CONTENTS

List of Figures *page* x
List of Tables xi
Acknowledgements xii
List of Abbreviations xiv

1 Introduction 1
1.1 Introducing Relative Clauses 1
1.2 Introducing Proto-Indo-European 5
1.3 Introducing Syntax 12
1.4 Summing Up 18

2 Syntactic Reconstruction and Proto-Indo-European 20
2.1 The Challenges of Syntax 20
2.1.1 Linguistic Reconstruction and the Comparative Method 22
2.1.2 Correspondence and Identity 26
2.1.3 Directionality and Grammaticalisation 30
2.1.4 Chaos and Continuity 32
2.2 'Converging Lines': Neo-Grammarian Syntax 38
2.3 Typology 43
2.4 Patterns 48
2.5 Construction Grammar 52
2.6 Minimalism 57
2.7 A Note on Competing Methodologies 67

3 Relative Clauses in Minimalism and Indo-European 70
3.1 The Job(s) of a Relative Clause 70
3.1.1 Subordination 71

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 11 Nov 2026 at 12:31:45, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009664196

3.1.2 Modification 78
3.2 The Syntax of Relative Clauses 81
3.2.1 A Surface-Level Typology 82
3.2.1.1 Head Nouns 83
3.2.1.2 Relative Markers 88
3.2.1.3 Position 91
3.2.2 Formal Analysis 92
3.2.2.1 Headed Relatives 93
3.2.2.2 Free Relatives 110
3.2.2.3 Correlatives 121
3.3 The Left Periphery 131
3.4 Questions for Proto-Indo-European 139

4 The Relative Pronoun(s) of Proto-Indo-European 142
4.1 A Brief Survey 142
4.2 *yó- 143
4.2.1 Relative Uses of *yó- 144
4.2.2 Non-Relative Uses of *yó- 154
4.2.2.1 Demonstrative or Anaphoric Pronoun 154
4.2.2.2 Sentence Connective 166
4.2.2.3 A Note on Gonda's 'Includer' Hypothesis 170
4.3 *k^wí-/*k^wó- 172
4.3.1 Vocalism 172
4.3.2 Relative Uses of *k^wó- 177
4.3.2.1 'Determinate' and 'Indeterminate' Relatives in Hittite 184
4.3.3 Non-Relative Uses of *k^wó- 194
4.3.3.1 Interrogative 195
4.3.3.2 Indefinite 198
4.4 Which 'Which' Is Which? 206

5 Clitics and the Left Periphery in Proto-Indo-European 210
5.1 The Front of the Clause 210
5.2 Clisis 215
5.2.1 Clitic characteristics 215

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 11 Nov 2026 at 12:31:45, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009664196

5.2.2 Second Position: Wackernagel's Legacy 217
5.3 The Duality of Clitics in Indo-European 222
5.3.1 Vedic Sanskrit 223
5.3.2 Ancient Greek 236
5.3.3 Latin 249
5.3.4 Tocharian 259
5.4 Clitics in Hittite: A Challenge to Duality 263
5.5 Reconstructing the Left Periphery of Proto-Indo-European 275

6 Relative Clauses in Proto-Indo-European 280
6.1 Position of the Relative Pronoun 280
6.1.1 Relative Clisis in Proto-Indo-European: A Negative Appraisal 281
6.1.1.1 Sanskrit 282
6.1.1.2 Celtic 285
6.1.1.3 Hittite 293
6.1.2 Fronted *REL 298
6.2 Correlatives 303
6.2.1 CP vs. DP? 303
6.2.2 Relationship between Relative and Matrix Clause 306
6.2.3 Correlative Demonstratives 318
6.3 Position of the Head Noun(s) 323
6.4 'Plain' and Embedded Relatives 328
6.5 Questions of Semantics 343
6.6 Summary 350

7 Conclusions 352
7.1 Conclusions 352
7.2 Outlook 354

References 357
Index 384

Downloaded from https://www.cambridge.org/core. UNIVERSIDAD AUTONOMA METROPOLITANA, on 11 Nov 2026 at 12:31:45, subject to the Cambridge Core terms of use, available at https://www.cambridge.org/core/terms. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009664196