

# Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages

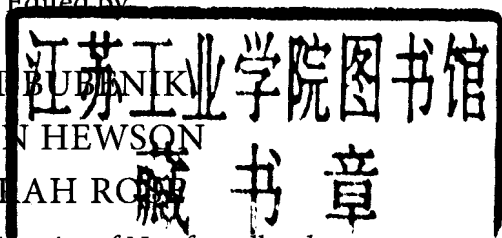
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# GRAMMATICAL CHANGE IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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ON INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS AT THE  
XVIII<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON  
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# GRAMMATICAL CHANGE IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

**AMSTERDAM STUDIES IN THE THEORY AND  
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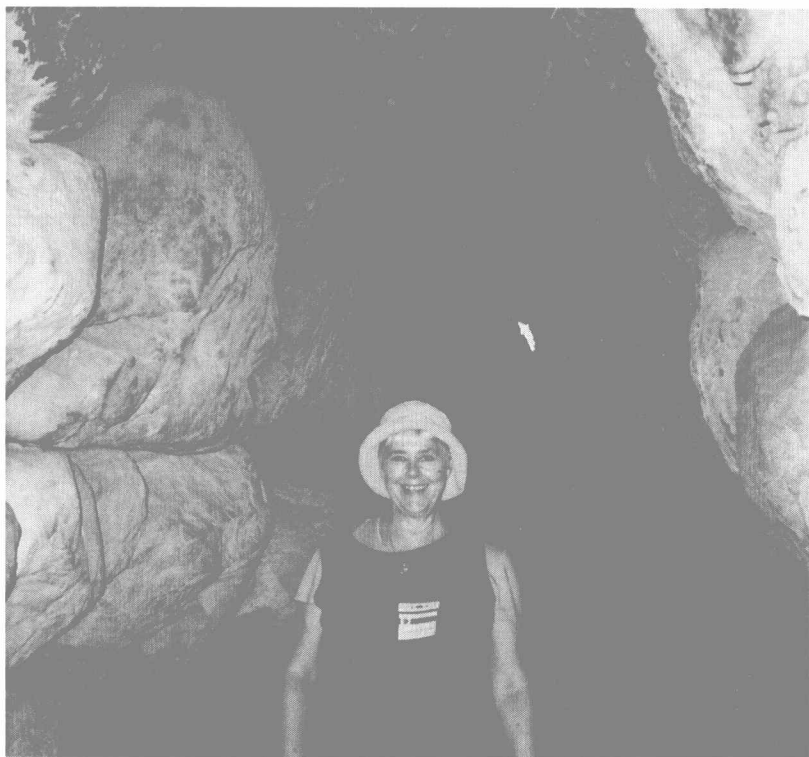
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Vit Bubenik, John Hewson and Sarah Rose (eds.)

*Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages.*

*Papers presented at the workshop on Indo-European Linguistics  
at the XVIIIth International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Montreal, 2007*

*We dedicate this volume to the memory of our colleague  
Carol F. Justus (21.3.1940–1.8.2007)*



## Editors' foreword

This book is a collection of 17 articles selected from the presentations at the 18th International Conference on Historical Linguistics (6–11th August 2007) at the Université du Québec à Montréal in the workshop 'Grammatical Changes in Indo-European Languages'.

To start on a sad note, we received an abstract of the paper by Carol F. Justus (University of Texas at Austin) 'From Middle to Passive and Beyond: What Changes' which we included in the Section on Tense/Aspect and Diathesis. At the beginning of our conference we received the unexpected news that our colleague passed away on 1st August 2007, on the same day when her lifelong teacher and colleague Professor Winfred Lehmann died. For her paper we substituted an article by her Spanish colleague José Luis García-Ramón entitled 'Formal Correspondences, Different Functions: On the reconstruction of inflectional categories of Indo-European'.

Carol Justus organized an Indo-European Workshop 'Dating Dialectal Changes in Grammatical Category' at the 17th International Conference on Historical Linguistics held at Madison (Wisconsin) in August 2005. All the participants in the workshop were enthusiastic about continuing her initiative at the next Conference on Historical Linguistics at Montreal in August 2007.

The participants in the present workshop were asked to address the issues connected with the reshaping of the systems of grammatical categories (gender, number, case, tense/aspect, mood and voice) and the resulting repercussions on the syntax of Ancient and Medieval Indo-European languages. As a main guiding principle we encouraged submissions using both theory and data-oriented approaches. Today we are pleased to present the collection of the 17 articles resulting from our deliberations and lively discussions of old and new facts in a manner informed by insights from contemporary theoretical linguistics and time-honored philology. Scholars and students interested in the historical development of the languages of the Indo-European family will appreciate the spectrum of our language coverage ranking from Germanic to Anatolian. More specifically, 4 articles in our collection address directly the issues surrounding the reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European gender system, theoretical status of the passive participle, theoretical status of the infinitive, and the grammaticalization processes of relative clauses in Indo-European languages. The other articles have as their primary focus gender, diathesis and oblique subjects in Germanic languages (3 articles), gender,

definiteness and number in Romance languages (3 articles), periphrastic futures in Slavic languages, animacy in Novgorod and ergativity in North Russian (3 articles), the rise of the possessive construction in Iranian and morphosyntactic changes in Persian (2 articles), prepositions in Homeric Greek (1 article) and the origin and meaning of the 1st Pers Sg consonantal markers in Hittite (1 article).

Thematically, our collection is divided into 5 sections:

- A. includes articles devoted to the issues of Gender, Animacy and Number (5 articles)
- B. Definiteness, Case and Prepositions (3 articles)
- C. Tense/Aspect and Diathesis (4 articles)
- D. Morphosyntax (4 articles)
- E. Reconstruction of Inflectional Categories in Indo-European (1 article).

In Section A. Silvia Luraghi in her paper on ‘The origin of the feminine gender in PIE’ reviews the old problem of the original function of the suffix  $*-h_2$  and the relation between its two developments, namely, neuter plural ending and the thematic vowel associated with the feminine gender. She questions one of the generally held assumptions that this suffix was originally a collective suffix or both an abstract and collective suffix. Consequently, various attempts to describe the evolution of  $*h_2$  took for granted that the feminine in some way derives from the collective. Maintaining that there is no necessary relation between the collective and the feminine gender, Luraghi proposes a new scenario that both developments can be explicated from the original suffix deriving abstract nouns. She substantiates her hypothesis by showing how abstract and collective categories relate to each other and how nominal classification in IE changed from a system based on “degree of individuation” to a system based on referential gender (sex and, partly, animacy). She emphasizes that the semantic change abstract > concrete (collective is concrete) is more common than readily admitted (e.g. Latin *ingressus* ‘the action of entering’ > Italian *ingresso* ‘entrance’). In categorial terms, for the relation between abstract and collective she observes that mass and collective nouns “rank lower on a scale of individuation than count plurals and singulars”; since abstract entities have “a low degree of concreteness” abstract suffixes often come to indicate collectives. A note of caution should be sounded here from the point of view of frequently invoked parallels with Semitic languages. Arabic morphologized the three-way referential system for entities based on their “plexity” (Talmy 2000): uniplex – multiplex discrete (countables) – multiplex continuous (mass nouns and collectives): *samak-at* ‘a fish’ – *samak-ât* ‘(several) fish’ – *samak* ‘fish (as species)’ [the broken plural *asmāk* ‘fishes’ denotes various species of fish]. In Arabic the abstract suffix *-at* (e.g. *ma-ʕrif-at* ‘knowledge’ < *ʕaraf* ‘know’) which generally marks the feminine nouns (*kalb-at* ‘bitch’ < *kalb* ‘dog’) functions as the *singulative* suffix, i.e. it derives the singular noun from the collective noun (*samak-at* ‘fish’ <



*samak* 'fish'). Somewhat paradoxically, however, it may also be added to certain singular nouns to derive collective nouns (e.g. *bahhār* 'sailor' > *bahhār-at* 'crew') or even to certain plural nouns both animate and inanimate: (e.g. *tilmīḍ* 'student', *talāmiḍ* (Pl) > *talāmiḍ-at*; *hajar* 'stones' (collective) *aḥjār/hijār* (Pl) > *hijār-at*). In IE the collective suffix became grammaticalized as a case ending, i.e. the nominative/accusative neuter plural (short *-a* in Greek and Lat, and *-i* in Sanskrit go back to *\*-h<sub>2</sub>*; *-ni* in Skt thematic *-āni* is borrowed from *n*-stems). On the other hand, *\*-h<sub>2</sub>* became a thematic vowel (the marker of the *ā*-declension in Sanskrit, Greek, Baltic, Slavic and Germanic languages; notice the problem presented by the short *-a* in Latin) in a threefold noun class system: human (highly individuated) – abstract (moderately individuated) and concrete inanimate (least individuated). During the last stage of this development the feature of individuation was changed to referential gender yielding the familiar three gender system.

The paper by Maria M.Manoliu, 'The animacy fallacy: Cognitive categories and noun classification' examines the reduction from the threefold noun class of Latin to a twofold system found in Romance languages. She adds to an enormous grammatical literature on this topic her analysis of triggering effects of social and pragmatic factors. She maintains that the primordial semantic feature [Incapable of affecting human life] lost its privileged status and subsequently the neuter gender was redefined as a marker of "indifference to natural gender". The remaining two genders possess two important functions in the grammar of Romance languages: the main criterion for subclassifying nouns and the expanded semantic function in that the differences between 'men' and 'women' were remotivated as a consequence of the evolution of the concept of femaleness from an ancient model mostly linked to the natural world (from "fertility" to "social equality").

Hans H.Hock in his paper 'Default, animacy, avoidance: Diachronic and synchronic agreement variations with mixed-gender antecedents' shows that the generally held view that Germanic possesses across-the-board neuter default agreement with mixed gender antecedents is in need of more detailed explication, and he offers Nearest-Conjunct agreement and the principle of "Avoidance" as an alternative. In Germanic languages gender distinctions are neutralized in the plural of predicative adjectives, e.g. in Old Saxon *uuit hier thus bara standat* 'we two [Adam and Eve] thus stand here naked'. Both Old Saxon and Old High German neutralize through "deflection" gender distinctions in plural predicative adjectives. The difference is in the generalization by Old Saxon of the inflected form proper to masculines and feminines at the expense of the neuter form (contrast also its Anglo-Saxon counterpart *wit her baru standað* featuring the neuter plural form *baru*). Hock's paper represents a work in progress which will include languages and language families as advocated by Corbett (2006: 263). The phenomenon of deflected agreement is found across the spectrum of Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. most

Romani dialects use deflected agreement in the noun phrase of the type (*bar+e rakl+es*)=*ke* ‘to the big boy’ vs. the rhyming agreement found in some Russian Romani dialects (*bar+es*)=*ke* (*rakl+es*)=*ke* lit. ‘to the big to the boy’, cf. Wentzel 1980: 80) and Semitic languages (in Arabic non-human plural masculine nouns display the same agreement pattern as the singular feminine nouns: *al-kilāb wasix-at* ‘the dogs are dirty’ and *al-marʔ-at wasix-at* ‘the woman is dirty’). Unlike East and South East Slavic languages West Slavic languages did not neutralize gender distinction in plural predicative adjectives and the Avoidance principle appears to be used even more frequently than in Russian or German. Thus all these languages have to recast the structure of the type *\*Der große Mann und Frau*, but only Czech has to recast its plural counterpart *Schöne Männer und Frauen*, Красивые мужчины и женщины: *Krásn-í muž-i a krásn-é žen-y*. In Czech Nearest-Conjunct agreement appears to play a certain role in instances when the mixed gender antecedents contain the neuter plural in *-a*; e.g. *býc-i a telat-a utekl-i* ‘bulls and calves ran away’ but *utekl-a telat-a a býc-i* (*utekl-i telat-a a býc-i* with more ‘conservative’ speakers relying on the category of “mature” animacy).

Kyongjoon Kwon in her paper ‘The early Development of animacy in Novgorod: Evoking the vocative anew’ studies the early development of animacy in the Novgorod birch bark letters (dated from 11th to 15th c.), representing a part of Early East Slavic. After examining the previous hypotheses of the origin of the Nom Sg Masc *o*-stem ending *-e*, she presents evidence that this ending arose from the need to “rescue” the masculine from being confused with neuter, and ultimately to differentiate nominative from accusative (consequently, the Old Novgorod dialect did not need to introduce Gen=Acc). She proposes that this ending diffused from anthroponyms where it arose as an animacy marker. On the whole her proposal challenges the common opinion that the category of animacy developed later in Novgorod regions than in the remaining Slavic areas. Theoretically, she admits that Differential Subject Marking is much less common than Differential Object Marking; among West Slavic languages one could mention Polish and Czech which employ special endings in the nominative plural to express a masculine “personal” category (e.g. in Czech *pán* ‘gentleman’, *pán-i* ‘gentlemen’ ~ *pán-ové* ‘gentlemen; masters, lords (in feudal sense)’; there is no choice in the accusative where only *-y* can be used); less pertinent is the parallel with Pontic Greek which developed definite subject marking marked by the accusative case (Janse 2002).

The aim of the paper by Inez Fernández-Ordóñez, ‘The development of mass/count distinctions in Indo-European varieties’ is to determine to what extent some Western IE languages (English, Ibero-Romance, Scandinavian and South-Central Italian) in their development of new gender distinctions confirm the scenarios suggested by Greenberg (1978) and Corbett (1991, 2006). Her data support the central role played by demonstrative and personal pronouns whence the new

gender distinction based on the count/mass interpretation of nouns could spread to other word classes and syntactic positions. She discerns the first stage of gender development in certain English dialects where the pronouns *he/she* can extend their use to countable inanimates (as in SW English *Pass the loaf. He's over there*) while remaining stable in referring to mass and abstract entities. Once this distinction has been established in the pronouns it can spread to other word classes as in the Ibero-Romance dialects of some Spanish regions and the Scandinavian languages. In Western Ibero-Romance Latin neuter gender was lost as a nominal category but the three-way gender distinction was preserved with personal and demonstrative pronouns. Some of these dialects developed what is called mass neuter agreement observable with masculine or feminine antecedents (singular or plural), and this agreement extends to adjectives (e.g. *La buen-a leche fresc-o se toma templad-o. Pruéba-lo*. 'Good fresh milk is drunk warmed. Taste it'). South-Central Italian dialects developed mass neuter agreement manifested in distinct forms of articles (e.g. *Quest-o pane l-o vedi?* 'This bread, do you see it?' versus count interpretation *Quist-u cane l-u vedi?* 'This dog, do you see it?'). She observes that the "quickest way" to achieve a new lexical gender distinction is where the personal or demonstrative pronoun is simultaneously used as determiner with the noun.

Section B on *Definiteness, Case and Prepositions* is introduced by Brigitte Bauer's paper 'Strategies of definiteness in Latin: Implications for Early Indo-European'. She discusses various strategies used in Indo-European languages without definite articles to indicate the notion of definiteness, such as the use of demonstratives, case variation, adjectival inflection, aspect, or the creation of nouns marked for definiteness. The body of the paper involves a discussion of the relevance of these various strategies to the development of Latin/Romance definite articles. Her arguments are supported and exemplified by selections from Cato, Plautus, Terence, Cicero, and Livy. Clear and well set out tables support her claims (such as the alternation between genitive versus accusative in various Latin authors). By such means she gives clear evidence that strategies such as case alternation or aspect, so important in Germanic languages to convey the notion of definiteness, are not a universal development, nor a significant factor in the development of Latin/Romance definite articles. She concludes that various *nominal* derivational processes and partitive adjectival constructions, used to indicate degrees of definiteness, were the important forerunners of definite articles in Latin/Romance.

Vit Bubenik's paper 'The rise and development of the possessive construction in Middle Iranian with parallels in Albanian' examines the emergence of the possessive (*ezafe*) construction in Early Middle Iranian in the overall context of the loss of the morphological case distinctions and the establishment of the analytic typology of phrasal case. He also pinpoints some interesting parallels with the development of the genitival construction in Albanian where, unlike in Persian,

both the definite and indefinite possessor is preceded by the genitival preposition *i* (*libri i=djal-it* ‘the book of the boy’ and *libri i=djal-i* ‘the book of a boy’). In Persian the *ezafe* marker is cliticized to the possessee and there are no grammatical means to express the definiteness of the possessor (*ketâb=e pesar* ‘the book of the/a boy’). He shows that the genitival construction of Albanian reflects an earlier state of affairs in that its genitival preposition is inflected (to a limited degree) for gender, number and case and resembles thus the relative pronoun of the Old Iranian possessive construction; this intermediate state of affairs is now lost in Modern Persian whose *ezafe* particle is caseless and genderless.

The theory oriented paper by Dag T. T. Haug ‘Does Homeric Greek have prepositions? Or local adverbs? (And what’s the difference anyway?)’ is a discussion of terminology: whether what he calls Place Words (PWs) should be called prepositions when they are not preposed, but postposed, or elsewhere in the sentence, as happens with great frequency in Homeric Greek, where the pre-position of these elements had not yet become grammaticalized as it has in the Classical and later Greek. He criticizes Horrocks for assuming that the oblique nominal element is the head of PW + N structures, and the particle was merely an optional specifier of its case ending (Horrocks 1981: 19), a criticism already made by Luraghi (2003) and endorsed by Hewson & Bubenik (2006: 60–61). A major problem of extending the meaning of the term *preposition* to postpositions, however, lies in the data of Indic, where these same Indo-European PWs have been grammaticalized as *postpositions*.

Section C *Tense/Aspect and Diathesis* is introduced by a theory-oriented paper ‘On the origin of the Slavic aspects. Questions of chronology’ by Henning Andersen. He proposes to examine the development of Slavic aspects from a new point of view combining comparative and internal analyses with the perspective of dialect geography. Unlike the traditional approach of analyzing the Slavic languages along the all-pervading parameter of perfectivity, he views the category of aspect in more general terms as consisting of several “subaspects”: Determinate/Indeterminate, Imperfect/Aorist, Retrospective/Absolute, and Prospective/Actual. As a major contribution to the historical study of the rise of aspectual systems, he shows that in terms of relative chronology the (aspect of) perfectivity arose in prehistory, while the other aspects developed in part before (Retrospective/Absolute), and in part after the “grammation” of Perfective/Imperfective aspect (Determinate/Indeterminate). To judge by the univerbation of the Imperfect, the Imperfect/Aorist was established before the Retrospective/Absolute, and the ‘auxiliated’ Prospective/Actual is the most recently grammaticalized aspect during or after the dispersal of the Slavic speaking tribes between 300–800 (i.e. before the appearance of the first literary documents in A.D. 863).

Bridget Drinka in her paper ‘The \*-to-/no- construction of Indo-European: Verbal adjective or past passive participle?’ presents the data from across the IE

languages bearing on the assessment of the validity of the claim (by some scholars) that periphrastic formations can be reconstructed for PIE. Given the fact that an array of analytic structures (such as the periphrastic perfects and passives) has grown up alongside the synthetic forms in most IE languages, she argues that the seeds of analyticity, the preliminary stages pointing to later analytic developments, were already present in the proto-language. One structure which emerges as a likely candidate for such a role is the widely-attested verbal adjectives in *\*-to-/-no-*, especially in its predicative rather than attributive function. She suggests that its multi-faceted meaning, encompassing both perfectivity and passiveness, must have come about when the structure was still resident in the noun system. She regards much of what the periphrastic structures in the daughter languages came to represent – resultativity inherent in the form, passiveness as a more grammaticalized, more verbalized expression of a resultative state, and anteriority focusing on the persistence of that state from the past into the present – as alternative perspectives, as more precise articulations of the potentialities that the earlier form already contained.

In this context she is critical of the emphasis put on the “eastern” stocks (Hellenic and Indo-Iranian) which fully developed its finite and non-finite medio-passive paradigms (the status of *\*-to-/-no-* forms was significantly different in those IE languages which did not inherit/eliminate the *\*-m(e)no* forms). She entertains the possibility of *\*-to-/-no-* forms being past passive participles in the proto-language, pinpointing their ancient connection to the verb.

John Hewson's paper ‘Grammaticalization of the verbal diathesis of Germanic’ notes the opinion shared by many Indo-Europeanists that the proto-language did not have a full transitive diathesis, but only intransitive verbs with Active and Inactive subjects, with a variety of adverbial complements using the whole range of grammatical cases of the noun. The transitivity found in the daughter languages is, in this view, the result of a later grammaticalization, the Accusative case being bleached to accept a variety of earlier adverbial complements as Direct Objects. He draws a parallel between this development and that of the Prepositional Phrase, which was not grammaticalized in Homer, but became grammaticalized in Classical Greek, where the majority of prepositions used the whole range of grammatical cases of the noun. Later, in Modern Greek, the popular norm had most of the Greek prepositions using only the Accusative. The result was a major typological shift, where the bleaching of the Accusative to cover other oblique roles led to case reduction, even complete loss of case in some languages, and the consequent development of a configurational syntax, which is found to some degree in all Indo-European languages.

Sarah Rose's brief but insightful paper ‘The origin and meaning of the first person singular consonantal markers of the Hittite *hi/mi* conjugations’ tackles the thorny issue of the significance of the opposition seen in the Hittite present

conjugations. Proposing that the opposition was originally one of verbal voice, she provides an elegant supporting argument based on grammaticalization theory. The two consonant markers, velar fricative *-h-* and bilabial nasal *-m-* which appear close to the verbal root and before the 'here-and-now' tense suffix *-i* represent the reduced remnants of two different *cases* of the first person pronoun, originally post-posed to a compatible verbal root in the earliest stages of the development of Indo-European inflections. The two different case-marked pronouns indicated degrees of involvement in the verbal activity (the essence of "voice"): the direct (nominative) case first person pronoun would have been appended to verbs in which the speaker was most intimately involved and invested: verbs of cognition, self-directed activities, etc. This would have been the marked member of the opposition. To all other verbs the oblique (accusative) case pronoun would be added. The association of the inflectional element *-m* has long been linked to the accusative case of the first personal pronoun. Rose's achievement involves making the link between the other marker, the velar fricative of Hittite (<\*-H<sub>2</sub> of IE) and the nominative case of the ancestral IE first person pronoun, and in seeing the significance of this link. Her theory aligns the verbal system of Hittite, the most archaic of all IE languages, and arguably the closest to the original, with the other archaic language, Vedic Sanskrit, in having an originally binary voice system, opposing *ātmanepada* 'word for self' to *parasmaipada* 'word for another'.

Section D features papers on morphosyntactic problems of Germanic, Iranian, Russian and Ancient Indo-European languages.

Johanna Barðdal and Thórhallur Eythórsson in their paper 'The origin of the oblique-subject-construction: an Indo-European comparison' question the axiomatic assumption that oblique subjects must have developed from objects and set out to investigate whether these arguments may have been syntactic subjects all along. A related question has to do with the origin of the argument structure of impersonal predicates (of the type *mir ist kalt* 'I am cold'). They probe into the diachrony of such argument structures and whether the etymology of individual lexical items can reveal anything about this development. Having examined six different hypotheses on the possible origin of the oblique-subject construction in the Indo-European languages they opt for the sixth one, namely that the PIE was a stative-active language, either a Split-S or a Fluid-S language, in which a subset of syntactic subjects is case marked in the same way as objects. They concluded that oblique subjects are a natural part of the alignment system and need not be postulated as having developed from objects.

The question of "oblique subjects" and the disagreement that it provokes is not new. Generativists, for example, have always argued that the Ergative (i.e. Oblique) case in ergative style syntax is the subject of the transitive verb, but Silverstein (1976) argued over 30 years ago that it is the Patient, represented by the Absolutive (or

Nominative case) that is the subject of the transitive verb, in ergative syntax. This is a view widely held by typologists (e.g. Comrie 1988) and functionalists (Dik 1989), but Dixon (see Aikhenvald et al. 2001) still persists in labeling the ergative case as S in the transitive verb. Ultimately this is a matter of whether one chooses to accept that morphology is meaningful, as do the typologists and functionalists, or meaningless, as do the generativists. There are all kinds of minimal pairs, of course, even in English (*They left their house and were looking for his/him/\*he*) which reveal the meaningful contrasts of morphology, but the disagreements persist.

Azam Estaji's paper 'Morphosyntactic changes in Persian and their effects on the Syntax' deals with the origin of the *ezafe* construction (known also from the Semitic languages as *status constructus*, *l'état d'annexion*) in Modern Persian. She shows how in Old Persian a relative pronoun *hya-* 'who, which' in sentences without copula was interpreted as a "connector" / "linker", i.e. a marker of the *ezafe* construction. As a result of this reanalysis an elliptic relative clause was recast as the appositive noun phrase (as in *Gaumāta hya maguš* > *Gaumāte-y-e moq* 'Gaumata who [is] Magus' > 'Gaumata the Magus'). She demonstrates that this morphosyntactic change compensates for the loss of the grammatical morphology of case.

Hakyung Jung's paper 'Possessive subjects, nominalization and ergativity in North Russian' investigates the evolution of the morphosyntactic structure of the possessive perfect construction in North Russian (of the type *u menja bylo telenka zarezano* 'I had slaughtered a/the calf') and its cross-linguistic implications in the context of ergativity. He offers a developmental scenario, in which the originally passive construction is reanalyzed as a nominative object construction in North Russian whereby the adjunct *u* + Gen agent phrase is reanalyzed as a vP-internally base-generated external argument. Dialectal variation of copula agreement reflects different developmental stages of the de-passivization of the construction. The nominalized verb structure, which contains a possessive subject and a nominative object and is specified for the perfect, is further proposed as one of the general patterns of ergative constructions across languages. It links typologically the North Russian perfect construction to ergative constructions in Hindi, Inuit, Nez Perce, and so forth.

Eugenio R. Luján Martínez's paper 'on the Grammaticalization of *k<sup>w</sup>i-/k<sup>w</sup>o*-relative clauses in Proto-Indo-European Languages' deals with a classical issue of Indo-European linguistics, namely the possibility of reconstructing relative clauses for the proto-language and their trajectory to Ancient daughter languages. The two main strategies for relativization are *postnominal* and *correlative* clauses (marked by *\*kwi-* / *\*kwo* and *\*yo-*, respectively) but there appears to be no strict correlation between them. Given the wide attestation of the former type its grammaticalization path (INTERROGATIVE > RELATIVE) is not difficult to assess. On the other hand, the process by which *\*yo-* came to be grammaticalized as a relative pronoun is not so straightforward, but it can be reconstructed if one takes

into account the variety of other uses of *\*yo* (the Hittite enclitic particle *-ya*, the thematic genitive in *\*-os-yo*, the uninflected Gaulish relative particle *-io*, the definite inflection of the adjective in Slavic and Baltic languages and “nominal relative clauses” in Indo-Iranian and Slavic languages). A propos the grammaticalization of *\*kwi-* / *\*kwo-* Luján offers a new perspective by distinguishing various type of relative clauses (appositive, restrictive and “maximalizing”/ “generalizing” differing from the restrictive ones in their “universal scope”). Given the fact that both in Old Latin and Hittite the oldest uses of relative *\*kwi-* / *\*kwo-* were found in preposed generalizing relative clauses (of the type *Qui ager frigidior... erit ibi oleam... seri oportet* ‘In a field which is quite cold it is convenient to plant olive-trees’ from Cato *Agr.*6.2) Luján suggests that the grammat(icalizat)ion of PIE interrogatives must have originated in maximalizing relatives. (Typological parallels are seen in Hebrew of the type *mī la-ʔəḏōnāy ʔēlay* ‘Who [is] with God [come] with me’ and in Huichol (Uto-Aztecan)). He concludes that PIE possessed semantically maximalizing relative clauses which were *preposed*, as shown by Old Latin and Hittite.

Section E features the last paper in our collection, devoted to the issues surrounding the reconstruction of IE inflectional categories. Luis García-Ramón in his paper entitled ‘Formal correspondences, different functions: On the reconstruction of inflectional categories of Indo-European’ demonstrates that the Vedic forms *dāmane* ‘giving’ (Dat), *vidmāne* ‘knowing’ (Dat) and their Homeric and Lesbian counterparts *dómevai* ‘to give’, *īdmevai* ‘to know’ can be traced back to the dative form of a verbal noun in PIE *\*d(e)h<sub>3</sub>-men-ei* and *\*wid-mén-ei*. However, they differ in their syntactic status. The Vedic form in *-mane* is still the dative form of an action noun ‘giving’, *-māne* is a ‘quasi-infinitive’ (Delbrück’s “werdender Infinitiv”) comparable with Avestan *-manai*, while their Greek counterparts in *-mevai* are full-fledged infinitives. Greek appears thus to be most advanced on the scale of grammaticalization *verbal noun* > *quasi-infinitive* > *infinitive* (sensu stricto).

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St. John’s, February 2009

Vit Bubenik

John Hewson

Sarah Rose



## My memories of Carol Justus

My memories of Carol Justus reach back as far as my interest in Hittite linguistics. In the early 1980s, as a graduate student at the University of Pavia, where I was working with Professor Carruba, I developed an interest in comparative syntax and syntactic typology; needless to say, Carol's work on Hittite relative clauses was among my first readings. Several years later, I submitted a part of my thesis, which had now grown into a book on Old Hittite syntax, for publication to Routledge, and Carol was one of the readers chosen by the editor to comment on the manuscript. Actually, she acted as an anonymous reader, but after reading a couple of her remarks it was clear to me who the anonymous was. Her observations on the book were extremely helpful and useful, and I profited greatly from them. We finally met at an ICHL in New Brunswick, and, besides having interest in each other's work, we immediately became friends. Indeed, besides an outstanding scholar, she was a very nice person, one that you could trust, who could be sympathetic to friends, and was never too busy to give advice on whatever matter, either scholarly or personal. While we did not manage to get together as often as I would have liked, we always kept in touch, exchanged drafts of papers and opinions, tried to cheer each other up when academic life was hard. To her, it was certainly less rewarding than what she would have deserved.

The value of her work cannot be overestimated: she was among the very few who worked on Hittite syntax as early as the 1970s, and her research was really pioneering at a time when linguists and typologists knew virtually nothing about the Anatolian languages. If the situation now has changed, and many linguists outside the field of Indo-European studies have some notions of Hittite, its interest for linguistic typology and for linguistic theory, a big part of the credit is Carol's. And it must be emphasized that, contrary to many other linguists who are well prepared as far as theory is concerned, but have little familiarity with handling the data, Carol was both a linguist and a skilled philologist, who only used first hand data and remained close to the study of real texts. Of course, this was a heritage of her work at the Hittite Thesaurus in Munich, a place where she returned several times after her study years. In this respect, Carol should be an example for younger linguists, who too often work on second hand data and have little knowledge of the languages they are using in their arguments. Her interest in syntax, pragmatics and discourse was remarkable, and can be detected starting with her 1973