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Contatti tra lingue nell'Anatolia preclassica: i rapporti tra l'ittito e l'accadico

Paola Dardano

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 393-410

SUMMARY

Three separate non-Indo-European traditions left textual evidence in the archives of ancient Hittite **Hattusa**: Hattic, Hurrian and Sumero-Akkadian literary tradition. Of the non-Indo-European languages and cultures represented at **Hattuša** the prestigious Sumero-Akkadian literary tradition is the oldest and was also a source of constant renewed contact, as Mesopotamians often came to **Hattusa**, settled there, and pursued their field of expertise. For over a millennium it was Akkadian that continued as the diplomatic language in use from Egypt to **Hattusa**, Ugarit to Babylon and beyond. But not only the language of Mesopotamian was exported; its religion and socio-political organization were equally influential. Beyond notes on the expected lexical borrowing of such technological or cultural terms as *tuppi-* 'tablet', ^{LÚ}*apiši-* 'priest', in the present paper some categories of borrowing and interference are investigated.

Osservazioni sui prestiti semitici negli archivi micenei in lineare B

Valentina Gasbarra

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 411-424

SUMMARY

The infrequent loanwords in the Mycenaean Linear B archives belong mainly to the field of commercial exchanges and they give a valuable evidence of the Greek-Semitic interference in the 2nd millennium b.C. Starting from the examples attested in the Mycenaean tablets, the paper is aimed at elucidating the procedures of linguistic borrowing, taking into account the typology of loanwords and the degree of the adaptation phenomena, such as the formation of derivatives and compounds modeled by using the morpho-syntactical structures of the Greek language. Another topic, which will be focused on, is the continuity between the semantic classes in the Semitic loanwords of the II millennium b.C and those of the later stage of the Greek language. Although the number of the Semitic loanwords in the Mycenaean tablets is scarce, the terms that the Greek language continues borrowing from the Semitic languages are still related to the names of plants, metals, materials and garments and, more generally, to technical and commercial terminology.

*Eredità, prestiti, mutamenti comuni nel lessico
e nella morfosintassi delle lingue indoeuropee: il caso di anatolico e greco*

José L. García Ramón

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 425-440

SUMMARY

A common linguistic feature shared by Greek and Anatolian may be understood as a borrowing from an Anatolian language only under certain conditions: the correspondence must be perfect (at least at the level of an *aequabile*), and the Greek form can neither be explained within Greek itself nor as IE heritage nor as a borrowing from a non-Anatolian language: this is, for instance, the case of *κύανος* (**caratteri greci mancanti**), 'dark blue' (said of eyebrows). These conditions are not fulfilled by the Homeric idiom [RUN – IN FRONT], the relational adjective and the so-called "Schema Pindaricum": they do not necessarily have to be traced back to Anatolian influence. On the other hand, the periphrasis *βῆ δ' ἔμεν* (**caratteri greci mancanti**) (Homer) may be a syntactic calque from Anatolian and the infinitives in -αι (**caratteri greci mancanti**) can hardly be independent of the infinitive forms with directive endings attested in the Anatolian languages.

Tra grammatica e pragmatica: ciclicità di sviluppi funzionali (lat. Quaeso e it. Prego)

Chiara Ghezzi, Piera Molinelli

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 441-458

SUMMARY

This study describes the pragmatic cycle of Latin verb-based courtesy markers (CM) *quaeso* and *rogo* into Italian *prego* and *chiedo*. Moving from a performative value, these verbs gradually acquire a parenthetical function as CM, thus conveying a social deictic meaning (Traugott & Dasher, 2002).

Through the analysis of diachronically balanced *corpora*, we analyse morpho-syntactic contexts and pragmatic properties of verbs which foster their gradual pragmaticalization (Dostie, 2009) into CM. The process is similar in both languages, although the Latin CM *quaeso* was not maintained in Italian, since it was substituted by *prego*, derived from another Latin performative verb with similar meaning (*precor*).

The similarities in the two languages highlight that also pragmatic evolutions can be described as cyclic patterns which are highly productive and iterative.

Contatto e mutamento: complementazione e complementatori nei dialetti del Salento

Adam Ledgeway

SUMMARY

Salentino dialects are traditionally reported to display a Greek-style dual complementiser system, with propositional and irrealis complements introduced by the complementisers *ca* and *cu*, respectively, the latter optionally undergoing C-drop. Following an examination of the differential distribution of *cu*-drop in northern and central-southern dialects, it is argued that the latter, in which *cu*-drop emerged as the output of an optional rule of PF-deletion, must represent a more conservative variety and, ultimately, the stage which underlies the subsequent development seen in the dialects to the north of the region. In these latter dialects the original PF-deletion rule was reanalysed as a case of syntactic deletion, with concomitant pruning of the CP layer and all that entails (clitic climbing, obligatory subject coreference, and loss of the null irrealis complementiser). The most important consequence of this reanalysis is shown to lie in the novel refunctionalisation of the original C-determined consonantal lengthening on the embedded verb, which has been exapted as an independent reflex of irrealis subjunctive marking on the embedded T head.

Contatto e categorie morfologiche: il caso del doppio sistema di genere in copto

Paolo Milizia

SUMMARY

Studies of morphological typology of the last two decades have shown that two mutually independent gender systems can coexist in the same language and that language contact is among the factors that may create situations of this kind. A typologically relevant instance of such a phenomenon is exhibited by coptic, where, as has been known for a long time, an inherited masculine/feminine gender is flanked by a new human/non-human gender category (with agreement marked on the Graeco-Coptic adjectives in *-os*) resulting from the resemanticization of the Greek neuter. With respect to the word classes that function as agreement targets, the two gender systems show a complementary distribution that is cross-linguistically recurrent. On the other hand, the introduction into coptic of the secondary gender category is closely connected with the circumstance that, in the course of the pre-coptic diachronic development, the adjectival word class had been numerically impoverished and blurred in its defining characteristics, thus becoming more exposed to phenomena of structural borrowing.

“Ercules avea una sua moglie”. *Su possesso e indefinitezza*

Maria Napoli

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SUMMARY

The aim of this paper is to investigate possession in Old Italian by focusing on its relationship with the category of (in)definiteness. A specific case study is examined: the use of a predicative construction made up of the verb *avere* 'to have' with a noun as a direct object which is introduced by an indefinite article and a possessive pronoun (coreferential with the verb), as in *lui ha una sua moglie*, literally '*he has a his wife'. It will be suggested that this redundant possessive construction has an emphatic purpose, and that its use is consistent with the same semantic-pragmatic reasons which determine the distribution of the indefinite article in Old Italian.

Il grado-zero dell'accordo su alcuni predicati nominali di forma neutra in latino e in altre lingue

Silvia Pieroni

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SUMMARY

Given that Latin subjects generally trigger agreement on finite verbs (person and number agreement) and on nominal predicates (case, gender and number agreement), cases where a neuter adjective occurs in relationship with a masculine or feminine noun demand explanation: e.g., *commune autem animantium omnium est coniunctionis appetitus procreandi causa* (Cic. *off.* 1,1); *turpitude peius est quam dolor* (Cic. *Tusc.* 2,31); *triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres* (Verg. *ecl.* 3,80); *turpe senex miles, turpe senilis amor* (Ov. *am.* 1,9,4).

In grammars, the neuters in question are described as having a generalizing value and, from a categorial point of view, they are considered as substantivized adjectives. From a morphosyntactic and functional point of view, the starting point is that the relationship between the nominal and the predicate is apparently not determined by subject features and this would seem to suggest that the nominal is not *per se* the subject. A possible hypothesis is that the subject is itself a relational nexus which implies a predication: e.g., in *triste lupus stabulis*, both the occurrence of the neuter and the interpretation suggest that *lupus* is not *per se* the subject of *triste* (nor is it the pivot, were the structure to be considered as impersonal): rather, *triste* is the predicate of the relationship between *lupus* and *stabulis*.

According to this hypothesis, these structures would be consistent with the agreement pattern shown by propositional subjects, as in *bis dicere est commodum* (Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,26).

A consistent syntactic account could also apply to less transparent cases such as *turpitudō peius est quam dolor*, where the abstract noun *turpitudō* conceals, at a lexical level, a predicative process whose interpretation surfaces as a propositional complex itself, i.e. ‘to be, being shameful’, and even to cases such as *varium et mutabile semper femina* (Verg. *Aen.* 4,569-570), where *femina* does not in fact refer to any woman, but to the essence itself of being a woman.

Il sincretismo di genitivo e dativo nella lega balcanica. Una convergenza multipla?

Flavia Pompeo

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SUMMARY

Among the morphosyntactic balkanisms, the genitive-dative merger is considered one of the most representative phenomena. The aim of this study is to re-examine the process that occurred in Greek, by comparing it to similar phenomena that can be observed in other Balkan languages, in particular in Bulgarian and in Macedonian. The preliminary results of this analysis lead to the hypothesis that in the Balkan languages examined in this study, beyond the formal variety, a merger between two grammatical relations encoding two nuclear semantic roles, which are perceived as contiguous, has occurred: the role Possessor, traditionally marked by the adnominal genitive, and the role Recipient, which at the syntactic level corresponds to the indirect object. Closely connected to the genitive-dative merger is another phenomenon, namely the convergence in the constructions of partitives and pseudo-partitives, shown by Modern Greek, Bulgarian and Macedonian.

*Oscillazioni grafiche di occlusive in ittito come spia
di neutralizzazione fonologica: riflessioni su alcuni casi problematici
per la lex Sturtevant*

Marianna Pozza

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 545-558

SUMMARY

The present article aims at focusing on some of the several “exceptions” to Sturtevant’s Law in Hittite (i.e. single and double spelling of stops representing respectively inherited voiced/voiced aspirated and voiceless stops), in particular on the double spelling of stops near /r/ in words pointing to etymologies containing original voiced (or voiced aspirated) stops, hence in contrast with the “rule”. These counterexamples are explained according to the hypothesis of a phonemic

neutralization in proximity to the voiced phoneme /r/, which caused a lack of consistence in spelling conventions too.

*Casi di genitivo apreposizionale in alcune varietà romanze:
primi risultati di una comparazione sintattica parametrica*

Giuseppina Silvestri

Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata XLI, 3 (2012), pp. 559-572

SUMMARY

The diachronic change from synthetic genitive morphology in (Late) Latin to prepositional assignment in (early) Romance languages seems to show traces of an intermediate phase with cases of non-prepositional genitives in Occitan, Old French and Old Italian and also in certain Central and Southern modern Italian dialects and in some Iberian-Romance varieties. This paper aims to discuss the remarkable newly captured data, in particular those coming from southern Italy, in order to contribute to shed light on the theory of Genitive Case assignment in Romance languages on the base of the generative approach. The genitival configurations are analyzed according to the principles of the parametric quantitative method (Parametric Comparison Method), especially by means of the Modularized Global Parametrization (Longobardi, 2003) that focuses the attention on the Determiner Phrases domain.