AG 11 Indefinites between Theory and Language Change

38. Jahrestagung der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Sprachwissenschaft
Konstanz, February 24 – 26, 2016

Invited Speakers

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Meeting description

Language users employ indefinites, pronouns (*someone, anything, whatever*) and different types of noun phrases (*a book, a certain student, some time, any teacher*) to encode (non-)referentiality, but also other crucial properties, such as degree of identifiability, speaker-hearer knowledge status, discourse saliency. Recent typological and theoretical studies have uncovered a wealth of variation in this domain, on various grammatical levels (morpho-syntax, semantics, pragmatics). The emerging picture needs to be complemented by a comparative evaluation of the observed diachronic patterns. Research on the history of indefinite articles and some classes of indefinite pronouns in individual languages has advanced substantially. We face scenarios that challenge well-known models of development and therefore need a broader cross-linguistic perspective on evolutionary tendencies, also encompassing non-Indo-European languages. A more fine-grained study of the diachronic clines involving indefinites may shed light on some of their intriguing synchronic properties (morpho-syntactic complexity, multifunctionality, context dependence), and on the way systems of indefinites are structured (complementarity, blocking). The investigation further promises to disclose more general conclusions on the systematic nature of change affecting functional elements of the lexicon. We therefore invite contributions from linguists of various persuasions, reconciling in-depth theoretical analysis with comparative and diachronic evidence.

website conference:
http://www.dgfs2016.uni-konstanz.de/dgfs-2016/

website workshop:
http://gerlin.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/kvh/konf/2016_dgfs_indefinite.html

Program

Wednesday, Feb 24

Time	Speaker	Title
14:00 – 15:00	Maria Aloni	Indefinites as fossils
15:00 – 16:00	Urtzi Etxeberria & Anastasia Giannakidou	Anti-specificity and the role of number: the case of Spanish *algún/algunos*

Coffee break

Time	Speaker	Title
16:30 – 17:30	Irene Franco, Olga Kellert, Guido Mensching & Cecilia Poletto	On (negative) indefinites in Old Italian
17:30 – 18:30	Remus Gergel	Another route towards epistemic indefinites: A case for VERUM?

Thursday, Feb 25

Time	Speaker	Title
9:00 – 10:00	Ljudmila Geist	From indefinite NP to bare NP: why does the indefinite article disappear?
10:00 – 11:00	Patrick G. Grosz	Scalar epistemic indefinites: a case study of *weiß Gott w-* in Present Day German

Coffee break

Time	Speaker	Title
11:30 – 12:00	Ricardo Etxepare	From correlative protases to existential pronouns in Basque
12:00 – 12:30	Amel Kallel & Pierre Larrivée	Strong polarity contexts and evolution of *n*-words
12:30 – 13:00	Moreno Mitrović	Indefinite polarisation and its scalar origin: evidence from Japonic

Friday, Feb 26

Time	Speaker	Title
11:30 – 12:00	Rosemarie Lühr	Konstruktionen mit Indefinita in altindogermanischen Sprachen
12:00 – 12:30	Andrei Sideltsev	Relative and indefinite pronouns: synchrony and diachrony. The case of Hittite
12:30 – 13:00	Silvia Luraghi	Partitive case markers and indefiniteness: a diachronic survey
13:00 – 14:00		Discussion

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Abstracts

Maria Aloni
Universiteit van Amsterdam
Indefinites as fossils

In the first part of the talk I will summarise the results of three diachronic corpus studies establishing the patters of development of three marked indefinites in three different languages: German *irgend*-series; Spanish *cualquiera* and Dutch *wie dan ook* (see http://maloni.humanities.uva.nl/Indefinites/corpus.html). In the second part I will discuss a number of theoretical repercussions of these studies on various issues at the semantic-pragmatic interface, including the debate about the status of the modal inferences (ignorance and free choice) triggered by these indefinites.

Urtzi Etxeberria and Anastasia Giannakidou
IKER Bayonne and University of Chicago
Anti-specificity and the role of number: the case of Spanish *algún/algunos*

The Spanish singular determiner *algún* is claimed to be an anti-specific indefinite, as in (1) (Giannakidou and Quer 2013, Alonso Ovalle and Menendez-Benito 2010), while plural *algunos* is claimed to show 'context dependence' (cf. (3)). This results in an ambiguity analysis, which is undesirable because it does not capture the role of the plural. In this paper we argue that *algún* and *algunos* are the singular and the plural version of each other and propose a unifying analysis by showing that the difference between singular *algún* and plural *algunos* is illusory and that in both usages referential vagueness is satisfied. We ague that the context dependency of *algunos* arises only in anaphoric contexts like (3) where a discourse referent has previously been explicitly introduced, and this discourse referent sets up an antecedent (note that in (5) with no antecedent *algunos* is indistinguishable from *unos*). It is conceivable then that the plural in this case functions as an anaphoric pronoun just like in *Mary brought the yellow T-shirts, and Ariadne the red ones* (Kester 1995). We will propose that a plural anaphor is triggered and is reflected in the plural number, thus, what appears to be a plural is really an anaphoric pronoun (6). So, the plural introduces the pronoun *pro*PL which is also an anaphor, but this happens only in the context of an overt antecedent. Our idea is close in spirit to Marti's C variable, but we do not assume that *alg-* introduces it (cf. (4)); rather, if an antecedent is available the pronoun will be triggered, as expected generally in ellipsis contexts. As a consequence, partitivity appears to be epiphenomenal, a consequence of the presence of the anaphoric plural. In sum, we are proposing a fully compositional analysis that retains the anti-specificity of the *alg-* indefinite (cf. (2)) and attributes the illusory specificity to the plural ellipsis).
Examples:
(0)   Ha   llamado algún estudiante. #Era Pedro.
        have called   some student   was Pedro
        'Some student called. #It was Pedro.'
(0)   *Referential vagueness as anti-specificity*
        (i)   A sentence containing a referentially vague indefinite α will have a truth value iff: $\exists w1, w2 \in W$: $[[\alpha]]^{w1} \neq [[\alpha]]^{w2}$; where α is the referentially vague indefinite.
        (ii)   The worlds w1, w2 are epistemic alternatives of the speaker.

(3)   {Teachers A and B are on an excursion with [a group of children, of whom they are in charge]$_K$. Teacher A comes to teacher B running:}
(a) Teacher A: ¿Te has enterado? [*Algunos* niños] $_{K, \#J}$ se han   perdido en el bosque.
(b) Teacher A: ¿Te has enterado? [*Unos* niños]$_{K, J}$ se han perdido en el bosque.
         'Have you heard? *Unos/algunos* children got lost in the forest.'

(4)   [[alg-]] = $\lambda R_{<et,<ett>>}.\lambda P_{<et>}.\lambda Q_{<et>}.R(P \cap C)(Q)$; Implicature: $R(P \cap C)(\{x: Q(x) = 0\})$

(5)   Llegaron algunos/unos chicos a la oficina.
Arrived   boys   to the office
'Some boys arrived to the office'

(6)   [[*algunos* (niños)]] =   algun + *pro*$_{PL}$ [+anaphoric]

Ricardo Etxepare
IKER Bayonne
From correlative protases to existential pronouns in Basque

Basque has a rich system of quantificational expresssions based on so-called «indeterminate pronouns» (Kuroda, 1968): indefinite bases formally identical to *wh*-words. Among the wh-word based expressions are existential pronouns equivalent to the English «someone, something» series. Those pronouns are formed by combining the *wh*-word and a suffix, formally identical to the prefixal complementizer *bait-*, used in various relations of subordination, particularly causals and relatives (Oyharçabal, 1987):

(2)   a. *zer-bait*
         what-comp
      « Something »
      b. *Jin   bait-a   gizona*
         come comp-is man.det
      « The man who came »

Unlike the other complex expressions in the *wh*-pronoun series, existential pronouns present a high degree of morphosyntactic variation in their lexical realization. The range of morphological variation existing in the category of existential pronouns in Basque can be properly understood under the hypothesis that existential pronouns come from correlative protases. Free relatives, closely related to correlative protases, are a common source in the emergence of existential quantifiers (Haspelmath, 1997). Correlative constructions exist as a productive form in a few areas of the Basque country, and they were general before. The forms to be compared to (2a) is (3):

(3)   *Zer (ere) baita*   (correlative protasis/free relative)
      what even comp-is
      « What(ever) it is »

I show that the dialectal variation in the expression of existential quantifiers corresponds to the selective lexicalization of different portions of (3), with the complementizer itself a constant element. The aim of this paper is to show that dialectal variation, together with the historical record, can shed light on some of the finer details of the process leading from correlative protases to existentials. The paper also discusses the progressive phenomenon of semantic weakening to the extent allowed by the existing sources.

Irene Franco and Cecilia Poletto
Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main
Olga Kellert and Guido Mensching
Universität Göttingen
On (negative) indefinites in Old Italian

In this talk, we concentrate on the morphosyntax of Old Italian indefinites in negative contexts. The main questions we address are the following: (i) What is the difference between indefinites as n-words and as NPIs? (ii) How do these indefinites behave with respect to Negative Concord (NC)? (iii) How can we account for their distribution within the clause? We propose that NC depends on an Agree mechanism (see Zeijlstra 2004) that is sensitive to the internal structure of n-words (Martins 2000, Déprez 2011, a.o.), while NPI licensing is a different type of dependency (Giannakidou 2002). Old Italian (OI) is the perfect laboratory to tackle questions (i)-(iii), since it has apparently optional NC, and there is a change around the turn of the XIV century towards non-strict NC, like in Modern Italian. The apparent NC optionality is shown in (1) (see Garzonio & Poletto 2012).

(1) a. *E **neuno** di voi si spaventi...*
         and no.one of you refl= fear-sbjv
         'And may none of you get scared...' (OVI, *VeV* 69)

     b. ***Neuno non** andasse poscia in paradiso...*
         and no.one not went-3sg-sbjv afterwirds in heaven
         '(So) no one would go to heaven afterwards.' (*ibid.* 78)

NC is apparently optional with preverbal and postverbal n-words. However, we will show that the optionality is systematically restricted by the internal and external syntax of n-words. NC is always attested with adverbial n-words, whereas argumental n-words have a mixed behavior. Specifically, argumental n-words generally obey NC, unless they are merged a) in a copular/existential construction; b) inside a PP, where P=from/to; or c) inside a manner/reason adverbial PP. We argue that n-words can lexicalize two different structures, which in turn depend on their semantics. N-words obeying NC are QPs, on a par with NPIs like *alcuno* (='any'), see (2a). Negative expressions that do not obey NC are instead of an adjectival type (Giusti & Leko 2001, Cardinaletti & Giusti 2005), see (2b).

(2) a. $[_{QP} ne\text{-}/alc\text{-} [_{nP} uno]]$ b. $[_{PP} da[_{DP} \emptyset/\text{-}l [_{AdjP} ni\text{-} [_{nP} ente]]]]$

In our talk, we will present a further test, which reveals an asymmetry in the distribution of NPIs like *alcuno*, and n-words like *neuno,* in (2a). NPIs cannot precede n-words (whether or not there is a non-veridical licensor in the clause). We thus propose that n-words can locally license an NPI. We conclude that NPI licensing is established first at a local level (cf. Haegeman & Lohndal 2010) and, if no licensor is met, it creates a non-local dependency.

Ljudmila Geist
Universität Stuttgart
From indefinite NP to bare NP: why does the indefinite article disappear?

In this talk, I will discuss conditions for the omission of the indefinite article in German. In the predicate position, most sortal nouns in modern German require an indefinite article.
(1)   Udo ist *ein Held / ein Idiot*. 'Udo is a hero/ an idiot.'

Other sortal nouns and relational nouns may occur without an indefinite article. Two cases can be distinguished: sortal nouns referring to well-established groups, such as names of professions and nationalities (2), and relational nouns (3).

(2) Udo ist *Lehrer* (profession) / *Deutscher* (nationality). 'Udo is a teacher / German.'
(3) Udo ist *Teil* des Teams / *Kunde* bei BASE. 'Udo is part of the team / a customer of BASE.'

Diachronically, the bare use of nouns corresponds to the early phase of Old High German (OHG, *c.* 800-1050), where all nouns were bare in the beginning. *Ein* appeared as an indefinite article with referential nouns in the late 9th century (Oubuzar 2000). As Petrova (2015) shows, *ein* also began to be used with predicate nouns, which are non-referential. She observes that NPs with *ein* in the predicate position co-varied with bare nouns until the end of the OHG period. Given this, two competitive hypotheses about the evolution of the indefinite article, from OHG to modern German, can be assumed:
Hypothesis 1: *Ein* spread to predicate nouns but had stopped before it could reach nouns denoting socially established groups and some relational nouns.
Hypothesis 2: *Ein* spread to all predicate nouns but later was omitted in those combinations with nouns denoting socially established groups and with some relational nouns.
My pilot study of predicate nouns in the Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschkorpus corpus of Early New High German (1350-1650) revealed that during this time period indefinite predicate nouns of the type in (2) and (3) were used with *ein*, thus Hypothesis 2 is more likely to be correct. But, how can the omission of the indefinite article be accounted for on the syntax-semantics interface? I will argue that the omission of the indefinite article in (2) is triggered by a process similar to pseudo-incorporation (Dayal's 2011), occurring with a reduction of nominal structure. In (3), however, the omission of the indefinite article can be accounted for by head movement of the predicate noun to the position normally occupied by the indefinite article. Although pseudo-incorporation and head-movement have similar effects on predicate NPs – i.e., the omission of *ein* and restricted modifiability (not shown here) – these processes can be distinguished, as it is only pseudo-incorporation that presupposes social-establishedness and is restricted to human referents. Head-moved predicate nouns, however, do not require social-establishedness and need not be restricted to human individuals (4).
(4) Der Baikalsee ist *Teil* der Baikal-Riftzone. 'Lake Baikal is part of the Baikal Rift Zone.'

Remus Gergel
Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Another route towards epistemic indefinites: A case for VERUM?

We analyze comparative and historical aspects of epistemic indefinites in Romance as currently exemplified by Romanian *vreun,* 'any' (Farkas 2002, Fălăuş 2014) and relate them to focus. Fălăuş discovered that *vreun* is licensed by obligatorily non-factive epistemic operators. The item seems to be an NPI w.r.t. most contexts. But it is barred in (most) directly negative contexts, where genetically unrelated, overtly negative indefinites must be used, a fact that has been attributed to some version of blocking.

We address two sets of questions. (A) What is the cycle of the *vreun* family: can the development be seen in line with other indefinites (Haspelmath 1997, Eckardt 2012)? Are epistemic effects more recent or are they an older vestige of some Latin indefinite (cf. Gianollo 2013 on Lat. *aliquis*). (B) What is the genesis of *vreun* in its use as an NPI and as a designated epistemic indefinite? What are the structural building blocks?

While items related to *vreun* are not in the common stock of indefinites known from Classical Latin, such an item must have been in use in early Romance. A similar item is attested in Aromanian (e.g. texts in Saramandu 2008) and Old Italian had *veruno* (Ramat 1997). The trajectory of *veruno* must have been that of an NPI. Old Italian allowed the item properly under negation, including covert uses, and early Romanian varieties showed likely vestiges of such a behavior too. How did the potential for NPI and epistemic flavor arise? Looking into the morphological composition of the ancestor, i.e. < *vere+unus* (='truly'+'one'), negation must be added to the initially developing negative item (as in Old Italian). A plausible scopal relationship was *truly > not > (even) one*. We explore the idea that the high adverb was the key towards creating the right types of alternatives (despite possible appearances to the contrary). It introduced verum as a function acting on the epistemic alternatives available to an individual in a particular world (Han & Romero 2004, Romero 2006). Consequently, not only the more general sensitivity to alternatives is expected (available for NPIs), but also the fact that sensitivity to epistemic states of affairs in the minimizing context of *unus* could develop.

Patrick G. Grosz
Universität Tübingen
Scalar epistemic indefinites: a case study of *weiß Gott w-* in Present Day German

Background: This talk investigates epistemic indefinites of the form *weiß Gott w-* (*wGw*) 'God knows w-', as in (1), attested in a wide range of European languages (Haspelmath 1997:131).

(1) Vor einem Mülleimer findet der Knirps einen Schuhkarton, den **weiß Gott wer** dort in die Landschaft geschmissen hat. [DeReKo: *Braunschweiger Zeitung*, 08.10.2008] '[…] the toddler finds a shoe box, which **God knows who** has thrown into the landscape.'

Core Proposal: While *wGw* phrases originate as separate clauses (CPs), (1a), parenthetically inserted into a host clause, (1b), I argue that *weiß Gott (wG)* 'God knows'

in Present Day German has been diachronically reanalyzed as an indefinite particle (like German *irgend*): it combines with a *wh*-element to form a complex word, (1c). As an indefinite particle, *wG* can no longer occur outside a preposition (cf. <u>auf</u> *irgendwen* 'for someone or other' vs. *irgend <u>auf</u> *wen*), i.e. (1b) cannot yet be Stage III. (Note that (2a)-(2c) coexist in Present Day German.)

(1) a.[OK] Er hat gewartet. [CP **Weiß Gott**, <u>auf</u> **wen**.] Stage I (*wGw* as separate clause)
      'He was waiting. [CP **God knows**, <u>for</u> **whom**.]'
  b.[OK] Er hat [CP **weiß Gott** <u>auf</u> **wen**] gewartet. Stage II (*wGw* as parenthetical clause)
      'He was waiting [CP **God knows** <u>for</u> **whom**].'
  c.[OK] Er hat <u>auf</u> [DP [D **weiß Gott wen**]] gewartet. Stage III (*wGw* as complex word)
      'He was waiting <u>for</u> [DP [D **God knows whom**]].'

Syntactic Evidence: I provide syntactic evidence to show that German *wGw* has reached Stage III. Standard analyses of parentheticals such as (2b) (e.g. Kluck 2011) assume that the *wGw* phrase is a complete CP with deletion ("sluicing"). This entails that the *wGw* part can always be expanded into a complete sentence at Stage II. While this is possible for (1b), as in (1), it is impossible for (1c), as in (1). Example (1c) is thus unambiguously Stage III.

(1) Er hat noch **weiß Gott** <u>auf</u> **wen** gewartet.⇒ [OK] **Weiß Gott**, <u>auf</u> **wen** ⟨~~er gewartet hat~~⟩.
(1) Er hat noch <u>auf</u> **weiß Gott wen** gewartet.⇒ ***Weiß Gott, wen** ⟨~~er (auf) gewartet hat~~⟩.

Synchronic Semantics: I argue that *wGw* indefinites combine indefiniteness with a scalar component. They **[i.]** existentially quantify over alternatives that the *wh*-element introduces **[ii.]** which are high on a salient scale. This often gives rise to a scalar effect (e.g. *weiß Gott was* 'God knows what' ≈ 'something <u>remarkable</u>'). I show that this scalarity is part of the truth-functional content of a sentence (cf. Potts 2015); e.g. it can be targeted by clausal negation, (1).
(1) Man kann <u>nicht</u> **weiß Gott was** erwarten [...][DeReKo: *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 2000]
    'One can <u>not</u> expect **God knows what**.' (≈ <u>not</u> [sth. <u>remarkable</u>] → <u>only</u> [sth. <u>average</u>])

Amel Kallel
University of Tunis El Manar
Pierre Larrivée
Université de Caen Normandie
Strong polarity contexts and evolution of *n*-words

The Grammaticalisation framework has suggested that there is a tendency for items to evolve historically into increasingly more abstract elements on a pathway of change (Traugott and Dasher 2002 *i.a*.). An example of pathways of change is provided by n-words (such as French *aucun* 'none') that generally evolve out of negative polarity items (Haspelmath 1997). Such pathways of evolutions have recently been proposed to relate

to a model of feature acquisition: learners would attribute items the most specified feature compatible with the input (Willis 2011). Items can thus gain a stronger feature but cannot lose it, leading to an assumption of irreversible change. Once negative polarity items have become n-words, they are expected to neither retain nor recreate polarity uses. This strong claim is invalidated by the behaviour of declining n-words in early French (Larrivée 2014), some oh which recreate negative polarity functions. Such recreations are however constrained: only movement along adjacent spaces on a semantic map is attested. This is speculated to be because adjacent functions share specific bridging contexts where an item can be analysed as expressing either function. What this predicts is that during or before the period where a polarity item is becoming a n-word, there is a preponderant proposition of bridging strong polarity context such as those commanded by *without.* That would be because *sans* is a bridging context where a NPI can be readily reanalysed as a n-word. The role of strong polarity contexts for this pathway of change is what is tested on the basis of French n-word *aucun* 'no (N)'. Its evolution into a n-word from a NPI is shown to occur in the 16th century as the competing *nul* is declining (Kallel and Ingham 2014). The relative weight of the weak, strong and n-word uses of *aucun* is quantified in a corpus of remission letters (pleas written by condemned criminals to the Chancery) from the late 14th to the end of the 16th. Preliminary results support the view that strong polarity contexts are a bridging context in the evolution of items into n-words. It substantiates the view that change progresses along a pathway of functions because these share bridging contexts.

References

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Moreno Mitrović
Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Indefinite polarisation and its scalar origin: evidence from Japonic

It is has been well investigated by Szabolcsi (2013), and Kratzer and Shimoyama (2002), among many others, that Modern Japanese (MdJ), among other languages, constructs universal and polar terms by combining a *wh*-word and the particle *mo* (henceforth μ). Compositionally, the semantic role of the μ particle obtains a universal reading as $μ^0$ obligatorily activates the alternatives of its complement (i.e., the *wh*-abstract with an existential presupposition), and asserts that all alternatives be true. What remains formally unexplored, however, is the historical dimension of this compositional behaviour in light of the absence of polar pattern in the earliest stage of the language, since wh+μ terms were terms not licensable under negation. This paper shows not only

(i) that polarity system in Japonic is diachronically derived from scalar universals but also (ii) when and how this process took place by adopting Chierchia's (2013) theory of grammaticised scalar implicatures (SIs).

In Old Japanese (OJ; c. 8th ce), the [*wh*+μ] quantificational expressions were confined to inherently scalar (σ) complements, i.e. either numeral nominals or inherently scalar wh-terms (e.g. *how-many/when*), as Whitman (2009) first noticed. Focussing on the latter μ-hosts. The only two kinds of *wh*-terms which can serve as μ-hosts we find in OJ are temporal- (1) and quantity-*wh*-terms (2), i.e. those wh-abstracts with only a σ-domain of alternatives, as shown in the table

wh-hosts to μ		#
+SCALAR	*itu mo* 'when μ'	11
	iku mo 'how much/many μ'	8
−SCALAR	*ado/na/nado mo* 'what/why μ'	0
	ika mo 'how μ'	0
	ta mo 'who μ'	0

One of the ideas central to the proposal made in the paper is that the original μ0 associated with scalar hosts, i.e. those elements endowed with [σ] feature, and that activated scalar alternatives were originally existential, i.e. truncated at the low end so as to exclude *no/∅*. The synchronic and diachronic analysis of [*wh*+μ] quantification in Japanese rests on Chierchia's (2013) system of grammaticised scalar implicatures, where scalar (σ) and non-scalar (D) alternatives are lexically grounded and represented as features (σ, D), which check the exhuastifier operator. The paper will demontrate how polarity-sensitivity arose in Early Middle/Classical Japanese via syntactic featural change from [σ] to [D] ashe restriction on scalar *wh*-complements declines in the beginning of the EMJ period and non-scalar wh-complements enter the structure. The analysis also makes reference to early Indo-European conjecturing a potentially universal scalar core of polar terms.

Rosemarie Lühr
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
Konstruktionen mit Indefinita in altindogermanischen Sprachen

Indefinita in Nominalphrasen altindogermanischer Sprachen sind entweder Substantive im Genitiv oder mit dem Bezugswort kongruierende Adjektive. Im Hethitischen zeigt sich folgendes Stellungsverhalten: Besteht in Possessivkonstruktionen der Possessor aus einem genitivischen Indefinitum, steht dieses hinter dem Possessum. Das Possessium ist entweder ein sortales Nomen wie *Haus*, *Gut*, oder es bezieht sich auf unikale Teile von Entitäten wie Blut, Kopf, Augen, Fleisch.; vgl. die Stellung des Genitivs *kuelqua* ‚jemandes' hinter dem Bezugswort:

(1) HG § 44b A (KBo 6.2) ii
[35] pár-na-ma   ku-e-el-ka
      ins Haus-DIR-aber   jemand-GEN
      `aber in jemandes Haus´
Ist der Possessor jedoch kein Indefinitum, erscheint er vor dem Possessum.

(2) TelErl I 66 (KUB XI 5 Vs. 8')
      ad-da-aš   e-eš-ḫar-še-it
      Vater-GEN   Blut-sein

`das Blut des Vaters´

Der Referent des Possessums ist durch den vorangestellten Genitiv eindeutig identifizierbar. D.h., der Definitätswert der unter D° eingebetteten Konstruktionen verändert sich durch die Verschiebung einer Konstituente. Während *ku-el-ka* „jemand-GEN" sich unter der am tiefsten eingebetteten DP *in situ* befindet, wird *ad-da-aš* "Vater-GEN" nach links (i.e. „oben") unter die DP von FP (= AgrP$_{POSS}$) verschoben (Lühr 2004). Die erste Frage, um die es hier geht, ist, welche Elemente innerhalb der DP im Hethitischen wie das substantivische Definitum *in situ* verbleiben. Die zweite Frage ist, ob es einen Zusammenhang zwischen der Stellung des substantivischen und des adjektivischen Indefinitum im Hethitischen gibt. Denn als
attributives Adjektiv ist das Indefinitum heth. *kuiški* in der Regel hinter dem Bezugswort plaziert, während Demonstrativa, modifizierende Adjektive wie auch Genitive davor auftreten.
Die dritte Frage ist, ob das Hethitische bei der Stellung der Indefinita einen Sonderweg gegenüber den anderen altindogermanischen Sprachen Altindisch und Griechisch beschreitet.

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Relative and indefinite pronouns: synchrony and diachrony. The case of Hittite

The Hittite system of indefinite pronouns belongs to one of the most standard varieties:

Wh-words	existential	NPI	universal	Free Choice
kuiš	*kuiš-ki*	*kuiš-ki*	*kuišš=a*	*kuiš, kuiš kuiš*

The systems of this type are standardly believed to be built around *wh*-words (Haspelmath 1997; Kratzer, Shimoyama 2002; Kratzer 2005; Yanovich 2005). I argue, however, that in Hittite it is rather the relative/subordinate set (*kuiš*), phonologically identical to *wh*-words, that behaves in *syntactical* terms identically to existential quantifiers (EQ further on).
EQs attest two linear positions in the Hittite clause – preverbal and second. The same two positions are attested by relative pronouns/subordinators, but not by *wh*-words which can either be first or preverbal. The preverbal position of *wh*-words is different from EQs and relative pronouns. *Pace* (Huggard 2015) and following (Becker 2014), I argue that the two positions of relative pronouns and EQs are unmarked as for specificity and scope: the relative phrases and QPs can be specific/wide scope and non-specific/narrow scope in either position. But the preverbal positions of relative pronouns and EQs are not fully identical: preverbal relative pronouns are to the left of the negation markers whereas EQs are to the right. Besides, the linear word order in relative clauses is *relative pronoun–NP* whereas QPs are linearized as *NP–EQ*. Thus at

most the diachronical connection, but not the synchronic identity can be maintained between relative pronouns and EQs.

Still, Hittite provides evidence for the connection between relative pronouns and EQs within the history of Hittite, namely analogical impact of relative pronouns influence upon EQs. I will discuss two pieces of data. The first concerns how the two EQ positions evolved in the history of Hittite. In the earliest written texts of the Old Hittite (OH) period only the preverbal position was available. I argue that 2P EQs appeared within the written history of Hittite, in Middle Hittite period, and that they are due to the analogy after relative pronouns/subordinators which were 2P already in the OH time. The analogy explains the specificity/topicality properties of 2P EQs. The analogy is demonstrably not after *wh*-words: *wh*-words in Hittite never attest 2P constraint whereas relative pronouns/subordinators do.

The second piece of evidence concerning relative pronoun/subordinator impact on EQs comes from bare interrogatives, namely the use of relative pronouns instead of indefinite ones in conditional clauses and after negations. Again, the use is not attested in Old Script originals and appears first in Middle Script (MS) copies of Old Hittite texts. The use is ambiguous between relative pronouns/subordinators and *wh*-words. However, in half of the earliest cases (MS texts) the 'bare interrogative' is in the second position, which is totally unexpected if *wh*-words are involved, but which is easily explained if relative pronouns are involved.

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Partitive case markers and indefiniteness: a diachronic survey

In this paper, I survey the origin and the development of partitive case markers, including adpositions. Items discussed include partitive cases, as in Balto-Finnic, partitive genitives/ablatives, as in various Indo-European languages, and partitive determiners, as in some Romance languages and in Basque (see Luraghi & Huumo 2014). These items have in common the fact that they originated from a case marker which, when functioning as partitive, does not diplay the typical function of cases, i.e. "marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads" (Blake 1994: 1). Indeed, NPs marked by such items can typically encode both direct objects and subjects, and have a quantifying function: they indicate unbound quantity, and tend to

develop in the direction of indefinite determiners. Diachronic developments attest to partly different origins of partitive case markers (Luraghi & Kittilä 2014). Partitive cases in Finnic languages originated from the Proto-Uralic separative case. The Basque partitive determiner is an allomorph of the present ablative: the two case forms became differentiated at a pre-literary stage, when the features of number and definiteness in spatial cases had not yet emerged. In most ancient and some modern Indo-European languages, the genitive also has a partitive meaning (cf. languages such as Sanskrit or Latin, in which the ablative and the genitive are distinct). In general, partitive case markers originate within partitive construction. However, partitive case markers are no longer used within partitive constructions possibly after losing their separative meaning, as shown in Finnic, in which partitive constructions feature the elative case. Setting partitive items in a cross-linguistic perspective, I show that one can trace a diachronic cline, which moves away from partitive nominal construction, as in English „A piece of that cake" (cf. Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2006), and leads to a more generic quantifying function.

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