ‘to drink’ (piyā), *lenā* ‘to take’ (liyā), *denā* ‘to give’ (diyā).

Future

The future is used whenever a future event is mentioned. It shows a specific morphology obtained by adding to the verbal root some suffixes as shown in the table, which agree in gender and number with the subject:

Table 9: Future tense *jānā* 'to go'	
mæ̃	jāū̃gā/ī
tū	jāegā/ī
vah	jāegā/ī
ham	jāẽge/ī
tum	jāoge/ī
ve/āp	jāẽge/ī

(10)habīb sahib jūn mẽ śādī karẽge
Habib HON June in marriage do.FUT
Mr Habib will get married in June

The future tense of the verb *honā* is reported below, since it is of great importance for the formation of complex forms (cfr. *presumptive*).

Table 10: Future tense *honā* 'to be'	
mæ̃	hoū̃gā/ī
tū	hogā/ī
vah	hogā/ī
ham	hõge/ī
tum	hoge/ī
ve/āp	hõge/ī

(11) novambar se prakāś nayā adhyakś hogā
November from Prakash new chairman be.FUT
Prakash will be the new chairman from November.

Subjunctive

The existence of the subjunctive in *Hindi* is a bit controversial, since it is widely assumed that it exists – many grammars cite this mood – but at times other terms are used to describe it. In fact, if on the one hand the description of the subjunctive is developed following the categories adopted for the Western languages [31], on the other hand some authors present two moods that overlap with the scope of what is usually considered *subjunctive*, that are the *optative* and the *contingent* [32].

First of all, let us consider the morphology of these forms. According to Caracchi (1992) – who sticks to the traditional approach towards the *Hindi* grammar following the widely accepted *hīndī vyākaraṇa* by K.P. Guru – there are three tenses for the subjunctive: *future, present and past*.

The morphology of the *future* tense, which is a synthetic form, is given by the verb root and the following suffixes: -ũ, -e, -e, -ẽ, -o, -ẽ agreeing with each person but with no distinction for gender.

e.g. *jānā* 'to go', verbal root *jā-*

Table 11:Future Subjunctive

	Singular	Plural
1°	jāũ̃	jāẽ
2°	jāe	jāo
3°	jāe	jāẽ

[31] For instance, Caracchi (1992) adopts a comparative approach towards the *Hindi* language against the *Italian*, contrasting elements of the former with elements of the latter. Her work is addressed to Italian students who study *Hindi*.
[32] Kachru (1984)

The *present subjunctive* is a compound verb, which is formed by the present participle of the main verb – agreeing in gender and number – and the future subjunctive of the auxiliary *honā*, 'to be'.

Table 12: Present Subjunctive		
	Singular m/f	Plural m/f
1°	jātā/tī hoũ̃	jāte/tī hõ
2°	jātā/tī ho	jāte/tī ho[33]
3°	jātā/tī ho	jāte/tī hõ

The *past subjunctive*, on the other hand, is formed by the past participle of the main verb, agreeing in number and gender, and the future subjunctive of the auxiliary. This one also is a compound verb.

Table 13: Past Subjunctive		
	Singular m/f	Plural m/f
1°	gayā/ī hoũ̃	gae/ī hõ
2°	gayā/ī ho	gae/ī ho[34]
3°	gayā/ī ho	gae/ī hõ

The terminology adopted by Kachru (2006) is *optative* and *contingent*, for the *future subjunctive* and *present subjunctive* respectively. According to him, "*The contingent forms are used to express a possibility, whether habitual, present, past, or future, and whether assumed to be completed or not.*" Thus it may be intended that, no-matter what the aspect of the verb is (habitual, perfective, progressive, etc.), we can have a *contingent* form of it, as suggested also by his example:

(12)anu śāyad ab tak skūl calī gaī ho
Anu maybe by now school move.PERF go.PERF AUX.CNTG
Anu may have gone to school by now

[33] These are homophonous with the present habitual forms, but should not be confused
[34] These are homophonous with the present perfect forms, but should not be confused

We shall see more examples later.

Let us now consider the use of these forms:

Future subjunctive

(13)ho saktā hæ ki vo na āe
√be can.IMP AUX that he NEG come.SUBJ
It is possible that he may not come

(14)kɔn jāne!
who know.SUBJ
Who may know!/Who knows!

(15)āp ke binā mæ̃ kyā karū̃?
you.HON of-without I what do.SUBJ
Without you, what shall I do?

(16)īśvar tumhārī rakṣā karẽ!
Lord you.POSS protection do.SUBJ
May the Lord protect you!

(17)prakāś islie ghar par rahā ki
Prakash for-this house at stay-PERF that
vo kamre mẽ ārām kar sake
he house in rest √do can.SUBJ
Prakash stayed at home so that he could rest in the room

Present subjunctive

(18)zarūri hæ ki āpkī betī skūl jātī ho
necessary is that you.HON.POS daughter school go.IMP AUX.SUBJ
It is necessary that your daughter go to school

(19)mujhe ve śahar pasand hæ̃, jismẽ bahut log
me.DAT those cities likable are REL-IN many people
roz āte-jāte hõ
daily come-go.IMP AUX.SUBJ
I like those cities in which a lot of people come and go every day

(20)ho saktā hæ ki vo æsā soctā ho[35]
√be may.IMP AUX that he like-this think.IMP AUX.SUBJ
It is possible that he may think this way

Past subjunctive

(21)ve socte hæ̃ ki śāyad kal prakāś
they think.IMP AUX that maybe yda Prakash
mirā se milā ho[36]
Mira with meet.PERF AUX.SUBJ
They think that yesterday Prakash may have met Mira

(22)jo kuch tumne kiyā ho, vo (zarūr)
REL-what you-ERG do.PERF AUX.SUBJ it for sure
galat hoga!
wrong be.FUT
Whatever you may have done, it must be wrong for sure!

(23)cāhe mæ̃ sāre rāt soyā hoū̃ yā na
WH I all-night-long sleep.PERF AUX. SUBJ or NEG
soyā hoū̃, is se āpkā matlab nahī̃ hæ

[35] Caracchi (1992), 8.1.14
[36] Note that the meaning of the example resembles the following presumptive construction:
a. ve socte hæ̃ ki kal prakāś mirā se
they think.IMP AUX that yda Prakash Meera with
milā hogā
meet.PERF AUX.FUT
They think that Prakash must have met Meera yesterday

sleep.PERF this from you.POS business NEG is
Whether I had slept the whole night or not, this is my business

Another interesting use of the subjunctive, connected to its optative/volitional marking, is the possibility for it to convey a *polite* command or request. In fact, in some contexts, it is possible to use a *future subjunctive* in place of an *imperative*.

(24)āp bæṭhiye ɔr cāy pījiye
HON sit.IMPER and tea drink.IMPER
Please sit and have a tea

(25)āp bæṭhẽ ɔr cāy pīyẽ
hon sit.SUBJ and tea drink.SUBJ
Kindly sit and have a tea.

Imperative

In *Hindi* the imperative is a mood that shows a specific morphology. As expected, it addresses only second persons, with different degrees of formality according to the relationship that exists between the addresser and the addressee. There are three second person pronouns: *tū*, *tum* and *āp*. Each has its own verbal morphology.

The intimate form (*tū* 'you') is made of the verbal root alone[37], for instance *ānā* 'to come' becomes *ā*, as shown in the table below. For the other addressing forms, to the verbal root these suffixes are added: *-o* for the familiar tum and *-iye* for the formal *āp*.

[37] As elsewhere mentioned, the verbal root is obtained by deleting the suffix *-nā* from the infinitive form of the verb, e.g. *jānā* 'to go' > *jā-*

ānā ‘to come’ > √ā

Table 14: Imperative		
intimate	tū	ā
familiar	tum	āo
formal	āp	āiye

There is also another option for the imperative: the so-called *future imperative,* that uses the infinitive morphology e.g. *rahnā* ‘to stay’ > *rahnā* ‘stay!” It is used when there is no need to specify the time for a command to be executed or a generic request is made. This form was referred to as *parokṣ* ‘indirect’ by K.P. Guru.

Furthermore, it is possible to address a referee, through the honorific *āp*, by adding to the verbal root the suffixes *-iyegā/-iyegī* (masc/fem):

(26)āp āiyegā
you.HON come.IMPER.
Please come

This is known as *future imperative*.

For a more polite form, the *future subjunctive* is used, as found also in other languages, in Italian for example:

(27)āp āẽ
you.HON come.SUBJ

(28)(pro) Venga
you.HON come.SUBJ

Interestingly it is possible to find the imperative also in subordinate contexts, as suggested by Caracchi (1992):

(29)yah ṭhīk rahegī ki āp paṇditjī se bāt karẽ
this good stay.FUT that you.HON Pantitjī-with chat do.SUBJ

(30)yah ṭhīk rahegī ki āp paṇditjī se bāt kījie
this good stay.FUT that you.HON Pantitjī-with chat do.IMP
It will be good that you speak with Panditjī

We shall see this fact along with similar phenomena in the Ch. V.

Presumptive

Another mood present in *Hindi* is the so-called *presumptive*. As the name suggests, it moves from *assumptions* made on observations, thoughts or reasoning. Accordingly, there are different scenarios in which this can find its way. An assumption, in fact, can be made on facts or ideas predicated according to three main aspects:

- *habitual*
- *progressive*
- *perfective*

Besides, there could be an increasing degree of uncertainty in the assumption. Consequently, six are the situations potentially predicated by this mood, as reported in the examples below:

(31)karīśmā skūl jātī hogī
Karishma school go.IMP AUX.FUT
Karishma must be going/go to school – habitual/general event

(32)karīśmā skūl jā rahī hogī
Karishma school √go PROG AUX.FUT
Karishma must be going to school (right now) – progressive event

(33)śāyad karīśmā skūl jātī ho
maybe Karishma school go.IMP AUX.SUBJ

Maybe Karishma goes to school – increased uncertainty habitual/general event

(34)śāyad karīśmā skūl jā rahī ho
maybe Karishma school √go PROG AUX.SUBJ
Maybe Karishma is going to school (right now) – increased uncertainty about a progressive event

(35)karīśma skūl gaī hogī
Karishma school go.PERF AUX.FUT
Karishma must have gone to school – perfective event

(36)śāyad karīśmā skūl gaī ho
maybe Karishma school go.PERF AUX.SUBJ
Karishma may have gone to school – increased uncertainty about a perfective event

As the examples suggest, it is formed with the future auxiliary *honā*, in different aspects.

IV. Reported speech

In this section we will have a look at reported contexts cross-linguistically, in order to get an idea about the role the speaker has in the discourse. We will first understand some basic properties of this phenomenon, trying to identify the participants within the report and their features. Then we will see which ways are found cross-linguistically for a speaker to report someone else's content. Thus we will focus on some particular properties that some "exotic" languages show and we will try to understand what these may explain with regards to subject reference. We will further move to the first person pronoun in embedded context and try to see what its semantic entails cross-linguistically.

Actors, tools and purposes

Basically, languages are used to convey information among interlocutors, which implies at least the participation of two actors, a *hearer* and a *speaker*, that henceforth we will prefer to identify as *utterer* for the ease of understanding. As far as the source of the content is concerned, though, there are many possibilities.

For example, if a person produces an original speech, which comes from his/her own thinking and inner belief, s/he needs to choose the way to express it, according to the purpose of it and according to the hearer. S/he may well choose to use a formal or informal register, whether to focus some element within the speech or not, which lexicon to select, which style to adopt, etc. Whatever the choice, it will definitely be weighted upon him/herself alone, which means that all the responsibility of it can be attributed to the utterer. For instance, if the speech contains a false statement, then s/he will be to blame.

Another possibility arises in case a person needs or wants to report someone else's speech. This scenario entails a whole different perspective towards the speech content, given the fact that the utterer may want to keep some

distance between the information contained in the speech – to be attributed to an author other than him/herself – and him/herself, who is just a reporter. In other words, a person who decides to report someone's speech can do it using some techniques that allow for a more or less "detached" way of delivering the content.

For instance, when a speech report is involved – whatever the involvement of the utterer may be – languages usually utilize *indirect speech report* or *direct speech report*.

However, some other languages allow for an intermediate form as well, referred to as *semi-direct speech*, which shares some features with both *direct* and *indirect speech reports*. Some of these are Manambu, Akɔɔse, Usan, Lower Grand Valley Dani, Gahuku and Dom, to cite a few. Some of the properties of the *semi-direct speech* may be accounted for thanks to *logophoric* reference, which is usually conveyed by a class of pronouns that serve for this function. The way this happens, though, is not cross-linguistically consistent through the data analyzed by the authors who studied the matter. We will see a few examples below.

Direct, Indirect and Semi-direct speech reports: features

As Aikhenvald (2007) suggests, whenever a person casts someone else's speech *indirectly* s/he necessarily adjusts the person's coordinates to a different perspective, viz. his/her own.

On the other hand, when a *direct speech* report is cast, the person's perspective pivots on the original author alone and thus the same words and – at times – also intonations are reported exactly as they were originally uttered.

With regard to the *indirect speech*, for instance, the time and spatial coordinates undergo a shift in the report and accordingly adverbs, verbs and

pronouns readjust their reference to the *reporter*'s perspective, that ultimately is the *utterer*.

Let us consider the following instances, the first to be attributed to an original speaker named *Paul* and the other one to *Mary*:

(1) "From tomorrow I will be on vacation" – Original speaker: Paul

(2) "May I go and visit $him_{reporter}$ today?" – Original speaker: Mary

Example (2) shows a pronoun, *him*, that gets reference from the context: we will consider it as referring to a *reporter*, which is ultimately referring to us (JZ).

Consequently, if we want to recast (1) and (2) *indirectly*, we could repeat them with the following examples:

(3) Paul said that from the next day he would be on vacation

(4) Mary asked if she could come and visit $me_{reporter}$ on that day

In example (4), *me* refers to the *reporter*, the one who is recasting the speech done by Mary, that was referred to as *him* in example (2).

If we consider the differences related to the perspective adopted in each couple, (1) vs. (3) and (2) vs. (4), we can easily realize that the verb timing has changed in both the reported sentences and also person coordinates have shifted. 'Tomorrow' in (1) becomes 'the next day' in (3), 'I' becomes 'he', 'will be' becomes 'would be', etc. As for sentence (2), 'go' becomes 'come' in (4), 'him' becomes 'me', 'today' becomes 'that day', etc.

In other words, those elements that get reference from the context, which are in fact *variables*, undergo a transformation when the context itself changes. This happens, for instance, when the perspective is subject to a person shift. In examples (1) and (2) the perspective was built upon the *original speakers* of the content, while in examples (3) and (4) it was adjusted to the *reporters'* viewpoint.

The elements that have changed in the shift are *indexicals*: they are those elements which hold the same meaning throughout different contexts but

need to be interpreted according to the specific context they belong. In other words, their reference needs to be attributed locally[38].

These elements include, among others, spatial and temporal adverbs like: *here, there, now, later, today, yesterday* etc. Pronouns as well are indexical items: *I, you, him, her* etc.

On the other hand, if the *reporter* decides to quote directly from the *original speaker*'s words, s/he needs to use a reporting clause – like "*Paul said", "He added", "She remarked"* – followed by a special punctuation – ":" 'colon" – and the original speech embedded between quotation marks.

Therefore, examples (1) and (2) may be reported *directly* as follows:

(5) Paul said: "From tomorrow I will be on vacation".

(6) Mary asked: "May I go and visit him today?"

Unlike what was shown for the *indirect speech reports*, in the latter examples there is no shift in the perspective of the person's coordinates. The indexical items have undergone no change, since they are still directly evaluated against the *original speakers* introduced in the *reporting clause* (Paul and Mary). What distinguishes the report from the original speech lies in the *reporting clause*, which plays a key role.

[38] That is, within their context or the discourse they belong to. As a matter of fact, we cannot *felicitously* utter the following sentence out of the blue:

a) # *He* ran away with *their* money

because, *he* and *their* – being pronouns – are not identifiable here with any reference, having no antecedent in the discourse. However, if there is an antecedent in the context – for instance the interlocutors have already talked about someone, let us call him *Paul*, and somebody else who was robbed, *some students at school* – then the sentence would be felicitous, *he* having *Paul* and *their* having *some students at school* as referees.

b) He_{Paul} ran away with $their_{students}$ money

Referents in reported speech: English, Italian and logophoric languages

As Aikhenvald (2007) remarks, in English the following sentence is ambiguous between two readings, as the subscripts suggest:

(7) John$_i$ said that he$_{i/j}$ had quit the job

The reported content may refer to an action that either John or someone else did. This is due to the fact that English, like many other languages, cannot distinguish between two third person pronouns. Consequently, in the contexts in which the embedded subject is meant to corefer with the matrix subject in third person, there is no way to further specify this relationship without using indexes or other glosses.

The same also holds for Italian:

(8) Paolo$_i$ ha detto che *pro*$_{i/j}$ sarebbe arrivato presto

Example (8) cannot exactly specify whether *pro* has Paolo as antecedent, or someone else. This is true also for other contexts in which genitives, for example, appear:

(9) Paolo$_i$ vuole che Luigi torni a casa sua$_{i/j}$

With regards to this sentence, we can think of two hypothetical scenarios, one in which Paolo and Luigi are good friends and they spend some time together at each other's place, and Paolo wants Luigi to come and visit him again after leaving (Paolo's place). Another scenario, instead, may be the one in which Paolo and Luigi are currently together at Paolo's place, but after an hypothetical quarrel, Paolo wants him to leave and go back to his home (Luigi's).

If we don't further enrich the context – by adding details about the situation – a native speaker may well choose one or the other scenario, indiscriminately.

However, some languages like Manambu, a Ndu language from New Guinea and Ewe, an African Language of the Niger Congo area, have a set of pronouns called *logophoric*, that serve this purpose: to show coreference between a matrix subject and an embedded subject within the same

sentence. As Clements (1975) had already attested, with regard to the reflexive pronouns – which he suggests sharing some properties with *logophoric* pronouns[39] – the only possibility for an antecedent is not necessarily being a grammatical subject, but rather a "real subject" (sujets réels)[40]. In other words, it seems that ultimately it is not the grammatical category of a referent to determine the necessary presuppositions for becoming antecedent, but the role it plays within the context of the sentence. Moreover, we can find some similarities with the elements that trigger *obviation*. In this case – as Costantini (2006) pointed out – it was the experiencer theta-role to trigger obviation, rather than the grammatical subject *per se*. Similarly, this seems to be true for *logophoric* contexts as well, as we will see below.

Furthermore, Clements (1975) showed that Latin and Greek too had a specific use of the reflexive pronouns, which he dubs as *indirect reflexivization*, in accordance with the literature on the subject. According to him, this phenomenon resembles the function that Ewe reserves for the *logophoric* pronouns.

Let us consider the examples he comments on in his work:

(10)Mr. Smith said that he had insulted him

(11)Cicero$_i$ dixit eum$_j$ sibi$_i$ maledixisse
Cicero say.PERF him.ACC self insult.INF.PERF
'Cicero$_i$ said that he$_j$ had insulted him$_i$'

Example (10) does not provide any information on whether the person insulted is Mr. Smith or someone else, while the Latin example (11) clearly disambiguates, by adopting the reflexive pronoun *sibi* in place of *eum*. In fact, the only possible reading of (11) is the one suggested by the indexes.

Clements (1975) encourages the idea that, ultimately, the only difference between the logophoric function served by the reflexive pronoun in Latin and the genuine logophoric pronoun of Ewe lies merely in the fact that in

[39] Cfr. Indirect reflexivization
[40] Clements (1975), p. 143

Latin it is homophonous with the reflexive pronoun[41], while in Ewe it is an independent form.

Logophoric pronouns – general properties cross-linguistically

In his *Types of Logophoric marking in African Languages*[42], Roncador (1992) suggests that the languages showing logophoric marking use special forms for the purpose, while preserving normal morphology – for instance, personal pronouns – for indicating disjoint reference.

Furthermore, logophoric pronouns tend to convey either second and third person reference together, or third person reference alone. The other way round is not attested in natural languages.

Let us consider two examples borrowed from the *Gbaya* language[43].

(12)mɛ́ tɔ́ yè gè, nɛ̰́ ɛ̰́ hà túrú há-m
2s:SBJ say QP AUX LOG give clothes to-1s
You said you would give clothes to me

(13)à̰ tɔ̰́ yè nɛ̀ ɛ̰́ gbɛ̀á saʔde
3s:SBJ say QP PART LOG kill animal
He said: "[…] I killed an animal".

In example (12), the logophoric pronoun has a second person antecedent and receives reference accordingly. The next example, (13), on the other hand, has a third person antecedent.

Besides, interestingly, the logophoric forms may display multiple functions. For instance, in Igbo the logophoric pronoun *yá* can also function as independent pronoun under *ad hoc* configurations.

Consider examples (14) and (15).[44]

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[41] ibidem, p.144
[42] JALL Vol. 13, 163-182, 0167-6164/92 13–2/$ 02.75
[43] Roncador (1992), p. 169, ex. 7

(14)Jọn gwàrà ḿ ná yá rìrì jí
John say 1s that LOG eat yams
John told me that he (himself) eats yams

(15)nyé yá
Give him!

Example (14) features the logophoric *yá*, while example (15) displays its pronominal function.

The table below, extracted from Roncador (1992), summarizes the range of functions logophoric pronouns display among some African languages, selecting those get reference from third or second person antecedents.

Table 14: Logophoric marking of third and second person[45]

Logophoric function only	*Other functions*
Niger-Congo: Nenue-Congo, Kwa	
Mambila Perrin (1974), Meyer (1939/40) **né/nyí** – 2+3s:LOG	*Idoma* Abraham (1967) **ànú** – 2+3s:LOG. Independent pronoun
Efik Welmers (1968), Essien (1975) **ì** – 2+3S:LOG. 2+3P:LOG derived from singular form	**àá** – 3p:LOG; same for as2P "Normal" form. "P cannot be logophorically marked for morphological reasons.
Ewe Clements (1975) **yè** 2+3s:LOG. 2+3P:LOG derived from singular form	*Akoose* Hedinger (1984), DOrsch (1910/11) **mə́** - 2+3S:LOG. Independent pronoun. Sunject pronoun in

[44] Roncador (1992), p. 170 ex. (8)
[45] Ibidem, *Appendix I.*, p.174

2+3P:LOG derived from singular form.

Ekpeye
Clark (1972)
yá' – 2+3S:LOG;
à 2+3P:LOG
Formal identity with 1P

Ngwo
Voorhoeve (1979, 1980)
é – 2+3S:LOG
ɔ̂ - 2+3P:LOG

Niger-Congo: Ubangi

Ngbaka
Cloarec-Heiss (1969), Thomas (1963)
ʔī - 2+3:SBJ:LOG;
mī - 2+3:(Ind)OBJ:LOG.
In other positions Thomas and Cloarec-Heiss show different data.

Gbaya
Samarin (1966)
ɛ́ - 2+3S:LOG;
óro/ro 2+3P:LOG.
In other contexts both forms are used with emphatic or reflexive function.

Sango
Samarin (1967)
ní/í – 2+3S:LOG;
ání – 2+3P:LOG.
Forms are identical with an anaphoric determiner. Second person marking is said to be rare.

Nilo-Saharan: Central Sudanic	
Moru (?) Tucker/Bryan (1966), Andersen (1984), Andresen/Goyvaerts (1986) **í/ý-** – P:LOG; **ì/yà/ý-** –P:LOG. Tucker/Bryan note "referring pronouns" for 2+3; Andersen and Andersen/Goyvaerts only note third person logophorics.	*Mangbetu* Larochette (1958), Tucker/Bryan (1966) **(à)ndr** – 2+3S:LOG; **(a)ni** – 2+3P:LOG. Both forms correspond to possessives/reflexives.

Logophoric pronouns in Ewe

Let us now consider how logophoric pronouns are employed in the Ewe language.

First, though, it is necessary to introduce a few aspects of the language, with special attention to the pronouns in general.

Ewe is a Western Gbe language[46], spoken in the area that stretches between the Niger and the Congo rivers. Like all the Gbe languages, Ewe is a tonal, isolating language with an unmarked SVO word order.

Our interest, though, lies in the way Ewe is able to convey specific reference to the same actor, cast as third person, throughout the sentence, where English and Italian, among others, fail to do.

In the table below, you will find the personal pronoun in Ewe, except for the logophoric ones that will be shown later.

[46] cfr. Angela Kluge (2011), *A sociolinguistic survey of the Gbe language communities of Benin and Togo Gbe language family overview*

Table 15: "Ewe personal pronouns"[47]				
	strong independent forms	*weak subject forms*	*weak object forms*	*weak genitive forms*
1 sg.	nye	me	m	nye
2 sg.	wò	è (nè)	wò	wò
3 sg.	ye (yi)	e (wò)	e (i)	e
1 pl.	míawo	míe	mí	mía
2 pl.	miawo	mie	mi	mia
3 pl.	woawo	wo	wo	wo

We shall not analyze the phonetic properties of the pronouns, however interesting, since it is not of primary concern to our study. For detailed information, please refer to Clements (1975).

As far as reflexive pronouns are concerned, their morphology is characterized by the noun *ɖokui* 'self' and the genitive form of each person, attached to it either by prefixation or suffixation.

Table 16. Reflexives in Ewe	
ɖokui-nye	myself
ɖokui-wò	yourself
e ɖokui	himself, herself, itself
mía ɖokui	ourselves
mia ɖokui	yourselves
wo ɖokui	themselves

[47] Clements (1975)

(16)Kofi lɔ̃ e ɖokui
Kofi love PRO self
Kofi loves himself

The *logophoric* pronouns, instead, have only two forms: singular or plural, with no overt marking for gender or case.

Table 17: "Logophoric pronouns in Ewe"	
Singular	*Plural*
yè	yèwo

Like in English or Italian, the reflexive pronouns usually need their antecedent to appear within the same clause boundaries.

(17)[Paolo$_i$ ha detto [$_C$ che Gianni$_j$ pensa solo a se $_{stesso*i/j}$]]

(18)[Paul$_i$ said [$_C$ that John$_j$ thinks to himself$_{*i/j}$ only]]

On the contrary, the *logophoric* pronouns must have their antecedent in a superordinate clause.

(19)Kofi be yè-dzo[48]
Kofi said LOG-leave
Kofi$_i$ said that he$_i$ left

(20)*Kofi be e ɖokui dzo[49]
Kofi said PRO self leave

As already mentioned, the logophoric pronouns are employed whenever coreference needs to be expressed between a subject[50] in the matrix clause and another noun phrase in the embedded sentence.

[48] Cfr. Clements (1975), p. 150, ex. 20
[49] ibidem
[50] Actually, it seems that the antecedent may also have different marking rather than nominative, as shown in the example reported in Clements (1975) p.164, ex (58):

According to the author, the logophoric pronoun yè may also be "coreferential with the nominal referring to the experiencer of the psychological state or attitude" and "(the logophoric pronoun yè) informs us that the context in which it occurs (the purpose clause) designates an intention on the part of its antecedent", in other words it seems that the pronoun ultimately refers to the *attitude bearer* of the proposition.

The antecedent, according to Westermann, the author of the grammar of Ewe first published in 1907, cited by Clements (1975), can either be a second person or a third person pronoun. As a matter of fact, when a first person pronoun appears, Clements showed that for many speakers it is not acceptable and the logophoric pronoun needs to find another antecedent in the superordinate clause, in the example, Kofi:

(21)Me-se tso Kofi gbɔ be yè-xɔ nunana
PRO-hear from Kofi side that LOG-receive gift
I heard from Kofi$_i$ that he$_i$ had received a gift.

Interestingly and intuitively, it is also possible to find a logophoric pronoun with a wider scope referee, still including the antecedent:

(22)You$_i$ said you$_{i+j}$ would come

(23)è-be yèwo-a-va
PRO-say LOG-T-come

Another interesting trait is that logophoric pronouns in Ewe seem to appear only after the complementizer *be* (or allomorphs), while they are not permitted in relative, gerundive or simultaneous constructions[51].

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a) e-dzɔ dyi na Ama be yè-dyi vi
PRO- LOG
it made Ama$_i$ happy that she$_i$ bore a child

[51] Clements (1975) p. 165

Gokana

Gokana is an Ogoni language of Nigeria that shows itself a peculiar logophoric system: unlike Ewe, as Hyman and Comrie (1981) suggest, Gokana deploys a morpheme to mark logophoricity, that attaches to the verb form as a suffix, *-ɛ*.[52]

(24)aè kɔ aè dɔ̀
he said he fell
He$_i$ said that he$_j$ fell

(25)aè kɔ aè dɔ-ɛ̀
he said he fell-LOG
He$_i$ said that he$_i$ fell

Gokana, as well, allows for a non-subject element to be antecedent of a logophoric pronoun, on the condition that it represent the "source of the information contained in the embedded clause".[53] This is in line with what we have seen about Ewe, for instance. As a matter of fact, if a noun phrase is assigned the experiencer theta-role, then it can trigger logophoricity in a subordinate clause.

(26)pɔ̀ síí lébàrè kɔ aè dɔ-ɛ̀[54]
fear catches Lebare that he fell-LOG
Lebare$_i$ is afraid that he$_i$ fell

Besides, the logophoric marking itself can receive different case marking, according to the theta-role it is assigned within the subordinate clause. It may well appear as nominative – as example (26) suggests – or as accusative – cfr. example (27). Plus, it may attach to possessives as well – cfr. ex. (28).

(27)lèbàreè kɔ oò div-èè e
Lebare said you hit-LOG him
Lebare$_i$ said that you hit him$_i$

[52] Examples from Hymann & Comrie (1981) p. 20, (2)
[53] ibidem, p.21
[54] ibidem, p.21 (5) b.

(28)lèbàreè kɔ oò ziv-èè a gɪ̃́ã́

Lebare said you stole-LOG his yams

Lebare$_i$ said that you stole his$_i$ yams

The logophoric marking, being a morpheme that attaches as a suffix to the verb form, it is likely that ambiguities arise, concerning their interpretation in the sentence. Let us consider the following example from Hymann and Comrie (1981).

(29)lébàreè kɔ aè div-èè e[55]

Lebare said he hit-LOG him

a. Lebare$_i$ said he$_i$ hit him$_j$

b. Lebare$_i$ said he$_j$ hit him$_i$

Example (29) shows that the logophoric marking can either refer to the subject or to the object of the embedded sentence, so that Lebare, the only possible antecedent for the logophoric, can either be the subject of the embedded sentence – receiving the *agent* theta-role – or the object – receiving the *patient* theta-role. In both cases, the other pronoun must necessarily refer to someone other than Lebare.

As for possessives, the ambiguities are more intricate.

(30)lébàreè kɔ aè de-è a gɪ̃́ã́[56]

Lebare said he ate-LOG his yams

a. Lebare$_i$ said he$_i$ ate his$_i$ yams

b. Lebare$_i$ said he$_i$ ate his$_j$ yams

c. Lebare$_i$ said he$_j$ ate his$_i$ yams

In example (30) the logophoric marking is attached to the verb *de*, ‘eat’. In this case, the interpretation can be threefold: first, the logophoric marking may convey co-indexation throughout all the referents – reading (a); secondly, it may just show coreference between the antecedent, Lebare, and the subject of the embedded clause, leaving the possessive with another

[55] Hymann & Comrie (1981), p.24, ex (16) a.
[56] ibidem, p.24, ex (16) b.

referent – reading (b) – or thirdly, it may be the other way round, with coreference between the antecedent and the possessive, leaving the embedded subject out – reading (c).

As far as reported speech is concerned, interestingly Gokana does not often distinguish a direct report from an indirect report, with nothing but the use of logophoric pronouns that, in fact, also serve this function, disambiguating the actors taking part in the reported content.

(31)aè kɔ aè dɔ̀
he said he fell
he$_i$ said that he$_j$ fell

(32)aè kɔ aè dɔ-ɛ̀
he said he fell-LOG
he$_i$ said that he$_i$ fell

The reading of example (31), indeed, implies that the author of the original content has actually said: “He fell”. Example (32), on the other hand, having a LOG marking, conveys the only possible reading with both pronoun coindexed, so that the original speech must have been: “I fell”.

(33)oò kɔ oò dɔ̀
you said you fell

a. you said you fell

b. you said: “You fell”

(34)oò kɔ oò dɔ-ɛ̀[57]
you said you fell-LOG
you$_i$ said that you$_i$ fell

While sentence (34) is not ambiguous, hosting a LOG marking that rules both pronouns to refer to the same entity, sentence (33) is open to two different readings, even though one is preferable over the other; (33) b. similarly to (31), may be read as a quotation, which implies a disjoint reference reading. (33) a., on the other hand, is also acceptable under an

[57] ibidem, p.22 ex. (10) b.

indirect speech report reading, even if not preferable. Note that it is a second person pronoun.

Our last remark on Gokana is about the first person pronouns. As Hymann and Comrie (1981) suggest: “it is not possible to get the two first person singular pronouns to be non –coreferential”. This rules that in reported contexts, like “I said that I left”, the LOG marking should be redundant. And this seems to be true, both for singular and plural first person pronouns.

(35)mm̀ kɔ mm̀ dɔ̀[58]

I said I fell

a. I said that I fell

b. I said: “I fell”

(36)mm̀ kɔ mm̀ dɔ-ɛ̀

I said I fell-LOG

I said that I fell

Sentence (36) is less preferable to sentence (35), because the LOG marking is redundant. Whatever the reading of (35), both a. and b. imply coreference between the subjects. The same holds for the plural. Example (38) is less preferable to (37), for the same reasons.

(37)eè kɔ eè dɔ̀

we said we fell

a. we said that we fell

b. we said: “we fell”

(38)eè kɔ eè dɔ-ɛ̀

we said se fell-LOG

we said that we fell

[58] ibidem, p. 23 ex. (11)

The Chadic languages (Mapun)

The Chadic languages, to which Mapun, Angas and Sura among others belong, have a threefold system regarding the logophoric pronouns. As far as Mapun is concerned, for instance, we can discern three sets of pronouns: thanks to Frajzyngier (1985) we know that set A conveys disjoint reference, while sets B and C display coreference, yet each with a different meaning. Set B, in fact, conveys coreference with the speaker of the matrix clause, while set C shows coreference with the reported addressee sharing gender and number traits, or in other contexts, it can deliver disjoint reference, like set A does.

Let us first consider the full paradigm of Manpu set A pronouns, reported in Frajzungier (1985).[59] As he suggests, the first and second person forms are the same employed also in sets B and C.

Table 18: "Personal pronouns in Mapun (Set A)"

	Subject		Object	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
1 sg.	*n*		*an*	
2	*a*	*yi*	*xa*	*yi*
3	*wur*	*war*	*wur*	*war*
1 pl.	*mu*		*mun*	
2	*wu*		*wu*	
3	*mo*		*mo*	

Note that the first person singular is not differentiated for gender, as the full plural paradigm also is not. Besides, second and third person plural are not even differentiated in terms of nominative or accusative case: in both cases, be they subject or object, the forms employed are homophonous. Furthermore, the third person singular forms do not show either nominative

[59] Frajzyngier (1985), *Table 2.*

or accusative case marking, while the second person masculine singular and the first person singular/plural do.

Let us now consider the third person pronouns in Mapun, throughout all the three sets[60].

Table 19: "Third person pronouns in Mapun (Sets A, B, C)"

	A	B		C
3° pers	subj. / obj.	subj.	obj.	subj.
masc. sg.	*wur*	*'di*	*'din*	*gwar*
fem. sg.	*war*	*'de*	*'de*	*paa*
masc./fem. pl.	*mo*	*'du*	*'dun*	*nuwa*

The table above shows that all the sets do not distinguish between third person plural masculine and feminine. Besides, only set B has specific forms for nominative or accusative case marking. Ultimately, set C has only subject forms.

Following Frajzyngier (1985), we shall see how set A interfaces with set B, and how set A interacts with set C. It is unlikely that pronouns from set B co-occur with pronouns from set C.

Let us see a few examples, from Frajzyngier (1985).

(39)wur/war/mo sat ni wur/war/mo ta dee n jos[61]
he/she/they say COMPL he/she/they stop stay PREP Jos
He_i/she_i/$they_i$ said that he_j/she_j/$they_j$ stopped over in Jos

[60] Frajzyngier (1985), *Table 1*.
[61] ibidem, ex. (1)-(2)

(40)wur/war/mo sat ni ’di/’de/’du ta dee n jos
he/she/they say COMPL LOG stop stay PREP Jos
He$_i$/she$_i$/they$_i$ said that he$_i$/she$_i$/they$_i$ stopped over in Jos

Sentence (39) uses pronouns from set A in both the matrix and in the subordinate clauses. This entails the disjoint reference reading only. Thus, the subjects from the embedded sentence necessarily need to get reference from any other antecedent than the superordinate subjects, as the subscripts suggest.

Conversely, sentence (40), displaying in the matrix clause pronouns from set A, serving as antecedents, and in the subordinate clause pronouns from set B, as targets, the reading is logophoric and the subjects are coindexed. More specifically, pronouns from set B convey coreference with the subject of the saying verb in the matrix clause, *sat*.

Furthermore, it is possible for an embedded pronoun to have wider scope than the trigger element, that is a third person singular pronoun from set A may serve as antecedent for a third person plural pronoun from set B, as occurs also in Ewe (cfr. example (22)).

(41)wur/war sat ni n nas ’dun[62]
He/she said that I beat them
He$_i$/she$_i$ said that I beat them$_i$

On the other hand, if a pronoun from set A appears in the subordinate clause, even if it may comprise the subject of the matrix clause, coreference fails and a disjoint reference reading is the unique possibility.

(42)wur/war sat ni n nas mo[63]
he/she said that I beat them
He$_i$/she$_i$ said that I beat them$_j$

The sentence above shows that *mo* – third person plural pronoun from set A – cannot corefer with *wur* or *war*, belonging as well to set A. Conversely,

[62] Frajzyngier (1985), ex. (6)
[63] ibidem

'dun from example (41) belongs to set B and thus can refer to the same subject found in the matrix clause.

If on the one hand, pronouns from set B – having as antecedent pronouns from set A – convey coreference with the subject of the matrix clause, pronouns from set C show coreference with the addressee of the main clause, viz. the direct or indirect object of the superordinate clause.

(43)n- sat n- wur ni gwar ji
1sg say BEN- 3sg COMPL 3sg come
I told him$_i$ that he$_i$ should come

Manambu

Let us now move on to another language, Manambu, which is a Ndu language spoken by about 2000 people in Papua New Guinea. It is an agglutinating language with a complex morphology. As for Ewe, our interest in Manambu is related to the distribution of the reference of the participants within the speech act. Thus we will see how direct and indirect speeches act, and will observe some features uncommon to English or Italian.

Direct and Indirect speech reports in Manambu

According to Aikhenvald (2007), most of the reporting contexts in Manambu are direct speech reports. The most common reporting clause introducer is the demonstrative *ata*, 'then, thus' together with the verb *wa-* 'say, speak', which also serves to support other verbs for reporting any speech content.[64]

[64] Other saying verbs, such as *ask* or *cry*, need to be preceded by a clause featuring wa-, in order to introduce a reported speech. Sentence (16) is an

(44)gra-n ata wa-na wun-a-d mam-eee[65]
cry then say I older.sibling.VOC
She said crying: “Oh my older brother!”

Much rarer is the use of the indirect speech report, which in Manambu is limited to reported commands alone. Its syntax too is more rigid, not allowing for pauses or any other elements to intervene in between. Indirect speech reports do not feature the use of *ata*, as the introducing complementizer, while preserving the verb *wa-*, ‘say, speak’.

An example of indirect speech is reported below, citing from Aikhenvald (2007):

(45)a təpa:m də-kə-k vya-mən-kək wa:d[66]
that village-LOC he-DAT hit/kill-2masc.sg say+3masc.sg
He told you to kill him in that village

The table below summarizes the differences between the two reporting techniques in Manambu.

Table 20. “Direct and indirect speech reports in Manambu: a comparison”[67]

Properties of speech report	*Direct speech reports*	*Indirect speech reports*
Shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis	none	yes
Co-extensive with a clause	not necessarily	yes
Speech report introducer *ata* ‘then, thus’	yes	no

example.
[65] Aikhenvald (2007), p.389, ex. (4)
[66] cfr. Aikhenvald (2007), p.392, ex. (14)
[67] ibidem, p.388

Pause between reporting verb and the speech report	optional	no
Vocatives and exclamations	yes	no
Discontinuous speech report	yes	no
Speech report can precede or follow the reporting clause	yes	always precedes
Types of speech act reported	statement, question, command	only command
Can be conventionalized	yes	no
Speech report implies a speech event	not necessarily	always
Different forms of verb in speech reports mark involvement of the original speaker in performing activity	no	possible

A third possibility that Manambu and few other languages allow is the so-called *semi-direct speech*, that embodies properties of both direct and indirect speech reports.

If on the one hand the indirect speech reports entails a complete shift in temporal, spatial and person coordinates while on the other the direct speech does not, the semi-direct speech, instead, shows an incomplete person shift, at times pivoting on the original speaker's perspective (Type 1,

in Aikhenvald's words), and at others on the reporter's (Current Speaker, Type 2).[68]

Let us consider the following examples:

(46)wun wiya:m adakw wa-bər-kəbəb
I house-LOC stay:IMPV.2pers say-3du-AS.SOON.AS
wiya:m kwa-kə-na-wunn-ək wun
house-LOC stay-FUT-1fem.sg I
Since the two told me to stay (lit. I you-stay) in the house I will stay in the house

(47)sa! mən wun-a:k a-wuk ata wa-na
hey! you.masc I-DAT IMPV.2pers-listen then say.3fem
mən ma: wa:k
you.masc NEG listen+NEG
"Hey! You listen to me$_{teacher}$!" she$_{mother}$ thus said, you are not listening!"

In (18) the imperative *adakw* addresses a second person (token of direct speech), but in fact is related to the first person pronoun *wun* (the girl) that appears at the beginning of the clause in subject position, as would be expected for an indirect speech report. In the example, the perspective pivots on the original speaker, viz. "the two".

Example (19), on the other hand, shows another type of semi-direct speech (type 2). The situation is about a teacher who is scolding a pupil, reminding him of what his mother had told him in the morning, viz. "Hey! You listen to her!" In the reported speech the person coordinates adjust to the *reporter*, the teacher, who refers to herself as 'me', instead of 'her', as it would be expected in a direct speech report.

[68] Type 1. Original-Speaker-Oriented, Type 2. Current-Speaker-Oriented

V. Indexicality in Hindi

So far we have discussed about the moods and syntax of *Hindi*, how subordinate clauses are introduced, which moods and tenses are present in the language, and how these elements interact with each other. Besides, we have also seen the correlative system, utilized in different contexts (relative clauses, extraposition, etc.).

Before moving on into the real purpose of this paper, we need to better present the varied pronominal system of *Hindi*.

Pronominal system

Hindi has a varied pronominal system that does not distinguish between masculine and feminine. However, it takes into account the hierarchical relationships between the interlocutors, providing specific honorific forms or other ways to serve the same purpose. Furthermore, for third person pronouns *Hindi* employs demonstratives, which embed both functions of indicating third person features and proximity information[69].

As elsewhere attested, pronouns also have *oblique* forms, used whenever a *post-position*[70] follows.

[69] *vah* and *yah* differ in proximity: the former can be translated with 'that' while the latter with 'this'. *vah* is the umarked third person singular pronoun.

[70] As mentioned elsewhere, *Hindi* is a head-final language with SOV order. It has *post-positions* in place of *prepositions* as is attested also for other head-final languages, like Korean and Japanese.

Table 21: "Hindi pronouns"					
Pers.	*Nom.*	*Oblique (+ post.)*	*Acc. or Dat. (+ post ko)*	*Genitive (+ post kā/ke/kī)*	*Ergative (+ post ne)*
1 sg.	mæ̃	mujh	mujhe / mujh ko	merā,-e,-ī	mæ̃ne
2	tū	tujh	tujhe / tujh ko	terā,-e,-ī	tūne
3 'that/this'	vah / yah	us / is	use / ise – usko / isko	uskā,-e,-ī / iskā,-e,-ī	usne / isne
1 pl.	ham	ham	hamẽ / hamko	hamārā,-e,-ī	hamne
2	tum	tum	tumhẽ / tumko	tumhārā,-e,-ī	tumne
3 'these/those'	ve / ye	un / in	unhẽ / inhẽ – unko / inko	unkā,-e,-ī / inkā,-e,-ī	unhõne / inhõne
hon. sg. / pl.	āp / āp log[71]	āp / āp logõ	āp ko /āp logõ ko	āpkā,-e,-ī / āp logõ kā,ke,kī	āpne / āp logõ ne

Let us consider a few examples.

(1) ham socte hæ̃ ki ve usko mārẽge
we think.IMPF. AUX that they him.ACC beat.FUT
We think that they will beat him

(2) kal mujhe ek chiṭṭī milī
yda me.DAT one letter receive.PERF
Yesterday I received a letter

(3) āp bæṭhiye ɔr cāy pījiye
HON sit.IMPER and tea drink.IMPER
Please sit and have a tea

(4) Rakeś! tum ne kya kiyā hæ?
Rakesh you ERG what do.PERF AUX
Rakesh, what have you done?

[71] lit. *log* = 'people' – this word can attach also to other pronouns: *tum log*, *ve log*, *ye log*. It is used for marking the plural number of the referee.

a. […] ācānak *ye log* bangalor pulis ke hāth caṛh gae
suddenly they Bangalore police-GEN be caught INT.PERF
[…] suddenly they were caught by the Bangalore Police.

(5) ye to mere dost hæ̃, unko mæ̃ nahĩ jāntā
these EMPH my friends are those.ACC I NEG know.IMP
THESE are my friends, I do not know them

As the glosses suggest (cfr. ex. (1)), in *Hindi vah (us)* is the unmarked third person pronoun, regardless of its *demonstrative* meaning. Accordingly, the English translation in this case would simply be 'him', in place of 'that'. In this regard, Montaut (2012) suggests that *vah* serves the function of substituting the definite article, which in fact *Hindi* does not have. Besides, this demonstrative is the same particle used also as correlate of *jo* 'which'.[72]

However, when the "geographical coordinates" of the referent are relevant for the context, the other forms as well are employed. Example (5) shows the contrast between *ye*, 'these', in the first clause and *unko* (*ve* + *ko*) 'those', in the second one.

Example (4), instead, shows a plural form *tum* addressing a singular referee, *Rakesh*. As mentioned above, *Hindi* gives great importance to how people are addressed. In this regard, *tum* is a familiar way to address a peer or someone you know well. Still, whenever a person wants to show respect to someone he is talking to, he will use *āp*, if one person, or *āp log*, if more. On the other hand, *tū* is rarely employed publicly: among other contexts, it may be used between husband and wife, mother and child or in the prayer. Besides, its corresponding verbal forms are also used for addressing pets.

(6) rustam, ā jā!
Rustam √come INTES.IMPER.2sg
Rustam, come!

The table below summarizes the use of the pronouns, according to their intimacy level.

[72] Cfr. Correlative system p. 7

Table 22: "Honorific forms in Hindi – 2° and 3° person"			
person	intimate	familiar/informal	honorific
2°	*tū*	*tum*	*āp / āp log (pl.)*
3°	-	-	*ve / (āp / āp log?)*[73]

As the table suggests, *āp* could also be employed while addressing persons indirectly. Its use – however – is quite limited (cfr. note 78).

The third person plural *ve* may also be used for indicating a singular referee. Example (23) – here reported in (7) – shows that the pronoun used with regards to the Prime minister is in fact *ve*, a third person plural pronoun, and accordingly also the verb agreement follows this choice: *hæ̃* 'are' is employed in place of *hæ* 'is'.

(7) pradhānmantri ne kahā ki **ve** rājyă mẽ
primeminister-ERG say.PERF that he.HON state in
kānūn-vyăvasthā kī sthiti se **cĩtit** **hæ̃**[74]
law&order of situation from worried is.HON(are)
The prime minister said that he is worried about the law and order situation in the state

[73] *āp* may also be used when not addressing directly the person at issue. For instance, in a dialogue in which three people are present, one may introduce to one interlocutor the third person by addressing him with *āp*. Let us consider the following example, in which Ramesh introduces to Vikram his old friend Prakash, who is a doctor.

a. mæ̃ ramesh hữ, āp vikram ji hæ̃ ɔr āp dɔkṭor sujhata hæ̃,
I Ramesh am you.HON Vikram Ji are(pl.) & he.HON doctor Sujhata is(pl.)
āp mere purāne dost hæ̃
he.HON my old friend is(pl.)
I am Ramesh, you are Vikram Ji and this is Dr. Sujhata, he is my old friend.

[74] ELRA

Reflexives and reciprocals

A last remark needs to be made in reference to the reflexives and the reciprocals in *Hindi*, since we will later understand the properties they entail.

Table 23: "Reflexives and reciprocals in *Hindi*"	
svayam / k͡hud	'self', for persons only
apne āp	'self', for persons and things
apnā, -e, -ī	'self-POS'
āp hī / āp hī āp	'by oneself', only adverbial
ek dūsre	each other, reciprocal

Let us first consider the reflexives.

(8) sangītā ne āīne mẽ āpne āp ko dekhā
Sangeeta-ERG mirror in self ACC see.PERF
Sangeeta saw herself in the mirror

(9) memsahib svayam k͡hānā banāẽgī
Memsahib self food prepare.FUT
Memsahib will prepare food by herself

(10) yah maśīn kām kar ke apne āp ruktī hæ
this machine work √do PART self stop.IMP AUX
This machine, once the job is done, stops by itself/automatically.

Similarly to what was seen for Latin, *Hindi* has specific possessives that are employed when they are coindexed with the subject of the clause they belong to. On the other hand, when disjoint reference is pursued, then a plain possessive is placed.

(11)prakaś apne ghar mẽ pūre din rahā
Prakash self-POS house in full day stay.PERF
Prakash$_i$ stayed in his$_i$ house the whole day

(12)prakaś uske ghar mẽ pūre din rahā
Prakash his-POS house in full day stay.PERF
Prakash$_i$ stayed in his$_j$ house the whole day

Example (11) clearly indicates that the house at issue is Prakash's, while example (12) necessarily shows disjoint reference.

As far as reciprocals are concerned, *Hindi* uses *ek dūsre*. Let us consider the following example.

(13)bacce ek dūsrõ ke piche dɔṛh rahe the
children each other of behind √run PROG AUX.PAST
The children were running after each other.

Double Access Reading and Hindi

When an embedded sentence depending on a past verb shows a present, English and Italian, among others, allow only for a reading of the temporal location with reference both to the speaker and the subject of the main clause. It is not the case, then, that the present of the embedded sentence is checked only according to the matrix subject or only to the speaker.

Let us consider an example[75]:

(14)Paolo ha detto che Maria è incinta

(15)Paul said that Mary is pregnant

According to both sentences, it is implied that Mary's pregnancy is present both at the saying event by Paul and *now*, the speaker's time. This phenomenon is known as *Double Access Reading* (DAR).

[75] On Double Access Reading, Complementizer Deletion, Indexicals and related subject, cfr. Giorgi (2009)

This can be better understood by looking at the result given by a semantically incoherent time reference in the matrix clause. Let us suppose it to be *two years ago*.

(16)*Due anni fa Paolo ha detto che Maria è incinta

(17)*Two years ago Paul said that Mary is pregnant

Sentences (16) and (17) are both unfelicitous. Given the fact that pregnancy usually lasts for nine months, if we accept the DAR theory then we understand why such result appears: as a matter of fact, the syntactical structure of the sentence entails a double reading of the embedded tense, viz. a present, with regards both to Paul's time (*two years ago*) and to the speaker's (*now*). Consequently, the result is unfelicitous: the pregnancy cannot last so much time. This is a proof for such double reading to occur.

However, DAR is not a universal property shared by all languages. Romanian, for instance, is not subject to it. Accordingly, the same construction given in (17) is perfectly correct.

(18)Acum 2 ani Gianni a spus ca Maria e insarcinata

In Romanian, the embedded tense does not require an embedded tense to check with reference to the speaker's temporal coordinates.

This is true for *Hindi* as well.

(19)jɔn ne kahā ki karīnā garbhvatī hæ
John-ERG say.PERF that Kareena pregnant is
John said that Kareena is/was pregnant

If we place the same sentence in another temporal context, by adding a time reference in the matrix clause, the result is grammatical and correct.

(20)do sāl pahle jɔn ne kahā ki karīnā garbhvatī hæ
two years ago John-ERG say.PERF that Kareena pregnant is
Two years ago John said that Kareena was pregnant

Sentences (19) and (20) are equal, except for the presence of the temporal location in the latter. Otherwise, they are identical: the embedded tenses are both present.

If we consider the sentences from Italian and English given above, we could represent the time as relations, as follows:

– *e overlaps e'*

where *e'* is the matrix event and *e* the subordinate event.

Now, where DAR occurs, the verbs are indexical and thus in the course of derivation, ultimately the event is related also to the *utterance* time, so that *e overlaps e'(U).* For non-DAR languages, however this does not occur, and *e* always points to *e'* which is a variable depending on the matrix clause only.

On the other hand, if the embedded clause has a future tense, the time relation would be *e follows e'*. In English and Italian this implies that ultimately *e follows e'(U),* so that the embedded tense needs to be interpreted as future also in relation to the speaker's coordinates.

(21)Paolo ha detto che Maria telefonerà

(22)Paul will say that Mary will call

Both sentences imply that the *call* event is future to both Paul and to the speaker. In non-DAR languages, however, this is possible but not necessary. Let us consider a *Hindi* sentence:

(23)pol ne kahā ki mærī fon karegī
Paul-ERG say.PERF that Mary phone do.FUT

a. Paul said that Mary will call

b. Paul said that Mary would call

a. and b. suggest two different readings of sentence (23): in the first case the call event follows also the utterance time, while in the other it follows only the matrix event.

In fact, it seems that in non-DAR languages, what matters most in the time reference is the *bearer of the attitude*, rather than the *speaker*.

Indexical adverbs in Hindi

Interestingly, in *Hindi*, also indexical items, such as *kal* ‘yesterday/tomorrow’ and *parsõ* ‘the day before yesterday/the day after tomorrow’, get reference from the *bearer of the attitude* rather than from the *speaker*. This is not surprising, though, since it is a non-DAR language. The same would hold for Chineese, Japaneese or Romanian too. Actually, in non-DAR languages the speakers coordinates are not considered, unless they are the only reference available.

Let us consider an example.

(24)oktūbar das tārīkh ko jɔn ne kahā
October ten date at John-ERG say.PERF
ki kal dost āegā
that tomorrow friend come.FUT
On October 10 John said that the next day a friend would come.
(Lit. […] that tomorrow a friend will come).

This example shows that the indexical item, *kal*, gets the correct reading according to John’s perspective. Actually, tomorrow in the example refers to October 11, disregarding the speaker’s coordinates that would yield for an interpretation that pivots on *now*. Besides, a plain future tense is employed in the embedded clause, in place of other phrases or modals, which are instead required in DAR languages:

(25)Il 10 ottobre Gianni ha detto che l’indomani sarebbe arrivato un amico

(26)*Il 10 ottobre Gianni$_i$ ha detto che domani$_i$ (11 ottobre) arriverà un amico

Example (26) is crossed out under a reading in which *domani* ‘tomorrow’ is Gianni’s tomorrow, instead of the speaker’s.

Besides, *parsõ* as well ‘the day after tomorrow/the day before yesterday’ yields the same *bearer of attitude* interpretation as *kal* ‘tomorrow’, viz. from the matrix subject’s perspective.

(27)disambar das tārīkh ko jɔn ne kahā ki
Dicember ten date ACC John-ERG say.PERF that
parsõ skūl band hogā
the day after tomorrow school close.FUT
On December 10th John said that in two days the school would close

Interestingly, *Hindi* does not distinguish between yesterday and tomorrow: in fact, the adverb employed is the same for both, *kal*. This is true also for *parsõ*, which refers both to the day after tomorrow and to the day before yesterday. Besides, there seem to be no synonym for these adverbs. And, yet, they seem to be the only ones with such double reading.

As far as their ethymology is concerned, *kal* stems from the *Sanskrit kayla* which means 'early morning', and in *Hindi* means yesterday, while *parsõ* derives from the *Sanskrit paraśvă:* 'the day after tomorrow'. In *Hindi* however, they have both assumed the double interpretation.[76]

As far as spatial locutions are concerned, they also seem to get the same *bear of attitude* interpretation. From the data collected, the people interviewed would all agree that *here* and *there* too refer to the matrix subject.

(28)jɔn ne jo lanḍon mẽ rahtā hæ
John-ERG REL London in live.IMP AUX
mujhse kahā ki **yahɜ̃** bāriś ho rahī hæ
me.INSTR say.PERF that here rain √be PROG AUX
John, who lives in London, said that there it was raining.
(Lit. [...] that here it is raining)

yahɜ̃ for the interviewees would undoubtedly refer to John's perspective, so that *yahɜ̃* stands for *London*. Besides, it is also possible to note that the progressive construction employs a present tense, in line with what is expected in non-DAR languages.

[76] Thanks to Mr. Chitranjan

Reported speech in Hindi

Let us now move on into another important question: the *reported speech*.

Is there any *reported speech* in *Hindi*? What kinds of reports are licensed in the language? What are their properties? Which perspectives are adopted?

According to Oukul (2008), for the direct and indirect discourse in *Hindi* there is no syntactic device that serves as introducer for disambiguating between the former and the latter; besides, the complementizer *ki* may precede the report in a subordinate relation to the matrix *verb of communication*. Within this terminology, he actually accounts for such verbs as: *kahnā* 'say', *puchnā* 'ask', *likhnā* 'write', *sunnā* 'hear', *socnā* 'think', *cāhnā* 'desire/want'.[77] However, it is unlikely to include *think* or *desire* as introducers of some *reported* content, since a *reported speech* should somehow imply a speech act.

In effect, the Italian language does not allow for such constructions:

(29)* Paolo vuole: "Io partirò per sempre"
Paul wants I leave.FUT forever

(30)?? Paolo pensa: "Io partirò per sempre"
Paul thinks I leave.FUT forever

Sentences (31) and (32) cannot have a quotation as complement. The same holds also for English:

(31)* Paul wants: "I will go away forever"

(32)?? Paul thinks: "I will go away forever"

However, the following sentence seems to be more acceptable than ex. (32):

(33)Paolo pensava (fra sé e sé): "Io partirò per sempre"

The matrix clause in (35) hosts a past form indicative, that may show continuity or extension of an event. In this case the sentence is definitely more acceptable.

[77] Oukul (2008), p.182

Still, Aikhenvald (2007) showed that in *Manambu* a *direct speech report* could also appear even in the absence of a genuine speech act, while *indirect* and *semi-direct* speeches never did. She brought forward an example containing a speech attributed to a cat, that cannot, of course, be the author of any actual speech event.

(34)[pusi væn tə-na-d]
cat see+SEQ keep-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgSUBJ.NP
[papər kə-kə-tua]
later eat-FUT-1sgSUBJ.NP+3fem.sgOBJ.NP
[wa-na-d] [78]
say-ACT.FOC-3masc.sgSUBJ.NP
The cat keeps looking (at the duckling), he wants to eat her later.
(Lit. He says: "I will eat her later").

She then summarized each speech report properties in the table reported below:

Table 24. "Semi-direct, direct and indirect speech reports in Manambu: a comparison"[79]

Properties of speech report	*Direct speech reports*	*Semi-direct speech reports*	*Indirect speech reports*
Shift in personal, temporal or spatial deixis	none	partial: shift in free pronouns	yes
Co-extensive with a clause	not necessarily		yes
Speech report introducer *ata* 'then, thus'	yes		no
Pause between reporting verb and	optional		no

[78] Aikhenvald (2007), p. 391, ex. (11)
[79] ibidem p. 397, Table 4

the speech report			
Vocatives and exclamations	yes		no
Discontinuous speech report	possible	not attested	no
Speech report can precede or follow the reporting clause	yes	always precedes	
Types of speech act reported	statement, question, command	statements and commands	only command
Can be conventionalized	yes	no	
Speech report implies a speech event	not necessarily	always	
Different forms of verb in speech reports mark involvement of the original speaker in performing activity	no	possible	

As far as *Hindi* is concerned though, even if Oukul (2008) stated that "no syntactic device" intervenes before a reported speech in order to distinguish between a direct and an indirect speech report, we still have to account for a new trend that is emerging in the language, regarding the implementation of quotation marks – a feature that is claimed by some speakers to be borrowed from English.

(35) rɔn ne pūchā, ‘tum kis bāre mẽ bātẽ kar rahe ho, mælfɔy?’[80]
Ron-ERG ask.PERF you what.obl about talk PROG AUX Malfoy
Ron asked: “What are you talking about, Malfoy?”
‘What are you talking about, Malfoy?’, said Ron roughly.[81]

(36) vah hameśā ek hī vākyă boltā thā: ‘vah hɔgvarṭs mẽ hæ...’[82]
he always one emph sentence say.IMP AUX he hogwarts in is
He always used to say only one sentence: “He’s at Hogwarts...”
Always the same words: “He’s at Hogwarts...”[83]

In the examples above, we clearly see a style resembling the English text, adopting the quotation marks.

If we look into another kind of literature, the religious texts from the Bible for instance, we see the same pattern:

(37)logõ ne kahā, “ham apne lie ek nagar banāẽ
people ERG say.PERF we ourselves for one city build.SUBJ.FUT
ɔr ek bahut ũcī imārat banāẽge jo ākāś ko chuegī [...]”[84]
and one very high tower build.FUT REL sky ACC touch.FUT
People said: “Let’s build for ourselves a city and a very high tower that will touch the sky”
And they said: “Come, let us make a city and a tower, so that its height may reach to heaven[85].

(38)yīśu ne usse kahā, “khaṛā ho,
Jesus ERG him.INSTR say.PERF standing √be.IMPER
apnā bistar uṭhā ɔr cal paṛ”[86]

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[80] J.K. Rowling, “hærī pɔṭar ɔr azkābān kā qædī” (hindi translation of “Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban”), translated by Dr. Sudhir Dixit, 2006, p. 117
[81] Original text by J.K. Rowling, Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban, p. 127
[82] Hindi translation, p. 65
[83] Original text
[84] Genesis 11, 4
[85] Holy Bible, Catholic Public Domain Version, Original Edition, translated, edited and published by Ronald L. Conte Jr., 2009, 2010
[86] John 5, 8

self bed √raise.IMPER and √go INT.IMPER
Jesus said to him, "Rise, take up your stretcher, and walk".[87]

After the introducing predicate, in both occurrances, a comma and quotation markings are employed.

If we look into *Hindi* literature, there also we find some syntactical devices used for the purpose of introducing direct speech. The style may vary from author to author, but let us consider a few examples from Munshi Premchand, considered one of the greatest authors of all *Hindi* literature.

(39)lælā ne pūchā – tum kɔn ho?[88]
Laila ERG ask.PERF you who are
Laila asked – who are you?

(40)hāmid ne pūchā – ye log corī karvāte hæ̃,
Hamid ERG ask.PERF these people theft do.CAUS.IMP AUX
to koī inhẽ pakaṛtā nahĩ̃?[89]
then someone these.ACC catch.IMP NEG
Hamid asked – these people commission thefts, then doesn't anybody arrest them?

Premchand uses dash marking (–) for introducing *direct speech* quotations.

So far, then, there seem to be no great peculiarities regarding *Hindi* speech reports, a part from some stylistic variations.

What is striking, though, is the fact that at times the complementizer *ki* also takes place between the introducing clause and the speech report. This is interesting, because usually subordinative complementizer do not introduce direct speeches at all. In Italian or English, for instance, it is never allowed.

(41)Paolo ha detto *che: "Corri qui!"

(42)Paul said *that, "Run over here!"

[87] Translation by Ronald L. Conte Jr.
[88] Munśi, Premcand. "lælā", n/a
[89] Munśi, Premcand. "īdgāh", 1933, Chand

(43)Paolo ha detto *che: “A me non piace affatto lo sport”

(44)Paul said *that, “I dont’ like sports at all”

What is possible, instead, is an indirect speech introduced by the complementizer, *che* for Italian and *that* for English.

(45)Paolo ha detto che lo sport non gli piace affatto.

(46)Paul said that he does not like sports at all.

In *Hindi*, still suprisingly, it is possible for an *imperative* to be placed in the embedded sentence introduced by *ki*.

Let us consider the following examples:

(47)baharhāl chitragupt maharāj ne mujhse kahā ki
Baharhaal Chitragupt Maharaj-ERG me.INSTR say.PERF that
āiye āpko parlok dikhāte hæ̃[90]
come.IMPER you.HON.ACC afterworld show.IMP AUX
Baharhaal Chitragupt Maharaaj told me: “Come, I will show you the afterworld”
(Lit. ...told me that come I will show you the afterworld)

(48)yīśu ne un ke man kī bātẽ mālūm karke kahā,
Jesus ERG them of mind of words know PART say.PERF
ki tum log apne apne man mẽ burā vicār kyõ kar rahe ho?[91]
that you people self-self mind in bad thoughts why do PROG AUX
Jesus, knowing what they thought in their minds, said: “Why do you think so evilly in your hearts?” (Lit. said that why do you...)
And when Jesus had perceived their thoughts, he said: “Why do you think such evil in your hearts?[92]

As far as spoken *Hindi* is concerned, it also allows for *imperatives* to appear in the embedded clause introduced by *ki*:

[90] IBN Khabar
[91] Matthew 9, 4
[92] Translation by Ronald L. Conte Jr.

(49)mizān ne kariśmā se kahā ki
Mizaan ERG Karishma INSTR say.PERF that
tum cup raho ɔr sab khā lo
you silent keep.IMPER and all √eat INT.IMPER
Mizaan told Karishma: "Be silent and eat everything!"

However, *ki* needs to be considered a complementizer for at least two reasons. First, we find it in many subordinating constructions even as part of other subordinating complementizers:

(50)kyõ ki 'because'

(51)*hālā̃ ki* 'even though, however'

Secondly, because the clauses introduced by *ki* are at times overtly subordinated and thus cannot be found as independent clauses. Indeed, *ki* can introduce a clause hosting a subjuntive verb, which cannot appear as an independent form.

Let us consider this couplet:

(52)*bārīś ho
rain be.SUBJ

(53)śāyād bāriś ho
maybe rain be.SUBJ
It may rain!

Sentence (53) is acceptable, only if *śāyād* 'maybe' also appears. The subjunctive then is licensed by the *dubitative* adverb.

The same holds also for Italian.

(54)* Piovesse!
rained.SUBJ

(55)Se solo piovesse!
if only rained.SUBJ
? If it only rained!

The presence of *se solo* allows for the subjunctive, while its absence gives rise to ungrammaticality, cfr. (54).

If we consider complex sentences, we see that the subjunctive cannot appear in a clause independently.

(56)* gə̃v mẽ bacce skūl na jāte hõ
village in children school NEG go.IMP AUX.SUBJ

(57)ho saktā hæ ki gə̃v mẽ bacce skūl na jāte hõ
√be can.IMP AUX that village in children school NEG go.IMP AUX

(58)* Nel villaggio i bambini non vadano a scuola

(59) È possibile che nel villaggio i bambini non vadano a scuola

These extra examples – apart from giving further evidence about the subordination properties of the subjunctive mood, already demonstrated in other works, by Quer (2009) for instance – show that *ki* is undoubtedly the introducer of subordinate clauses, and thus needs to be considered a true complementizer, as in (57).

Ki and extraposition

Furthermore, another interesting trait of *Hindi* regards the phenomenon of *extraposition*, which is employed when a topicalization or focalization is needed. Here the *ki* complementizer serves as *correlate* for the *demonstrative* antecedent, *yah*, which modifies the noun it precedes.

Let us compare these examples, borrowed from Subarrao (1984)[93], which all irrespectively translate the following English sentence:

– *Yesterday I got the news that those people won't be able to sing*

(60)(mujhe yah khabar (ki ve log nahĩ gā pāẽge)
[me-DAT this news [that those people NEG √sing can.FUT]
kal milī)
yesterday get.PERF].

[93] Subarrao (1984), Ch. VI, examples (1) – (3)

(61)[[mujhe yah khabar kal milī]
[[me-DAT this news yesterday get.PERF]
ki ve log nahĩ gā pāẽge]]
that those people NEG √sing can.FUT

(62)[mujhe [un logõ ke nahĩ gā pāne]
[me-DAT [those-people-of NEG √sing can.INF.obl]
kī khabar kal milī]
of news yesterday get.PERF]

These examples bear further evidence of the nature of *ki* as complementizer.

Ki in reported speech

In spite of the clear nature of *ki* as a complementizer, we need to consider that for *Hindi* speakers the following couplet constitutes a clear constrast between *direct* and *indirect discourse*. The interviewees have all agreed on labelling the first example as a *direct* speech report and the second one as and *indirect.*

(63)jɔn ne kahā ki mæ̃ bazār jāũgā
John ERG say.PERF that I market go.FUT
John said, 'I will go to the market'

(64)jɔn ne kahā ki vo bazār jāegā
John ERG say.PERF that he market go.FUT
John said that he would go to the market

In example (63) John's speech is reported as it was originally uttered in first person. The interpretation is quite straightforward: John is the one who will perform the action of going to the market.

Example (64), on the other hand, is the *indirect report* of John's speech, and thus the pronoun appears as a third person. In both occurances, however, *ki* is present, which is quite surprising, since in other languages no complementizers are allowed at all:

(65)Paolo ha detto *che: “Io verrò domani”

(66)Paul said that: “I will come tomorrow”

Hindi first person pronoun

However, if we change scenario and imagine John talking to us, thus including us as addresees in the speech, the interpretation is still straightforward but seems not fully coherent with the data presented above.

(67)jɔn ne kahā ki āp yahɛ̃ āiye
John ERG say.PERF that you.HON here come.IMPER
John said, ‘You come here”

(68)jɔn ne kahā ki mæ̃ vahɛ̃ jāũ
John ERG say.PERF that I there go.SUBJ
John asked me to go there.

Example (67) is a *direct speech* report, while example (68) is an *indirect speech* report. In fact, in (67) the addressee is a second person, *āp*, the mood is imperative and the adverb *yahɛ̃* ‘here’ gets reference from the matrix subject’s perspective.

On the contrary, example (68) hosts a first person pronoun *mæ̃* that is meant to corefer with the utterer, not with John. The adverb *vahɛ̃* ‘there’ truly relates to the utterer’s point of view – otherwise it should be *yahɛ̃* as above. Besides, the verbal form is a subjunctive, as expected.

If we compare sentence (63) with (68), we see that they have some important differences. First, the former example sounds to the native speakers as a *direct speech* while the latter as an *indirect speech*. Besides, the former hosts a future indicative in the embedded sentence, while the latter a subjunctive. If we change the mood in (63) as in (68), we observe that coreference is not licensed anymore, and the only possible reading is the one in which John asks us to go to the market.

(69)jɔn$_i$ ne kahā ki mæ̃$_{*i/j\ [+speaker]}$ bazār jāũ̃

Then it seems that the presence of a subjunctive in the embedded clause blocks the coreference reading. If we look at the same issue from a different perspective, we see that it could not be otherwise, since a direct speech report content is, ultimately, an independent clause, that could appear in isolation as well, and thus would not allow for dependent moods, like the subjunctive. In fact, we could infer that this phenomenon is a consequence of the nature of the subjunctive mood, which thus always yields either an *adverbial* construnction – cfr. example (53) – or a subordinative construction, which is introduced by *ki*.

Besides, if there is subordination, then the first person pronoun is naturally associated with the speaker's point of view, as found in other languages as well:

(70)Gianni$_i$ ha chiesto che io$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ andassi al mercato

Further constraints

Furthermore, this phenomenon seems to be related only to those contexts where a *saying* verb appears in the matrix predicate. Besides, also the mood of the embedded clause intervenes. If a subjective appears then the reading is not coreferential and *mæ̃* refers to the speaker.

(71)jɔn$_i$ ne kahā ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jitũ̃
John-ERG say.PERF that I win.SUBJ
John said that I (may) win

Furthermore, other verbs like: *fear*, *hope*, *think*, etc., do not trigger a coreference reading.

Let us look at the following examples:

cāhnā 'to wish'

(72)jɔn$_i$ cāhtā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ āũ
John want.IMP AUX that I come.SUBJ
John wants that I come

(73)jɔn$_i$ cāhtā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ baṛe ghar mẽ rahũ
John want.IMP AUX that I big house in live.SUBJ
John wants that I live in a big house

socnā 'to think'

(74)jɔn$_i$ soctā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jitũgā
John think.IMP AUX that I win.FUT
John thinks that I will win

(75)jɔn$_i$ soctā hæ ki mæ̃$_{?i/j[+speaker]}$ jitũ
John think.IMP AUX that I win.SUBJ
John thinks that I (may) win

mānnā 'to suppose, condider'

(76)jɔn māntā hæ ki mæ̃ jitũgā
John suppose.IMP AUX that I win.FUT
John supposes that I will win

(77)jɔn$_i$ māntā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ mæc jitũ
John suppose.IMP AUX that I match win.SUBJ
John supposes that I (may) win the match

viśvās karnā – DAT viśvās honā 'to believe'

(78)jɔn$_i$ viśvās kartā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jitũgā
John faith do.IMP AUX that I win.FUT
John believes that I will win

(79)jɔn$_i$ ko viśvās hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jitũgā
John-DAT faith is that I win.FUT
John believes that I will win

DAT ḍar honā ‘to fear’

(80)jɔn$_i$ ko ḍar hæ ki śāyād mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ bimār hoũ̃
John-DAT fear is that maybe I sick be.SUBJ
John fears that I may be sick

(81)jɔn$_i$ ko ḍar hæ ki mujhe$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jānā ho
John-DAT fear is that me-DAT go.INF be.SUBJ
John fears that I may have to go

DAT khed honā ‘to regret’

(82)jɔn$_i$ ko khed hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ harā hũ̃
John-DAT regret is that I lose.PERF AUX
John regrets that I have lost

afsos karnā ‘to regret’

(83)jɔn$_i$ afsos kartā hæ ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ bhārat se gayā hũ̃
John regret do.IMP AUX that I India from go.PERF AUX
John regrets that I went away from India

dekhnā ‘to see’

(84)jɔn$_i$ ne dekhā ki mæ̃$_{*i/j[+speaker]}$ jitā
John-ERG see.PERF that I win.PERF
John saw that I won

In all examples but one, coreference is never allowed. The only exception, suggested by one speaker, is found in (75): according to him, in fact, there could be coreference between the two subjects, *John* and *mæ̃*. A possible explanation for this, may lie in the fact that a thought can presuppose an inner dialogue with oneself, so that (75) is licensed by the belief of John that could be like (85):

(85)I think I may win

The table below summarizes which construnctions allow for a coreference reading and which do not.

Table 25: "First person pronoun coreference in embedded contexts"

	Matrix clause verb	Indicative	Subjunctive	Reference ex.
Nominative constructions	*kahnā* 'say'	yes	no	(71)
	cāhnā 'want'	-	no	(72), (73)
	socnā 'think'	no	no	(74), (75)
	mānnā 'suppose'	no	no	(76), (77)
	dekhnā 'see'	no	-	(84)
	viśvās karnā 'believe'	no	-	(78)
	afsos karnā 'regret'	no	-	(83)
Dative c.	*ḍar honā* 'fear'	-	no	(80), (81)
	viśvās honā 'believe'	no	-	(79)
	khed honā 'regret'	no	-	(82)

"-" (dash) indicates that verb and mood do not form a felicitous configuration

On the other hand, if we try to associate this phenomenon attested for *Hindi*, with regards to logophoric phenomena present in the languages introduced in the previous chapters, we still cannot find many similarities.

First person reference and logophoricity

The first person pronoun is considered an indexical item, or even a deictic, since you can also perform an indicating gesture while uttering it, as happens also with the second person pronoun. This characteristic implies

the fact that it gets reference from the context. In fact, most of the times it refers to the current speaker of a speech act, the *utterer*. In other words, the person requirement is satisfied by the one who delivers the speech act.

Accordingly, let us consider an English sentence.

(86)$John_i$ said that $I_{*i/j[+utterer]}$ will get married with Paula

Not only does the first person pronoun need to indicate a referee other than John, but it actually needs to be coindexed with the current speaker of the speech act, in this case myself. Conversely, if we want to report another sentence, like (87):

(87)John said: "I will get married with Paula"

we necessarily need to readjust the person coordinates and convert the first person pronoun, *I*, into a third person masculine singular pronoun, *he*:

(88)$John_i$ said that $he_{i/j[-utterer]}$ will get married with Paula

We can infer, then, that in English we cannot make reference to the actual current speaker with anything other than a first person pronoun.[94]

On the other hand, some languages allow for a use of the first person pronoun in a contextual-dependent way. For instance, in Amharic, the official language of Ethiopia, it does not seem to bear what we could dub [+utterer] traits, but rather [+speaker] only, unlike the English, *I*, that have both [+utterer] [+speaker]. Thus, English seems not to distinguish between the person that is actually delivering the utterance and the original speaker of the content. On the other hand, by saying that Amharic assigns only [+utterer] traits to its first person pronoun, we still cannot infer that it does not have any other strategies to deploy, in order to call attention to the actual speaker.

If we consider the example reported in Schlenker (2003)[95], we can understand how this different domain works in both languages.

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[94] Thus, we could also use *we*, in place of *I*.

a. $John_i$ said that $we_{i+j/j+k}$ won (j[+speaker])

[95] Schlenker (2003), *A plea of monsters,* Linguistics & Philosophy 26: 29-120, ex. 3

(89)John$_i$ said that I$_i$ am a hero (Amharic)

(90)John$_i$ said that I$_{*i/j[+utterer]}$ am a hero (English)

First-person logophoricity

Curnow (2002) defines first-person logophoricity as a strategy some languages use in order to convey coreference between an embedded subject and a matrix NP, by adopting first-person morphology in the subordinate verbal form, in place of third-person morphology.

(91)àbʊ papà tolim ɛbè àlózì iŋèz morotó[96]
AUX father say that 1.SG.go.NONPAST 3SG Moroto
The father$_i$ said that he$_i$ was going to Moroto

Similarly to the *semi-direct speech* properties, accounted for in Aikhenvald (2007), there exists a correlation between "pure" logophoric pronouns and the logophoric use of first person pronouns.

Indeed, as she reports, this phenomenon is reminiscent of the semi-direct speech Type 1, namely the one in which the perspective presented identifies with the *original speaker's.*

Let us compare (92) with (93).

(92)lə-kə maməkata wa-lə-l a-də du [pause] wun kəta
she elder.sibling-DAT then say DEM man I now
an-a:m kə-kər ata wa-na-d[97]
1du-OBJ eat-DES thus say
*She said to her elder sister thus: "That man$_i$: 'I$_i$ want to eat **us** now' (he$_i$) said"*

[96] The example in Karimojong is cited in Curnow (2002) from Novelli (1985:531)
[97] Aikhenvald (2007), p. 395

(93)Oumar minnɛ inyemɛ mɔ̃ gɛndɛzɛm gi
Oumar field LOG POSS regard-PROG.1SG said[98]
Oumar$_i$ said that he$_i$ will look at his$_i$ field, (lit. Oumar$_i$ said 'I$_i$ will look at his$_i$ field')

In example (4) we see that the object of the embedded clause *an-a:m*, a dual pronoun 'us', is used while quoting from the words the man said to the girl, that, of course, originally must have been delivered with a second person pronoun.

[98] ibidem, p. 408

VI. Obviation and Hindi

Obviation

Some languages, among which Italian, Spanish and other Western Romance Languages, show the impossibility for a pronoun of an embedded clause featuring a subjunctive to corefer with the subject of the matrix clause.

(1) Gianni$_i$ vuole che *pro*$_{*i/j}$ legga il libro[99]
Gianni wants that *pro* read.SUBJ the book

Clause types other than subjunctive ones, on the other hand, do not give rise to such a constraint:

(2) Gianni$_i$ ha detto che *pro*$_{i/j}$ leggerà il libro
Gianni said that *pro* read.FUT the book

(3) Gianni$_i$ ha detto che *pro*$_{i/j}$ avrebbe letto il libro
Gianni said that *pro* would read the book

This phenomenon has raised many problems, since it challenged the Principle B of the Binding Theory that would license the coreference between the matrix subject and the pronoun, as shown in the sentences (2) or (3), also in (1), due to its syntactical configuration, where Gianni is c-commanding *pro*. However this is not the case, having (1) the only acceptable reading in the disjoint reference.

Consequently, this has put forward a correlation between *mood* and *syntax*, which proved to be the trigger for the *obviative* constraint, strengthening a *syntax-semantics interface* approach.

[99] Cfr. Costantini (2009)

Cross-linguistically, there are some differences, as shown by Costantini (2006) in his doctoral dissertation: in Italian, for instance, all kinds of subjunctive trigger *obviation*, while in Spanish – according to Kempchinsky (1987)[100] – only two types seem to do so, *volitionals* and *desideratives*:

(4) Paco$_i$ quiere que *pro*$_{*i/j}$ estudie latín

(5) Ana$_i$ lamenta que *pro*$_{i/j}$ tenga tanto trabajo

Another definition of *obviation* – suggested by Schlenker (2005) – is *unavailability of de se*[101] *reading*, which entails the attitude of the subject at issue towards the propositional content. Following Schlenker (2005), obviation should not arise when the sentence is not suitable for a *de se* reading, viz. when there is no conscious participation of the subject.

In order to better understand what this proposal implies, let us first consider the scenario proposed in Castañeda (1966) and, later on, cited among others by Higginbotham (1992).

The scenario is about a man, who is suffering from amnesia due to war injuries, and is reading a book about what happened during the war he fought in. Reading on, he finds some information about a soldier, who proved to be a great hero. Being amnesiac, though, he does not realize that the war hero is in fact himself. This notwithstanding, he may come to think (6):

(6) The soldier is a hero

If we have to report what the amnesiac man thought, we can only accpet sentence (7):

(7) The man believes that he is a hero

[100] Costantini (2009) suggests that the examples commented by Kempchinsky (1987) may be subject to some weakening effects he presents in Costantini (2009) ch. 3

[101] In Castañeda (1966, 1968) this is referred to as *first-person interpretation*, which implies the consciousness of the subject towards a proposition he's involved in. We will see the scenario he suggests.

(8) The man believes that he himself is a hero

(9) The man believes himself to be a hero

Considering the amnesia of the soldier, the only felicitous description is (7), since (8) and (9) both imply consciousness towards the proposition. But he is not aware of being the same person described in the book, so he is not *attitude bearer* and thus there is no *de se* reading.

If we consider examples (8) and (9) we can see two different syntactic constructions: (8) shows a matrix clause that introduces an embedded clause by means of the *that* complementizer. The verb in the subordinate clause shows tense features [+present, + finite]. Conversely, (9) does not have any tensed verb in the embedded clause but shows an infinitive verb, with a PRO subject:

(10)[The man believes $\underline{\text{himself}_i}$ [PRO_i to be a hero]]

Being PRO in a position controlled by the NP of the superordinate clause, the presence of PRO always determines a *de se reading*, as suggested by Higginbotham (1992).

Now, following the same reasoning, if in the scenario the man came to think that the war hero should be given an acknowledgement by the authorities, by having this belief:

(11)The man should be acknowledged by the president

we could describe the situation as follows:

(12)The man expects that he will be acknowledged by the president

However, we cannot accept within the same scenario these interpretations, for the reasons expressed above:

(13)The man expects PRO to be acknowledged by the president

(14)The man expects that he himself will be acknowledged by the president

These latter sentences are, in fact, conceivable only under a *de se* reading, while sentence (12) needs not.

Schlenker (2005) was the first to define *obviation* as unavailability of *de-se* reading, thus accounting for the acceptability of sentence (15), in case the subject of the matrix clause is not the *attitude bearer* of the content reported in the embedded clause:

(15)George$_i$ voudrait qu'il$_i$ soit élu
George would-want that he be.SUBJ elected

Example (15), then, is acceptable in a scenario in which George is not able to identify himself with the candidate at issue: the reasons why, of course, may vary. One hypothesis may be that George is a supporter of a party that – unbeknownst to him – has chosen George himself as the running candidate. Therefore, George, who is a true supporter of that party, may genuinely want his party's candidate to win the election, without knowing who, in fact, the candidate is.

In this scenario, George is not the *attitude bearer*.

Besides, in the same scenario an infinitival construction – given in (16) – is ruled out, as expected, since PRO always entails a *de-se* reading:

(16)George$_i$ voudrait PRO$_i$ être élu
George would-want to-be elected

On the other hand, in a different situation the following sentence:

(17)Gianni$_i$ vuole che *pro*$_{*i}$ vinca la gara

is not felicitous with the *pro* coreferent with the subject of the superordinate clause, because Gianni, in fact, is obviously conscious about his desire to win the race. So he is considered the *bearer of attitude* for that context.

Thanks to Costantini (2006) – who gave an insight into the matter – we see that the phenomenon is not as straightforward as it may seem: besides, *obviation* is subject to some weakening effects when the subjunctive verb appears in a periphrastic construction, given by time, voice or modality.

Let us consider the following example:

(18)Gianni$_i$ pensa che *pro*$_{\%?i/j}$ abbia superato l'esame
John think that AUX.SUBJ pass.PERF the exam
John$_i$ thinks that he$_i$ has passed the exam

As the subscript suggests, sentence (18) if it is not fully acceptable when the *pro* of the embedded clause is interpreted as coreferent with the subject of the matrix clause, it is however unquestionably better than (19), which is completely ruled out:

(19)Gianni$_i$ vuole che *pro*$_{*i/j}$ legga molti libri
John$_i$ wants that he$_i$ read.SUBJ many books
John$_i$ wants that he$_i$ reads many books

In fact, the more the main verb is periphrastic, the more co-indexation is acceptable, as shown by the Italian example (20) that features a modal verb *potere* 'can' and a passive construction:

(20)Mario$_i$ sperava che *pro*$_{i/j}$ potesse essere scelto
Mario$_i$ hoped that *pro*$_{i/j}$ can.SUBJ.IMP AUX.PASS choose.PERF
come prossimo candidato alle elezioni
as next candidate at the elections
Mario$_i$ hoped that he$_{i/j}$ could be chosen as the next candidate at the elections

Then, if one tries to go beyond the surface given by the grammatical categories involved, we see that ultimately what really matters is the theta-role assignment, and specifically the referee which is assigned the

experiencer theta-role, as suggested by Costantini (2006). Otherwise, we would not understand why (21) or (22), as well, give rise to *obviation*[102]:

(21)A Gianni$_i$ dispiace che *pro*$_{*i/j}$ parta domani
to Gianni regrets that *pro* leave.SUBJ tomorrow
Gianni$_i$ *regrets that he*$_{*i/j}$ *leaves tomorrow*

(22)Lo$_i$ preoccupa che *pro*$_{*i/j}$ parta domani
him.ACC worries that *pro* leave.SUBJ tomorrow
He$_i$ *is worried that he*$_{*i/j}$ *leaves tomorrow*

None of the arguments of the matrix clause in the examples above are, in fact, subjects – marked with nominative case – but, rather, they are assigned the experiencer theta-role by the verbs *dispiacere* 'regret' and *preoccupare* 'worry'. In sentence (21) *Gianni* is in a dative construction, while in (22) the pronoun *lo* appears in accusative marking.

If the embedded verb is periphrastic, we witness a weakening effect on the *obviation* also when the argument is not marked with nominative case, as shown in (24):

(23)Gli$_i$ dispiaceva che *pro*$_{i/j}$ potesse aver fatto
him.DAT regret that *pro* can.SUBJ.IMP AUX do.PERF
molti errori
many mistakes
He regretted that he may have done many mistakes

According to Costantini (2009), with regards to the matrix clauses, '*only arguments that are assigned the experiencer theta-role […] must be referentially disjoint from the embedded subject*'[103]. This means that no

[102] Costantini (2009) p.50-51
[103] ibidem

matter what grammatical category is involved, obviation depends rather on the function the argument embodies in the context.

Apart from that, also passives weaken the *obviative* constraint:

(24)Gianni$_i$ chiese a Maria che *pro*$_{i/j}$ fosse autorizzato a partire
Gianni asked Maria-DAT that *pro* be.SUBJ

Thus, (25) is acceptable under a coreference reading between the subject of the matrix clause and the *pro* in the embedded clause.

Considering the definition given by Schlenker (2005) about *obviation*, viz. "*unavailability of de se reading*", we can now understand why some contexts featuring subjunctive do allow co-indexation where *obviation* should instead arise.

Let us consider sentences subject to control, while keeping in mind that according to Higginbhotam (1992) control entails a *de-se* only reading[104].

Let us further consider that in pragmatics two widely accepted rules are "Maximize presuppositions!" and "Prefer *de-se*!"

According to the *competition theories*[105] supported by Bouchard (1983, 1984), Farkas (1992) and Schlenker (2005), the Elsewhere Principle[106]

[104] Subjunctive is instead thought to be a *semantic default*, bearing no presuppositions cfr. Schlenker (2005)

[105] They maintain that *obviation* arises in those contexts where an infinitive clause can replace a subjunctive clause, by means of PRO, conveying an anaphoric reading. Consider the following *excerpta:*

a. Anderson (1986:4) "Whenever one rule is more specific than another in the sense that the forms subject to the first constitute a proper subset of those subject to the second, the application of the more specific rule precludes the later application of the more general, less specific one". (Elsewhere Principle)

plays an important role in *obviative* contexts, because, if applied to the subject position in subjunctive or infinitive contexts, it rules that whenever possible an anaphor should be preferred to convey anophoric reading in place of a pronoun, that is, when possible an infinitival clause (introduced by the anaphor PRO) should be preferred to an embedded subjunctive.

What if the presuppositions implied in the control clause (*de se*) give rise to a semantic failure, not compatible with the scenario they refer to? In this case *obviation* would not arise.

Let us refer back to the scenario suggested by Castañeda (1966, 1968). Given the amnesia of the man involved in that case, we can accept only the sentence reported again below:

(25)The man believes that he is a hero

even if PRO is an available alternative, as reported in (27), because it would give rise to a semantic failure: the man cannot have any consciousness about being the hero, due to his illness.

(26)The man believes PRO to be a hero

If the *de-se* reading were acceptable in the context, "Maximize presupposition!" and "Prefer *de-se*!" would rule the subjunctive clause out, preferring the infinitival instead. Still, given this peculiar scenario, (27) is not felicitous and thus (26) is fully acceptable.

Another approach that tries to account for the phenomenon of *obviation* is to be searched among those scholars that suggest an extension of the

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b. Bouchard (1984): "Don't put a pronoun in a position where an anaphor is possible, that is, in a position where the pronoun will be interpreted as coreferential with an NP that can bind it."

[106] cfr. note 104 a.

Governing Category of the subject of any subjunctive structure, under the *Binding Theory*.

The principle B, for instance, holds that a *Pronominal is free in its Governing Category*[107]. Accordingly, it seems to contrast with the empiric phenomenon of *obviation*. However, if we extend the Governing Category of the subject of the embedded subjunctive clause beyond the clausal level to comprise the subject of the superordinate clause, *obviation* can be licensed.[108]

According to Costantini (2006), after a close scrutiny of the theories adopted to explain *obviation*, the *Competition theories* seem a more significant approach to the matter, still unable, though, to account for some anomalies.

For example, in the Suñer's (1986) sentence reported below, *obviation* does not arise even if the infinitival construction is also available:

(27)Pedro$_i$ negó que *pro*$_{i/j}$ supiera la verdad
Pedro denied that pro know.SUBJ the truth
Pedro$_i$ *denied that he*$_i$ *knew the truth*

(28)Pedro$_i$ negó PRO$_i$ saber la verdad
Pedro denied PRO know.INF the truth
Pedro denied knowing the truth

No obviation in Hindi

As far as *Hindi* is concerned, a subordinate clause hosting a subjunctive allows a coreference reading between the matrix third person pronoun and the embedded one, while for other languages this is not possible, as discussed in the previous paragraphs.

Let us again consider an example from Italian:

[107] Chomsky (1981)
[108] Costantini (2009)

(29)Gianni$_i$ vuole che *pro*$_{*i/j}$ legga il libro

This sentence does not allow for the embedded subject to corefer with the superordinate.

Conversely, in *Hindi* coreference is possible and may be even the most suitable possibility in some sentences devoid of context.

Let us see what happens:

(30)jɔn$_i$ cāhtā hæ ki vah$_{i/j}$ mæc jīte
John want.IMP AUX that he match win.SUBJ
John wants to win the match

In this case it seems that not only John is a possible antecedent for *vah* 'he/she', but he is also the preferred referee. In fact, if there are no other options already mentioned in the discourse, then *vah* automatically selects the one available, viz. the superordinate subject, even if the verb is in subjunctive mood.

If the reason why obviation arises is accounted for by the *Competition theories*, then we would expect the infinitive to be the only acceptable option, in case of a competition with the subjunctive. However, again, *Hindi* shows some anomalies.

If we discuss about the *de-se* attitude of a subject in a given sentence, we have already stated that crosslinguistically an infinitival construction with a PRO subject always entails a *de-se* reading only, as suggested by Higginbotham (1992). However, it seems that in *Hindi* an infinitival and a tensed construnction may share the same *de-se* properties[109]:

(31)jɔn ko āśā hæ ki śāyād vo k͡huś ho
John-DAT hope is that maybe he happy be.SUBJ
John hopes that he may be happy

(32)jɔn ṭhīk hone kī āśā kartā hæ
John well be.INF of hope do.IMP AUX
John hopes to be well

[109] Thanks to Prof. Mahajan Anoop for the comments on the data provided

This would give rise to some doubts about the *competition theories*.

Besides, even if collecting data about this very matter (*de-se* properties of a proposition) is a hard task, we have come across some judgements that may turn out to be helpful for the discussion. Of course, we cannot solely rely on the data provided below, but further research is needed for a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomena involved.

However, we have presented Castañeda's scenario to a couple of speakers. According to them (33) is acceptable with a coreference reading. On the other hand, (34) is not felicitous, because of *svayam* 'self', which implies a conscience of the subject in the content expressed in the embedded clause. So far, then, there seem to be no difference with regards to the phenomena observed for English and Italian, for instance (cfr. p. 88-89).

(33)ādmī soctā hæ ki vo nāyak hæ
man think.IMP AUX that he hero is
The man thinks that he is a hero

(34)ādmī soctā hæ ki vo svayăm nāyak hæ
man think.IMP AUX that he self hero is
The man thinks that he himself is a hero

(35)ādmī ne nāyak hone kī bāt kahī
man-ERG hero be.INF of speech said.PERF
The man said to be a hero
The man accepted to be a hero[110]

However, with regards to (35) we should expect some differences. Still, as the translation of sentence (35) suggests, there is no corresponding inifinitive form for *socna* 'think' and thus an alternative is needed. Yet, the construction provided in (35) implies – according to the speakers – a *de-se* reading of the proposition, that could however be traced back to its semantic properties: the verb in this context may be interpreted as *to accept*.[111] So far, then, there seems to be an unclear picture of the

[110] In this context the verb may have another meaning 'accept' or even 'confess'
[111] Thanks to Mr. Nasir Muhammad for the suggestion.

phenomenon – in fact, we would expect that (35) were acceptable in *Hindi*, given the presuppositions mentioned above (cfr. ex. 31-32).

However, searching for another way, I learnt that the following sentence seems to be acceptable in this scenario, and may serve as a counter example to the previous data reported in (35):

(36)ādmī nāyak hone kī ummīd kartā hæ
man hero be.INF of expectation do.IMP AUX
The man expects to be a hero

This seems to confirm the idea suggested for *Hindi* that a subjunctive and an infinitival construction may share the same *de-se* properties. To what extent and when this occurs, though, is still unclear.

Consequently, we have tried to go further into the understanding, suggesting to the speakers that the amnesiac may hope for the war hero to receive a prize in acknowledgments of his brave deeds.

Accordingly, we have presented the following descriptions:

(37)ādmī āśā kartā hæ ki usko inām mile
man hope do.IMP AUX that he.DAT prize meet.SUBJ
The man hopes that he may receive a prize

(38)ādmī āśā kartā hæ ki usko svayam inām mile[112]
man hope do.IMP AUX that he.DAT self prize meet.SUBJ
The man hopes that he himself may receive a prize

(39)ādmī inām milne ki āśā kartā hæ
man prize receive.INF of hope do.IMP AUX
The man hopes to receive a prize

[112] As suggested, for this scenario another construction would be preferred to *svayam* as reported here:

a. ādmī āśā kartā hæ ki ushī ko inām mile
man hope do.IMP AUX that he.EMPH to prize meet.SUBJ
The man hopes that he himself (he indeed) may receive a prize

The speakers have commented that (37) is acceptable, while (38) is not. Surprisingly, (39) as well may be accepted.

Of course, the data here provided are not sufficient to serve as evidence for a comprehensive theory of the *de-se* properties of *Hindi*. This notwithstanding, they may suggest a starting point for further research.

VII. Conclusions

Indexicality, obviation and first person coreference: a unified parallelism

Through the chapters of this work, we have tried to look at *Hindi* in relation to other languages, in order to account for the anomalies that were at the core of the present work, viz. that in *Hindi* the first person pronoun may intervene in embedded contexts with an internal referee (in the superodinate clause), rather than as a deictic subject.

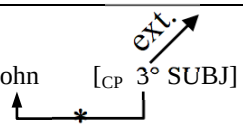
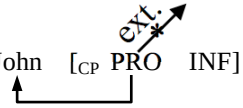
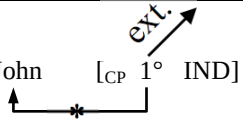
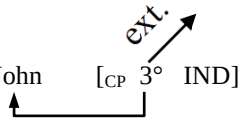
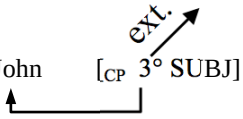
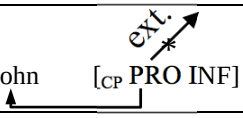
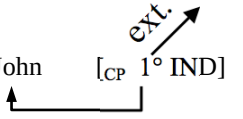
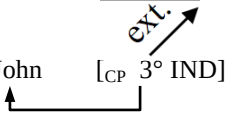
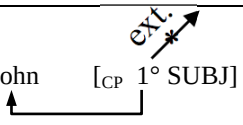
In order to do so, we have first looked at the subordinative properties of the language (Ch. II), since the phenomenon entails the presence of a complementizer. Besides, we have further investigated the verbal system (Ch. III), in order to undertand the differences found between sentences with identical syntax. Then, we have tried to understand how these phenomena are accounted for in some logophoric languages (Ch. IV), which also share a few properties with *Hindi*. We have thus tried to compare the reported speech in these different contexts, which seemed to be of great importance for the understanding of this matter.

Accordingly, we have dealt with the phenomena of indexicality (Ch. V), logophoricity (Ch. VI) and obviation (Ch. VII), to better understand what are the features of *Hindi* in this regard.

We now want to attempt a unified explanation of all the phenomena discussed, bearing in mind, though, that further research is needed for a comprehensive report on the data. Besides, the lack of literature on the matter did prove to be a real challenge for the present work.

Therefore, at the conclusion of this dissertation, I would like to show a table that summarizes all these data, in relation to the following criteria: i. we considered for all entries *John* to be the third person pronoun of the matrix clause; ii. we have then studied the person and iii. the mood of the embedded clause; thus, we have seen iv. what the reference of the embedded subject was like. This analysis regards on the one side *English* and on the other *Hindi*, in order to show the differences between these

languages. *English*, of course, proved to be of great help for the comparison, given the huge amount of data available for all the tests and considerations. Before commenting on the results, let us look at the table:

Table 26: "Pronoun reference in embedded context: English vs Hindi"				
English				
	Matrix Subject	*Subordinate Clause*	*Reference*	*Structure*
1	John	3° + SUBJ	External reference only	
2		PRO + INF	Internal reference only	
3		1° + IND	External reference only	
4		3° + IND	1) External reference 2) Internal reference	
Hindi				
1	John	3° + SUBJ	1) External reference 2) Internal reference	
2		PRO + INF	Internal reference only	
3		1° + IND	1) External reference 2) Internal reference	
4		3° + IND	1) External reference 2) Internal reference	
5		1° + SUBJ	Internal reference only	

From the data reported above, we clearly understand that *English* and *Hindi* have different properties in relation to *indexicality*.

English and Italian, for instance, show a "rigid" indexical system that does not allow for indexical items to get reference other than from the real context, viz. a deictic referent. We have seen, for example, that *domani* in Italian always needs to be referred to the actual speaker's perspective, the *utterer's* (cfr. ex. 26, Ch. V). On the other hand, in *Hindi kal* 'yesterday/tomorrow' and *parson* 'the day before yesterday/the day after tomorrow' are not as rigid, allowing – in reported speech for instance – for a coreference reading with an internal referee, viz. the superordinate subject, when available. Besides, being a non-DAR language, *Hindi* also allows embedded contexts to employ future tenses that are not necessarily future with regards to the *utterers'* point of view – as was seen for Romanian, as well.

Furthermore, *Hindi* is even less rigid in comparison to the other languages, like Romanian, Italian and English, as far as first person pronouns are concerned. Indeed, in all these languages, except for *Hindi*, *I* necessarily refers to the real utterer, the deictic subject of the proposition, which shares first person morphology with the verb. In this regard, we may assume that English and Italian assign to the first person pronoun these traits: [+speaker] and [+utterer]. Conversely, *Hindi* seems to assign only the [+speaker] trait, which may either refer to a deictic subject – if present, if coherent with the context – or with a superordinate argument, which serves as referee.

Besides, the double-faceted function embodied by the complementizer *ki* yields for a more thorough study of its properties. So far, we must accept it as it is: it can either function as a "pure" complementizer – introducing subordinate clauses (cfr. Ch. V) – or as a parenthetical introducer, that may be associated to the syntactical properties of the *comma intonation*, advocated by Giorgi (2012).

Another interesting field of research could investigate a connection between the shift triggered by *ki*, as a partenthetical introducer, and the so-called

role shift of sign languages[113], among which LIS[114], where it is termed also *impersonamento*[115]. In this respect, there seems to be an open question whether to regard it as a direct or indirect discourse device, or even an alternative context. Still, there are many aspects similar to the phenomena attested for *Hindi*: for instance, the introducer tends to be a *saying* verb and the elements that undergo shifting are adverbials and pronouns (even though, it seems that spatial adverbs can be an exception). As Mazzoni (2008) suggests, there are non manual operators that serve the function of introducers for the Role Shift. However, in the current work no data are presented in this regard.[116]

All in all, the present dissertation needs to be considered as a first step towards a much refined research in this direction. Our desire is that other researches and new data may help define the role of the complementizer *ki* in *Hindi* and shed more light on the aspects here presented, with special attention to the *de-se* properties of the language that here are far from being fully described.

[113] For further literature on the topic, refer to Quer (2005), Mazzoni (2008), Zucchi (2004), Anand & Nevins (2004)
[114] LIS, Italian Sign Language
[115] Thanks to Prof. Giusti for her kind suggestion
[116] I am very greatful to Mantovan Lara and, expecially, to Giorgia Zorzi for their helpful insight on the sign languages and LIS

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