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Incipient Jespersen's Cycle: the (non-)grammaticalisation of new negative markers

In Jespersen's Cycle, a new sentential negator is grammaticalised, typically from an indefinite (pro)noun or a nominal minimiser, via a stage in which this element is used as an adverbial reinforcer of the original negation. The current paper compares incipient grammaticalisations of such potential new sentential negators in four language groups (Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic and Afroasiatic) and aims at establishing criteria that need to be met for such grammaticalisations to go all the way to expressing sentential negation.

Most (if not all) languages feature elements which, as arguments of a negated verb, emphasise the polarity of negation. This is usually a stable situation, but under certain conditions these elements can become grammaticalised as negative polarity adverbs and from there as new markers of sentential negation. Often, the use of minimisers or indefinites as emphasisers of negation starts out in a restricted context, for instance, as an optional argument of some specific class of verb. These contexts can come to serve as 'bridging contexts' that open the way for these elements to grammaticalise as reinforcers of negation. In Germanic and Celtic for example, such a bridging context is formed by verbs of the 'profit, succeed, avail' class, which allow for an optional (pseudo)argument expressing the (lack of) extent of the profit/success. Similar contexts in Classical Arabic, however, resulted in the grammaticalisation of a new negation marker in only some of the modern dialects, while in the Slavonic languages these contexts did not lead to the grammaticalisation of a new negative marker at all.

On the basis of four case studies, we establish a typology of factors which can inhibit or encourage the incipient grammaticalisation of a new negative marker.

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Development of Case in South Asian Languages

This talk looks at the broader question of "Why case?". That is, why case-rich free word order SOV languages like Old English and Latin would mutate into case-poor, fairly fixed word order SVO languages while other case-rich free word order SOV languages like Sanskrit mutate into different versions of case-rich free word order SOV languages (e.g., Hindi/Urdu, Punjabi, Nepali). In particular, we look at the synchronic use and diachronic development of case markers denoting ergative, genitive, instrumental and ablative uses, as well as dative and accusative uses in a range of South Asian languages which are historically closely related, but which show marked differences in their case systems (Urdu/Hindi, Sindhi, Punjabi, Bengali, Nepali).

It turns out that Urdu/Hindi continues to encode a system of semantic case contrasts that already existed in Sanskrit. Nepali, on the other hand, perhaps due to language contact with Tibeto-Burman, has added a use whereby the ergative case also encodes individual level predication (a la Kratzer 1995). A detailed study of all of the languages makes clear that case is used primarily to express semantic contrasts. Our current hypothesis is therefore that the precise semantic import of a case marker emerges out of a language particular system of contrasts and may therefore differ from language to language. This means that the same original source may give rise to two different case markers in the language (i.e., an "n-" form that might have furnished the ergative in Urdu/Hindi, but also in parallel dative/accusative in Punjabi).

In sum, the talk presents synchronic patterns and diachronic developments and seeks to shed light on how case patterns develop and/or shift by taking into account a primarily semantic perspective in which case contrasts are seen as being embedded in a larger system of contrasts at the morphosyntax/semantics interface.

Prinzipien des Flexionsklassenwandels in den germanischen Sprachen

Flexionsklassen stellen als disfunktionale Einheiten, die in Sprachen unnötigen Lernaufwand durch unmotivierter Allomorphie bewirken, auf den ersten Blick ein Rätsel für die Sprachwissenschaft dar. In unserer Untersuchung nehmen wir uns dieses Rätsels an, indem wir den Flexionsklassenwandel in verschiedenen germanischen Sprachen aus diachron-kontrastiver Perspektive beleuchten. Sowohl nominaler als auch verbaler Wandel wird dabei einbezogen. Zwei Kontrastebenen bilden die Grundlage der Untersuchung: 1.) Parallelen und Divergenzen im Wandel einiger germanischer Einzelsprachen und 2.) Spezifika nominalen vs. verbalen Wandels.

ad 1.) Ein Untersuchungsziel ist die Herausstellung paralleler und divergierender Wandelprinzipien in germanischen Einzelsprachen. Synchron entspricht dem vielseitigen Wandel eine große typologische Breite der Flexionsklassensysteme. Durch den Einbezug der kontrastiven Ebene soll es ermöglicht werden, parallele Entwicklungslinien von einzelsprachlich individuellen zu trennen und so generelle Faktoren zu identifizieren, die Stabilität und Produktivität von Flexionsklassen ausmachen.

ad 2.) Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Sprachkontraste sollen gemeinsame und divergierende Prinzipien des Wandels bezüglich der Wortarten herausgestellt werden. Dazu beziehen wir verschiedene Wandelparameter ein, nämlich

- die formale Exponenz, z. B. im Abbau des Nullplurals oder im Einbezug von Stammalternationen in die morphologische Signalisierung;
- die Hierarchie grammatischer Kategorien, z. B. in der sich herausbildenden Dominanz von Numerus (Substantiv) vs. Tempus (Verb);
- Konditionierungsprinzipien, z. B. im Wechsel von funktionalen (Genus, Semantik) zu formalen Kriterien (Auslaut, Prosodie) zur Bestimmung des auftretenden Allomorphs, sowie in der Herausbildung stärker transparenter (Substantive) vs. zu größeren Teilen idiosynkratischer (Verb) Konditionierungsmuster;
- Verbindungen zwischen diesen Parametern und ihrer Entwicklung.

Die Kombination beider Kontrastebenen, der sprachlichen sowie der wortartenspezifischen, erbringt wertvolle Evidenz für Sprachwandelprinzipien sowie die funktionale Einordnung von Flexionsklassen.

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Case reduction in Norwegian (and Swedish)

Old Norse nouns inflected for four different cases (nominative, accusative, dative and genitive). Most modern Norwegian (and Swedish) dialects have no case inflection. The obvious question becomes: Which form persists when four becomes one – which Old Norse case form serves as the formal basis for the modern form? From Mayerthaler's (1981) version of Natural Morphology, one would expect the nominative; the 'unmarked' case. In many West Norwegian dialects, this prediction is borne out: The nominative has been generalised. Many East Norwegian dialects have generalised non-nominative forms, however. Many Swedish dialects display a "split" that is correlated with the animacy hierarchy: Nouns denoting animates have a form that goes back on the nominative, while nouns that do not have a form going back on the accusative.

The difference between "nominative preference" and "non-nominative preference" correlates with that between 'non-level stress' and 'level stress' (e.g. Christiansen 1976). It is not obvious why there should be such a correlation.

Mayerthaler argues that, in cases where the original coding pattern is 'counter-iconic' (i.e., a semantic 'more' corresponds to a formal 'less'), there is a markedness reversal, which will influence the diachronic development. Norwegian provides a testing-ground for this claim. The reason is that some Old Norse nouns display counter-iconic marking; the nominative is characterised by a suffix, the accusative has none. Other Old Norse nouns do not display such 'counter-iconic marking'. The evidence indicates that these two groups do not develop differently.

Mayerthaler's use of 'markedness reversal' and his claims about the nominative have been criticised before, for Romance (Carstairs-McCarthy 1992), but there are reasons to go over this ground again. There is a value in a broader empirical perspective. Furthermore, there is a debate over the concept of 'markedness' (Haspelmath 2006, Gaeta 2006), and the evidence may be of interest here.

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A comparative approach of non-nominative subjects: Romance vs. Germanic

The existence and behavioural properties of non-nominative-subjects have been seen to depend on lexical case phenomena and on how nominative case is assigned. The loss of non-nominative-subjects was said to be dependent on the loss of case-morphology and/or on the loss of the possibility to assign lexical case.

In fact, English lost case-morphology on full nouns and as a result the ability to assign lexical case to verbal arguments. Thus, it seemed to be a straightforward explanation that as a final consequence it also lost the availability of non-nominative-subjects (Allen 1995). However, if we look at Modern Icelandic we see that Icelandic still shows different case-morphology on full NPs and still assigns lexical case to different verbs. Nevertheless, Modern Icelandic is losing a lot of its non-nominative-subject constructions (Jónsson & Eythorsson to appear).

Looking at the Old Romance languages, we see that they used an impressive amount of non-nominative-subject constructions. In Modern Catalan (Rigau 2000) and Spanish (Masullo 1993) they are still used, but their syntactic status has changed. In French, the verbs that were used with non-nominative-subjects got either lost or now appear with nominative subjects. However, from the first records of the Romance languages onwards case marking on full NPs had already declined, and lexical case was no longer assigned.

Taking these facts together: Languages that show non-nominative-subjects without case-morphology and languages that lose them although the case-system is intact, allows the assumption that the appearance of non-nominative subjects does not depend on the ability to mark case morphologically on full NPs, and neither on the availability of assigning lexical case. This paper will argue that non-nominative-subjects tell us something about the quantity of functional categories in a language.

Der Nullsubjektzyklus: Verlust und Etablierung von Nullargumenten

In unserem Vortrag behandeln wir mithilfe komparativer Betrachtungen historische Entwicklungsprozesse, die zur Entstehung und zum Verlust von Argumentnullpronomen führen können. Wir zeigen, dass zum einen die Reanalyse pronominaler Klitika als verbale Kongruenzmarker ((1)) und zum anderen die Nullrepräsentation stark diskursorientierter Pronomen ((2)) für die Etablierung von subjektivischen Nullpronomen ausschlaggebend sein kann. Dabei verdeutlichen wir, dass diese Prozesse in der Regel nicht alle Formen des Paradigmas in gleicher Weise betreffen. Oft enthalten Paradigmen schwacher Pronomen neben overten atonischen Pronomina verschiedene Nullelemente, wobei letztere hinsichtlich ihres pronominalen Status und ihrer Bindungseigenschaften nicht unbedingt immer identisch definiert sind. Wie wir erläutern werden, sind Paradigmen von schwachen Subjektpronomen, in denen nur Pronominalenlemente der 3. Person phonologisch unrealisiert bleiben, strikt ausgeschlossen.

- (1) *Darllenasant* **pro** / *hwy* / **y* *dynion* *y* *llyfr*.(Wallisisch)
les-PRÄT-PRON.3PL/3PL sie die Männer DET Buch
,Sie lasen das Buch.'
- (2) **pro** *pa* *ti* *dir* *tua* *fer* *sa?* (Mauritius Kreol)
 NEG PRÄT sag dir tun das
,Sagte ich dir nicht, dass du das tun sollst?'

Die Etablierung obligatorisch overt realisierter Pronomina wird durch die Erosion verbaler Flexionsmorphologie ((3)), durch die phonologische Reduktion bestehender Pronominalformen ((4)) oder durch Veränderungen, die die syntaktische Umsetzung von pragmatischen Zuständen betreffen, motiviert.

- (3)a. *Si firent* **pro** *grant* *joi* *la* *nuit* (deClariXII) (Altfranzösisch)
so machten (sie) große Freude die Nacht
- b. *Ils faisaient ça*. (Standardfranzösisch)
sie machten das
- (4) **Mä** / ***pro** *nousi-n* *junaan* (Finnische Umgangssprache (*minä* → *mä*))
ich steig-PRÄT-1SG Zug-ILL
,Ich stieg in den Zug.'

Wir gehen in unserer Analyse der unterschiedlichen Stadien des Nullsubjektzyklus davon aus, dass im Gegensatz zu gängigen pro-drop-Theorien (Rizzi 1986; Rohrbacher 1999) keine speziellen positiven Lizenzierungsbedingungen für das Auftreten leerer Argumente formuliert werden müssen. Entscheidend ist lediglich, dass die Identität des Nullarguments rekonstruiert werden kann. Darüber hinaus nehmen wir an, dass die Nullrealisierung von schwachen pronominalen Elementen genau dann blockiert sein kann, wenn das Lexikon stärker spezifizierte Formen enthält, die mit einer phonologischen Matrix verknüpft sind.

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Towards a diachronic typology of lability: evidence from East Caucasian

Introducing an Agent participant into or deleting it from the argument structure of a verb normally requires overt morphological or morphosyntactic marking (causative, anticausative). Exceptions from this rule are called labile verbs (S=O ambitransitive verbs). P-labile verbs are defined as verbs which can occur both in an intransitive and a transitive clause with no formal change in verb, so that the subject in the intransitive pattern corresponds to the object in the transitive pattern, cf. *He bent towards me* and *Bend your arms!*

Although lability is not well studied in its synchronic aspects so far, there exist studies investigating labile verbs in individual East Caucasian languages. Diachronic aspects of lability are studied even worse. In fact, only few studies dealing with diachronic evolution of labile verbs are available, most of which are based on data from well studied Indo-European languages with a long written history. Only recently there appeared studies on other languages such as Vedic Sanskrit and Greek.

The goal of this paper is to reveal diachronic sources of labile verbs, investigate paths of historical changes of such verbs, and thus contribute to the cross-linguistic diachronic study of lability. Data for this study comes from two branches of the East Caucasian family: East Lezgian languages and Andic languages. Although these groups of languages differ in both number and semantic classes of labile verbs, it seems that they have much in common in what concerns diachronic evolution of labile verbs. In my paper I will discuss patterns of historical changes in syntactic type (from strictly transitive or strictly intransitive to labile, or vice versa) found in both groups and show that semantically close verbs often demonstrate similar patterns of changes.

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Are there any generalizations on grammatical change in language contact?

In a recent paper on "Social and Linguistic Factors as Predictors of Contact-Induced Change" Thomason (2007) reiterates the claim made earlier by Thomason (2001) and Thomason and Kaufman (1988) that there are no linguistic constraints on interference in language contact, in that any linguistic feature can be transferred to any language, and any change can occur as an indirect result of language contact, and she is satisfied to observe that all the specific constraints on contact-induced change that have been proposed have been counterexemplified. The present paper takes issue with this stance, arguing that it is in need of reconsideration, in that there are in fact some constraints on contact-induced linguistic change. These constraints relate to grammatical replication as described in Heine and Kuteva (2003; 2005; 2006), thus lending further support to the generalizations on language contact proposed there.

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Anything is nothing is something
Comparing polarity type changes of indefinites

With the features [\pm negative] and [\pm affective] (a cover term for all NPI licensing contexts, Klima 1964) one can distinguish 'normal' (or PPI) indefinites such as English *something* etc. from NPI indefinites *anything* etc., and n-indefinites *nothing* etc. Indefinites may diachronically shift in polarity type, which may in turn lead to a change in type of the entire indefinite system.

Changes towards 'more negative' can be observed in a number of languages such as Greek, Hebrew, German and various Romance languages. These changes also explain why some n-indefinites (still) occur in certain non-negative contexts. However, there is no unidirectionality (vs. Hoeksema 1998), but the development can also go in the opposite direction, i. e. towards 'more positive': Examples of this type of change can be found in Dutch, varieties of American English, Slavic and Celtic languages.

Both directions of change even occur within one language as will be illustrated with different indefinite paradigms in the history of German. Additional comparison between the development in the standard language and local varieties brings out further instances of change into opposite directions. One of the factors influencing the direction of change is the surrounding indefinite system.

As will be argued, polarity type changes involve either enrichment of a lexeme with a plus-specified polarity feature, or the complete loss of a polarity feature. In addition, an Elsewhere Condition blocking underspecified indefinites from occurring in specific polarity contexts may diachronically gain or lose importance.

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Language Change in Comparison: The (special) case of Raeto-Romance

The aim of this paper is to investigate morphosyntactic properties of Swiss Romansh, Dolomitic Ladin and Friulian, traditionally subsumed under the term 'Raeto-Romance', which distinguish them from other Romance languages, in particular from their neighboring Gallo-Romance dialects. In Swiss Romansh and Dolomitic Ladin one finds among others the following properties:

- a strong verb-second order in declarative sentences (Swiss Romansh and Dolomitic Ladin)
- a (almost) obligatorial use of (non-clitic) subject pronouns (Swiss Romansh)
- the lack of object clitic pronouns (Swiss Romansh)
- postverbal sentential negation (Swiss Romansh)

The fact that these varieties have been in contact with German for several centuries suggests that the emergence of these properties is due to language contact.

The paper will challenge this assumption. By comparing Raeto-Romance with other Romance languages it will be shown that Romance languages also seem to have passed through developmental stages like those observed in Raeto-Romance:

- the emergence of verb-second order in declarative sentences in Old French and other early Romance languages
- the loss of the null subject property in (most) Gallo-Romance languages
- the increasing loss of object clitic pronouns in modern Brazilian Portuguese
- the emergence of postverbal sentential negation in French and Brazilian Portuguese

Given these similarities it will be asked whether the typical properties of (some) Raeto-Romance varieties are indeed the result of contact with German. It will be rather shown that it is more adequate to assume that the influence of German was at most that of a trigger, favouring the emergence of properties we find in the development of other Romance languages, quite independently of their exposure to German.

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Grammars as parsers & syntactic change: clitic clusters as calcified scrambling

This paper argues that a driving force in syntactic change is interaction of mechanisms underpinning processing and persistent pressure to minimise cognitive costs resulting in lexical heterogeneity: we provide a formal account of how the idiosyncratic Romance clitic patterns (with Medieval Spanish (MedSp) as primary focus) are calcified reflexes of earlier processing strategies underpinning Latin scrambling, each clitic (cluster) reflecting an available Latin strategy.

The account depends on Dynamic Syntax (DS Cann et al. 2005): syntax is defined as incremental growth of semantic representations reflecting processing time-linearity. Concepts of structural underspecification and tree growth replace movement/permutation. Parsing and production are tightly coordinated, and use the same mechanisms. Free pre-verbal NP ordering involves building up partial tree-structures containing argument nodes via several processing strategies: (i) nodes can be introduced into the structure as only weakly related to its dominating node without a specific relation yet being fixed (long-distance dependency), case serving as a filter on the resulting semantic representation; (ii) nodes may be constructed as fixed immediately after construction within some local domain via constructive use of case (short scrambling); (iii) nodes may be constructed from clitic pairs as a pair of argument nodes induced in a single stored sequence of actions (multiple long-distance dependency). Though all alternatives are available in the Latin case system, in MedSp, the pairing of clitic (cluster) and treegrowth strategy was becoming lexically encoded as follows. Syncretic clitics, 1st/2nd/dative forms, select (i); non-syncretic clitics e.g. accusative forms generally select (ii); idiosyncratic clusters (iii). Languages may differ as to whether/which clitic clusters get independently lexicalised; and homonymy remains an alternative (e.g. ethical dative). The underlying tree-building strategy (and parsing perspective) thus matches the set of possible effects, despite considerable cross-language heterogeneity.

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Interaktion zwischen phonologischem und morphologischem Systemwandel

Vergleicht man konsonantischen Lautwandel verschiedener Sprachen, sind Systemwandelmuster zu erkennen, die auch für die Grammatik Konsequenzen haben können. Besonders wichtig kann die Neigung zu positionsabhängigen Veränderungen (Lenition und Stärkung) werden: Wir können Systemwandeltypen danach unterscheiden, ob sie Wortgrenzen verdeutlichen oder nicht (vgl. Kümmel 2007: 190ff.).

Unterscheiden sich diese Lautwandeltypen bei nahe verwandten Sprachen, können wir ihre Wechselwirkung mit morphologischen Veränderungen vergleichen. Als Beispiel eignen sich die mitteliranischen Sprachen: Das West-Mitteliranische zeigt ziemlich viele positionsbedingte Veränderungen (inkl. Endsilbenreduktion) sowie einen frühen Umbau der Morphosyntax. Dagegen fehlen im Ost-Mitteliranischen positionsabhängige Konsonantenwandel, die Akzentuierung war freier, und die Morphologie viel besser bewahrt. Mehr oder weniger ähnliche Unterschiede kann man feststellen zwischen Französisch : Italienisch, Dänisch ; Schwedisch oder Hebräisch : Arabisch.

Daher könnte man vermuten, dass phonologische und morphologische Veränderungen darin "konspirieren", entweder lexikalische Elemente zu stärken oder grammatische zu bewahren. Diese unterschiedlichen Wandeltypen ähneln auf diachroner Ebene der (problematischen) Unterscheidung zwischen "Wortsprachen" und "Silbensprachen" (vgl. Auer 2001). Gibt es "lexematische" und "morphematische" Tendenzen, die phonologische wie morphologische Veränderungen beeinflussen? Kann man den Ursprung der korrelierten Veränderungen in einem der beiden Bereiche finden? Welche Faktoren könnten für die Differenzen verwandter Sprachen verantwortlich sein?

Allerdings gibt es keine einfache Eins-zu-eins-Korrelation. So folgte gerade das Altkhotanische, die östlichste und morphologisch konservativste mitteliranische Sprache, dem "westlichen" Muster positionsbedingten Wandels und kontrastierte starke und schwache Positionen deutlich (vgl. Kümmel 2007: 191, 289-294) - mit der Folge eines drastischen Umbaus des morphologischen Systems im Spätkhotanischen?

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GIVE and GET verbs in West Germanic languages

The West Germanic languages share the peculiarity that (at least some of) their transfer verbs show a special affinity towards grammaticalization. Against the background of this hypothesis, the presentation will focus on the basic GIVE and GET verbs in the West Germanic languages. The selection of these concrete physical transfer verbs is motivated by, e.g., their high frequency, their formal and semantic complexity, their high variability in intra- and crossvarietal comparisons, and (from a historical or better, panchronic perspective [Kuteva 2001: 9]) their affinity to grammaticalization.

The main focus and starting point of the presentation will be the German language area and its regional varieties. In a first step, the multifunctionality of *geben* ‘to give’ and *kriegen* ‘to get’ will be explicated by sketching the different but comparable grammaticalization paths of these verbs and their variants. Initial findings (cf. Lenz 2007) have shown the need to examine the nonstandard varieties of German (dialects and regiolects) and German enclaves in order to grasp the full semantic and formal complexity and productivity of these German verbs. There we find “anomalies” that the Standard language cannot reveal, as in the following examples from the Moselle-Franconian dialect area:

- *geben* + AdjP: *N is aal gen* ‘He has become old’
- *geben* + Part. II: *Hään äs geschloon gen* ‘He has been hit’
- *kriegen* + Part. II: ... *un dann kresch ma verhauen* ‘... and then we were beaten’

In a second step, the different grammaticalization paths followed by *geben* and *kriegen* are compared with GIVE and GET verbs in other West Germanic languages (especially, Luxembourgish, English and Dutch). The central hypothesis motivating this cross-linguistic discussion is that the grammaticalization paths of GIVE and GET verbs have sometimes developed in entirely different ways in the different languages but have also sometimes evolved in very similar directions. A synopsis of these differences and similarities can offer us a fundamental insight into the variability of semantic and grammatical change in and across related languages.

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Structural Convergence in Pennsylvania German

Pennsylvania Dutch (PD, also known as Pennsylvania German) is a German-derived language actively spoken by between 200,000 and 300,000 people in North America. Since the genesis of the language in the second half of the eighteenth century, there have been two major groups of PD speakers, distinguished according to socio-religious affiliation: the historical majority, mainly members of Lutheran and Reformed churches (nonsectarians, “Kirchenleute”); and the members of small but very visible Anabaptist sects (sectarians, “Sektenleute”), the most well known of whom are the Old Order Amish.

This sociolinguistic dichotomy between sectarian and nonsectarian PD-speakers is reflected in interesting patterns of structural difference between the varieties of the language the members of these groups speak, though it should be pointed that all PD varieties are entirely mutually intelligible with one another. The most substantial structural differences are syntactic and emerged with the generation of Anabaptist sectarian speakers born around 1930. More specifically, Anabaptist varieties of PD display patterns of limited convergence toward English in the areas of case, tense/aspect, and nonfinite complementation.

In this presentation I will present the basic facts of syntactic convergence in modern PD, linking them to a more general trend toward semantic convergence between PD and English under circumstances of intensified bilingualism in sectarian life. Underlying this intensified sectarian bilingualism are major changes affecting American society generally that accelerated dramatically in the past century. These same changes simultaneously brought on the rapid loss of PD among nonsectarians, as well as other non-English languages spoken in the United States. One of the few other American minority languages aside from sectarian PD to resist this trend is the Yiddish spoken by ultra-orthodox Hasidic groups. Intriguingly, preliminary investigation reveals similar patterns of convergence in Hasidic Yiddish toward English.

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Vergleich von syntaktischem Wandel in indogermanischen Sprachen

Eine Möglichkeit, syntaktischen Wandel in mehreren Sprachen zu vergleichen, bietet der onomasiologische Ansatz, nach dem vom Inhalt ausgehend nach den jeweiligen Ausdrucksformen gefragt wird. Während aber der Inhalt konstant bleibt, können sich die Ausdrucksformen von Sprache zu Sprache und von Zeitstufe zu Zeitstufe ändern. Der Untersuchungsgegenstand, der unter dieser Fragestellung verglichen werden soll, ist der Komplementsatz. Denn von den diese Satzart determinierenden syntaktischen Mittel ist insbesondere der Modus semantisch bedingt: Der Modus gibt die Art der semantischen Abhängigkeit zwischen Matrixsatz und seinem Argument wider. Nun zeigt sich in der Geschichte des Latein, dass der Modus Konjunktiv in den Komplementsätzen vom Altlatein zum klassischen Latein zunimmt, während vom Althochdeutschen zum Neuhochdeutschen die umgekehrte Entwicklung zu beobachten ist. Es ist daher nach den Gründen für diesen semantisch konditionierten syntaktischen Wandel zu fragen. Dabei werden die Bedeutungen und der Grad der Faktivität der Matrixverben berücksichtigt (Desiderative, Direktive, Permissive, Interdiktive, Faktiv-Emotive, Deklarative bzw. Faktive, Kontrafaktive, Implikative, Negativ-Implikative usw.), ferner die Zeitenfolge, Negations-Effekte, Kontrollphänomene, die Durchlässigkeit der Satzgrenzen, Raising-Konstruktionen wie auch die Frage nach den Grundbedeutungen der Modi und auch nach einem möglichen Bedeutungswandel dieser grammatischen Kategorie gestellt wird. Forschungsansätze hierfür sind die assertiv/nicht-assertiv-Unterscheidung oder die Betrachtung, wie die Anpassung an die Welt gerichtet ist. Farkas (1992) bezieht dagegen die Mögliche-Welt-Semantik mit ein und zeigt, dass die intensionale Verankerung ein wichtiger Faktor bei der Beschreibung des Modusgebrauchs ist. Weiterführend ist auch Schrodts (1983) Unterscheidung eines nicht-semantemgebundenen und eines semantemgebundenen Modusgebrauchs, da dadurch mögliche Veränderungen vorausgesagt werden können.

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Deflexion and related (?) morphosyntactic changes in the Scandinavian language family

The Scandinavian languages boast a relatively long and well-documented history, and they are spoken in a vast area with impressive natural barriers such as the Atlantic and vast mountain ranges. Not surprisingly then, there is considerable variation between both the standard languages and their dialects where inflectional morphology is concerned. Icelandic is famous for its preservation of Old Norse morphology, whereas the continental languages (Danish, Swedish and Norwegian) witnessed the loss of entire inflectional categories, such as case on nouns and person marking on verbs. In my paper, I will approach the differences among the Scandinavian languages from both an external and an internal angle.

The question of why inflection was better preserved in Icelandic and, to a lesser extent, in Faroese and in Swedish and Norwegian dialects spoken in remote areas, is usually answered with reference to external factors such as (lack of) language contact and differing types of habitation. In the case of Scandinavian, it seems likely that processes of linguistic simplification, such as deflexion, are reinforced (if not prompted) by language contact (or possibly dialect contact), primarily with Middle Low German.

From a language-internal perspective, it is interesting to examine the correlation between loss of inflections and other morphosyntactic changes, such as fixation of word order, an increase in the use of prepositions and the rise of new (complex) prepositions, and the development of an enclitic s-genitive. However, a fine-grained study of both standard and non-standard varieties of Scandinavian yields a rather complex picture. Loss of word order variation can also be observed in more conservative varieties. The usage of prepositions does not imply (immediate) loss of case morphology, since they themselves (including the newly developed ones) govern case. The s-genitive, finally, is on the one hand not found in all varieties which lost their inflectional case system, and on the other hand it is attested (if marginally) in varieties that maintained (parts of) the old case system. This strongly suggests that the correspondences between the above-mentioned phenomena are gradient rather than absolute.

Der Umlaut - und was aus ihm in den germanischen Sprachen wurde

Übergreifende diachrone Darstellungen zu bereits im Germanischen angelegten Phänomenen sind selten. Hier soll der Versuch unternommen werden, den i-Umlaut von seinem gemeinsamen Anfang zu den heutigen neugermanischen Sprachen hin zu beleuchten, und dies unter folgenden Fragestellungen:

1. Inwiefern sind schon in der phonetisch-phonologischen Umlautphase einzelsprachliche Unterschiede erkennbar (z.B. was die Dauer der Umlautphase betrifft sowie die Phonologisierung der Umlautprodukte)?
2. Wie weit hat sich der Umlaut durch weitere Ebenen der Sprache "gearbeitet", d.h. wo hat er zu Morphologisierung, Grammatikalisierung, Pragmatisierung geführt?
3. In welchen Domänen (Wortbildung, Flexion) zum Ausdruck welcher Kategorien wurde er fruchtbar gemacht?
4. Wo haben sog. Arbitrarisierungen stattgefunden, d.h. die Entkoppelung der 1:1-Relation von Basis- und Umlautvokal?
5. Wie lassen sich solche Widersprüche erklären wie der, dass die oberdeutschen Dialekte einerseits ein traditionell umlautfeindliches Gebiet darstellen, dort jedoch andererseits die stärksten Funktionalisierungen stattgefunden haben?

Der Vortrag wird besonderes Gewicht legen auf das Deutsche und Alemannische, das Isländische, evt. das Schwedische, das Niederländische, das Luxemburgische und das Englische unter Einschluss der jeweiligen Vorstufen.

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The Duration of Historical-Linguistic Events

At present, there are no good answers to the following questions which are fundamentally relevant for our understanding of linguistic diversity and unity. For just about any X – linguistic forms and constructions, form classes and construction classes, categories, rules and constraints:

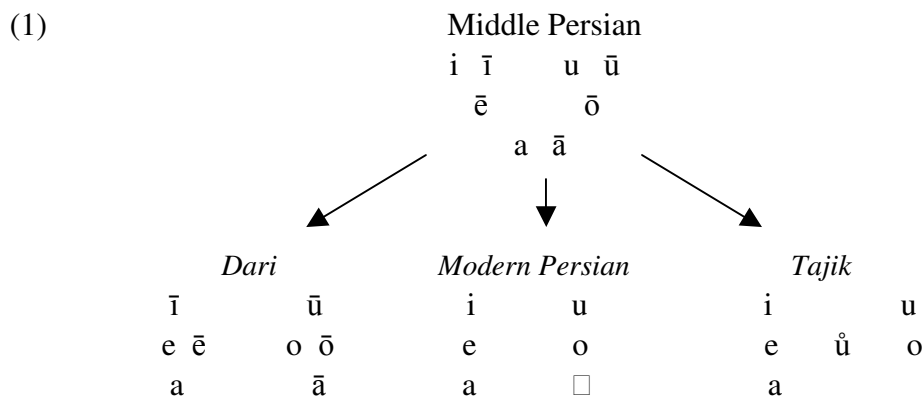
- (i) How long does it take for X to come into existence?
- (ii) How long does X remain in existence?
- (iii) How long does it take for X to go out of existence?

As to (i) and (iii), it has been suggested that the coming into and the going out of existence takes three generations: innovation-variation-acceptance/rejection. One problem here is to individuate changes: What is one X that is coming into or goes out of existence? An empirical question here is whether the rate of changes, gains as well as losses, is indeed uniformly three generations; here, the nature of speech communities is a differentiating factor: an innovation would be expected to spread faster through small and homogeneous populations than through large and heterogeneous ones. Also, in the case of grammaticalisations of categories the coming into existence probably takes longer than the going out of existence.

As to (ii), life expectations of grammatical forms, categories and whole clusters of traits - especially ones implicated in typological correlations - have been put on the diachronic-typological-areal agenda: some X's have been argued to be pertinacious and others evanescent when languages are left to themselves (that is, to be acquired over long or over short cycles of L1 acquisition); some X's have been argued to be easy to adopt and others hard to adopt when languages are in contact (and partly or fully acquired as L2's). The results are impressive as far as they go, with many distributions of traits over languages harmonising with what is known on genetic and archaeological grounds about the (very early) movement and contact histories of the populations speaking the languages. Still, it is an open linguistic question which traits are pertinacious or evanescent, easy or hard to borrow, and especially why - with little fruitful interaction so far between population typology and acquisition research.

A historical study of the Persian vowel system

The goal of this paper is to account for the development of the Middle Persian vowel system to its current main dialects: Dari, Modern Persian, and Tajik within the framework of the contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 2003). The Middle Persian vowel system is believed to be quantitative. Dari, the closest dialect to Middle Persian, is the only dialect which preserves quantity. Modern Persian and Tajik are qualitative. The vowel inventories of Middle Persian and these three dialects are presented in (1).



Following the view that contrastive specification of features is the result of ordering features into a contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 2003), I propose that the feature hierarchy of Middle Persian is: [low], [long] > [peripheral], [high] (following Rice 1995, [peripheral] combines [back] and [round]), which also accounts for Dari. I show that this hierarchy changed to [low], [peripheral] > [high] to account for Modern Persian. Tajik is believed to have been under the influence of Turkic although the nature of this influence is not explained in the literature. I suggest that Tajik interpreted Persian three-height vowel system to Turkic two-height vowel system. To account for this two-height system, I propose the order [low] > [peripheral], [coronal] for Tajik, thus maintaining the original contrast Tajik fits into a Turkic system, but they organize the system in a different way.

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From synthetic to analytic – not quite!
Contact-induced exceptions to a general trend in the history of English

Common wisdom has it that English – in tandem with various other Indo-European languages – has changed and probably is still changing from a more synthetic to a more analytic language type. Evidence for this general trend is usually drawn from inflectional morphology where English indeed has lost extensively over the past 1500 or so years while building up analytic structures apparently in an effort to compensate the concomitant functional losses.

Even though there can be little doubt about the reality of this general trend, it is usually forgotten that it mainly captures the developments in the area of inflectional morphology. Surprisingly enough, current derivational morphology of English is extremely robust and with 200 to 300 different affixes certainly does not suggest a classification in terms of analytic. The question remains why English moved towards a more analytic language in inflectional morphology, but not in derivational morphology.

In our contribution we will be arguing that phrasing the question in such general terms is misleading and that more attention needs to be placed on the individual stages in the development of English as well as the external factors involved. Based on a new quantitative survey of Old and Middle English derivational morphology it will be shown that Old and Middle English did show conspicuous trends towards analyticity in this domain. Contact with French stopped this process and refilled the inventory of derivational morphemes leading to the current state of English where about 80 percent of derivational affixes are historically French or Latin. Hence, the real puzzle to solve is why language contact could renew derivational morphology, but failed to do so in the area of inflection – producing a language half analytic/half synthetic morphologically speaking.

We think that two resources need to be drawn on for answering this difficult question. On the one hand we will contrast English with other languages that show conspicuous trends towards analyticity (Dutch, Afrikaans, Scandinavian); on the other hand we will consider insights gained in language contact studies, thus trying to explain and motivate how typologically distinct morphological subsystems can exist side by side.

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Why is there differential object marking in Romance?

It is a well-known fact that some Romance languages have to mark their direct objects (*DO*) according to some semantic-pragmatic features, e.g. animacy, referentiality, of the object referent and/or the degree of transitivity of the whole construction (“differential object marking”, *DOM*, cf. Bossong 1998, Aissen 2003, Naess 2004). As reasons for marking certain objects, a need for disambiguation from subjects due to shared semantic properties (cf. Aissen 2003) or a need to mark affectedness as the prototypical feature of objects in contrast to subjects (cf. Naess 2004) are discussed in the literature. There are essentially two formal strategies used for *DOM*, which may also be combined: prepositional marking of the normally non-marked accusative object and/or clitic doubling:

- a. Rom: Ce-ai făcut cu **bomboanele**? **Le-am mâncat PE toate**.
Span: Qué has hecho con **los caramelos**? **Los** he comido **(*A) todos**.
‘What did you do with the sweets? I have eaten them all.’
- b. Rom: Ce-ai făcut cu **musafirii**? **I-am dat afară PE toți**.
Span: Qué has hecho con **los huéspedes**? **Los** he echado a la calle **(*A) todos**.
‘What did you do with the guests? I have thrown them all out.’

These examples show important differences between *DOM* in Spanish and Romanian: While the latter seems to be triggered to a bigger extent by referential qualities of the respective referent (definiteness, specificity etc.), the former seems to be more sensitive to animacy. Based on a corpus of original historiographic Romanian texts from the 17th to the 20th century, our talk will retrace the historical development of Romanian *DOM* in comparison to existing findings about Spanish *DOM* (cf. Laca 2006). In order to understand the diachronic and synchronic differences between those two Romance languages, we will try to corroborate an alternative, i.e. a “correlative hypothesis” based on the feature [\pm individualized]: We argue that *DOM* in Romance is a classification, or better: *individualization device* existing precisely in those Romance languages which lost the Latin gender system as a means of individuation (cf. Bossong 1998, 207ff.) to different degrees: While Spanish lost the nominal neuter as a means to indicate inanimacy, Romanian still possesses some trace of it inside its complex declensional system, but does not show any device to mark third-order entities, i.e. less referential objects (as does the Spanish pronominal neuter). Thus, we are going to show that things in Romance could and in fact have “developed in an [entirely] different way”, but not at all randomly.

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Perfect to Perfective: Gradual or Cyclic change

I compare the development of perfect to perfective in various languages and argue that while the perfect in European languages gradually developed into perfective and the original past tense forms eventually became archaic forms, the same change occurred cyclically in Japanese.

The comparative studies of German and English perfect have found that the former often plays roles of English past in addition to perfect. German Perfekt allows the co-occurrence with adverbials with a clear past time reference, unlike English counterpart. The perfect in Dutch and Peninsular Spanish also have a similar characteristic as German Perfekt.

In the 8th century, Japanese had two perfective markers, *-tsu* and *-nu*. The former selects active verbs, while the latter marker selects unaccusative verbs and non-agentive transitive verbs. While these markers signified perfective aspect in the 8th century, it is apparent that they used to be perfect markers.

Simultaneously, the past tense marker *-ki* was used, along with *-tsu* and *-nu*. It appears that *-ki* originate from two verbs, *-ku* 'come' and *-su* 'do'. That is, *-ku* was originally two separate markers involved in the auxiliary selection, although the markers were merged into a single marker by the 8th century.

By the 13th century, *-tsu* and *-nu* were in the process of being replaced by *-ta*, which developed from a perfect marker *-tari*, although *-tsu* and *-nu* were still in use as archaic forms. In Modern Japanese, while *-ta* is used as a perfective marker, a perfect marker *-te iru* appears with adverbials with a clear past tense reference, where only the past tense marker *-ta* was used previously.

To conclude, although the direction of change from perfect to perfective is identical, the shift from perfect to perfective/past in European language is gradual, whereas the same change in Japanese has been rapid and cyclical.