

**TRA SEMANTICA E SINTASSI: IL RUOLO DELLA LINGUISTICA  
STORICA**

**ZWISCHEN SEMANTIK UND SYNTAX: DIE ROLLE DER  
HISTORISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT**

# **BOOK OF ABSTRACTS**

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***Oblique Subjects in Latin and Ancient Greek***

It is uncontroversial in modern syntactic research that natural languages can have syntactic subjects in different cases than the nominative. This means that verbs and predicates selecting for subject-like arguments in, for instance, the accusative or the dative in languages like Icelandic and Hindi/Urdu may exhibit behavioral properties of subjects, despite the case marking.

Verbs and predicates of this type, assigning oblique case marking to their subject-like arguments, are found in all the 11 branches of Indo-European, including the earliest languages. Two examples are given below, one from Latin and the other from Ancient Greek.

1) Latin

nunc	mihi	nihil	libri,	nihil	litterae,	nihil
now	I.DAT	nothing	books.NOM	nothing	letters.NOM	nothing
doctrina	prodest					
learning.	profit.3SG.					
NOM	PRES					

2) Ancient Greek

suneneikhthênai	dé	hoi	tuphlòn	genésthai
bring.together.AOR.INF.MP	ptcl	him.DAT	blind.ACC	become.AOR.INF.MP
... he happened to become blind				

It is generally agreed upon for several modern languages, like Icelandic and Hindi/Urdu, that non-nominative subject-like arguments are syntactic subjects, and this consensus is based on a host of subject properties and behaviors. For corpus languages, in contrast, opinions are more divided. For the early Indo-European languages, in particular, the evidence is scattered unevenly across different subject tests in different languages. The relevant tests involve word order, reflexivization, raising-to-subject, raising-to-object, conjunction reduction, control into infinitives, control into gerundives, etc.

In this presentation, I will present new evidence from Latin and Ancient Greek, hitherto undocumented in the literature. This evidence is not only consistent with subject behavior, but it also excludes an object analysis of oblique subject-like arguments in these two ancient Indo-European languages. These data contribute to the cumulative evidence for analysing oblique subject-like arguments as syntactic subjects that has been gathered so far for early Germanic, Old Irish, Hittite and Sanskrit, now adding Latin and Ancient Greek to this pool.

**Marina Benedetti**

**Esplorazioni sintattiche su variazioni semantiche di ἔχειν**

« [L]'existence d'un verbe „avoir“ souple et largement employé est l'un des traits qui caractérisent les langues indoeuropéennes occidentales, l'un de ceux qui en marquent le parallélisme de développement » (Meillet 1923, 9). Nel passo citato, l'etichetta „avoir“ è usata in senso metalinguistico: essa identifica non un'unità lessicale, bensì una presunta funzione associata a elementi lessicali variabili. Come è stato ripetutamente osservato, infatti, nella famiglia indoeuropea la stabilità lessicale del verbo “essere” (\**h<sub>1</sub>es-*) contrasta con l'estrema instabilità, cioè con la variabilità lessicale, dei verbi “avere” (per es., oltre a Meillet 1923, Isačenko 1974; Creissels 1996; Heine 1997: 139 f.; Baldi & Cuzzolin 2005; Le Feuvre & Petit 2011). In Greco antico, come è noto, il verbo che entra in correlazione con εἶναι “essere”, guadagnando così lo statuto di verbo “avere”, è ἔχειν (\**seǵh-* ‘überwältigen, in den Griff bekommen’; LIV2 s.v.). La varietà di impieghi di ἔχειν, e il suo complesso statuto di verbo “leggero” (ausiliare), da un lato, e di verbo “pesante” dall'altro, sono stati oggetto di accurate analisi (cf. Mader 1970, 57-144; Kulneff-Eriksson 1999; Bortolussi & Guilleux 2011). Gli studi lasciano emergere un quadro molto articolato e complesso: talora anche per effetto della sovrapposizione di criteri eterogenei, gli usi di ἔχειν sembrano frammentarsi in una varietà irriducibile. Questa comunicazione propone esplorazioni sintattiche di alcuni costrutti con ἔχειν, ponendo al centro regolari correlazioni tra variazioni semantiche e variazioni sintattiche. Da questo si trae lo spunto per alcune annotazioni di ordine più generale su sintassi e semantica.

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## **Pier Marco Bertinetto**

### **On reconstructing Zamucoan**

The Zamucoan family consists of only two living languages: Ayoreo and Chamacoco, spoken in Northern Chaco (between Bolivia and Paraguay) by approximately 4500 and 1600 people, respectively. While the first stable contacts with the Ayoreos began at the end of the Forties of the last century, the Chamacocos were already in contact with the Western civilization at the turn of the XIX century, with intense linguistic contact with Spanish and Guaraní. The Zamucoan family also includes the now extinct Old Zamuco, described in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century by the Jesuit Father Ignace Chomé (1958 [*ante* 1745]). Old Zamuco and Ayoreo are very close to each other from the lexical point of view as opposed to Chamacoco (Kelm 1964), but all three languages show clear morphosyntactic correspondences, allowing robust diachronic insights (Ciucci 2016 [2013]). In contrast with all surrounding languages, the Zamucoan languages are fusional. Nouns and adjectives share the same suffixation paradigms, expressing the following categories: gender (masculine / feminine), number (singular / plural) and form. The term “form” refers to a peculiar morphological tripartition (BASE form vs FULL form vs INDETERMINATE form), which appears to be a unique feature of these languages. The base form is characteristically used for nominal predication (a rare typological feature), but its singular is the starting point of any inflectional and derivational operation, as well as the form adopted as first member of a compound. The full form and the indeterminate form, by contrast, occur in argumental contexts and differ among themselves in terms of specificity vs non-specificity of the intended referent. The purpose of the talk is to compare the nominal and verbal morphology of the Zamucoan languages (Ciucci & Bertinetto 2015, 2017), aiming at the reconstruction of Proto-Zamucoan. The reduced size of this family, at least considering the languages for which we have sufficient data, might appear a limitation, but given the circumstances it turns out that the Zamucoan family offers itself as an ideal object for a reconstruction exercise. Old Zamuco is the most conservative language of the set, Chamacoco the

most innovative. According to recent lexical comparisons (Holman *et al.* 2011; Müller *et al.* 2013), Chamacoco split long ago from Old Zamuco and Ayoreo, and in fact it shares with Ayoreo no more than 30% of its lexical roots (Bertinetto 2014 [2009]). Nevertheless, Chamacoco exhibits grammatical features that resemble the corresponding ones of Old Zamuco. This suggests that some archaic features are shared by these two languages as opposed to Ayoreo, despite the vast lexical similarity of Ayoreo and Old Zamuco.

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### **Juan Briceño**

#### ***Non-connective values of PIE \*-k<sup>we</sup>***

Not only most western IE languages but also the Indo-Iranian macrofamily attest the enclitic particle \*-k<sup>we</sup> as a relational-connective morpheme. This particle is also present in Anatolian, although the functions carried out in this family are not as straightforward as compared to the rest of the IE languages. The objective of this paper is to reanalyze other semantic values different from the connective-copulative one traditionally attributed to PIE \*-k<sup>we</sup>. After a data survey, it seems evident that other semantic values are being expressed by this enclitic. For instance, it seems that the grammaticalization of the negative marker and the enclitic particle (NEG=k<sup>we</sup>) in Myc. *o-u-qe*, presenting an inconsistent usage with Gr. *oúte*, and in Hitt. *nekku*, only

used in rhetorical questions (cf. interrogative Lat. *ne*), could point to a non-connective value for PIE \*-k<sup>we</sup>. Also in Pylos tablets Myc. *-qe* might show a non-connective meaning and in Homeric Greek we can see that Gr. *-te* is expressing non-copulative values as well (epic *-te*). In turn, we can see that, after pronouns and adverbs, Lat. *-que* has a generalizing meaning, as in *quisque* or *quoque*. Another correlation could be found in Ved. *ká ca*. Balto-Slavic does not attest \*-k<sup>we</sup> as relational-connective morpheme, instead, it has OCS *i* “and” < \*h<sub>1</sub>ei (cf. Gr. *ei*). Thus, negative coordination is expressed through other forms such as OCS *niže* (< \*neig<sup>(w)he</sup>) and OPr. *neggi* “nor”. However, there are morphological items that can be derived from \*-k<sup>we</sup> such as OCS *ašte* “if” (< \*ōd-k<sup>we</sup>). This example relates directly to the conditional value that the particle \*-k<sup>we</sup> presents in Hitt. *-kku* (in its responsive use), Hitt. *takku*, Ved. *sá ca, céd*, Lat. *absque* “if”, Goth. *nih* “if not”. These conditional values could be related to its alleged absence as a connective particle in Balto-Slavic.

Hence, here we aim at a review and a systematic description of non-connective values of the particle PIE \*-k<sup>we</sup> that could possibly be remnants of an original function of the particle within non-assertive contexts that would include interrogatives, conditionals, comparatives and indirect negations.

**Michela Cennamo**

### ***Intransitive alternations and the semantics of predicates in Latin***

In this paper I discuss two types of intransitive alternations in Latin, anticausativization and the personal ~ impersonal encoding of some (in)transitive predicates, exploring the interplay of the aspectual template of verbs, the verb's inherent meaning (the 'root'), the inherent characteristics of the S/O/A argument (e.g., animacy) and the continuum of control (Lehmann 1988), depending on the alternation, in determining the distribution of the different strategies available to mark these constructions within the voice domain, and interacting with it, respectively, the medio-passive -r form, the reflexive pattern (se+ active), the active intransitive (Feltenius 1977; Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015, among others) and the impersonal ~ personal active (rarely, also the -r form for some verbs), the core argument(s) surfacing in an oblique case and varying in its/their syntactic status (e.g., *tui me miseret* ‘I pity you’, *me fallit* ‘I happen to be wrong/it escapes me’, *mihi apparet* ‘it is clear’) (Rosén 1992; Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009; Cuzzolin & Napoli 2008; Fedriani 2014; Cennamo & Fabrizio, *forthc.*, Fabrizio 2016, among others). I show that the selection of the reflexive strategy to mark anticausatives is initially confined to inherently telic predicates (achievements and accomplishments) (e.g., *frangere* ‘break’ - *dum calor se frangat* ‘till the heat goes down’, *fervefacere* ‘heat up’ - *se patinae fervefaciunt* ‘the pans heat up’), whilst the active intransitive mainly occurs with verbs of variable/reduced telicity (e.g., *lenire* ‘soothe’, *irae leniunt* ‘anger soothes’), with activities (e.g., *volutare* ‘roll’, *saxa volutant* ‘stones roll’) and, marginally, with accomplishments lexicalizing a reversible state (e.g., *aperire* ‘open’ - *foris aperit* ‘the door opens’). Gradually, in the course of time, the reflexive spreads to verbs of variable telic-

ity (e.g., *minuere* 'decrease', *minuente se morbo* 'when the disease is on the decline') and atelic predicates (e.g., *servare* 'keep'- *mala se servant* 'apples keep'), and the active intransitive expands to achievements (e.g., *rumpere* 'break'), until in late texts the three anticausative forms become truly interchangeable (*rumpunt dentes/rumpuntur dentes/dentes se rumpunt* 'its teeth break' (sc. *equus* 'horse') (Cennamo, Eythórsson & Barðdal 2015). Aspect also plays a role in the other type of intransitive alternation investigated, the personal vs 'impersonal' encoding of some (in)transitive predicates. This construction occurs, most typically, with states, that appear to instantiate its core (e.g., *decere* 'become', *puere* 'ashame' (caus.)), although it is also attested with activities (*iuvare* 'delight', *fallere* 'deceive') and, marginally, accomplishments (e.g., *contingere* 'touch, reach', *accidere* 'fall upon, happen') (Cennamo & Fabrizio, forthc). The main semantic parameter at work in this type of alternation, however, is control, as clearly perceivable in the alternation between *me fallit* 'I happen to be wrong', *me fallo* 'I am wrong'. Indeed, these 'impersonal' constructions could be better described as lack of control patterns, similar, in their semantics and formal marking, to analogous constructions in languages with semantic alignment (e.g., Australian languages) (Walsh 1989: 429, and contributions in Donohue & Wichman 2008). This pattern may, therefore, be regarded as the crystallization of a usage that must have been very common in the early stages of the language, denoting the lack of control of the A/S argument over the verbal process, and which was not confined to mental process-state/emotion verbs, as usually stated in the literature (Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr 1965: 165; and discussion in Cennamo 2011; Fedriani 2014; Cennamo & Fabrizio, among others). Thus, the data investigated appear to offer an interesting contribution to the current debate on the role played by the verb's inherent meaning and its interaction and integration with the event structure template of predicates and the inherent properties of the verbs's core arguments in determining argument realization, also throwing new light on the status of some so-called 'impersonal' verbs/patterns in the language.

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## **Luz Conti**

### ***Zur Diachronie und Synchronie der Abschwächungspartikeln im Altgriechischen***

Im Altgriechischen entstehen die Abschwächungspartikeln, das heisst, die Partikeln, durch die der Sprecher die Assertivität seiner Worte zu mildern versucht, aus Modal- bzw. Lokaladverbien. Das ist jeweils der Fall bei μόλις und σχεδόν:

- (1) μόλις ἄν οἶμαι ... αἰτίαν ἀποφυγεῖν πατροκτονίας (Plu., Comp. Thes. Rom. V 2)  
 ‘Ich denke kaum, dass er (scil. Theseus) der Anklage wegen Vaternmordes entgangen wäre’
- (2) ἀτὰρ σχεδὸν μὲν οἶδά σοι συγυμένη | ὅμως δ’ ἐρέσθαι βούλομαι ... (E., Tr. 898-899)  
 ‘Obwohl ich fast sicher bin, dass Du mich hasst, möchte ich Dich etwas fragen’

Einige quantitative Adverbien entwickeln sich aber gelegentlich auch zu Abtönungspartikeln, wie folgendes Beispiel zeigt:

- (3) ὀλίγου δέω σύμπαντας εἰπεῖν ἐλάττω τὴν πόλιν βεβλαφέναι τούτου (D. 19 180.10)  
 ‘Ich würde fast sagen, dass alle zusammen der Stadt weniger geschadet haben als dieser Typ’

Der Vortrag untersucht, welche semantischen und syntaktischen Faktoren die Entwicklung mancher Adverbien im Altgriechischen zu Abschwächungspartikeln gefördert haben. Des Weiteren soll bestimmt werden, ob diese Entwicklung schon bei Homer im Gange ist oder sich erst bei späteren Autoren beobachten lässt. Die Arbeit wird auch auf die Frage eingehen, inwieweit der Gebrauch eines Adverbs als Abschwächungspartikel die Polarität des Satzes ändert, das heisst, zu einer Polarität des Satzes führt, die nicht mit der Polarität übereinstimmt, die der Satz in der Regel beim Auftreten dieses Adverbs zeigt. Letztlich wird die Möglichkeit berücksichtigt werden, ob der im Altgriechischen festzustellende Tatbestand auch in anderen alten bzw. neuen idg. Sprachen zu erkennen ist.

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## Eystein Dahl

### **Object alternation with emotion verbs in Vedic**

Alternating argument realization patterns represent an intriguing type of primary data, since they reflect how languages attempt to solve the tension between syntax and semantics arising when general mapping rules do not apply. Recent research has shown that experiential arguments strongly tend to select the experiencer as their subject argument and that experiencer arguments tend to receive nominative case marking in Vedic (cf. e.g. Dahl 2014). Verbs with expe-

riencer objects are comparatively rare in the language, and the majority of such predicates are built on morphologically derived causative verbs. Vedic experiential predicates thus tend to follow what we along the lines of Bossong (1998) may label a generalized constructional pattern, where the experiencer receives the same case marking as Agentive subjects, i.e. nominative case marking in accusative languages like Vedic. The morphosyntactic realization of stimulus object arguments, on the other hand, is much less uniform, as this argument type can receive accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, locative or ablative case marking. Even though many emotion verbs consistently select one of these argument realization options, a number of verbs belonging to this group show alternation between two or more object case-marking patterns. Here, I shall focus on KANI- ‘be pleased, rejoice’, JOṢ- ‘enjoy, relish’, MAD- ‘rejoice, become inebriated’, MOD- ‘be pleased, rejoice’ and RAṆ- ‘be pleased, enjoy’, since they denote similar types of positive emotions and because they show overlapping patterns of object alternation. Drawing on statistically oriented approaches, this paper aims to show that the verbs under consideration in spite of their superficially similar behavior employ the various object realization options in a surprisingly non-uniform manner, suggesting that they differ considerably in their exact lexical semantic properties.

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## Francesco Giura

### ***Verbi di percezione e interfaccia lessico-sintassi. Il caso del latino***

La complementazione frasale, in quanto “core argument” (Dixon 2006), si distingue dallasubordinazione a satellite (causali, finali, relative, ecc.) per il fatto di dipendere solo da un numero ristretto di predicati: verba dicendi, cogitandi, cognoscendi, sentiendi, affectum (per il latino Torrego 1986, Baños et al. 2003 e Baños 2009). Questa proprietà fa sì che lo studio dellacomplementazione miri necessariamente a indagare il piano di interazione fra proprietà semantiche dei predicati reggenti e forme sintattiche. Ambito di indagine di questo studio è la classe dei verbi di percezione (VP. Per il latino soprattutto García-Hernández 1976, 1977 e Giura in preparazione). Possiamo distinguere da un lato una selezione macro-sintattica, ovvero delle strutture di complementazione in base sia alla classe verbale in toto (per es. le infinitive come costruzioni tipiche dei VP nelle lingue romanze), sia alle proprietà distintive dei predicati all’interno di una stessa classe verbale (Ho visto/\*guardato che la neve stava cadendo dove in italiano guardare non può selezionare la completiva con che ma sì l’infinitiva Ho guardato cadere la neve), dall’altro una selezione micro-sintattica, ovvero di preferenza di alcuni tratti (tempo, aspetto, azionalità, ecc.) all’interno

di una stessa struttura sintattica.

Scopo di questo intervento è presentare le possibili combinazioni dell'intera classe dei VP latine che selezionano forme di complementazione (39 predicati, per quattro costruzioni: infinitiva, participiale, interrogativa indiretta e *ut / ne* e congiuntivo), anche in relazioni alle funzioni che questi pattern codificano (funzione percettiva, epistemica, interrogativa e iussiva), e di elicitarne i parametri di selezione delle diverse strutture sulla base dei tratti semantici dei verbi di VP. - L'indagine è stata condotta su un corpus di opere latine che va dall'età di Plauto al V d.C. per un totale di ca. 500 mila parole, che include testi sensibili alle indagini sul latino non-classico (Pinkster 2015: 6).

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## Federico Giusfredi

### *The leftmost position of the Anatolian clause: a generative approach*

A syntactic peculiarity of the Ancient Anatolian languages (Hittite and Luwian in particular) is the presence of a large number of clitic elements that occur obligatorily in a very specific position of the left-periphery of the clause (cf. Hoffner and Melchert 2008, Ch. 28; Payne 2010, 39), after the first prosodically or inherently accented word. These include: direct-speech markers, focus and additive markers, non-reflexive and reflexive pronouns and a few clitic adverbials usually labeled “local particles”. While the degree of syntactic configurationality of the Anatolian languages, at least under some non-generative frameworks, has sometimes been called into question by the scholars, there are in Anatolian a number of structures that do suggest a structure-dependent configuration: the order of clitics and their position in the sentence is by large the most strict and rigid one (Giusfredi fthc).

In the present contribution, I will propose a generative cartographic analysis of the Anatolian leftmost position and of the elements that regularly occur in the clause periphery, based on the discussion of the syntax-semantics-prosody interface, of the mechanisms of informational fronting and of the function and diachronic development of the so-called Anatolian “connectives”.

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## Guglielmo Inglese

### *The middle voice and the encoding of reciprocity in Hittite*

Describing the function of the Hittite middle voice has notoriously proved a challenging task, but there is some agreement that the middle voice may also encode reciprocity (Neu 1968: 109, Hoffner & Melchert 2008: 303, Luraghi 2012: 20). In this paper, I offer a thorough investigation of the middle voice as a reciprocal marker, and frame the discussion within current trends in the synchronic and diachronic typology of reciprocals (Nedjalkov et al. 2007, König & Gast 2008, and Evans et al. 2011, among others).

As I show, the use of the middle voice as a marker of grammatical reciprocals in the sense of Nedjalkov (2007: 10) is limited to only a handful of verbs, as in the case of *ep-<sup>zi</sup>* ‘take’ vs. *ap-ta<sup>(ri)</sup>* ‘take each other (by the hand)’. In addition, the middle voice is strongly associated to subject-oriented lexical reciprocal spatial events, as for example *sārr-<sup>i</sup>* ‘split (tr.)’ vs. *sarra-<sup>ttā(ri)</sup>* ‘split (intr.)’. In this case, reciprocity is inherently encoded by the base verb (Dimitriadis 2008), and the middle voice can be better described as an anticausative reciprocal marker (Nedjalkov 2007: 91). Interestingly, the middle forms of certain spatial reciprocals allow for either an anticausative and a passive reading, whereas with some only one of the two interpretation is available. In this respect, the behavior of individual verbs can be accounted for by the presence of agent meaning components, as defined by Haspelmath (1987). Finally, I illustrate a possible diachronic scenario whereby the middle voice came to be associated to the encoding of reciprocity. As I suggest, Hittite attests to a hitherto cross-linguistically neglected source of reciprocal markers (Kemmer 1993, Heine & Miyashita 2008), namely the extension from the anticausative to the reciprocal domain.

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### **Agnes Jäger**

#### ***The syntax-semantics interface from a diachronic perspective***

Syntax and semantics are inextricably linked. This is also apparent from a diachronic perspective. The semantic change of one word is regularly accompanied by a change of the surrounding syntactic structure as well as the level of semantic interpretation, logical form (LF). Thus, diachronic semantics even of individual words is often not possible without reference to the syntactic context and the semantics of the entire proposition. Conversely, the overall conveyed information of a clause may remain the same while it is composed in a different manner.

The relevance of the interplay of syntax and semantics in diachrony is exemplified in two different areas – negation and comparisons - using historical German data. With respect to negation, the language has changed both in the syntactic status and position of the negation particle as well as the (im)possibility of the co-occurrence of several negation markers within one clause (Negative Concord). Diachronically, the same LF thus corresponds to different morphosyntactic realizations. Conversely, the semantics for instance of different types of indefinites in negated clauses can only be captured with reference to the rest of the clause.

Concerning comparison constructions, a repeated syntactic-semantic distributional shift has occurred by which particles used in equatives came to be used in comparatives. The question of how this change can be analysed is highly dependent on the semantic analysis of comparisons. Thus, whereas no semantic change has occurred according to the standard semantic theory of

comparisons, the process may be analysed as involving recurrent bleaching and re-introduction of semantic features under different semantic assumptions. On the whole, while historical linguistics is shown to profit from taking into account the syntax-semantics interface even when investigating changes of individual words, historical linguistics may (similarly to typology), in turn, contribute to a better understanding of the range of variation of the syntax-semantics mapping in natural language.

**Peter Kerkhof – Guus Kroonen**  
***When push comes to strain.***

The Neglected Role of Historical Syntax for Germanic and Indo-European Etymology. It is a well-established fact within historical and comparative Indo-European linguistics that several ancient Indo-European languages exhibit a construction where the subject-like argument occurs with an accusative, dative or genitive marking (Conti 2008, 2010, Luraghi 2010, Barðdal et al. 2012, 2013, 2016, Dahl & Fedriani 2012, Matasović 2013, Danesi 2014, Fedriani 2014, Viti 2016a, 2016b, inter alia). The existence of such argument structures raises the question of how old such structures are in the respective language branches of the Indo-European languages, if they are archaic, and whether they can be reconstructed back to a proto-stage. Our goal here is to add to the growing body of evidence showing that oblique subjects can be reconstructed for ProtoGermanic, which in turn raises interesting questions regarding the Proto-Indo-European prestage of the relevant verbal roots. In a recent study Barðdal & Eythórsson (2012) have shown that in cases where a lexico-syntactic match extending over several ancient daughter languages can be found, projecting the argument structure back into the proto-stage of the language family certainly is both cogent and compelling. We illustrate several such lexico-syntactic matches and show how taking the non-canonical argument structure of these verbs into account may shed light on their Proto-Indo-European etymology and development, as their meaning is always less agentive than that of corresponding nominative subject constructions (cf. Bauer 2000, Barðdal 2004, Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009, Danesi 2014). We present several examples illustrating this development, from which there can be no doubt about the existence of non-canonical subjects in Proto-Germanic, as argued by Barðdal & Eythórsson (2012). High-quality lexico-syntactic matches between Germanic and other Indo-European branches are hard to find, but they certainly exist. Such matches are the key to understanding many otherwise obscure semantic shifts documented across the Indo-European phylum.

**Daniel Kölligan**  
***From parenthesis to particle: the grammaticalization of speech act verbs***

Parenthesis has been the object of study both in Indo-European (cf. e.g. Schwyzer 1939) and in general linguistics (cf. recently Kavalova & Dehé 2007), both as an explanandum and as an explanans, e.g. for the rise of exocentric nominal compounds or the naming construction in PIE

(see e.g. Dunkel 1982, Lindner 2011). The parenthetical use of single verb clauses can be found both in ancient and modern Indo-European languages, e.g. Greek οἶμαι ‘I believe’, Latin *inquam* ‘I should say’, French *je crois*, and may be one path for the grammaticalization of discourse particles integrated into the host clause. The paper will investigate whether appropriate scenarios can be posited for a number of particles of various ancient PIE languages with this kind of verbal origin.

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## **Manfred Krifka**

### ***The semantic types of clausal complements***

I understand clausal complements in the widest sense, comprising all instances in which proposition-related expressions occur in argument positions of predicates. They can be full-fledged root clauses, as e.g. V2 indicative clauses in German (Peter glaubt, Maria kommt morgen), various kinds of clauses that indicate non-root-status such as subjunctive clauses or dependent clauses (Peter glaubt, Maria käme morgen and Peter glaubt, dass Maria morgen kommt), including questions (Peter weiß, ob Maria morgen kommt), to non-finite constructions such as infinitive constructions (Peter sah Maria kommen), gerund constructions and verbal nouns (Peter remembered Mary’s leaving) (cf. Cristofaro 1998, Noonan 2007, Schmidtke-Bode 2014). Also, there are clausal anaphora, as in *I believe that / it*, German *Ich glaube ja* and Spanish *creo que sí*. Arguably, the various complement types do not only differ in their syntax, but also in the nature of the semantic objects that they refer to. In this talk I will present the variety of options that have been proposed in semantics, including events, facts, propositions, sets of propositions, and even speech acts (cf. Krifka 2014).

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### **Leonid Kulikov**

#### ***East vs. West: Indo-Iranian and Indo-European syntax in a diachronic typological perspective: Encoding of transitivity oppositions and valency-changing categories as morphosyntactic isogloss***

The present paper discusses the diachrony of transitivity oppositions, valency-changing categories and subject marking, focusing on evidence available from the documented and reconstructed history of Indo-European languages, foremost from two Eastern branches – Indo-Iranian and Tocharian, as compared to the main developments in some Western branches of Indo-European. Special attention is paid to the encoding of transitivity oppositions and to the development of constructions with non-canonical (non-nominative) subjects, preserved in some Indo-European branches, but virtually disappearing in Indo-Aryan and Tocharian.

I argue that several syntactic features of Indo-European considered in a diachronic typological perspective point to the existence of two major evolutionary types. One type (located in the West of the Indo-European area) includes Germanic, Romance, Greek and Slavic branches that share a number of parallel tendencies and can be qualified as ‘syncretic’: (i) the middle voice (syncretically encoding several intransitivizing derivations such as passive, anticausative and reflexive) is either preserved (as in Greek), or replaced with a new middle, going back to the reflexive pronoun \*s(ū)e ; (ii) morphological causatives virtually disappear; (iii) labile verbs (of the type John opens the door / The door opens) become productive.

By contrast, several Eastern branches of Indo-European, such as Indo-Iranian and Tocharian, radically abandon this syncretic strategy and can be qualified as ‘antisyncretic’. They attest (i) the decline (degrammaticalization) of the middle; (ii) the rise of special markers of intransitivizing categories and expansion of morphological causatives; and (iii) the decline of lability.

Furthermore, constructions with non-canonical subjects, well-preserved in many Western Indo-European branches, become rare in such Eastern branches as Indo-Aryan and Tocharian, being replaced by patterns with canonical (nominative) subjects.

The emergence of this cluster of diachronic typological features in several Eastern branches of Indo-European may be due to the influence of substrate languages of the Altaic or Dravidian type.

### **Ville Leppänen — Benedikt Peschl**

#### ***Adpositional phrases in Indo-European: aspects of grammaticalization***

According to the *communis opinio*, the adpositional phrases (APs) that typically appear in the IE daughter languages were not yet grammaticalized in PIE. However, certain syntactic structures

must have precipitated the later grammaticalization of particles and free adverbs together with a NP in a certain case form into conventionalized constructions. Although the properties of adpositions and preverbs in IE-languages have been extensively researched in recent years, few studies utilize explicit grammaticalization theory to operationalize these developments. In this paper, we investigate the degree of grammaticalization of APs in selected IE-languages (Hittite, Vedic, Greek, Tocharian, Umbrian and Latin) according to the parameters of bondedness and syntagmatic variability, as laid out by Ch. Lehmann (Thoughts on grammaticalization, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Berlin: Language Science Press, 2015). As considered within this framework, Latin prepositional phrases, as well as postpositional phrases in Tocharian and Umbrian, exhibit a much higher degree of grammaticalization than Vedic, Hittite and Homeric syntagms consisting of a P-word and a NP (not governed by the verb). Additionally, we look at the correlation of grammaticalization with the internal word order of the AP and the function of the case form: the semantic weight of the AP still rests partly on the case form in Vedic and Hittite, while in Latin the case form has been reduced to a marker of subordination with the main function expressed by the preposition. We conclude that low grammaticalization correlates with high semanticity of the case, and that high grammaticalization does not correlate with a certain word order. Accordingly, the older IE-languages can be classified into four types based on the degree of grammaticalization, the word order of the AP (pre- or postpositions), and the function of the case form. These types occur in a diachronic continuum.

**Rosemarie Lühr**

### **Stancetaking in der zitierten Rede in altindogermanischen Sprachen**

Eine Diskurseinheit, die sich für die Beschreibung von *stance* eignet, ist die indirekte Rede. Denn diese Form der Rede gibt Sprecherhaltung, eigenständige Profilierung und Wissensbezug zu der vermittelten Quelle wieder. Dabei kann zwischen epistemischer und evidentialer *stance* unterschieden werden (de Haan 2005). Aus einer sprachhistorischen und vergleichenden Perspektive ist dieser Forschungsansatz für die altindogermanischen Sprachen Hethitisch und Altindisch von Interesse, weil diese Sprachen in ihrem ältesten Sprachstadium keine overtten Ausdrücke für indirekte Rede haben, sondern nur die Quotativpartikeln *-wa(r)-* bzw. *íti* für direkte Rede. Die erste Frage ist, ob sich Spuren einer *stance* der indirekten Rede in der zitierten Rede finden; z.B. Quotativpartikel *íti* in Verbindung mit der Konjunktion *yathā*. Die zweite Frage betrifft die Position der zitierten Rede innerhalb einer Konstruktion. Wenn eine zitierte Rede am Anfang eine *Backgrounding*- und am Ende eine *Foregrounding*-Strategie und damit informationsstrukturell bedingt ist, kommt hier ebenfalls *stance* ins Spiel. Im Altindischen nehmen zitierte Reden am Anfang von Konstruktionen mit der Zeit zu. Die dritte Frage ist daher, ob diese Position der Grund für die Entwicklung der phrasenintialen Quotativpartikel in einen Marker für *evidential stance* ist; vgl. den deiktischen Gebrauch in *íty uktvā* ‚so gesagt habend‘ gegenüber dem epistemischen Gebrauch von *íti* im Sinne von ‚wie du weißt‘ am Ende der zitierten Rede. Die Daten kommen von

annotierten Korpora altindogermanischer Sprachen. Erwartete Ergebnisse sind neue Einsichten in die Geschichte der *particula recitativa* (cf. griech. *hóti* oder *hōs*-Konstruktionen), den informativ-strukturellen Status von zitierter Rede und das Aufkommen von Markern für *stance*.

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### **Elisabetta Magni — Romano Lazzeroni**

#### ***Presenti a raddoppiamento e plurazionalità in alcune lingue indoeuropee***

In Greco e in Sanscrito le varie formazioni di presente a raddoppiamento costituiscono classi marginali e/o recessive. Ad alcune di esse gli studiosi attribuiscono valori azionali di tipo iterativo/intensivo e, nel caso dei presenti a raddoppiamento ‘pesante’, la condizione di arcaismi, ovvero relitti di un’antica categoria flessionale (Schaefer 1994: 48-71) che avrebbe lasciato tracce anche in avestico, armeno, latino, germanico, baltico e slavo (Di Giovine 2010: 191-195). Recenti studi tipologici (Hurch 2005, Rubino 2013) confermano il nesso tra l’iconicità dei costrutti reduplicativi e l’espressione di una costellazione di significati che includono non solo la ripetizione e l’intensità, ma anche l’accrescimento, la durata, la pluralità (Moravcsik 1978). D’altro canto, questi stessi valori identificano anche una categoria interlinguistica che ha visto il crescente interesse degli studiosi: la plurazionalità (o pluralità verbale), la cui codifica coinvolge un’ampia gamma di strategie linguistiche e, con particolare frequenza, la reduplicazione (Dressler 1968; Cusic 1981; Xrakovskij 1997; Cabredo Hofherr & Laca 2012). Come intuito da Lazzeroni (2011) per i presenti vedici, e da Magni (in stampa) per i perfetti omerici, il riferimento alla nozione di plurazionalità getta una nuova luce sul legame tra iteratività/intensità e reduplicazione, aprendo la prospettiva sui significati distributivi, abituali e atelici che arricchiscono e complicano la semantica delle forme reduplicate. L’obiettivo di questa comunicazione è proporre una chiave di lettura unitaria dei presenti a raddoppiamento attraverso l’analisi dei contesti pragmatici e sintattici che motivano l’emergere di differenti valori, soprattutto di tipo aspettuale. Nello specifico, osservate nel contrasto funzionale con le forme non reduplicate, alcune di queste formazioni avvalorano l’ipotesi di una categoria originariamente deputata alla codifica di differenti valori plurazionali, che si evolve seguendo i percorsi diacronici della reduplicazione (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 172).

### **Audrey Mathys**

#### ***Absolute constructions and ab urbe condita-constructions in Ancient Germanic: between syntax and semantics***

In translations from Ancient Greek and Latin, absolute constructions are sometimes rendered by participial constructions in ancient Germanic languages. Most of these constructions consist of a

preposition (Gothic and Old Norse *at*, Old English *be*, Old High German *bi*), a subject and a participle in the dative case, e. g. Goth *at þaim afgangandam* «as they were leaving». Sometimes, the preposition is omitted, resulting in a dative absolute *stricto sensu*, e.g. Goth. *laugnjandam þan allaim* «as they all denied». In Gothic, these two types are sometimes considered as borrowings from the Ancient Greek original. However, comparable constructions are attested in Old Norse Eddic poetry, e.g. *at upverandi solo* «before sunset» (*at* + dative) and *at liðinn fylki* «after the death of the king» (*at* + accusative), where foreign influence seems to be excluded. In Old Norse vernacular texts, they seem to obey to strict semantic restrictions regarding the participle, and, occasionally, the verb of the main clause. On the other hand, in texts influenced by Latin these restrictions disappear, and other types of dominant participle construction are also found: the dative absolute, e.g. *liðnum þeim vii vetrum* «after these seven winters», and constructions with other prepositions, e.g. *eptir þessa hluti sagða* «when this had been said». Semantic restrictions regarding the verb of the main clause have also been mentioned about Gothic. The aim of this paper is to describe these restrictions. The question arises whether Ancient Germanic languages could have inherited semantically restricted dominant participle constructions. If this was the case, the only syntactic change attributable to foreign influence would be the extension of these constructions to other semantic contexts.

**Andrea Moro**

***Syntax meets the brain: a case study on the biological foundations of language***

One of the major discoveries of modern linguistics is that languages cannot vary unboundedly: every grammar must meet a set of universal principles which escaped the scholar attention unless a formal approach was adopted some fifty years ago. Are the boundaries of Babel cultural, conventional, accidental or neurobiological? By testing the brain's network activation to the acquisition of artificial "impossible languages" it has been possible to provide strong evidence in favor of a neurobiological explanation. Along with network activation, the first experiments at deciphering the neuronal electrophysiological code underlying language is illustrated by listening to the "sound of thoughts" in inner speech.

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**Andreas Opfermann**

**3. \* $k^u$ e – maximale Füllung einer Leerstelle**

Bereits das Urindogermanische kannte mindestens zwei bis drei verschiedene Morpheme der

Gestalt  $*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$ : 1) die koordinierende, enklitische Konjunktion  $1.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  (LIPP II 689-702 s.v.  $1.*(s)k^u\text{-}e$  ‚und‘), vielleicht 2) die konditionale/temporale Konjunktion  $2.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  (LIPP II 702-706 s.v.  $2.*(s)k^u\text{-}e$  ‚wenn; als‘) und 3) das „Indefinit“-Postfix (zum Begriff vgl. Haspelmath 1997: 22f. mit Fn. 4)  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  (LIPP II 442-446 s.v.  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  ‚jedes Mal, immer; [...] auch immer‘).  $1.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  ‚und‘ und  $2.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  ‚wenn; als‘ sind Konjunktionen,  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  aber ein Wortbildungsmorphem, das weitestgehend an Pronominalstämme (und Partikeln) antritt; zum sog. „epische  $\tau\epsilon$ “ vgl. LIPP II 444f. mit Lit.  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  ist also funktional und syntaktisch verschieden von den beiden anderen und sollte daher einer unabhängigen Untersuchung unterzogen werden. Häufig wird  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  als „generalisierend“, „distributiv“ und „zur Verstärkung des indefiniten Sinnes“ bezeichnet, als Übersetzung ‚auch immer‘ angegeben (vgl. bspw. LIPP II 442, IEW 635f., OLD 1546 s.v.  $-que^2$ ). Am produktivsten ist diese Partikel im Gotischen und im Lateinischen, wo der jeweilige Fortsetzer vor  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  universale Funktion aufweist. Die referentielle Leerstelle, die bspw. durch lat. *quis*, got. *hvas* ‚(irgend)wer(?)‘ geöffnet wird, wird maximal gefüllt: lat. *quisque*, got. *hvazuh* ‚jeder‘ (vgl. Opfermann 2017 zum Primat der universalen Funktion von lat. *quisque*). Noch deutlicher wird dies bei *uter* ‚wer von beiden(?)‘ vs. *uterque* ‚jeder von beiden, beide‘. In meinem Vortrag will ich ausgehend von ebendieser Beobachtung versuchen, die semantisch-funktionale Verwendungsweise von  $3.*\text{-}k^u\text{-}e$  in der Grundsprache, die syntaktische Kategorie der postfigierten Vorderglieder und die etymologischen Anknüpfungspunkte dieser Partikel zu finden und zu begründen.

### Daniel Petit

#### ***Between Syntax and Semantics: The Origin of the East Baltic Conditional Mood***

The East Baltic conditional mood (e.g. Old Lithuanian *duotumbiau* ‘I would give’) must certainly represent a recent innovation of this sub-branch of Indo-European, but its origin raises considerable problems in which both syntactic and semantic issues are intervoven in such a way that it proves impossible to distinguish them precisely. At first glance, the conditional mood derives from a periphrasis combining the inherited supine (e.g. *\*duotun* ‘giving’) and an auxiliary *\*bi-* of obscure origin, probably an optative or a preterite of *\*bhū-* ‘to be’. Semantically, this periphrastic structure is difficult to account for, especially if one reminds that the supine is usually limited to final complementation after verbs of motion, which cannot have been the case with an auxiliary ‘to be’. In addition, the absence of auxiliary in the third person in Lithuanian (e.g. *duotu* ‘he/they would give’) and throughout the paradigm in Latvian (e.g. *es, tu, vins duotu* ‘I/you/he would give, etc.’) requires an explanation. In this paper I try to give full account of the prehistory of the East Baltic conditional mood, relying on Christian Stang’s classical analysis, but with a more precise scenario to explain some syntactic and semantic aspects which have not yet received the attention they deserve and especially with a detailed comparison with the Slavic evidence. It can be shown that the special shape of the conditional mood in East Baltic is due to a

phenomenon of ‘syntactic contamination’ between two different constructions in a specific semantic context. This example shows that syntax and semantics are usually involved side by side in linguistic evolutions and that their distinction can often be seen as artificial.

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## Tiziana Quadrio

### ***Desiderativ-jussive Formeln in den griechischen Liebeszaubern und das Problem von μή + Impv.Aor. im Griechischen***

Ein häufig diskutiertes Problem der altgriechischen Sprachwissenschaft ist die Verwendung des Imperativ Präsens und Konjunktiv Aorist in den prohibitiven Sätzen mit μή. Man suchte einerseits nach dem Ursprung der Fälle mit Imperativ statt Konjunktiv Aorist bei Homer, andererseits nach der Funktion des Konjunktivs im Griechischen als Nachfolgekategorie des indogermanischen Injunktivs. Auch die Frage nach dem Grund für die Verwendung des imperfektiven Präsensstamms im Imperativ und des perfektiven Aoristsstamms im Konjunktiv stand im Vordergrund. Die Modus- und Aspektverwendung erklärt Willmott (2010:532) typologisch als „two different types of negative directive construction“, genannt „preventive“ und „prohibitive“. Die Autorin bemerkt aber, dass dieses System bereits im klassischen Griechischen aufgegeben worden zu sein scheint. Das könnte erklären, wieso der Konjunktiv Aorist später durch den Imperativ Aorist abgelöst wurde, wodurch ein System mit reiner Aspektopposition entstand. Wie alt ist diese Neuerung, wie wurde sie vollzogen und warum ist sie entstanden? Auf diese Fragen kann die Sprachverwendung in nicht literarischen Texten aus hellenistischer Zeit wie den griechischen Zauberpapyri Aufschluss geben. Aus diesem Grund werden die sog. „desiderativ-jussiven“ Formeln aus einem Korpus von ca. 100 Liebeszaubern aus dem 4./5. Jh., im Lichte vergleichbarer Studien bzw. Erklärungsmodelle nach semantischen, syntaktischen und pragmatischen Gesichtspunkten untersucht und die Fälle mit negiertem Impv. Aor. mit den sporadischen homerischen und klassischen Belegen verglichen. Die deutliche Formulierung der Bildungsregel von prohibitiven Sätzen durch den Grammatiker Herodian weist jedenfalls auf eine starke Unsicherheit im Sprachgebrauch seiner Zeit hin.

**Velizar Sadovski**

***Syntactic structures and their Tiefensemantik in the oldest Indo-Iranian ritual poetry: iconicity, figurae per ordinem, intra- and intertextual relations of structural items of Vedic and Avestan hymns***

0. In the most ancient indo-european oral literature — including religious hymnal poetry, epic narratives, magical incantations, juridically relevant *uerba concepta* — enumerations of items of the pantheon, of the macro- and microcosm, of the ritual sphere, follow syntactical principles not only based on the well-known tendencies generally characterising the stylistically elaborate manner of formulation (such as Behagel’s “gesetz der wachsenden glieder”) but are characterized by complex syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations of the items involved in their macrostructure that have to be described by jointly using analytic methods of syntax, semantic, and text linguistics, in a heuristic manner that has to throw cognitive bridges between items in the “no man’s land between semantics and syntax” (to recall oswald Panagl’s *bon mot*) that cannot and should not be treated separate from one another, since they represent the two sides of the same ontological unity.

1. The various studies concerned with the semantic and syntactic structure of *poetical enumerations* within the archaic Indo-European ‘catalogic poetry’ published till now (especially about Ancient Greek, given the diffusion of these phenomena in the poems of Homer and Hesiod) have been working — largely with no (or only marginal) knowledge of the *comparanda* from the non-Graeco-Roman Indo-European world — on the following series of genres and themes with linguistic relevance: **1.1.** syntactic structures of narratives, esp. within battle narratives (e.g. Beye 1958, 1964); **1.2.** iteration and variation of order of conceptual items of mythological and genealogical lists (Calame 2006); **1.3.** the cognitive role of catalogues for semantic determination of classification purposes (Papadopoulou-Belmehdi 2006); **1.4.** syntactic form variation and semantic shift as specific issues of the performative frameworks of hymnal catalogues (Minchin 1996); **1.5.** discursive aspects such as semantic implications of the marked word order in invocational catalogues (Minton 1962); **1.6.** aspects of verbal and exphrastic artistry expressed by the varying ordering of key concepts (Crossett 1969, Webb 2009), esp. in the context of poetical visualization and virtual geographical mind-mapping (Clay 2011), not to speak of models of the Universe such as the paradigmatic composition of the Shield of Achilles (e.g. Stanley 1993); **1.7.** stylistic figures using syntactic means for exhibiting semantic hierarchies, such as the priamel (among others, Race 1982, Faraone 2013) or the ‘augmented triad’ (West 2004), as well as **1.8.** the possibility to apply the concept of *hypertext* on the ancient catalogues, using valuable modern cognitive know-how for the analysis of the syntactic items of Homero-Hesiodic catalogues in comparison with linguistic and non-linguistic forms of stylistic repetition and multi-dimensional hyperlinks (Bakker 2001, Tsagalis 2010). **1.9.** Among the most important investigations on a meta-level, in this both too short and subjective introductory selection we should not omit mentioning works of both philo-

logical and methodological relevance for the earliest Greek representatives of the genre: Edwards 1980, Stanley 1993, Visser 1997, once again Versnel 1998 and Gordon 2000, Minchin 2001, the proceedings of two symposia dedicated to the catalogical forms and united into vol. 19/2006 of the *Kernos* journal, as well as Sammons 2010 and Faraone 2005, 2008 and 2013.

2. From the point of view of linguistic comparison, the evidence of the oldest Indo-Iranian ritual poetry and pragmatics brings us to the conclusion that exploring syntagmatic and paradigmatic phenomena used for the purposes of *Tiefensemantik* within taxonomies, catalogues and poetical enumerations can reveal various features of this fundamental structure of presentation of sacred knowledge in the Indo-European tradition, features only marginally discussed so far that, however, can shed light both on the motivation of the external-syntactic construction of poetical and religious *formulae* and on the internal semantic relationship of concepts with relevance for the system of values of the ancient Indo-Iranians and Indo-Europeans (based not on extrinsic, theoretical reflections but on the texts themselves). Thus, recently, Michael Witzel has convincingly demonstrated how such enumerations are, for instance, linked to language iconicity, analyzing the form of ordering the names of serpents in the well-known Snake Hymn of the Atharvaveda as a huge *serpentine*, linguistically marked by phenomena such as enjambment and hyperbaton and reflecting an attempt of a performative mimesis and iconical visualization on mystic — but also linguistically graspable — level. Such phenomena go, however, far beyond the purely “depicting” level, deep into the manner of presenting the Universe by the very structure of the formulative utterance, of the speech act used in the ritual discourse:

3. In a series of three preliminary works, I have tried to show the fundamental character of catalogical structures in individual collections of Vedic and Avestan texts. For some general statistical figures about the presence see Sadovski 2013: 154. These proportions even increase in texts of the period of acme of the (Yajur-)Vedic and (Young) Avestan ritual poetry and prose (esp. in the so-called “Long Liturgies” of the Avesta) in which the detailed, by far non-(only-)linear, and stylistically highly elaborate types of catalogical enumeration achieve the status of main structural and compositional form.

The present paper will focus on three additional aspects of the order of words and phrases within these linguistic structures and its relevance for the assessment of semantic issues such as hierarchy of ritually meaningful concepts or of axiologically marked concepts: **3.1.** Syntactic and textual structure of ‘multipartite formulae’ and/or of ritual sequences characteristic for Vedic and Avestan cultic texts/activities in continuation of the analysis carried on e.g. in Gonda 1983 (on rituals dedicated to the 33 gods) and Minkowski 1997 (concerning the *nivid-s*), now we shall focus on complex ‘suprastructures’ consisting of several hymns with evidence for the poetico-ideologico-religious employment of figures of word order, for various forms of stylistic repetitions of basic concepts of Indo-Iranian religion, as well as for other forms of intratextual cohesion in hymns dedicated to sacred kingship; **3.2.** Structure of theological and ritualist lists, after a first



attempt of assessment of hypostatic appearances/“avatars” of a deity or of amulets for apotropaic and divinatory rites (cf. Sadovski 2009:158–166), now we shall concentrate on hieratic texts present in the most archaic Indic and Iranian traditions, which display common items and procedures in a form that in several symptomatic cases suggests common heritage; **3.3.** Meta-lists of linguistic relevance, after a period of fascination of the discoveries of various coded complex sound patterns, anagrams and word-plays (cf. Schwartz 1986, 2002 [2006]; 2006, 2009 etc.), now we shall discuss several semantically linked conceptual lists that are instructive for the vision of ancient Indian and Iranian poets on the structure of language they used themselves, by linking, on a meta-level, the “syntax of ritual” to the “syntax of (poetical) discourse”.

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## Andrey Šatskov

### **Periphrastic Passive in Hittite and Proto-Indo-European**

In Old Hittite texts a periphrastic construction with a participle of a transitive verb and *es-* 'to be' is the primary way to form morphological passives (at least ten verbs have such forms in the Old Script texts). By contrast, none of the middle voice forms has the passive meaning at that stage (see Šatskov 2010). The periphrastic passive construction is also attested in Luwian, e.g. *kwa/i-i(a)-mi-sa \*135(9)-di sa-tá* 'was revered' in KARAHÖYÖK 8. Since the Hittite participle denotes a state resulting from an action, the construction in question also has a resultative meaning (cf. Cotticelli-Kurras 1992: 121, 129). Unlike the Hittite periphrastic passive, other Hittite resultative constructions (both with *hark* 'to hold, have' and *es-* 'to be') had not yet completed their grammaticalization and generally had the stative meaning in Old Hittite (Inglese, Luraghi, forthcoming: 28). Using middle forms to express the passive voice was very limited at the earliest stages in other ancient Indo-European languages (Jankuhn 1969: 112 for Greek and Kulikov 2006 for Vedic). Remarkably, in these languages, a combination of a copula and a participle was also used to express the passive voice. Cross-linguistically, periphrastic passives with copula as an auxiliary

verb are rare (Haspelmath 1990: 29). Therefore, periphrastic passives in ancient Indo-European languages are likely to go back to a common source. Its formal reconstruction is, however, difficult since Greek, Vedic and Hittite employ different participial stems in these constructions. According to Meiser (2004), PIE periphrastic passive were built with the help of formations in \*-to. However, there are virtually no traces of participles or adjectives in \*-to in Anatolian. Gr. γέρων, Ved. *járant-* ‘old’ may indicate that Hittite preserved the resultative meaning of participles in *-nt-*. In this case it is the participles in *-nt-* that were used in the periphrastic passive in PIE.

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## Ondřej Šefčík

### *Development of verbal reduplication in vedic*

One of typical parts of verbal morphology of Vedic is the reduplication, which is used (beside other instrumentary) to form five different finite stems (and from them derived participles), cf.  $\sqrt{t\bar{r}}$ - “cross”: pf. *tatāra*, *titirúr*; ps. *títrat*; ao. *átītaras*; ds. *tírīṣati*; int. *tártarīti*, *tartūryánte*;  $\sqrt{vac}$ - “speak”: pf. *uváca*, *vaváca*; ps. *vívakti*; ao. *ávocat*; ds. *vívakṣati*; int. *ávāvacīt*. The development of Vedic system of reduplication is connected to whole history of the development of aspect-tense systems in IE, Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan. In the talk, we will focus instead on vocalic values of reduplicative syllables on the *ablaut* values and we will demonstrate that whole development of reduplication is bound to formalization of aspect-tense system. For PIE we suppose generally only two stems: “INFECTUM” (with injunctive endings, a forerunner both of imperfective and perfective stems) and “PERFECTUM” (with “perfect” endings, forerunner of perfect), reduplication was probably used freely for both stems. The PIE reduplicative stem has two *ablaut* variants, probably caused by the position of the stress either on a reduplicative syllable or on a root (Rasmussen 1987; Rasmussen 1988; Rasmussen 1997: 252; Kortlandt 1987: 222; Kortlandt 1999):

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{I} & & \text{II} \\ {}^R\text{Ce-}\sqrt{\text{C}_x\text{-C}_x\text{-}} & \sim & {}^R\text{Ci-}\sqrt{\text{C}_x\text{eC}_x\text{-}}^1 \end{array}$$

With the paradigmization of secondary endings to non-indicative modes of perfect stem increased the need to separate “PERFECTUM” from the “INFECTUM” and paradigmization of stem I in perfect was the solution.<sup>2</sup> “INFECTUM” paradigmized (with exceptions which will be listed) stem II. From this stem developed later true reduplicated present (type *vívakti*) and desiderative (type *vívakṣati*, distinguished from present by sigmatic enlargement). Note that inside the “INFECTUM” the reduplication of type I was the marker of true reduplicated aorists (type *ávocat*). The paradigmization in Greek was seemingly more thoroughly developed than in the Indo-Iranian. The paradigmization of intensives took another way: original intensives were reduplicated with a complex reduplication attested in the OIA type *jáṅghanti*, but this was further reconsidered as a variant of a lengthened (full) grade and got a variant with *ā* (cf. *√dṛ-* “pierce”: *dardṛhi, dādṛhi*). The last stage in the paradigmization of the reduplicative stems was fixing of the lengthened reduced grade for a new causative aorist (type *átītaras*), which is an exclusively OIA feature, not inherited from Indo-Iranian or even Indo-European. The complex system of verbal reduplication in Vedic is then a result of paradigmization of different ablaut values of reduplicative syllables in different stages of development: the distinguishing between full grade reduplication and reduced grade reduplication begin the oldest, paradigmization of the reduced lengthened grade being the last one. The formalization of reduplication was used as a marker of newly formed aspect-tense stems in the complex development of IE system into later systems.

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1 In reduced ablaut grades of a reduplicative segment, a purely anaptyctic vowel then appeared marked as *i*), which was definitely of a different origin than IE \**i*, which is a vocalic reflex of the IE glide \**j̥*. This anaptyctic vowel is, technically speaking, not a phoneme, but a subphonematic sound, in its phonetic form easily replaceable by *u* if the root had either *u* or *ụ* (cf. Kortlandt 1987: 222; Güntert 1916: 100-107).

2 Latin, for example, beside reduplicated perfect has non-reduplicated, too (*ēdī, sēdī, lēgī, rēgī*), from Vedic we know few non-reduplicated forms as *vēda., takṣáthur, yamátur nindimá*

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## **Carlotta Viti**

### ***Inwiefern lassen sich Syntax und Semantik rekonstruieren?***

Es ist anerkannt, dass die Syntax schwieriger zu rekonstruieren als die Phonologie und die Morphologie und deshalb die Forschung dazu auch weniger entwickelt ist. Denn Sätze werden anders als Wörter übermittelt und stellen oft etymologisch unverwandte Strukturen dar, die durch die üblichen Prozeduren der Vergleichenden Methode und der Internen Rekonstruktion nicht analysiert werden können. Noch umstrittener ist die Rekonstruktion der Semantik, da die Bedeutung stark sozialen und kulturellen Faktoren ausgesetzt ist, die oft spezifisch für ein Lexem gelten und die Identifizierung allgemeinerer Tendenzen wenig vorhersagbar machen: die etymologische For-

schung ist grundsätzlich unsystematisch. In diesem Vortrag werden wir hingegen versuchen, einige Prinzipien für die syntaktische und die semantische Rekonstruktion anhand aktueller Theorien, die in der Allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft schon etabliert sind, festzusetzen. Einige dieser Theorien können erfolgreich auf die Indogermanistik angewendet werden. Auf der anderen Seite kann die Indogermanistik aufgrund der langen Dokumentation der indogermanischen Sprachen zu einigen aktuellen Debatten der modernen Theorie beitragen. Solche Probleme, Fragestellungen und möglichen Lösungen werden wir anhand von Daten aus verschiedenen indogermanischen Zweigen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Indoiranischen, des Griechischen und des Italischen thematisieren. Typologische Parallelen aus verschiedenen Sprachfamilien und Arealen werden wir für unsere Rekonstruktion ebenfalls heranziehen.

**Andreas Willi**

***Greek augmented imperfects and past iteratives in \*-ské/o-: a structural approach***

On some earlier occasions I have argued that the distributional characteristics of Homeric augmentation are best explained if the augment started off as a perfectivity (rather than past-tense) marker. Following a brief summary of the central points underpinning this idea, the present paper wants to explore two corollaries. Firstly, if correct, the theory presupposes that augmented imperfects are, to begin with, an inherently ‘paradoxical’ category as they should be imperfective and perfective at the same time. Now, the typological comparison of a four-slot aspectual system like that of the modern South Slavonic languages suggests that there may indeed be imperfective forms on which perfectivity is superimposed. Many Homeric examples of the augmented imperfect fit such a description very neatly as they refer to extended durative eventualities that are conceptualised as a single whole. More specifically, they represent ‘durative progressives’, which cross-linguistically tend to become ‘focalised progressives’ rather than vice versa. In other words, the eventual generalisation of the augmented imperfect (at the expense of the unaugmented one) follows a predictable pathway. Secondly, structural considerations predict that, in a system which features imperfectives with superimposed perfectivity, the inverse should also be possible. In South Slavonic, the so-called ‘perfective imperfects’ illustrate this principle – and the principal function of these turns out to be identical to that of the (aorist-based) Homeric past imperfectives in \*-ské/o-. I will therefore argue that the latter too occupy the fourth slot in an aspectual system in which stem-level and ‘inflectional’ (morpheme-marked) aspect intersect. Importantly, this will account not only for the way in which the past imperfectives are used in early Greek, but also justify their subsequent disappearance from classical Greek. Once the augment had become a compulsory past-tense marker, thereby obliterating the old ‘perfectivised imperfect’ category, the ‘imperfectivised aorists’ equally lost their *raison d’être*.