Inhaltsverzeichnis

ANNA BAUER

The present paper investigates the scope of the -*a*- pronouns in Middle Hittite. Several different aspects are considered: (i) the frequency of the forms, (ii) the scope (for both distance to the lexical referent and saliency despite a lack of continued reference), (iii) the types of clauses used and (iv) possible ambiguity. The main findings are that the scope usually extends over one up to three clause boundaries, and that texts from the written domain (instructions and indictment) show greater complexity than others (letters and prayers); thus it is reasonable to consider the latter as being closer to spoken language.

BETTINA BOCK

If the speaker determines the facts which permit the listener the identification of an object or a person in the restrictive relative clause as eventual / future or possible, the listener can understand a causal relation with the feature [- real]: The facts in the relative clause can be probable, possible or desirable. Conditional interpretation is possible, if the facts are prior or contemporaneous to those in the main clause. If the facts are later, consecutive and final (with the feature [+ voluntial]) interpretation is possible.

ANNA BONIFAZI

The author suggests a new reading of some adverbs as they are used in the Homeric epic. Such a reading profits from the notion of "discourse markers" – used in current studies in pragmatics and in discourse analysis –, which is here introduced. The specific adverbs under consideration are αὖ, αὖτε and αὐτάρ. The proposed analysis highlights notable discourse functions, such as the marking of upcoming discourse segments and of different kinds of shifts to visual details. Overall, the findings lend support to pragmatic accounts of other ancient Greek particles as well.

EYSTEIN DAHL

This paper discusses the semantics of the Old Indo-Aryan Perfect Indicative from a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. Adopting a Neo-Reichenbachian framework, I argue that the Perfect Indicative represents a present anterior category in the earliest books of the Rigveda, while it has a past perfective character in the later books which in turn develops into a more general past character in the later stages of Vedic. I also claim that the inferential reading associated with the Perfect Indicative in the most recent stages of Vedic can be understood as the conventionalization of a pragmatic implicature, originating in the use of this category in intensional contexts.

ALEXANDRA DAUES

The syntax of Lycian funeral inscriptions is influenced by their function: (A) the frequently attested topicalization (left dislocation) has a pragmatic, exophoric function, while the rarely attested non-funeral inscriptions do not show this phenomenon. (B) Another characteristic feature of the funeral inscriptions is the preposition *hrppi*, which is used as a marker for the one who the grave is dedicated to (right dislocation). This usage of *hrppi* is caused by language contact. (C) In non-funeral inscriptions, *hrppi* functions as a local preverb with the meaning

'upon'. Within the funeral inscriptions, the position of *hrppi* also marks its function (preverbal position: local use, prepositional position: transferred use).

This article deals with those positions in the *Vorfeld* where so-called adverbial connectors can appear in Modern German. After a comparison (of the latter) with coordinating conjunction(s) and focus particle(s), it is shown how the different positions preceding the finite verb with adverbial connectors have either been newly added in the course of the development from adverbials to connectors (e. g. the so-called *Nacherstposition*, which has the function of contrasting the topics preceding it), or acquired an entirely new function, like the null position, which is followed by independent illocutions in Modern German.

The ocurrence of primary and secondary endings in the subjunctive in Vedic has defied explanation so far. In fact, in the *-s*-aorists a complementary distribution may now be stated, namely 2.sg *-s-a-si*, whence *-s-i* by haplology (primary ending) :: 3.sg. *-s-a-t* (secondary ending), e. g. *dárṣi* (and *dárṣasi*) vs. *dárṣat*. This distribution is conditioned by the interaction of deixis and speech: the second person is addressed ("der Angesprochene") and its form has the *-i-* deixis, whereas the third person, who is spoken about ("der Besprochene"), stands further outside of the sphere of the speaker. This complementary distribution may be inherited, as the haplology itself, which has lead to the so-called *-si*-imperatives.

Hittite *apāš* as a Replacing or Selecting Focus constituent is overwhelmingly found in immediately preverbal position. Thus, the main function of the stressed pronoun *apāš* is to mark a highly topical referent as the Contrastive Focus of a clause (as opposed to the enclitic pronoun *-a-*), falsifying claims that stressed pronouns select less topical or cognitively accessible discourse referents. This surprising result was reached using the onomasiological approach, which maps forms on well-defined meanings or functions.

The contrast in Celtic between absolute and conjunct verbal flexion is traced to the distinction between tonic sentence-initial verbs and atonic sentence-medial/final verbs in Proto-Indo-European. Given the origin of the Celtic double flexion in a functional system, it is assigned synchronic functionality in the extant languages themselves. The distribution of the double flexion is shown to correlate with the features of scalar transitivity posited by Hopper and Thompson. Celtic verb-inital basic order is explained as arising in prehistory through the complete cliticisation of the verb due to strongly falling sentence-intonation.

This paper deals with latent objects in Vedic. In the first part an inventory of latent objects in Vedic is given: Ellipses, operator chains, and null pronouns can be identified. The last are shown to follow binding principle B. The second part is an investigation into discourse grammatical constraints on the use of anaphoric null pronouns. The most important of these is an adjacency constraint. In Vedic narrative prose this constraint can be violated if antecedent and anaphor

bear the same thematic role. The data surveyed show that information structure has no role to play in licencing null pronouns.

In this article a case is made for a linguistic approach to Latin which considers the discourse pragmatic category of Act (rather than the semantico-syntactic category of Clause) as the basic unit of linguistic analysis. By discussing a number of linguistic phenomena in Latin, in particular the Latin particle *quidem*, it is demonstrated that the linguistic relevance of distinguishing units of analysis that are essentially communicative in nature. By way of theoretical background the main principles of Functional Discourse Grammar are introduced, a theory of language in which formal properties of language are directly and explicitly related to the communicative aims and strategies of the language user.

The article discusses two interrelated methodological questions concerning the diachrony of Latin discourse particles: (i) whether, and under what conditions, it is possible to make use in diachronic research of the discourse-pragmatic framework proposed by C. Kroon for the basically synchronic analysis of these particles; (ii) to what extent it is possible to differentiate between those variations in the usage of discourse particles across different texts which are caused by a diachronic development and those conditioned by other factors. Several sources of variation in particle usage are examined, namely (i) discourse structure, (ii) the traditions of literary genres, and (iii) individual factors, such as educational or sociolectal background.

In Vedic there are unstressed and stressed particles in the Wackernagel position. Hitherto it is unknown which function the stressed particles have. Information structure plays an important role here. While focus particles are confined to the actual sentence, the stressed particles are genuine discourse particles by being beyond the scope of the sentence. They appeal to the hearer to activate common knowledge which is required for the discourse and they function as background particles. Foreground particles, on the other hand, may belong to another kind of Wackernagel particles. The particles demonstrate the importance of the left sentence periphery for information structure.

Hittite -*ma* is not a focus particle, but a conjunction that links a specific constituent or an entire clause to a preceding clause. Its basic function is to mark a change in the direction of the discourse: new information, contrastive content, or merely the elevation of old information to topic status ("anaphoric" use). Since the constituent linked by -*ma* has a certain prominence, its use is regularly accompanied by "fronting", but "fronting" itself marks saliency more generally. The use of -*ma* in a given instance is not grammatically, but pragmatically conditioned, depending on how the speaker/author wishes to structure the discourse.

The article deals with two IE verbs that changed meaning by the influence of pragmatics. The first is the verbal composite *$\u{u}o$-tk^u*- 'run away, run down', being itself of IE age and continued

in Hittite *watku-* 'run away, jump'. Secondly, an attempt is made to show that the original meaning of Hittite *ninink-* was both 'lift' and 'lift something from its place'. For pragmatic reasons the verb is often found in contexts with somehow negative connotations, which changed its meaning to 'lift in an aggressive way (active), rise in an aggressive way (middle)'. This development may have started in PIE times already.

This paper examines adversative coordination and provides an exemplary demonstration of pragmatic analysis, which is a necessity for the correct interpretation of any text. Romance adversative particles such as French *mais*, Italian *ma* which replaced various Latin particles such as *sed, at, autem* etc. derive from the Latin *magis*. The fundamental functions of *magis* are: a) the <u>quantitative</u> function with an additive meaning which works like a connective particle (equivalent to Spanish *sino*, German *aber*); and b) the <u>corrective</u> function with a disjunctive meaning which is close to an exclusive particle (equivalent to Spanish *sino*, German *sondern*).

The demonstratives of the Tocharian languages (A and B) are used both as independent pronouns and as determiners. On the formal side, the seven paradigms (three in Toch. A and four in Toch. B) share the same basic inflexional system, which is based ultimately on the PIE demonstrative pronoun **so/to-*. In synchrony, the demonstrative sets are differentiated by the final vowel or consonant. From the diachronic point of view, Common Tocharian and the two Toch. languages have redistributed through several steps the reflexes of different PIE stems, while keeping the threefold opposition between anaphora, near-deixis and far-deixis.

Word-order patterns in positive main clauses in Middle Welsh (prose) have conventionally been classified as either 'abnormal' or 'mixed'; the two types have been assigned distinct pragmatic characteristics, but there is considerable formal overlap between them. My paper argues against an unambiguous mapping of syntactic form on pragmatic function and the discreteness of the pragmatic functions 'topic' and 'focus', and in favour of a pragmatic cline with 'topic' and 'focus' as polar values. Other issues briefly addressed concern the rise of a specifically Breton type of cleft construction and the changing syntax of Middle Welsh *canys*.

The function of the three Hittite particles *kāša, kāšma* and *kāšat(t)a* has been analysed by Hoffner as adding a temporal immediacy to the verbal action. In this article, it is argued that the deictic force is not a temporal, but a local one. The particle *kāša* indicates that the verbal action takes place in the local sphere of the speaker, while *kāšma* (in Middle and Neo-Hittite) and *kāšat(t)a* (in Old Hittite) mark the action as being located in the sphere of the addressee. This result has been achieved by using a combination of philological analysis and a heuristic method developed by Kroon for the discovery of pragmatic categories in corpus languages.

This paper is about pronominal clitics with "cataphoric use" that can be found in Hattic-Hittite and Hurrian-Hittite bilinguals. The massive presence of cataphoric pronominal clitics in texts of translation from Hattic is not determined by some morphosyntactic properties of the Hattian verb (this seems to be the interpretation of, e. g., Schuster), but they emerge as a consequence

of a different (re)analysis of the pragmatic context and/or for pure syntactic reasons within Hittite, but somehow connected to the textual and pragmatic properties of both Hattic and Hittite. Cataphoric pronominal clitics are also of interest for Hittite sentence structure.

Reconstructing the syntactic system of a proto-language is possible, if several daughter languages have a uniform syntax. For Proto-Indoeuropean (based on Germanic, Latin, Greek) we can find a basic word order Subject–Object–Adjuncts–Verb with optional verb fronting and a top position for sentence mood markers. So Proto-Indoeuropean was no non-configurational language. The basic word order is, however, often obscured by information structurally motivated re-orderings, in which scene-setting elements are at the front, followed by topics. Poset-elements do not show uniform behaviour; they probably had no positional preferences in Proto-Indoeuropean.

The OSV word order is cross-linguistically particularly rare, and is often considered as being an exceptional arrangement due to poetic license in the grammars of the early IE languages. Here we perform a quantitative analysis of OSV in the Rig-Veda, the earliest Vedic text, where word order is syntactically flexible. It is found that this word order occurs in a consistent set of situations, where the object is presented as a more salient piece of information with respect to the subject. Such information structure is at odds with that of the usual transitive clause, and this may explain the diachronic decay of OSV in Old Indian.

In this paper, it is argued that, on the text level, the characteristic Middle and Neo-Hittite connector *nu* serves to connect overtly the two parts of topic-comment constructions. On a less complex interclausal level, it combines clauses to form a coherent chain of expectancy, in which the propositions basically conform to the current state of the common ground. -*(i)a* 'also, and' and -*(m)a* 'in addition; but' sharply contrast with *nu* in that the propositions they connect prototypically do not combine to form a complex sequential event, and by the fact that they signal that the common ground needs to be accomodated at the present stage of disourse by selecting relevant entities out of a set of alternatives.