
DiGS14

14th

DIACHRONIC
GENERATIVE
SYNTAX
CONFERENCE

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Universidade de Lisboa
4-6 July 2012



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DiGS 14

14th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference

Lisbon, 4-6 July 2012

CLUL

Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa
center of linguistics of-the university of Lisbon
'Linguistic Center of the University of Lisbon'

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Gertjan Postma	Theresa Biberauer
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Program

Wednesday, July 4

- 8.30 – 9.00 *Registration*
- 9.00 – 9.10 *Welcome*
- 9.10 – 10.10 INVITED SPEAKER Adam Ledgeway (Cambridge)
The fall and rise of the Romance subjunctive: a syntactic account
- 10.10 – 10.40 *Coffee break*
- 10.40 – 11.20 Theresa Biberauer (Cambridge/Stellenbosch) & Ian Roberts (Cambridge)
The significance of what hasn't happened
- 11.20 – 12.00 Richard Zimmermann (Geneva)
Grammar competition in Old English relative clauses
- 12.00 – 12.40 Aaron Ecay (UPenn)
Three-way competition and the emergence of do-support in English
- 12.40 – 13.40 *Lunch*
- 13.40 – 14.30 POSTER SESSION:
▪ Elly van Gelderen (Arizona State), Pro Drop in Old English
▪ Anna Bartra-Kaufmann (UAB, Barcelona), Syntactic invariance or grammaticalization? Neuter demonstratives and strong pronouns at the left periphery
▪ Franc Marušič & Rok Žaucer (Nova Gorica), Word-internal case doubling as part of a diachronic change
- 14.30 – 15.10 Lieven Danckaert (Ghent)
The decline of Latin VOAux: Neg-incorporation and syntactic reanalysis
- 15.10 – 15.50 Moreno Mitrović (Cambridge)
Wackernagel below a word: compound connectives & the double system of coordination in Indo-European
- 15.50 – 16.30 Giuseppe Longobardi (Trieste), Cristina Guardiano (Modena e Reggio Emilia), Alessio Boattini (Bologna), Andrea Ceolin (Trieste) & Giuseppina Silvestri (Pisa/Trieste) Phylogenetic reconstruction and syntactic parameters: quantitative experiments on Indo-European
- 16.30 – 17.00 *Coffee break*
- 17.00 – 18.00 INVITED SPEAKER Esther Rinke (Frankfurt)
Identifying the sources of syntactic variation in Old Portuguese texts
- 18.00 – 18.40 Roland Hinterhölzl (Venice)
How German turned into a pure OV-language
- 18.40 *Port & white wine*

ALTERNATES:

- 1 Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), The loss of V2 in English revisited
- 2 Chiara Gianollo (Cologne), Specific indefinites in Late Latin

Thursday, July 5

- 8.30 – 9.00 *Registration*
- 9.00 – 10.00 INVITED SPEAKER Susan Pintzuk (York)
A preliminary investigation into the clause type hierarchy effects in Old English
- 10.00 – 10.40 Gertjan Postma (Meertens, Amsterdam)
Inclusion relations across dialects: the competition of the clitic preposition *te* 'to' and the heavy preposition *to* in North-Eastern Dutch of the 14th century
- 10.40 – 11.10 *Coffee break*
- 11.10 – 11.50 Eric Haeberli (Geneva) & Tabea Ihsane (Geneva)
Adverb placement and the loss of V-to-I movement in the history of English
- 11.50 – 12.30 Caroline Heycock (Edinburgh) & Joel Wallenberg (Newcastle)
Explaining the loss of verb movement: how embedded V2 and V-in-situ conspired against V-to-T
- 12.30 – 13.30 *Lunch*
- 13.30 – 14.20 POSTER SESSION:
▪ Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson (Iceland), Word order and subjecthood in Old Icelandic
▪ Cara M. DiGirolamo & Sarah Courtney (Cornell), Discourse constraints on non-verb-initial sentences in Old Irish
▪ Charlotte Galves and Alba Gibrail (Campinas), Subject inversion from Classical to Modern European Portuguese: a corpus-based study
- 14.20 – 15.00 Judy B. Bernstein (William Paterson, New Jersey) & Raffaella Zanuttini (Yale)
An effect of residual T-to-C movement in varieties of English
- 15.00 – 15.40 Theresa Biberauer (Cambridge/Stellenbosch)
One peculiarity leads to another: on Afrikaans' unique embedded Wh-V2
- 15.40 – 16.20 Sonia Cyrino (Campinas) & Chris H. Reintges (Paris 7)
Analyticization and the syntax of the synthetic residue
- 16.20 – 16.50 *Coffee break*
- 16.50 – 17.30 Jacopo Garzonio (Venice) & Cecilia Poletto (Frankfurt)
On 'nothing': the twists and edges of Old Italian negative concord
- 17.30 – 18.10 Agnes Jäger (Frankfurt)
'How' to become a comparison particle
- 18.10 – 18.30 Business meeting
- 20.30 *Conference dinner*

ALTERNATES:

- 1 Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), The loss of V2 in English revisited
- 2 Chiara Gianollo (Cologne), Specific indefinites in Late Latin

Friday, July 6

- 9.00 – 10.00 INVITED SPEAKER Paola Crisma (Trieste)
On 'schizo' grammars and what they tell us about language change
- 10.00 – 10.40 Anne Breitbarth (Ghent)
The development of 'conditional' modal verbs in West Germanic
- 10.40 – 11.10 *Coffee break*
- 11.10 – 11.50 George Walkden (Manchester)
Refining the 'null argument cycle': the place of partial null argument languages
- 11.50 – 12.30 Edith Aldridge (Washington)
Nominalization source of ergativity in Tagalog
- 12.30 – 13.30 *Lunch*
- 13.30 – 14.20 POSTER SESSION:
▪ Chiara Gianollo (Cologne), Specific indefinites in Late Latin
▪ David Willis (Cambridge), The rise and fall of agreement in the Welsh pronominal system
▪ Pritha Chandra & Usha Udaar (IIT Delhi), Indo-Aryan ergativity: a case of syntactic inertia
- 14.20 – 15.00 Júlia Bácskai-Atkári (RIL/HAS, Budapest)
The relative cycle in Hungarian declaratives
- 15.00 – 15.40 Veronika Hegedűs (RIL/HAS, Budapest)
Particle-verb order in Old Hungarian and complex predicates
- 15.40 – 16.20 Barbara Egedi (RIL/HAS, Budapest)
A story about the left periphery: The functional extension of the Hungarian noun phrase
- 16.20 – 16.50 *Coffee break*
- 16.50 – 17.30 Anton Karl Ingason (UPenn), Einar Freyr Sigurðsson (Iceland) & Joel Wallenberg (Newcastle)
Antisocial syntax: disentangling the Icelandic VO/OV parameter and its lexical remains
- 17.30 – 18.30 INVITED SPEAKER Anthony Kroch (UPenn)
The structure of the clause in 13th century English and French: an essay in comparative quantitative syntax

ALTERNATES:

- 1 Ans van Kemenade (Nijmegen), The loss of V2 in English revisited
- 2 Chiara Gianollo (Cologne), Specific indefinites in Late Latin

Abstracts

by author's last name alphabetical order

Nominalization Source of Ergativity in Tagalog

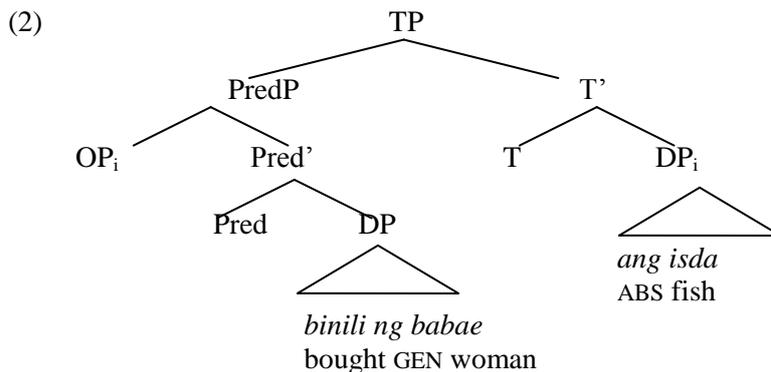
Edith Aldridge

University of Washington

In addition to Inuit and Mayan languages, Austronesian languages also suggest a nominalization origin for ergativity. Specifically, this is seen in the morphological identity between ergative and genitive case. (1a, b) show the ergative case-marking alignment for Tagalog: the intransitive subject takes the same *ang* ‘absolutive’ marker as the transitive object. The subject in (1b) takes a different marker, *ng* (pronounced ‘nang’). This marker also marks possessors in DPs, such as (1c).

- (1) a. D<um>ating *ang* babae.
 <INTR.PRV>arrive ABS woman
 ‘The woman arrived.’
- b. B<in>ili **ng** babae *ang* isda.
 <TR.PRV>buy ERG woman ABS fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
- c. isda **ng** babae
 fish GEN woman
 ‘(the) woman’s fish’

This paper proposes that ergativity in Tagalog has a clausal nominalization as its origin. But this is not the type of nominalization proposed by Kaufman (2009), who claims that all Tagalog indicative clauses are copula constructions in which the absolutive is the subject and everything else is contained within an embedded nominal predicate.



Kaufman’s approach predicts a very strict constraint on extraction from the clause, given that all but the absolutive is contained with the DP predicate. This prediction is borne out for DPs: as in other syntactically ergative languages, absolutive DPs – but not ergative DPs – can undergo A’-extraction, as in (3a, b). However, non-DPs can front freely in Tagalog. The PP is moved to clause-initial position in (3d). This would require moving the PP from the DP island in the predicate on Kaufman’s analysis. The PP in (3c) follows the absolutive, which is also not predicted by Kaufman’s analysis, since the absolutive is merged in clause-final position and the PP inside the predicate DP. I further point out that this PP is a goal, i.e. an argument selected by the verb and as such must have entered the derivation within the immediate projection of this verb.

- (3) a. isda-ng b<in>ili ng babae
 fish-LK <TR.PRV>buy ERG woman
 ‘fish that the woman bought’
- b. *babae-ng b<in>ili ang isda?
 woman-ng <TR.PRV>buy ABS fish
 ‘woman who bought the fish’

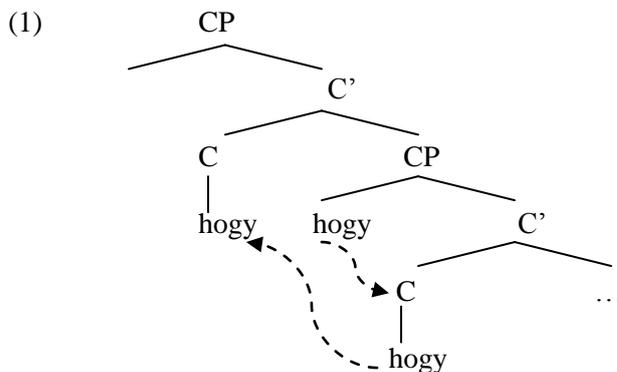
The Relative Cycle in Hungarian Declaratives

Júlia Bácskai-Atkári

Research Institute for Linguistics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

The aim of my talk is to demonstrate that the diachronic development of the Hungarian complementiser *hogy* ‘that’ can be explained by the notion of the relative cycle, as described by van Gelderen (2009), and that its historical combinations with other heads also depended on the positional changes of *hogy*. I will also show that *hogy* was used in a large number of constructions because it came to be a general marker of declarative Force. Though the main focus will be on Hungarian, the findings to be presented have theoretical relevance both in terms of cyclical change and of the development of complex complementisers.

In Modern Hungarian, *hogy* ‘that’ introduces finite declarative clauses, and occupies the higher C head position in the Left Periphery of the subclause. Initially, however, it was an operator moving to the specifier position of the lower CP, which was eventually reanalysed as the head of that CP, in accordance with the general mechanism of the relative cycle (cf. van Gelderen 2009; Roberts–Roussou 2003). As a final step, *hogy* was reanalysed from the lower C head into the upper one, in the same way as the English *that* (van Gelderen 2009). The processes are summarised below:



Both steps follow general principles of economy: while the change from an operator to a head is justified by the Head Preference Principle (cf. van Gelderen 2004: 11), the preference for base-generating a complementiser in the higher C head rather than in the lower one can be traced back to the Late Merge Principle (cf. van Gelderen 2004: 12).

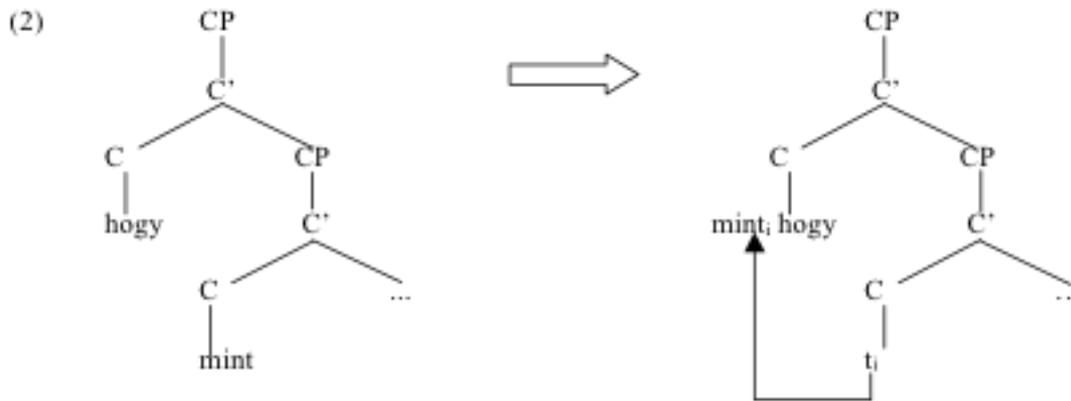
As will be shown, the same process can be observed in the history of other complementisers, i.e. *mint* ‘than’, *ha* ‘if’ and *mert* ‘because’; the positional changes, however, did not necessarily affect all of them at the same time.

This has a crucial bearing on the combinations of *hogy* with other complementisers. In Old and Middle Hungarian, *hogy* could combine with all the other three complementisers; for instance, with *ha* ‘if’ it could combine into *hogyha* ‘if’ and *hahogy* ‘if’. It is true for all combinations that both orders – *hogy*+X and X+*hogy* – existed. These variants had originally absolutely no difference in terms of their meaning. However, it is true for all such pairs that only one order survives into Modern Hungarian, whereas its counterpart had to disappear from the language.

I will show that only those combinations could remain that were fully grammaticalized into a single complex C head. This is due to a change in the parametric setting between Modern and Old/Middle Hungarian: whereas in the latter periods the presence of two separate C heads (an upper and a lower one) was fully grammatical, Modern Hungarian no longer allows that. Hence, such combinations – which reflected the original order of the two C heads – were lost.

Grammaticalized complex complementisers, on the other hand, could develop by the movement of the lower C head into the upper C head position, where it merged with the upper C head. In this case, the surface order of the two C heads changed in head adjunction, due to

Kayne's Linear Correspondence Axiom (Kayne 1994). Taking the example of *hogy* and *mint* 'than', the difference between the derivation of the two orders is shown below:



As late merge is preferable to movement, the latter setup produced grammaticalized complex C heads: a C head like *minthogy* started to be base-generated as such. The analysis predicts that combinations reflecting the reverse order will prevail; this is ultimately dependent on the base positions of the individual C heads – that is, which stage of the relative cycle they were in. As for *hogy*, it was typically a higher C head but could also appear in the lower one, while *ha* 'if' was invariably a higher C. This predicts that their underlying order will be *ha+hogy*, which is justified by examples where they are clearly separate:

- (3) ha késen hogy el nyugot az nap, hamar esot váry
 if late that PREV set-3.Sg. the sun soon rain-Acc. expect-Imp.2.Sg.
 'if the sun has set late, expect rain soon' (Cis. G3)

By contrast, *mint* 'than' and *mert* 'because' were either still operators or lower C heads and thus the underlying order in combinations with *hogy* showed the *hogy+X* pattern. Hence, Modern Hungarian has the reverse order variants as *hogy+X* only in *hogyha* and as *X+hogy* for *minthogy* and *merthogy*. I will demonstrate that the same mechanisms can be observed in the case of multiple combinations (e.g. the extinct *hogyhamint* 'that if than' vs. the still prevalent *minthogyha* 'than that if'). On the other hand, *hogy* in Old and especially in Middle Hungarian frequently appeared in relative clauses, in sequences of *hogy* + relative pronouns (e.g. *hogyki* 'that who'), relative pronouns remaining in the first stage of the relative cycle:

- (4) olýaat tezők ráýtad hog kýtol felz
 such-Acc. do-1.Sg. you-Sup. that who-Abl. fear-2.Sg.
 'I will do such on you that you fear' (SándK. 14v)

All of these combinations will be shown to fit into the framework outlined above. Furthermore, I will also demonstrate that the excessive use of *hogy* can also be attributed to the fact that in the Old and Middle Hungarian periods it became a general marker of declarative Force. Hence, it appeared in various declarative subclauses but – with only very few exceptions – the combinations *hogy+X* or *X+hogy* did not differ in their meaning from the meaning of *X* on its own.

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 van Gelderen, Elly (2009) Renewal in the Left Periphery: Economy and the Complementiser Layer. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 107:2. 131–195.

Syntactic invariance or grammaticalization? Neuter demonstratives and strong pronouns at the left periphery

Anna Bartra-Kaufmann

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In this paper we analyse some uses of demonstratives and strong pronouns that seem to have evolved in several Romance varieties from a TP internal status, as a kind of expletive subject (1-5) to a discourse marker in the CP area (6-8), and we offer an analysis alternative to that of a grammaticalization process. We also claim that, in spite of the apparent wide range of pragmatic interpretations of these elements, dedicated positions at the left periphery can be dispensed with.

- (1) OCat.: *Açò és ver que nosaltres (...) havem sostenguda la(...) freqüentació*
 It. be.PRES.3 true that we sustain.PERF.4 the relationship
 'It's true that we sustained the relationship (between them)' [Curial]
- (2) OCat.: *dièn -los que açò era malfet que semblants coses*
 say.GER+CL.DAT that this be.PAST.3 bad-done that such things
fossen consentides
 be.SUBJ.PAST.6 tolerate.PP.Fem.Plur
 'By saying that such things should no be tolerated'[Epist.Val.Med.]
- (3) OIt.: *Egli era in questo castello una donna vedova.*
 It be.Pst.3 in that castle a woman widow
 'There was in that castle a widow' [Boccaccio, apud Fornaciari (1881/1974: 56)].
- (4) Ocat.: *Ell es necessari que una de aquestes coses*
 it be.PRES.3 necessary that one of these things
s'esdevinga.
 happen-PRES.SUBJ.3.Refl
 'One of these things must happen'
- (5) CGal.: *El parecia que o patrón andaba canso*
 It seem.PAST.3 that the boss go.PAST.3 tired
 'It seemed that the boss was tired'(Raposo & Uriagereka, 1990:514).
- (6) EPort.: *Ele quem se casa saõ eles!*
 It who marry.Pres.3.REFL be.PRES.3 they
 'The ones who get married are they!' (Carrilho, 2005: 129).
- (7) MSpa.: *Ello has de casarte.*
 It have.PRES.2 of marry.REFL.2
 'You should marry'(Rojas Zorrilla, apud Hinzelin & Kayser 2006)
- (8) MBal.: *Ell guanyareu un bon jornal!*
 it earn.FUT.5 a good wage
 'You will earn a good pay!'

We will examine the properties of these elements and investigate how they can fit into a cartographic perspective (Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Benincà, 2004; Carrilho, 2005; Remberger, 2010) by exploring the possibilities of a grammaticalization analysis in the lines of Roberts & Roussou (2003), Van Gelderen (2004, 2006, 2008). Arguing this way would lead us to analyse these neuter pronouns as categories that have lost some formal features which were probed in TP. Therefore, they could no longer be licensed in the TP area and would have to license their deictic features upper in the tree in the CP area. This would explain their apparent exclamative or discourse marked interpretation.

A closer scrutiny shows, however, that these elements are not strictly exclamative (in the sense of Gutiérrez-Rexach, 2001; Zanuttini & Portner, 2003; Villalba, 2008). Rather, they encode a two-sided pragmatic meaning: they are discourse-linked and at the same time they introduce an assertion that contradicts previous assertions or presuppositions. This meaning corresponds to the notion of *contrast*, (Molnár, 2001; Molnár & Winkler, 2009) by which an element is discourse linked –like a Topic– but at the same it is the focus of a contradicting assertion. We discuss the differences between these elements and clear-cut cases of topicalization and Focus.

We argue that this semantic value can naturally follow up from the compositional meaning of the elements in the sentence, grounding our analysis on some basic insights of Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002).

We will put forth the hypothesis that Neuter strong pronouns and Demonstratives with discourse properties are related to the TP by means of a central coincidence abstract P, which in some respects can be identified to C (Emonds, 1985). If the Neuter Demonstrative / strong pronoun has no features to be probed by T, then its discourse marking features are probed at the C field. Summing up, pragmatic and semantic properties such as contrast can be accounted configurationally in a simple way taking into account the lexical features of strong pronouns and demonstratives and the notion of Central Coincidence. These elements are merged to TP by a central coincidence abstract P. This analysis receives further support from several uses of demonstratives in contemporary Spanish, as the one shown in (9):

(9)CSpa: *Yo, chica, creo que esto de tener cultura es una desgracia*
 I, girl, think. PRES.1 that that of have.INF culture is a misfortune
 'I think that to be cultivated is a handicap'

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- * **Benincà, P.** 2004. "The Left Periphery of Medieval Romance", *Studi Linguistici e Filologici Online*, 2.2: 243-297. * **Carrilho, Ernestina** 2005. *Expletive ele in European Portuguese Dialects*, Ph.D. Diss, Universidade de Lisboa. <http://www.clul.ul.pt/en/researcher/129-ernestina-carrilho>. * **Emonds, J.** 1985. *A Unified Theory of Syntactic Categories*. Dordrecht: Foris. * **Gutiérrez-Rexach, J.** 2001. "Spanish Exclamatives and the Semantics of the Left Periphery", in Rooryck, J. ; Y. de Hulst; J. Schrotten, *Selected Papers from Going Romance 99*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins: 167-194. * **Hale, K. & S.J. Keyser** 1993. "On argument structure and the lexical expression of grammatical relations", in Hale, K. & S. J. Keyser, *The view from Building 20. Essays in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*: 53-110. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. * **Hale, K. & S.J. Keyser** 2002. *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press. * **Hinzelin, M.-O. & G. Kaiser** 2006. "Das neutrale Pronomen *ello* im dominikanischen Spanisch und die Nullsubjekteigenschaft. Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Konstanz. Arbeitspapier Nr.116. * **Molnár, V.** 2001. "Contrast from a Contrastive Perspective", ESSLLI Workshop on Information Structure. * **Molnár, V. & S. Winkler** 2010. "Edges and Gaps: Contrast at the interfaces", *Lingua*, 120.6: 1392-1415. * **Raposo, E. & J. Uriagereka** 1994. "Long-Distance Case Assignment". *Linguistic Inquiry* 21.4:505-537. * **Remberger, E.-M. & M.-O. Hinzelin** 2009. "Expletive vs. discourse marker: Sardinian *ello* and Balearic Catalan *ell*", H.O. XXXVII Romance Linguistics Seminar. * **Remberger, E.-M.** 2010. "Left peripheral interactions in Sardinian", *Lingua* 120, 555-581. * **Rizzi, L.** 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery", in Haegeman, L. (ed.), *Elements of Grammar*, Berkeley, Kluwer: 281-337. * **Rizzi, L.**, ed. 2004. *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, vol.2*, Oxford & New York, OUP. * **Roberts, I. & A. Roussou** 2003. *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. * **van Gelderen, E.** 2004. *Grammaticalization as Economy*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins. * **van Gelderen, E.** 2006. "Economy of Merge and Grammaticalization: Two steps in the Evolution of language". <http://www.public.asu.edu/~gelderer/pub.htm> * **van Gelderen, E.** 2008. "Where did late merge go? Grammaticalization as feature economy", *Studia Linguistica* 62(3), 287-300. * **Villalba, X.** 2008. "Exclamatives: A Thematic Guide with Many Questions and Few Answers", *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 2008 (7): 9-40. * **Zanuttini, R. & P. Portner, P.** (2003), "Exclamative Clauses: At the Syntax-Semantics Interface". *Language*, 79: 39-81.

An effect of residual T-to-C movement in varieties of English

Judy Bernstein and Raffaella Zanuttini

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Appalachian English allows subjects to be split between two positions to a greater extent than general American English:

- (1) a. *There* can't *nobody* ride him. (Appalachian English; Montgomery & Hall 2004)
 b. *They* can't *many people* say that. (Dante Oral History Project)
 c. As far as I'm concerned, *there's nobody* never been on the moon. (Feagin 1979)
 d. *We* don't *nobody* know how long we have. (Montgomery & Hall 2004)

These 'split subjects' are made up of a pronominal element (*there, they, we*) and a quantificational associate, and the examples overwhelmingly involve negation. In Zanuttini and Bernstein (in prep), we argue that the pronoun results from the splitting off and raising of (person) features of the associate, an operation that in turn depends on the raising of a modal or finite auxiliary.

Appalachian English split subjects share properties with transitive expletive constructions and also with floating quantifiers. Despite this similarity, the clustering of properties associated with Germanic transitive expletives is not found in Appalachian English. Likewise, the quantifiers involved in floating quantifier cases do not match up exactly with the quantificational elements found in Appalachian English split subjects, and moreover floating quantifier cases are not overwhelmingly negative, do not restrict the higher subject to a pronominal form, and do not require the presence of a modal or finite auxiliary. These properties of Appalachian English split subjects share some but not all of those of split subjects in Belfast English, which Henry and Cottell (2007) has characterized as transitive expletives with some distributional properties of floating quantifiers.

If Appalachian English split subjects depend on the raising of a modal or finite auxiliary, distinguishing them from both Germanic transitive expletives and also from cases of floating quantifiers, the following question arises: why doesn't general American English display split subjects of the type exemplified in (1)? After all, general American English displays raising of modals and finite auxiliaries (but not lexical verbs), judging by the position of adverbs:

- (2) a. *We may never* learn the truth. (general American English)
 b. *They are never* going to learn the truth.
 c. **We learn never* the truth. (cf. *We never learn* the truth.)

The answer we develop is that, in declarative clauses, Appalachian English modals and finite auxiliaries move to a higher position (above T) than general American English modals and finite auxiliaries. Support for this idea draws on data from Older Scots, an ancestor of Appalachian English (Montgomery 1989, 1997).

Older Scots, the label corresponding to the stages of the language up until approximately 1700, displays split subjects with at least the pronouns *there* and *they*, as shown in the following examples from *Dictionary of the Scots Language*:

- (3) a. *Thar suld na man hyd fra* the face of God. (Older Scots; *Wisd. Sol.* 711. 1460)
 there should no man hide from the face of God
 b. ...*thar may na power do thaim dammage* (*Seven S.* 1684. a1500)
 ...there may no power do them damage
 c. *their haid na creaturs beine sa miserabil* (*Gau* 69/32 1533)
 There had no creatures been so miserable.
 d. *Thay will na man of jugement or learning mak difference betuix thir wordis* (*ABELL* 120 (bis) b. Kennedy 1561)
 There will no man of judgment or learning make difference between their words

Matching the pattern of Appalachian English, the Older Scots examples involve modals or finite auxiliaries and negation. In Zanuttini and Bernstein (2012), we hypothesize that the modal or finite

auxiliary raises to a position from where it can c-command the quantifier, a position higher than T. We take this explanation to account for the Older Scots data as well.

Unlike Appalachian English, however, Older Scots exhibits verb raising with lexical verbs:

- (4) a. ...that he *risis nocht* with the Kingis officeris. (Older Scots; Acts I 208/2 1397)
 ...that he rises not with the King's officers
 b. That he *gaif never* his sister the chaines. (SelkirkB.Ct., ed.1530-1531).
 that he gave never his sister the chains

Despite lexical verb raising in Older Scots, we have found no evidence of split subjects with lexical verbs. We hypothesize that this is because the lexical verbs raise only as high as T, while the modals and finite auxiliaries raise higher than T. We argue that it is this movement to the higher position that makes split subjects possible.

If Older Scots modals and finite auxiliaries do indeed raise higher than T in declarative clauses, then we can infer that the Appalachian English modals and finite auxiliaries raise to this higher position as well. Though present-day Appalachian English does not exhibit lexical verb raising to T, we might characterize the additional movement of the modals/auxiliaries as a vestige of the Older Scots system. Like Appalachian English, general American English does not exhibit evidence of lexical verb raising to T. Unlike Appalachian English, we argue that general American English modals and finite auxiliaries may only raise as high as T, sufficiently high to derive the relative word order (modal/auxiliary-adverb) but not split subjects. The absence of this higher movement accounts for the absence of split subjects in general American English.

Late Middle English and Early Modern English from the late 14th century through the 16th century display so-called transitive expletives (Jonas 1996, Ingham 2000, 2001, 2003, Tanaka 2000). As in Older Scots, the pattern is found with modals or finite auxiliaries and quantificational subjects that are overwhelmingly negative. Their disappearance from the language during the 16th century would be consistent with a loss of raising of modals and finite auxiliaries to the higher position (above T), a movement arguably still found in Appalachian English.

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One peculiarity leads to another: on Afrikaans' unique embedded *wh*-V2

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It has often been noted that embedded Verb Second (V2) is, for the most part, restricted to **declarative** clauses in Germanic (i.a. Diesing 1990, Vikner 1995). Thus even Icelandic and Yiddish, so-called *symmetric V2 languages*, consistently bar V2 in embedded interrogatives. The non-standard English varieties discussed by McCloskey (1992, 2006) represent a notable exception here, with complements of *wonder*, but not *discover*-type verbs (Ginzburg & Sag 2000) systematically permitting embedded V2, as shown in (1):

(1) *You'd be better off asking why **did** he marry me.*

[Frank McGuinness: *Dolly West's Kitchen*, p.55; cited in McCloskey 2006]

McCloskey argues that the dialectal situation can be understood if verbs able to take true-question complements select clausal complements featuring the articulated CP-structure associated with matrix (and thus true) questions, i.e. a full ForceP, while *discover*-type verbs feature a "smaller"/syncretised (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997) structure, which does not, in McCloskey's terms, exhibit CP recursion (McCloskey 2006 offers detailed semantic and pragmatic motivation for the plausibility of this analysis). Given the so-called *Kayne-Rizzi-Roberts (KRR) Effect* (2), we can then understand why only *wonder*-complements can exhibit embedded V2:

(2) **KRR Effect:** T to C movement is possible iff the target C is not I(exically)-selected.

As *discover*-complements exhibit a single, syncretised CP, T-to-C movement will necessarily violate (2); for *wonder*-complements, by contrast, the finite verb (Vf) can raise to a lower projection within the articulated CP (Focus for McCloskey), thus leaving the I-selected Force-head free, as required under (2).

Against this background, the behaviour of modern spoken Afrikaans (MSA) emerges as a mystery: here embedded *wh*-V2 is a readily available option alongside the standard V-final structure, an option which applies for both *wonder*- and *discover*-type predicates:

(3)a. *Ek wonder hoekom eet hy so baie*

I wonder why eat he so much = "I wonder why he eats so much"

b. *Ek onthou wat moet ons koop*

I remember what must us buy = "I remember what we must buy"

The purpose of this paper is to offer a diachronically motivated account of the availability of this peculiar pattern, along with an explanation as to why, for many speakers, it appears to be taking over from the standard V-final structure (Biberauer 2003).

Uniquely in the Germanic context, negation in Afrikaans requires a clause-final negation element, the concord-marker *nie*₂ in (4):

(4) *Ek is nie₁/nooit tevrede nie₂*

I is not/never satisfied NEG = "I am not/never satisfied"

Strikingly, *nie*₂ may, in MSA, co-occur with non-negative elements belonging to Giannakidou's (2000) class of non-veridical elements (Oosthuizen 1998):

(5) *Ek kan my nouliks inhou nie₂*

I can me hardly in-hold NEG = "I can hardly contain myself"

This, and the more general non-veridicality-sensitive behaviour of *nie*₂, can be readily understood if Roberge (2000) is correct in proposing that it originated as a clausal tag of the

type shown in (6) and if Biberauer (2008, 2009, 2012a) is correct in arguing that the grammaticalisation of this tag-element entailed its reanalysis as a CP-peripheral Pol(arity)head of the type shown in (7) (the Kaynean analysis is crucial, as will emerge):

(6) *Het kan niet waar zijn, nee!*

it can not true be no = “It can’t be true, no!” [Roberge 2000:147]

(7) [_{PolP} [_{CP} *Ek is nie₁/nooit tevrede*] *nie₂* = Pol t_{CP}]

Importantly, *nie₂*-final negation structures emerged relatively late (19thC) in the short history of Afrikaans (Roberge 2000) and only became obligatory as a result of prescriptive intervention in 1923 (Deumert 2004). This is significant in relation to the embedded interrogative pattern in (3) as this structure also does not seem to feature in texts prior to the 19thC. Worth noting about (7) is that it features an articulated CP structure, with PolP constituting the outer clausal layer. Biberauer (2009) observes that *nie₂* is a categorially neutral element (neither [+V] nor [+N]), being combinable not just with CPs (7), but also, optionally and thus with emphatic effect (Biberauer 2012b), with DPs, PPs and APs; see (8):

(8) [_{PolP} [_{DP} *Nie₁ die GELD*] *nie₂* t_{DP}] *maar die TYD pla my*
not the money NEG but the time worries me
“It’s not the MONEY, but the TIME that worries me”

As such, we can understand why verbs can select PolP complements where their complement clauses are negative, as in (9):

(9) *Ek hoor* [_{PolP} [_{CP} *dat hy nie₁ tevrede is*] *nie₂* t_{CP}]

I hear that he not satisfied is NEG = “I hear that he isn’t satisfied”

Since PolP lacks a categorial specification, it constitutes a formally transparent layer of structure, allowing verbs taking CP complements to select for CPs consistently. What is important about the PolP structure in relation to (3) is that it is not directly selected by the higher verb, selecting heads necessarily c-selecting for a categorially **specified** complement. As such, Vf-movement to Pol and *wh*-movement to Spec-PolP will not violate (2) any more than the standard CP-fronting option will. What remains to be understood, however, is (a) how Vf-movement to Pol is possible in negative clauses where *nie₂* should spell out this head, and (b) how Vf-movement to Pol takes place in non-negative clauses, which, by hypothesis, lack PolP. Ad (a), we note that *nie₂* systematically undergoes haplological deletion wherever it would be spelled out adjacent to another *nie* (Biberauer 2008); see (10) (...signifies unrepresented clausal structure):

- (10) a. [_{PolP} [_{CP} *Hy verstaan ... nie₁* [_{VP} t_{verstaan}]] ~~*nie₂*~~ t_{CP}] ← haplology
he understand not NEG = “He doesn’t understand”
b. *Ek weet* [_{PolP} [_{CP} *dat hy nie₁ verstaan*] *nie₂* t_{CP}] ← no haplology
I know that he not understand NEG = “I know that he doesn’t understand”

Since MSA speakers permit *nie₂* in non-veridical contexts (5) and, furthermore, structures in which both matrix and embedded clauses are negated consistently feature a single final *nie* ([_{PolP} [_{CP} *Ek weet nie₁* [_{PolP} [_{CP} *dat hy nie₁ verstaan*] *nie₂* t_{CP}]] ~~*nie₂*~~]- “I don’t know that he doesn’t understand”), MSA input is amenable to reanalysis along the lines of (11) and (12):

- (11) a. *Ek wonder* [_{PolP} [_{CP} *wat hy nie₁ verstaan het*] *nie₂* t_{CP}]
I wonder what he not understand have NEG
b. [_{PolP} [_{CP} *Ek wonder* [_{PolP} *wat het*-Pol [_{CP} t_{wat} t_{het} *hy ... nie₁ verstaan* t_{wat}]]] *nie₂* t_{CP}]
“I wonder what he hasn’t understood”
(12) a. *Ek weet* [_{PolP} [_{CP} *wat hy nie₁ verstaan*] *nie₂* t_{CP}]
I know what he not understand NEG

- b. *Ek weet* [_{PolP} *wat verstaan*-Pol [_{CP} *t_{wat} hy nie₁ ...* [_{VP} *t_{verstaan} t_{wat}]]]]
 “I know what he doesn’t understand”*

In (11b), final *nie₂* is, as in (5), analysed as the non-veridicality-sensitive spellout of a **matrix** Pol-head, the *wh*-interrogative being the trigger for this possibility. In (12b), *nie₂* is analysed as being superfluous, not on the grounds of haplology as is standardly the case (10a), but on the grounds that Pol is spelled out as [+Q]Vf, this being a plausible Pol-head (Vf in fact also spells out Pol in a further polarity-related context, namely Afrikaans predicate-doubling structures; see Biberauer 2012b). (5) and (10a)-type structures, then, provide the input for reanalyses (11) and (12). Additionally, (5) signals that non-veridical clauses generally can be analysed as PolPs. Ad (b), we therefore expect *wh*-complements and *wh*-exclamatives generally to be amenable to reanalysis as PolPs (Pol_{NEG}=*nie₂*; Pol_{AFF}=∅), raising the possibility of V2 in these contexts, a prediction which is strikingly borne out in MSA (Biberauer 2003).

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The Significance of What Hasn't Happened

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Naturally enough, the focus of diachronic syntax – and, indeed of historical linguistics more generally – has been on documenting and analyzing recorded instances of change. In a parametric model, this means trying to observe, describe and explain cases of parametric change. However, if change is viewed as abductive reanalysis of Primary Linguistic Data (PLD) in language acquisition, which, in part, also involves resetting parameter values of the underlying grammar (Lightfoot 1979, 1991, 1999), we expect acquisition mostly to be convergent and, thus, that little will change. This is the Inertia Principle of Keenan (1994/2002) and Longobardi (2003), which we can phrase in parametric terms as:

(1) Most of the time, most parameter values don't change.

(1) is almost certainly true, perhaps a truism. But in order to seriously understand both change and the nature of parameters, we need to qualify both occurrences of *most*. In other words, which parameters change and when? Are certain parameters more amenable to change than others? If so, what can we learn about parameters more generally from these changes? These are the questions this paper investigates. As we shall see, the cases where a given parameter does **not** change can be as revealing as those where it does.

In this connection, consider the following cases of long-term historical conservation of known parametrically variant properties:

- (2) a. (Multiple) Incorporation in the Algonquian languages (Branigan 2012)
- b. Harmonic head-final order in Dravidian (Seever 1998:31) and Japanese/Korean
- c. “Radical pro-drop” in Chinese and Japanese

According to Goddard (1994) and Branigan (2012), Proto-Algonquian was spoken 2000-3000 years ago. In that time numerous structural, lexical and phonological features have changed, but incorporation has remained as a “signature” property of the family. Assuming for concreteness that a new generation of native speakers emerges every 25 years, in 3000 years we have 120 iterations of the learning cycle. Proto-Dravidian is dated by Seever (1998) to 4000BC, i.e. 6000 years ago, so this parameter has remained constant over roughly 240 iterations of the learning cycle. Similarly, the oldest texts in Japanese date from around 700-800AD, and so are over 1000 years old, again showing conservation of head-finality and radical pro-drop over 40 iterations. We observe then three cases, each independently thought to be macroparameters, which are conserved for millennia. Macroparameters affect all relevant categories in a uniform way.

On the other hand, it is easy to observe examples of relatively short-lived parameter settings. Assuming that the class of English modals emerged through grammaticalisation in approximately the 16th century, we can see in contemporary English, less than 500 years later, that many of the modals are moribund: this is true in most varieties for *need* and *dare*, and in US English for *must* and *may*. Moreover, individual modals differ in the naturalness/possibility of inversion: in contemporary UK English for all uses of *may* and deontic *might* and in US English for all uses of *might*. Here, then, the relevant parameters concerning attraction of T by interrogative C are relativised to individual lexical items (the restrictions on “conditional inversion” in contemporary English show that irrealis C interacts with a different set of lexical items). This is a clear case of microparametric change, a change affecting a small set of lexical items, possibly just one, in relation to a specific feature property of a functional head. The class of modals seems to have started to change in this way in the 18th century, two hundred years, a mere 8 iterations of the learning cycle, after its creation through grammaticalisation. Another example of the same kind in a different domain concerns the subject-clitic systems of North-Western Romance (including “advanced” varieties of French – Zribi-Hertz 1994): here we see synchronically a range of systems featuring extreme microparametric variation concerning which clitics have reanalysed from their earlier pronominal status as functional heads in T/Agr and C systems (on Northern Italian dialects, see Poletto 2000, Manzini & Savoia 2005). Again,

these systems appear to have emerged quite recently: Poletto (1995) observes that 16th-century Veneto did not have subject clitics, and conservative varieties of contemporary French also do not. “Jespersen’s Cycle” provides a further case: the bipartite negation of Stage II, in particular, can be short-lived (cf. Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006; the fact that it has survived several centuries in Standard French is plausibly due to normative pressure). Further, the fate of the earlier preverbal negator in Stage III varies: in West Flemish, it functions as a polarity-emphasis marker (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2010); in French it is a “minifier” (i.e. an operator selecting the smallest possible value in a set of alternatives; see Rooryck 2008), and so on.

To summarise, we observe values of macroparameters affecting large classes of categories being conserved over millennia, in opposition to values of microparameters, affecting very small classes of lexical items, undergoing rather frequent change. Note that the same formal operations are involved in our examples: head-movement (incorporation, T-to-C) and licensing null arguments (radical pro-drop, subject clitics).

Finally, there are “intermediate” cases which we dub mesoparametric change. Mesoparameters concern entire syntactic categories and, as such, are “smaller” than macroparameters (which concern all possible categories), but “larger” than microparameters (which affect subclasses of lexical items). An example is the null-subject parameter in Latin and Romance. This parameter involves T licensing null arguments, and has been stable from Latin through most of the recorded histories of Italian, Spanish and European Portuguese. It has, however, changed in French and Northern Italo-Romance, presumably under contact influence from Germanic. Another likely case is (root) V2 in Germanic; although its diachrony is obscure and the evidence from Gothic, Old High German and Old English suggests it was not present in Proto-Germanic, it has remained remarkably stable across nearly all North and West Germanic varieties. English is of course the exception here, and again contact may explain why this language diverges (cf. Kroch & Taylor 1997). In the domain of word order, the West Germanic pattern whereby all categories in the extended projection of V (except C) are head-final is an example. This pattern is stable across West Germanic, and has been for at least a millennium; again, it changed in English, arguably under contact with VO North Germanic (Trips 2000) and also with Norman French. It has also changed in Yiddish at the T- and arguably v-levels, although VP remains variable (see Wallenberg 2009); note that this “downward propagation” of word-order change is dictated by the Final over Final Constraint (FOFC; see Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2007, 2011).

We conclude that it is possible to isolate three classes of parameter: macro, meso and micro. Macroparameters concern whole classes of heads, and are diachronically very stable. Mesoparameters concern individual syntactic categories (T, V, etc) and are diachronically stable, but subject to change through contact. Finally, microparameters concern small classes of lexical items and are relatively prone to change (unless they are particularly high-frequency elements). Grammaticalisation, since it affects small classes of lexical items, is microparametric in nature. To the extent that grammaticalisation can be endogenous, microparametric change can be.

In line with the general view of parametric change as involving abductive reanalysis of PLD through language acquisition, macroparameters must be “easily” set; hence they resist reanalysis and are therefore strongly conserved. Meso- and microparameters are correspondingly less salient in the PLD. This view is consistent with the view of parametric hierarchies put forward in Roberts (2011): macroparameters represent the higher parts of a hierarchy, microparameters the lowest and mesoparameters an intermediate position. Importantly, this view does not imply that UG prespecifies the parameter types: the hierarchies emerge thanks to third-factor motivated acquisition strategies, possibly acting on minimal UG-specified content, possibly along the lines of the schema-based model suggested by Gianollo, Guardiano & Longobardi (2008). Macroparameters may be set at a stage of acquisition at which categorial distinctions have yet to be acquired, and hence their nature may be due to the “ignorance” of the learner (Branigan 2012). As categorial distinctions emerge, mesoparameters become available, refining the early acategorial system. As functional categories emerge, microparameters become possible. This view then explains how “superset” parameters can be set early without a

“superset trap” arising; hence it is consistent with the Subset Principle (cf. Berwick 1985, Biberauer & Roberts 2009).

Finally, it is important to note that we are not proposing that macroparameters cannot change at all (this view would be incompatible with the principle of connectivity). Presumably, sufficiently intensive contact can lead to change in these parameters too: the evidence of head-initial to head-final change in the Southern Semitic languages under intensive contact with Cushitic may be an example (cf. Leslau 1945).

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The development of ‘conditional’ modal verbs in West Germanic

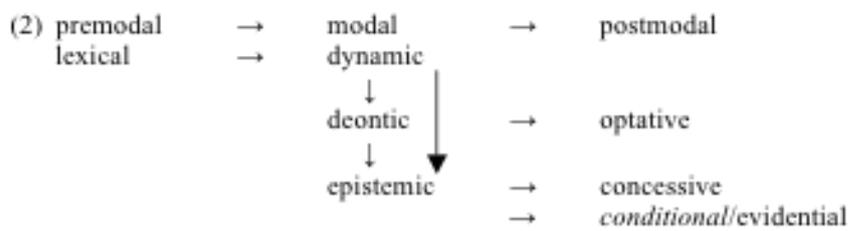
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The present paper proposes to account for the diachronic development of ‘conditional’ uses of modal verbs (MV) such as (1) in the West Germanic (WG) languages by means of a syntactic approach to grammaticalisation, instead of viewing it as a purely semantic change as is done in the traditional and grammaticalisation literature. All WG languages have such ‘conditional’ uses, in which the MV does not express a ‘modal’ (root or epistemic) meaning, but acts more like a ‘conditionality’ marker (Nieuwint 1989, Van der Auwera/Plungian 1998, Nuyts et al. 2005, Boogaart 2007, Haegeman 2010, Van Den Nest 2010).

(1) *Should* you need anything/if you *should* need anything, don't hesitate to call.

The meaning development of MV is an instance of grammaticalisation, i.e. a development from more lexical (premodal) to more functional (modal → postmodal).



(adapted from Beijering 2011)

However, different structural positions can be shown to correlate with the different modal meanings in the grammaticalisation cline seen in (2). Cinque (1999) for instance argues for a hierarchy of functional heads relating to mood and modality as seen in (3), based on co-occurrence and ordering restrictions between certain modal expressions. For instance, the conditional use of German *sollen* ‘shall’ can co-occur with the dynamic and deontic meaning of *können* ‘can’, while a co-occurrence with the epistemic meaning is hard to construct (4).¹ This resonates with Haegeman’s (2010) hypothesis that at least in Dutch and Flemish the relevant MV in conditionals (*mocht* ‘might’ and *moest* ‘must’, respectively) realise Cinque’s Mood_{irrealis} head.

(2) Mod_{epistemic} > Tense_{past} > Tense_{future} > Mood_{irrealis} > Mod_{necessity (alethic)} > Mod_{possibility (alethic)} > Mod_{volitional} > Mod_{obligation (>)} Mod_{ability/permission}

(3) *Sollte* er um 6 schon zu Hause sein *können*, ...

should he at 6 already at home be can

ability: ‘should he be able to be home at 6, ...’

permission: ‘should he be allowed to be home at 6, ...’

?**epistemic*: ‘should it be a possible/plausible assumption that he is home at 6, ...’

The question is however how MV diachronically developed the conditional use. Under a generative approach to grammaticalisation as proposed by Roberts/Roussou (2003), the development of the different meanings of MV (pre-modal → modal → post-modal) can be seen as an upward reanalysis through a clausal hierarchy of functional heads such as (3). Assuming this hierarchy to be an adequate description of the functional structure of clauses and assuming Haegeman’s analysis of Dutch conditional modals to extend to the other WG languages², this

¹ I have not been able to get judgements on a potential ‘alethic’ (in Cinque’s sense) reading of for either *können* ‘can’ nor *müssen* ‘must’. Speakers seem to find paraphrases similarly dubious as epistemic ones.

² This seems plausible, cf. e.g. Diewald’s (1999:203) remark that the ‘epistemic’ use of German *sollen*, which for her subsumes the conditional use (Diewald 1999:202, n.32) is in the ‘transitional zone’ between modal (e.g. deontic) and postmodal uses (e.g. evidential).

makes a number of empirical predictions concerning intermediate stages of the development, which the present paper tests by means of a corpus study.

One prediction concerns the source of the conditional meaning. The question is whether the movement that is lost in the ‘upward reanalysis’ proceeds in short steps or may be long-distance. According to Van der Auwera/Plungian (1998), conditional uses of MV derive from epistemic ones, which in Cinque’s hierarchy probably refer to the ‘alethic’ ones, and would go with the ‘short movement’ hypothesis. Van den Nest (2010) on the other hand only contrasts deontic uses with the conditional one, which if confirmed would require a ‘long movement’ hypothesis. In Middle Low German, of which a corpus of official texts (ca. 1325-1575) was analysed for the present paper, the MV *mogen* ‘may’ is used in conditional clauses in different modal meanings. It is conspicuous that where there is ambiguity, it is between two ‘adjacent’ (on Cinque’s hierarchy) modalities. (5) is an example of dynamic (‘be able’) – deontic (‘be allowed’) ambiguity, in (6) *mochte* could be alethic (‘be possible’) or conditional.

- (4) so he de nicht krigen *mochte* ... (Stralsund 01/11/1493)
if he those NEG get might

dynamic: ‘if he was not able to get those’

deontic: ‘if he was not allowed to get those’

- (5) Und offte dyt allet nycht helpen *mochte* ... (Steinfurt 25/01/1519)
and if this all NEG help might

alethic: ‘and if it is not possible that any of this helps’

conditional: ‘and if it is the case that none of this helps’

Synchronic data also point to an alethic source: cf. the ‘postmodal’ use of German *sollte* ‘should’ in questions (7), which is similar to the conditional use, and which, despite the fact that *sollen* is originally a necessity modal, seems to express (alethic) possibility:

- (6) *Sollte* sie ernsthaft krank sein?
should she seriously ill be

‘Could it be that she is seriously ill?’ (Diewald 1999:202, n. 32)

Other predictions concern the co-occurrence with ‘lower’ (in the hierarchy) modal expressions³ and the loss of paradigmatic variation following the reanalysis of MV as a conditional marker (the restriction to past (subjunctive)). The present paper will discuss diachronic data from Dutch, English, Frisian, High and Low German and argue that the conditional use of MV in WG arises syntactically by upward grammaticalisation from an alethic modality head to the Mood_{irrealis} head.

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³ Given that in most WG languages, infinitives of MV arise only late, this can only be tested by looking for adverbial expressions of modality.

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Indo-Aryan Ergativity: A Case of Syntactic Inertia

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Though Indo-Aryan ergativity receives ample attention in the diachronic literature, the implications that its chosen path of development has for narrow syntax have not been highlighted enough. The present paper tries to fill in this gap by providing evidence that the widely accepted passive to active ergative movement evoked no fundamental change in the underlying syntax of the said construction. Sanskrit passives, we show, had properties reminiscent of actives, with their subjects displaying typical subject-hood properties; the emergence of an active ergative from these constructions must then be a syntactically uninteresting phenomenon with minimal changes in the underlying syntactic structures and operations. It is simply another instance of syntactic inertia (Longobardi 2001). There is a second puzzle with regard to this diachronic phenomenon: the instrumental-ergative alternation. We argue that this change is possible because instrumental DPs in Sanskrit had agentive and causee-like behavior suggesting their external argument location. This position was simply transferred over to ergative marked DPs.

The development of Indo-Aryan ergativity has traditionally been traced back to the passive constructions in Old Indo-Aryan/OIA languages (Dixon (1994); Bhatt (2005); Deo & Sharma (2006) among others). This analysis is based on the reanalysis of a *-ta* participle used to mark past perfect participial forms as in passives (1)-(2) that, with radical inflectional simplification of the Middle Indo-Aryan era, came to be used more widely for marking past participial form. From this emerged the active voice construction (3) with an oblique ergative *-ne* marked subject rather than the instrumental *-ena*. While endorsing this popular viewpoint, we further claim that syntax remained mostly unchanged throughout this process. Instrumental *-ena* marked arguments of passives were in reality subjects that could A-bind reflexives and avoid coreference with pronominals (4)-(5), properties that are still found with present day subjects of both actives and passives (cf. Mahajan 1994). Sanskrit passives were hence Active Passives, with the logical subjects and objects failing to exchange roles, unlike many European passives. Adopting Collin's (2005) proposed structure for passives, we suggest that OIA passives introduced their agents in the specifier of vP and case-checked them against the *ne*-postposition in voiceP. These DPs later targeted the subject position (specifier, TP) for EPP reasons. With the strict association of *-ta* with passive voice being lost and its increased frequency in most past tense forms, the learner simply started using the same structures for non-passive voices, albeit with an oblique marked subject unable to trigger agreement. Our proposed structure for Sanskrit passives also concurs with more recent analysis of ergative subject constructions in New Indo-Aryan/NIA languages like Hindi-Urdu (see Davison 2001), where ergative subjects are licensed by the *-ne* postposition before they target the subject position.

The instrumental to ergative movement in NIA however needs further clarification, especially given the fact that many eastern NIA languages like Magadhi and Bangla chose not to opt for ergativity, but for a pure nominative-accusative system. It is worth noting here that the western languages' choice for ergativity in essence completed a gap in the case system: ergative filled up the lexical case slot for agents (ala Woolford 1997). This filling-in, we believe, was possible because of two reasons: (a) there was no existing (oblique) case-marked agent, unlike in Old Bangla where nominative was marked overtly with *-e* (Chatterji 1926), and (b) OIA instrumental case-marked DPs behaved as causees and agents in both actives and passives (6)-(7). We contend, following Alexiadou and Schafer (2006) for Greek, that Sanskrit distinguished two external theta-roles – agents and causers – at the vP-voiceP level, also occupied by the instrumental DPs in passives. Ergative DPs since they emanated directly from passive agents naturally got restricted to this agentive position; syntax once again remained unchanged.

1. indrena hato vali
Indra.Instr.sg.masc. kill.PPP.Nom.sg. Vali.Nom.sg.masc.
'Vali was killed by Indra' (Stronski, 2009)
2. tena vedāh pathyante
I.Instr. Vedas.Nom.pl.masc. read.3.pl.pres.med.
'Vedas are read by him'
3. larke-ne kitāb xaridi
boy.M.Sg.-Erg book.f.Sg.Nom buy-Pres.Perf.FSg
'The boy bought a book'
- 4.ram-eni swa-grihasyai nirikshanam kritam
ram-instr own house-gen inspection do-PPP.
'His own house's inspection was done by Ram'
5. ram-eni tasya-grihasya*i/j nirikshanam kritam
ram-instr his house-gen inspection do-PPP.
'His house's inspection was done by Ram'
6. suca hy rtah
'for they are afflicted by pain' (Hock, 1991)
7. ta aticarantir varunenagrahayat
'He made Varun seize them (who were) sleeping'

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'Schizo' grammars and what they tell us about language change

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For languages that have a reasonably continuous attestation throughout time spans covering at least a few centuries, such as English, scholars can form a fairly good idea of what is conservative or innovative at a given time. Thus, a given grammatical feature (or sets of grammatical features eventually traceable to one single parameter) can be regarded as conservative or innovative, and one of the most successful lines of research has proven to be the study of how innovations eventually prevail. Alternatively, texts or dialectal areas can be regarded as 'innovative' or 'conservative' as a whole.

In this presentation, I want to draw the attention to some curious texts that appear to be conservative and innovative at the same time. The peculiarity of these texts is that innovations are not distributed at random, but rather adhere to the modular organization of grammars: so, a text like *Orosius* is extremely innovative in the nominal domain, but is conservative in the clausal domain. Conversely, *Gregory's Dialogues* (C) is innovative in the clausal domain and conservative in the nominal one. If the choice of an innovative (or conservative) syntactic structure reflects a stylistic choice, one would expect consistency, as is indeed observed, for example, in Ælfric's production. *Orosius* and *Gregory's Dialogues* (C), on the other hand, seem to instantiate grammars in which a given speaker chooses to 'go modern' in the nominal domain and 'be archaic' in the clausal one, or viceversa, resulting in sentences that do not properly belong in any register. Still, puzzling as they may be, 'schizo' grammars of this type prompt a series of reflections that might eventually lead to a better understanding of language change.

First, and most obvious, is that the notion of the modular organization of grammars is not simply a descriptive device used by linguists to systematize their work, but is a linguistic reality: the nominal domain and the clausal domain turn out to be distinct and to have little mutual permeability, in spite of the expectations following from the various hypotheses defending a parallelism between DP structure and CP structure (Abney 1987, Szabolcsi 1989, Ritter 1991, Crisma 1991, Valois 1991 a.o.). Also, the existence of mirror-image 'schizo' grammars seem to indicate that neither domain is *a priori* more readily vulnerable to change than the other.

The second consideration has to do with the much discussed relation between levelling of inflections and syntactic change. Levelling of inflections from Old to Middle English, in particular loss of case, has often been called for to explain the fixation of a more rigid word order in the clausal domain, a traditional idea found also in recent works such as Fischer (1992), Blake (2001) (but see Fischer, van Kemenade, Koopman, & van der Wurff 2000 for a more doubtful view of such relation). Loss of case has also been held responsible for the loss of post-nominal genitives (Allen 2005). Now, the existence of *Orosius* on one hand and *Gregory's Dialogues* (C) on the other shows that the two explanations cannot both be right: actually, I will argue that there is no way to establish if either of them is right, therefore they can only be regarded as mere speculations.

I will conclude that while the two modules are impermeable with respect to each other, the various grammatical features of each module, though they may be reflexes of totally independent parameters, are influenced by one another: thus the noun phrase is innovative or conservative as a whole, and the same is true for clausal structure. This recalls Weinreich, Herzog and Labov's (1968:172) observation that 'external factors have less effect upon a feature which is a member of a system in equilibrium than upon isolated features', where 'system' should be understood as a module of the grammar, which, once its 'equilibrium' is affected by a change, becomes vulnerable to further change as a whole.

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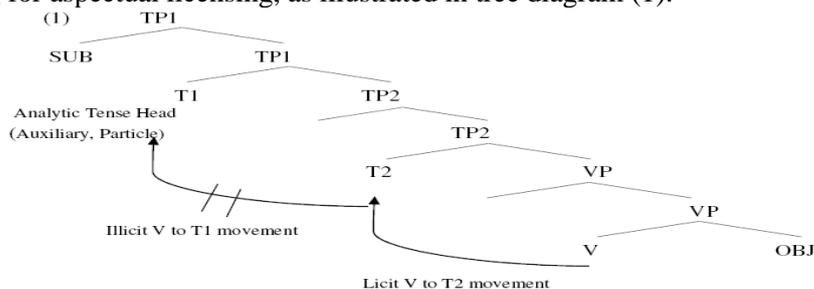
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Analyticization and the syntax of the synthetic residue

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1. BACKGROUND. Morphosyntactic change provides a window onto the dynamic aspects of the language system and the nature of syntactic parameters. Much comparative research has been devoted to detecting microparameters—local points of lexical variation with only limited clustering effects (Kayne 2005). A microparametric view on interlanguage variation complies with current minimalist thinking (Richards 2008). Yet, the proliferation of narrow and item-specific parameters vastly reduces their efficiency as explanatory devices. Baker (2008) has revived the classic notion of a parameter as a choice point in an otherwise universal system of principles. Macroparameters are the kind of parameters which lay out the core structure of typologically distinct languages (flexional, agglutinative, analytic, and polysynthetic). When the parametric debate is approached from a diachronic point of view, the question is what happens when a language is changing from one morphological type to another one and how pervasive the observed changes are. We address this question by comparing the drift towards greater analyticity in Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and Coptic Egyptian (CE) (3rd–14th c. CE). While the analyticization process is still on the way in BP, it has been almost entirely completed in CE. Because of the ongoing linguistic change in BP and its partial incompleteness in CE, the two genetically unrelated languages have preserved a residue of synthetic patterns in an emergent analytic system. We present a restrictive theory of the analyticization process with an emphasis on changes in the scope of verb movement. Our analysis also offers an explanation why certain residual patterns can be integrated into the restabilized system, while others decrease in productivity and are ultimately lost.

2. ANALYTICIZATION AND LOSS OF MOVEMENT. Crosslinguistically, the analytic schema is manifested in mono-clausal auxiliary verb constructions. In these constructions, a functional verb or uninflected particle imports temporal semantics, while the lexical verb appears in a nominalized form (participle, infinitive) without such tense and finiteness specifications (although it may still be inflected for aspect) (Anderson 2006). Since the tensed auxiliary or particle is morphologically and syntactically divorced from the lexical verb, the verb–tense relation is accomplished in the syntax via AGREE rather than by means of verb raising to T(ense). In this way, the analytic system differs radically that of fusional and agglutinative languages, in which V-to-T movement supports temporal suffixes and inflections that would otherwise be left stranded (Cinque 2001; Julien 2002 a.o.). In the light of such differences, Roberts & Holmberg (2010: 43) conclude that “[i]t is tempting, then, to try to maintain that ‘analyticization’ is loss of movement, associated to some degree with loss of morphology”. However, even though analyticization severely restricts the movement space of verbs, *verb raising* as a syntactic operation *need not be entirely dispensed with, as lower functional heads may still be available as landing sites*. We follow Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) and Julien (2001) in identifying at least two functional heads that host Tense morphology, T₁ and T₂. The T₂ head corresponds to an aspectual head of some kind, whereas the T₁ marks absolute tense distinctions such as [±PAST]. We show that in BP and CE verbs no longer move to T₁ but can still move to T₂ for aspectual licensing, as illustrated in tree diagram (1).



3. *THE INTEGRATION OF THE SYNTHETIC RESIDUE.* We distinguish several scenarios for integrating residual synthetic tenses in a largely analytic system. The first scenario is one of gradual LOSS, where the residual form cannot be integrated into the new system. This happens when the residue targets T_1 or some higher modal head, which are occupied by auxiliary verbs or word-like particles. Two cases in point are the pluperfect and the future tense in spoken BP (2a–b).

- (2) a. **João comera* antes de ir para a aula. [spoken BP]
 João cat.PLUPERF.3SG before of go.INF to the class
 'João had eaten before going to class.'
- b. ?*João comerá* antes de ir para a aula. [spoken BP]
 João cat.FUT.3SG before of go.INF to the class
 'João will eat before going to class.'

Roman Demotic (30BCE–250CE) is a language with still a fair amount of synthesis. It preserves tense suffixes such as the perfect marker *-n* (3), which no longer exists in CE, due to the nonfinite character of (eventive) lexical verb stems.

- (3) *jj-n bj Jj-m-htp ms-n Tʔ-fʔt-Bʔstt* [Roman Demotic]
 come-PERF soul Imuthes give.birth- PERF Senobastis
 'The soul of Imuthes has come whom Senobastis has born.' (pap. Louvre E 3452 II, 5)

The second scenario involves the REANALYSIS of a past tense form as perfective/resultative aspect. Such grammaticalized forms can readily be integrated into the analytic system, provided that verb raising to T_2 is still licit. The BP *pretérito perfeito* falls into this category: despite its past tense morphology, it does not convey exclusively past tense meaning, as in (4). The non-past reading is unavailable in European Portuguese (EP).

- (4) *Você virou na Rua 7, e chegou na universidade.* [√BP, *EP]
 You turn.PAST in-the Street 7 and arrive.PAST in-the university
 'Turn on 7th Street and then you arrive at the university.'

A related case is the CE stative, which can no longer be used as a narrative past tense and only conveys stative-resultative semantics.

- (5) *ne-f kEt kalɔts* [CE stative]
 PRET-3M.SG build.STAT well
 'It (the house) was built well' (Luke 6, 48)

Intriguingly, the BP *pretérito imperfeito* provides a special case of what we analyze as LOWERING, whereby a synthetic tense that used to move to T_1 now targets the lower T_2 head. Following Sybesma (2007), we assume that T_1 is still projected in BP, but contains the null counterpart of an auxiliary. The fact that the *pretérito imperfeito* moves now only to T_2 in BP has semantic consequences in that it conveys habitual aspect meaning. The past tense reference of the *pretérito imperfeito* is induced by the null element in T_1 , through agreement with a temporal adverb or adverbial clause (6).

- (6) *Quando o João era criança, ele sempre ficava em casa* [BP]
 When the João be.IMPERF.3SG child he always stay.IMPERF.3SG at home
 'When João was a child, he always used to stay at home.'

Crucially, there is no concomitant loss of morphology, contrary Roberts & Holmberg's generalization. There are no comparable cases of lowering in CE.

4. *THE CASE WITH EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE (EP).* Comparing the situation in BP with that of EP, one might argue that EP, too, has analytic and synthetic tenses and behaves for all intents and purposes exactly like BP. However, if the tense system of the two languages had identical parameter settings, it would be left unexplained why synthetic tenses in BP are (being)

readjusted to an analytic schema, while they are clearly not in EP. This is evidence that synthetic tenses in EP are fully productive and move all the way up to T₁. Our analysis has a number of interesting theoretical consequences, demonstrating that two closely related languages such as EP and BP significantly differ in terms of their parameter setting. Rather, BP shows striking structural similarities with a genetically unrelated language, in which the analyticization process has been completed.

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The decline of Latin VOAux: Neg-incorporation and syntactic reanalysis

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1. Introduction: word order in Latin Aux-final clauses

1.1 Aux-final clauses in Classical Latin In Classical Latin, clauses with an analytical verb frequently (but not always) have the finite auxiliary in clause-final position. If so, the lexical verb typically follows all the arguments, yielding the linear orders (S)OVAux for active transitive clauses and (S)VAux for passives. In addition, a second (much rarer) word order pattern was available, namely one in which the lexical verb is found to the left of the internal argument (1). The syntax of these data has as yet not received any attention in the literature.

- (1) a. ni professus indicium foret. VOAux (act.)
 unless offered.NOM information.ACC he.were.SUBJ
 'unless he gave information.' (= Tac. Ann. 6.3.4, ca. 110-120 AD)
 b. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, [...]. VSAux (pass.)
 when these.ABL speeches.ABL stirred.NOM mob.NOM was.SUBJ
 'when the mob had been aroused by these speeches' (= Liv. aUc 22.35.1, ca. 10 BC- 20AD)

1.2 Diachronic evolution During the transition from Classical (ca. 100 BC-200 AD) to Late Latin (ca. 300 to 550 AD), the following evolution can be observed: whereas the (statistically predominant) orders (S)OVAux and SVAux remain fully productive, the patterns involving the internal argument surfacing to the right of the lexical verb disappear. A pilot study reveals that in two late texts (Anthimus' *De obseruatione ciborum* (ca. 535 AD) and the *Itinerarium Egeriae* (ca. 550 AD)), the patterns VOAux and VSAux are not attested a single time.

1.3 Two types of INFL-final syntax The main claim of the paper is that the syntax of the INFL-final patterns of Classical and Late Latin (which can both generate the surface string (S)OVAux) differs along a number of dimensions, as summarized in Table 1:

(2)

	Classical Latin (INFL-final I)	Late Latin (INFL-final II)
V-movement synthetic	V-to- <i>v</i> -to-Voice-to-T	V-to- <i>v</i> -to-Voice-to-T-to-Neg
V-movement analytic	V-to- <i>v</i> and Voice-to-T	V-to- <i>v</i> and Voice-to-T-to-Neg
EPP satisfaction	phrasal movement of VoiceP to Spec,SubjP	phrasal movement of DP _{ext} to Spec,SubjP
L-movement	(optionally) applied 2 times	applied 5 times
VOAux/VSAux?	YES	NO

Table 1: Properties of INFL-final clauses in Classical and Late Latin.

2. Deriving INFL-final I

2.1 Head-final sequence I (OV): L-movement First, I will propose that the order OV is derived through L-movement (as in Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2010, henceforth BHR), which is a movement operation that displaces YP, the complement of a head X^o to Spec,XP. Departing from BHR, I assume that L-movement targets an outer rather than an inner specifier of X^o.

2.2 Head-final sequence II (vP-T): vP-displacement as EPP-driven A-movement Placement of functional elements like negation (3a) and adverbs (3b) strongly suggests that the derivation of the second head-final pattern does not involve L-movement. In Classical Latin, these elements typically occur in between the auxiliary and the lexical verb:

- (3) a. qui id secuti non sunt
 who.NOM that.ACC followed.NOM not are
 'who did not follow that.' (Cic. Fam. 9.5.2, 46 BC)
 b. defunctus iam sum
 fulfilled already I.am
 'I have already died.' (= Ter. Eun. 14, ca. 160 BC)

- c. si ei iuncta semper **est** [...].
 if that.DAT joined.to.NOM always is

'if it (sc. virtue) is always connect with that (sc. pleasure).' (= Sen. Ep. 85.18, ca. 65 AD)

Repeated application of (the strictly local phenomenon of) L-movement would have yielded the strings 'OVAuxNeg' or 'OVAuxAdv', contrary to what we observe. I therefore suggest that the verb phrase, including the internal and external argument, undergoes EPP-driven A-movement (cf. Biberauer & Roberts (2005) on Germanic). The existence of VSAux-clauses (1b) confirms that it was not the subject DP that moved for reasons of EPP.

2.3 *But what about FOFC?* Contrary to what is claimed in BHR, I will argue that only L-moved constituents are subject to the so-called 'Final-over-Final-Constraint' (FOFC), and that A and A'-moved head-initial phrases can never give rise to a violation of this linearization constraint, thus explaining why the string '(C)(S)VO(Neg/Adv)Aux' was indeed grammatical in Classical Latin.

3. Neg-incorporation and the genesis of INFL-final II

3.1 *(A part of) Jespersen's Cycle* I suggest that the key factor bringing about the transition to the new INFL-final grammar was the incorporation of the preverbal marker *non* into the inflected verb. First, the phrasal negator *non* (< **ne oinom* 'not one') was reanalyzed as a syntactic head (cf. Van Gelderen's (2011) 'Head Preference Principle'). Independent data confirm the X° status of *non* in Classical Latin (HMC effects, availability of Negative Concord). Next, *non* procliticized onto the finite verb in T° (cf. Jäger 2008 on a similar evolution in the history of German).

3.2 *Consequences of Neg-incorporation* The main consequence of this innovation is the creation of a complex verbal head (consisting of Voice, T and Neg in the case of a negated analytic verb): I propose that this was a sufficient condition for the moved VoiceP to be reanalyzed as a rightward complement to this complex head, i.e. as an L-moved remnant TP located in Spec,NegP. The details of this reanalysis process are sketched in (4), with the earlier grammar in (4a), and the new grammar with Neg-incorporation and reanalysis in (4b):

- (4) a. [_{SubjP} [_{VoiceP} **DP_{ext}** [_{Voice°} t_{Voice} [_{VP} [_{VP} **DP_{int}** [_{V°} t_V t_{DP}]]] [_{V°} **V/v** t_{VP}]]]] [_{Subj°}[EPP] [_{NegP} **Neg** [_{TP} **Voice/T** t_{VoiceP}]]]]]
 b. [_{SubjP} **DP_{ext}** [_{Subj°}[EPP] [_{NegP} [_{TP} [_{VoiceP} t_{DPext} [_{VP} [_{VP} **DP_{int}** [_{V°} t_V t_{DP}]]] [_{V°} **V/v** t_{VP}]]] [_{Voice°} t_{Voice} t_{VP}]]] [_{T°} t_{Voice/T} t_{VoiceP}]] [_{Neg°} **Neg/Voice/T** t_{TP}]]

Evidence for this analysis comes from adverb placement, which in Late Latin appear to the left of participles (5). Only incorporated negation can intervene between a participle and an auxiliary (not illustrated).

- (5) a. quia filii alieni semper mentiti **sunt** mihi.
 because sons.NOM other.NOM always lied.NOM are me.DAT
 'because foreign sons have always lied to me.' (= Vict. Vit., Pers. Afr. 65, ca. 490 AD)
 b. sicut ipsi de retibus iam confessi **sunt**.
 as self.NOM about nets.ABL already confessed.NOM they.are
 'as they have already confessed about the nets.' (= Gesta Conl. Carth. 3.272, 411 AD)

A second consequence is that it is know the 'subject' DP that moves to Spec,SubjP to satisfy the EPP requirement, thus providing a second reason why the pattern VSAux is not available any more in the new grammar: apart from being ruled out by FOFC, it cannot yield a grammatical output since the internal argument of a passive clause obligatorily undergoes A movement past V.

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Discourse Constraints on Non-Verb-Initial Sentences in Old Irish

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Old Irish, although a VSO language, appears to make frequent use of preverbal positions throughout its literary tradition.

1) *lãithe gailẽoin gabsat inna lãmaib lãigne*
 warrior.nom.pl Galẽon.gen.sg take.3.pl.pret.conj in.3.pl.gen hand.dat.pl spear.acc.pl
 "The warriors of the Galē on took spears in their hands." (Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae 1.9
 from Eska, 2007)

Such examples occur primarily in older poetic texts and have previously been treated as both a true syntactic archaism (Doherty, 2000) and as a literary affectation (Eska, 2007). We argue that such examples are in fact indicative of an active left-periphery with multiple preverbal positions available for discourse fronting of arguments. A distinction can be made between two types of sentential preposing - both in terms of discourse and syntax - one as in (1) based on movement of an argument from a post-verbal position into a preverbal Focus Phrase, and another type as in (2) which contains an externally merged preverbal phrase in TopP which is not part of the same clausal domain as the verb.

2) *patraic pridchais do scottaib*
 P.nom.sg preach.3.sg.pret.abs to Scot.dat.pl
 "Patrick, (he) preached to the Scots." (Fiacc's Hymn 316.35
 from Eska, 2007)

Verbs in Old Irish are characterized by a morphological distinction between "absolute" and "conjunct" forms based on the position of the verb within the clause. Absolute initial verbs evince "absolute" morphology (3), verbs preceded by a sentential particle (e.g. negation) (4), or compound verbs containing a preverb (5) are attested in the "conjunct" form.

3) *Beirid in fer in claideb.*
 carries.3s.ABS the man the sword.
 "the man carries the sword"

4) *Ní beir in fer....*
 NEGcarries.3s.CONJ
 "the man does not carry..."

5) *As biur in-so*
 (PV)say.1sCONJ this
 "I say this"

The morphological forms of verbs are determined by elements within their directly preceding CP domain. Therefore, absolute and conjunct morphology can be used a diagnostic for distinguishing clause boundaries. Movement (Internal Merge), being clause internal, should trigger the conjunct, and External Merge would leave the absolute, thus allowing us to distinguish between Topic and Focus.

As we can see in (2), left dislocated subjects do not trigger conjunct morphology. Left dislocated objects require an additional step of diagnosis since resumptive object pronouns are hosted in the verbal complex, triggering conjunct morphology as in (6). However, the presence of the resumptive object pronoun itself allows us to distinguish the full DP object as an externally merged element.

6) *mairb dosfiuced do bethu*
 dead.acc PV-clt.3.sg.awoke.3.sg to life
 "the dead he awoke to life" (Fiacc's Hymn 316.2)

Phrases merged in TopicP can be diagnosed by the absence of conjunct morphology or the presence of a resumptive pronoun. Moved, focalized elements are found with conjunct morphology as in (7).

7) An ferand dutracarsa dó ni folam fós. (Tochmarc Étaine §5)
 the land.nom wish.1.sg.emph to.him NEG.cop empty still
 “but the land I wish him to have is not yet vacant”

Another way to distinguish between the Topic and Focus projection is by examining the context in which they appear. The Topic position is a left dislocation position which holds a phrase that is new to the discourse. The Focus position is a position for an argument that is anaphorically bound to the preceding discourse.

We argue that the morphological diagnostics and the regularity of the discourse contexts for Topic and Focus constructions are evidence against treating non-verb-initial sentences in Old Irish as asyntactic. Instead they should be treated as contextually determined alternative word orders. These alternative patterns are best explained as a regular and productive part of Old Irish grammar.

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Three-way competition and the emergence of *do*-support in English

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Background Since the analysis of Ellegård (1953), one aspect of the syntactic change giving rise to *do*-support has resisted explanation: the use of *do* in (unemphatic) affirmative declarative contexts (AD-*do*). During the 16th century AD-*do* accounted for nearly 10% of all affirmative declarative sentences. In this paper, we present usage examples and quantitative data that demonstrate that this construction arose as an external argument introducer, and propose this as an intermediate stage in the change leading to *do*-support. This fact has implications for the Constant Rate Hypothesis (Kroch 1989, CRH) model of linguistic change.

The synchronic status of AD-*do* The *do* used in non-emphatic affirmative declarative sentences in early Modern English is an indicator of the presence of an external argument, associated with *v* (as proposed by Kratzer (1996), who calls the head in question Voice). Three pieces of evidence support this analysis:

1. Examples of AD-*do* can be found wherein *do* co-occurs with modals and perfective *have* (4, 5). These examples indicate that *do* is merged lower in the functional domain than either of these elements. Examples of *do* embedded under a causative predicate can also be adduced (2, 3). These demonstrate that *do* is contained in the complement of these verbs. Finally, an example exists of *do* inside an *-ing* nominalization. Taken together, these facts illustrate that AD-*do* is merged very low no higher than *v* or perhaps a low Asp.
2. Data on the relative placement of auxiliary verbs and adverbs reveal an asymmetry between the behavior of *do* and modals. English has an adverb position which precedes T, as can be seen in example (1), in which the modal *will* occupies T. Modals are base-generated in T (Roberts 1985), and the rate at which adverbs precede modals in the relevant time periods is essentially flat, as can be seen in Figure 1 below. On the other hand, *do* is preceded by an adverb more often, especially in the earliest periods for which data is available. This indicates that auxiliary *do* was originally merged lower than T, and only gradually acquired its status as an obligatory undergoer of verb raising.
3. Data on the rate of usage of AD-*do* in transitives and unaccusatives show that the construction gains much more traction in the former environment than the latter indeed, AD-*do* peaks at only 3.5% in unaccusatives, and at 12% in transitives. Unergatives pattern similarly to transitives, as can be seen in Figure 2 below. This indicates that the use of AD-*do* with an external-argument (EA) bearing verb is robustly possible, whereas with an EA-lacking verb it is much more marginal.

The fact that *v* is merged very low and that it is the head associated with the licensing of an external argument supports the conclusion that AD-*do* is merged at that position and is associated with the same features that license an EA.⁴ This grammatical option is intermediate between main-verb and auxiliary *do* structurally ($V \rightarrow v \rightarrow T$) and semantically (causative \rightarrow EA introducer \rightarrow vacuous).

Conclusion The demonstration of this intermediate stage in the rise of *do*-support in English has import for the literature on grammar competition and the CRH. The finding that there exists a change implicating more than two grammars in competition opens the door to the search for more such changes and a model adequate to describe them, in much the same way that the accumulation of S-shaped linguistic changes led to the positing of the CRH and the logistic competition model.⁵ Preliminary explorations of applying a three-way competition model to the corpus data on *do*-support have been a success, and we anticipate discussing these in our talk in the event this abstract is accepted.

4 Several earlier aspectual analyses of AD-*do* are reviewed by Klemola (1998, p. 26). However, none of these analyses adduce syntactic evidence. The closest in spirit to the present proposal is Denison (1985)

5 Postma (2010) addresses the question from a different point of view. His failed changes model can be enriched by understanding failures as a result of competition.

- (1) John never will admit his mistake.
- (2) The fairest children of the blood royal / Of Israel he leet do gelde anon
(Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* “The Monk’s Tale” c. 1400)
- (3) And thus he dide don sleen hem alle three.
(Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales* “Summoner’s Tale” c. 1400)
- (4) He [death] hes done petuously devour / the noble Chaucer of makaris flour
(Wm. Dunbar “Lament for the Makars” c. 1505)
- (5) consequently it wyll do make goode drynke
(A. Boorde, *Introduction of Knowledge* a. 1542)
- (6) Fro the stok ryell rying fresche and ying / But ony spot or macull doing spring
“From the royal stock rising fresh and young / without any spot or blemish springing”
(Wm. Dunbar, *The Thrissill and the Rois* 1503, in Visser (1963) 1419)

Graphs. All data taken from the PPCEME and PCEEC corpora.

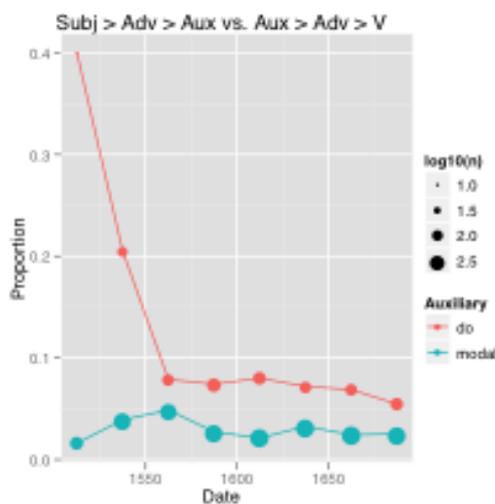


Figure 1: Word order of adverbs and auxiliaries

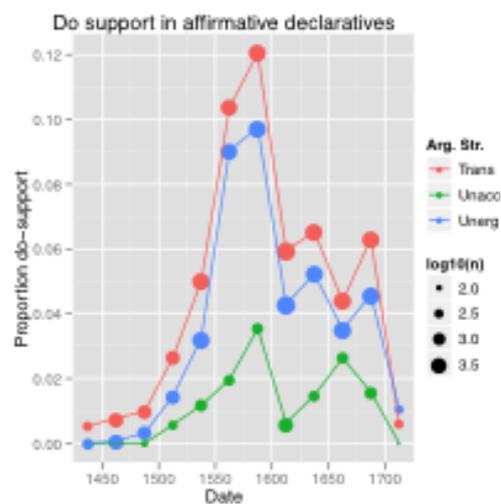


Figure 2: Affirmative declarative *do*-support by argument structure

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A story about the left periphery
The functional extension of the Hungarian noun phrase

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This paper aims to give an account of the change that can be observed in the structure of the Hungarian noun phrase from the first written sources to the present day, with a special focus on demonstratives and possessive constructions. Exploring the story of the nominal left periphery in Hungarian may offer a possible scenario of how the functional extension of the noun phrase happens in a language, apparently inevitably, after the overt marking of definiteness has grammaticalized and its use expanded.

Generative analyses for the Modern Hungarian noun phrase structure (*inter alia* Szabolcsi 1994, É. Kiss 2000) agree on locating the demonstratives (*ez/az* ‘this/that’) in the specifier position of the DP, even though the definite article is also spelled out in the head of the same phrase. As far as the dative-marked possessor is concerned, É. Kiss (2000) proposes that the possessor expression undergoes a noun phrase internal topicalization and lands in a phrase-initial specifier position (Spec,TopP). If both a demonstrative and a nominal possessor are present, the possessor must precede the demonstrative.

- (1) a szerzetes-nek ez a könyv-e
 the monk-DAT this the book-POSS.3SG
 ‘this book of the monk’

In Old Hungarian (14-15th c.), although the overt marking of semantic definiteness is already obligatory, the definite article has a more restricted use with respect to subsequent language phases. The article only appears in the cases where referential identification is not encoded otherwise (Egedi, *forthcoming*). Accordingly, the definite article is missing with nouns modified by a demonstrative as well as with the head nouns of possessive structures.

- (2) e(z) ∅ könyv
 this book
 ‘this book’
- (3) a(z) szerzetes-nek ∅ könyv-e
 the monk-DAT book-POSS.3SG
 ‘the book of the monk’

Moreover, possessives and demonstratives seem to mutually exclude each other, suggesting that these expressions occupy the same structural position (supposedly Spec,DP).

In Middle Hungarian, an expansion can be observed in the use of the article in various contexts. As a result, the definite article appears together with the distal demonstrative (4), and may precede a possessed noun with dative marked possessor (5).

- (4) az a(z) könyv
 that the book
 ‘that book’
- (5) a(z) szerzetes-nek a(z) könyv-e
 the monk-DAT the book-POSS.3SG
 ‘the book of the monk’

These two interrelated phenomena reflect a substantial structural change in the left periphery of the noun phrase. The diachronic data, however, show that the transition from the old system to the present one could not happen in one step only, namely by the emergence of a topic position and the movement of dative-marked possessors thereto. In Middle Hungarian, the combination

of demonstratives and possessives, though already well attested, shows a peculiar distribution. Observe that in these new structures, the demonstratives agree with the head nouns both in number and in case:

- (6) Azok a(z) szerzetes-nek könyv-ei
 that-PL the monk-DAT book-POSS.3SG-PL
 ‘Those books of the monk’
- (7) Arról is a(z) szerzetes-nek könyv-é-ről
 that-DEL PRT the monk-DAT book-POSS.3SG-DEL
 ‘Also about that book of the monk’

The Middle Hungarian phrases in (6) and (7) would not be grammatical in Modern Hungarian, where the position of the demonstratives is already fixed in Spec,DP and only the possessor can leave the DP domain. The demonstratives of the Middle Hungarian period, however, do not form a prosodic unit with the article, can be separated by various elements (e.g. the particle in (7)), and observably can precede the dative-marked expression as well. The possibility of a more extended noun phrase obviously emerged at this stage, but at first two expressions of different nature competed for the same outermost position.

In a possible diachronic syntactic analysis, a simple but unstable adjunction operation grammaticalized in the following two ways. As for the adjoined possessor expression, it may have been reanalyzed as a new layer of the extended noun phrase, namely a Topic projection. What is more remarkable is that the demonstrative has again been integrated into the DP domain by the time of Modern Hungarian – in accordance with Elly van Gelderen’s (2008: 250) third universal economy principle, the so-called ‘Specifier Incorporation’ that claims for elements coming from outside to tend to be a specifier rather than an adjunct.

Present day demonstratives behave rather atypically as determiners since they appear in a doubly filled DP, in which definiteness is already marked by spelling out the article in the D head. Their morphology is also somewhat exceptional, since they are marked for case and plurality unlike other modifiers within the noun phrase. Thus the diachronic syntactic process outlined above resulted in a kind of synchronic gradience as well in Modern Hungarian.

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**Subject inversion from Classical to Modern European Portuguese:
a corpus-based study**

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Several studies on the history of Portuguese argue that Old Portuguese (henceforth OP) and Classical Portuguese (henceforth CIP) had V2-like syntax (cf. Ribeiro, 1995 for OP; Torres Moraes, 1995; Paixão de Sousa, 2004; Galves et al. 2005, Galves e Paixão de Sousa, 2010; Gibrail, 2010; Antonelli, 2011 for CIP). Other researchers have criticized this analysis based on the fact that both OP and CIP display properties that are not compatible with V2 syntax, namely high frequencies of V1 and V3 sentences (for CIP, see Eide, 2006). In this talk, we focus on CIP, and present more evidence for the V2 analysis, drawn from the evolution of word order and its interpretation in transitive sentences. We shall also question the theoretical meaning of the notion of V2, and its application to Old Romance languages, which have been repeatedly shown not to function like Germanic V2 languages (cf. a.o. Cruschina and Sitaridou, 2009). Finally, using Portuguese diachronic data, we shall discuss the derivation of V(X)S(X) sentences.

The data will be drawn from parsed texts available in the *Tycho Brahe Parsed Corpus of Historical Portuguese*, written by Portuguese authors born between 1502 and 1836 cf. [HTTP://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus](http://www.tycho.iel.unicamp.br/~tycho/corpus). We shall also include in the analysis descriptions of word order in EP.

Several studies (cf. Paixão de Sousa, 2004; Galves e Paixão de Sousa, 2010; Gibrail, 2010 and Antonelli, 2011) have shown that there is a shift in the frequencies of VS and SV order from the authors born at the beginning of the 18th c. on. According to Galves and Paixão de Sousa (2010), in the 16th and 17th texts, the average frequency of VS is 60% and 64% respectively. In the 18th and 19th century, it falls down to 24% and 20% respectively. This change is accompanied by several others, mainly in the syntax of clitics (cf. Paixão de Sousa, 2004; Galves et al. 2005; a.o). Our study of the evolution of SVO vs. both VSO and VOS in main clauses shows the same, although less sharp, decrease in VS order, at the same period. If we put apart the case of Pinto (b.1510), which we shall comment later, we observe that the frequency of VS order (VSO+VOS) in main clauses ranges from 35 to 71% in the 16th and 17th century texts. In the authors born in the 18th century, there is never more than 25% of postverbal subjects, and in the 19th century, the mean frequency of VOS+VSO falls to 8%. It is important to note that the increase in SVO is done mainly at the expenses of VSO, whose frequency was much higher than that of VOS before the change, but becomes similar to it after. In EP, according to Costa (2000), both VSO and VOS orders are possible, but they are highly marked. VSO requires that both subject and object be new in the discourse. As for VOS, it is appropriate when only the subject is new information.

Beyond this raw quantitative result, which is consistent with previous studies on subject position, the evolution of word order in transitive sentences gives us interesting qualitative results concerning the relationship between the position of the subject and the informational structure of the texts. The crucial point is that in 16th and 17th c. texts, postverbal subjects, both in VSO and VOS order, are not obligatorily interpreted as narrow focus. VSO and VOS sentences can be uttered as completely new information (out of the blue), as in the first Portuguese newspaper, the *Gazeta*, written by Galhegos (b.1598):

- (1) e fez muito dano a tempestade
and made much harm the tempest
- (2) Em várias partes das fronteiras fizeram os castelhanos fumo
In several parts of the borders made the Castilians smoke'

Interestingly, VOS can also be used in a context in which subject and predicate are both old information. This can be seen in the following excerpt from Vieira's sermons:

(3) [Cuidas tu, Ezechiél, diz Deus, que não ha aqui mais que o que apparece? Ora rompe essa parede, e verás.] Rompeu a parede Ezechiél...

[Think you, Ezechiél, Said God that (there) is not here more than (it) seems? Thus, break this wall and (you) shall see.] Broke the wall Ezechiél..."

We also find VOSX orders in which X is clearly the narrow focus of the sentence:

- (4) faz menção o texto sómente d@ @a parte austral (Vieira)
 make mention the text only of the austral part

These facts are predicted by a V2 analysis, which assigns post-verbal subjects a high position in the clause. We follow Antonelli (2011), who argues that, in CIP, the verb is in Fin and postverbal subjects are either in Spec/TP or in a lower position since low adverbs like *bem* ‘well’ can occur either after or before them. As for VOS, we adapt Belletti’s analysis of VXS as the remnant movement of VP after the movement of the subject. The fact that the subject in VOS is not obligatorily interpreted as narrow focus indicates that it is in a high position too and that, accordingly, VO moves to a higher position than in Modern languages. We propose that this position is Spec/Fin. This movement is licensed in CIP since, as argued by Antonelli (2011), the phi-features of the verb are able to satisfy the edge-features of Fin, as they do with the edge-features of T in Modern languages, according to many researchers.

The decrease in frequency of VS at the beginning of the 18th c. is accompanied by changes in the nature of subjects and objects that appear in VSO and VOS. As for the former order, we observe a high frequency of subject pronouns. This recalls the observation made by Belletti (2004) that “a systematic class of exceptions to the general ban against VSO in Italian is provided by cases in which S corresponds to a personal pronoun”. As for VOS, what we observe is a tendency either for the subject to be heavier or for the object to be semantically lighter.

Finally, our analysis predicts that in languages like CIP the genre of the text and the style of the author greatly interfere with subject placement, since it depends entirely on discourse properties. We find a great variation among texts. The more extreme case in our Corpus is found in Fernão Mendes Pinto’s *Peregrinação*, which has only one case of post-verbal subject. It must be recalled, however, that it is an historical narrative, and that all the preverbal subjects are human and refer to the characters whose deeds are narrated. The genre, however, does not account for word order alone since *Décadas*, written by Couto (b. 1542), is also highly narrative but displays a high frequency of postverbal subjects. Such a variation is one of the reason why we need big and diversified corpuses to satisfactorily perform historical syntax analyses.

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On ‘nothing’: the twists and edges of Old Italian negative concord

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1. In this work we investigate the distribution of the n-word corresponding to ‘nothing’ in Old Italian (OI) as a case study which can contribute to a better understanding of the system of (apparently) optional negative concord that OI displays on a par with other Old Romance languages (see Martins (2000) for an overview on the phenomenon).

2. The theoretical aim is to provide evidence that in OI negative concord is blocked across phases, i.e. that negative concord is only possible under a specific syntactic configuration. The set of data we use are all the texts available in the OVI online data base from 1209 to 1300. The reason why we concentrate on ‘nothing’ is that words meaning ‘nothing’ have a special status among all n-words, as they are the only ones that can be reanalyzed as the negative marker in Italian dialects (see Piedmontese in Zanuttini (1997) and Parry (2010)). As noted by Bayer (2009), German *nichts* can have an adverbial usage in Middle High German which is sensitive to thematic structure, because it can only occur with verbs whose theme position is not already occupied, like for instance intransitives, so that *nichts* can first merge in the object position:

- (1) Karl hat nichts gearbeitet. (Bayer (2009: 33))
Karl has nothing worked
‘Karl did not work at all’

Bayer notes that there is a clear etymological link between the negative marker *nicht* and *nichts* (originally a genitive), which seems very similar to the Piedmontese cases mentioned above. This adverbial usage could be the first step into the grammaticalization process of the n-word into a negative marker. On the other hand, Romero (2006) has shown that NPIs occurring in yes/no questions can be reanalyzed as negative markers. We surmise that OI *niente* ‘nothing’ reveals a further step into the grammaticalization process of the n-word into a negative marker. *Niente* in OI can function as a NPI (for instance in interrogative clauses), but its distribution shows that it does not always behave as such, even when it is postverbal (see (3b)).

3. The distribution of lexical items meaning ‘nothing’ in OI presents a clear asymmetry: *neuna cosa* (literally “no thing”) occurs in preverbal position, while *niente/neente/neiente* (derived from “no-entity”) only occurs in postverbal position, with only very few exceptions due to focalization. *Niente* can also be used as an adverb as in German (see (1)), although it does not obey Bayer’s restriction that the object position has to be empty.

- (2) Molte cose dissero di che non mostrano niente la veritade... (Anonym., Tesoro Volg. 3.4)
many things said.3P of which NEG show.3P nothing the truth
‘they said many things about which they do not show the truth’

A second interesting asymmetry is related to negative concord: while the adverbial usage of *niente* requires negative concord, the argumental usage does not:

- (3) a. ... e non dormono niente... (B. Giamboni, Libro de’ vizi e delle Virtudi 11)
‘they do not sleep at all’
b. E fede senza opera, overo opera senza fede, è neente a potere aver paradiso.(B. Giamboni, ibid.14) ‘faith without deeds or deeds without faith are worth nothing to go to heaven.’

However, negative concord is indeed possible also with argumental *niente*.

- (4) delle quali non è detto neente... (B. Latini, Rettorica)
of.the which NEG is said nothing
‘...about which nothing is said.’

We argue that the reason why adverbial *niente* has obligatory negative concord (as in 3a) while argumental *niente* displays apparent optionality (as shown in (3b) vs. (4)) is that the adverbial is always merged in a position higher than the vP (as in (5c)), while the argument can: a) be merged in the vP (as illustrated in (5a)), or b) be moved higher into a Focus position located at the edge of vP (as in 5b) (see Belletti (2004)), or c) exploit the same position as the adverb (5c).

- (5) a. [AspP perfect mai..[AspP complet tutto [XP [VoiceP bene [VP niente]]]]
 b. [AspP perfect mai [AspP completive tutto [XP [VoiceP bene [GroundP [FokusP niente [VP[VP niente]]...]]
 c. [AspP perfect mai..[AspP complet tutto [XP niente [VoiceP bene [VP niente]]]]

4. We argue that negative concord is not optional at all, but is obligatory within the same phase, and banned across phases. This is expected if we assume with Zeijlstra (2004), and Haegeman & Lohndal (2010) that negative concord is obtained through an Agree relation.

If argumental *niente* is located in the vP, no negative concord is possible, because the negative marker *non* is merged in the higher phase above TP and it cannot agree with something located in a phase that has already been sent to spellout. If *niente* is either at the edge of the vP or in the same position as the adverb, then negative concord is obligatory, because the n-word is still visible when the negative marker *non* is merged.

5. In the talk we will consider several arguments to prove the point:

a) Assuming Cinque's hierarchy of adverbs (already illustrated in (5) above) in the so called 'low IP area', we show that adverbial *niente* occurs higher than other adverbs, which are in turn merged higher than the vP, as shown in

- (6) Sì no lo potero niente bene schifare... (Binduccio, Storia di Troia 558)
 'they could not avoid it well (at all)'

b) Argumental *niente* also requires negative concord when it is located higher than low adverbs, as shown by the (Old) Neapolitan variety (see Ledgeway (2009)):

- (7) Io non ve dico niente cchiù... (Scarpetta, XIX century)
 'I do not tell you anything more...'

c) The analysis predicts that PPs including *niente*, which cannot exploit the adverbial position, should behave differently from bare *niente*. In the talk we will present figures that show that the amount of negative concord with PPs is drastically reduced with respect to bare *niente*, as the only position where negative concord can apply is the Focus position at the edge of the vP.

d) In OI it is possible to focalize bare object *niente* preposing all the other vP internal items to a higher GroundP (or TopicP, following Belletti (2004), who proposes the existence of a low left periphery with a TopicP higher than FocusP at the edge of the vP phase). In these cases obligatory negative concord is predicted because FocusP is accessible from the higher phase. The prediction is met, as shown by:

- (8) ...non sapendo di Paolo niente... (D. Cavalca, Vite di Eremiti)
 '...not knowing anything about P.'

6. This analysis allows us to account for the following facts: a) why the adverb behaves differently from the argument; b) why it is only the argument that allows for non negative concord; c) why the cases of non negative concord are apparently optional. We do so without postulating any special condition, as negative concord is already described in much recent literature as an Agree phenomenon. The existence of a low left periphery in Italian is also already known to exist independently from the facts described here, as is the fact that adverbials are VP external, while objects are not.

If there will be time, we will also deal with the pre- vs. postverbal asymmetry between *neuna cosa* and *niente*, showing that the internal structure of the two items is not identical and that *niente* can only be licensed in a postverbal position. We will then speculate on the link between negative concord and the internal structure of n-words discussing Déprez (2010).

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Pro Drop in Old English

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Pro drop has recently received a Minimalist make-over in the work of Frascarelli & Hinterhölzel (2007), Frascarelli (2007), Sigurðsson (2004; 2011), and others. Sigurðsson distinguishes three main types of null subjects, the Romance pro drop, the Germanic topic drop, and the Chinese discourse drop. He argues for a third factor approach where definite arguments require C/Edge linking for interpretation at the relevant interface. Agreement in Italian is assumed to be an incorporated pronoun, with first and second person agreement inherently linked to the Edge and third person linked to an aboutness-topic in the C-Edge. Germanic null topics require an empty Spec CP to which the null subject moves, though Sigurðsson is crucially not specific about which of the topic positions is required. Chinese subjects do not have to move to the C-Edge but are linked by long distance.

In this paper, I first sketch the Old English possibilities for subject pronouns and show that Old English has referential pro drop but that this looks unlike the Germanic or the Romance type of pro drop. I argue that the null subjects are typically controlled by Familiar or Given Topics, unlike Italian and Germanic, and that they can appear in the subordinate clause. I also look at the relationship between agreement on the verb and pro drop and argue that in some cases there is agreement licensing.

Old English has a number of possibilities for subject pronouns to refer to previously mentioned nouns. These include an *h*-pronoun, an independent demonstrative, and pro-drop. All three are represented in (1).

(1) Talking about the warriors:

Was þeaw hyra þæt hie oft wæron an wig gearwe,
was custom their that they often were one war ready
wæs seo þeod tilu. Sigon þa to slæpe
was that people good sank then to sleep

'It was their custom always to be ready for war. They were good people. **They** went to sleep.' (*Beowulf* 1246-51)

Reflexive pronouns in do not (yet) show a distinctive form; the *h*-pronoun is used instead. Old English *h*-pronouns are therefore not deictic/referential but anaphoric; demonstrative pronouns typically shift the topic or are emphatic, as in (1).

Unlike in Italian, first and second person pronouns are less frequently dropped than third (as shown in van Gelderen 2000). The reason for this is the loss of overt agreement on their verbs. Third person agreement remains more stable and this could be licensing third person pro drop. There is, in some texts, a difference between pro drop in main and subordinate clauses and I therefore focus on that. Unlike in Old French (Adams 1987) and Old High German (Axel 2007), pro drop occurs in the Old English subordinate clause, as shown by Pogatscher's (1901: 261) 176 examples "im Nebensätze". I would like to argue that the topic in these clauses is not the aboutness but the familiar topic or given of Frascarelli. A few relevant examples are given in (2) to (4).

(2) Talking about Hrothgar:

Him on mod bearn þæt healreced hatan wolde medoærn micel men gewyrcean
'Him to mind came that palace command would meadhall large men to-build

'He thought that **he** would order his men to build a big hall, a big meadhall.' (*Beowulf* 64-69)

(3) Talking about sea-demons:

þæt syðþan na ymb brotne ford brimliðende lade ne letton
so-that since-then never on broad water-way seafarers passage not let

'that **they** after that never kept people from passing that water.' (*Beowulf* 567-9)

(4) Beowulf is described and speaks:

Gegrette ða gumena gehwylcne ... Nolde ic sweord beran
 greeted then men every not-wanted I sword bear
wæpen to wyrme gif ic wiste hu wið ðam aglæcean elles meahte
 weapon to dragon if I knew how against that monster otherwise might
 `He greeted then the men ... I would bear no sword, weapon against the dragon, if I knew
 what else I could do against the monster'. (*Beowulf* 2518-20)

So, the aboutness requirement for pro drop does not hold in Old English. Pro drop is licensed in the subordinate clause if linked to a familiar topic. In Modern English, familiar topics are still grammatical in subordinate clauses but they have to be overt (see Bianchi & Frascarelli 2009).

The entire pronominal system changes in Early Middle English when pro drop is lost and demonstratives develop article-uses and cease to be relative pronouns and when *h*-pronouns stop being used reflexively and take over some of the functions of demonstratives. To account for this shift, I argue that, first, the agreement features are reanalyzed from interpretable to uninterpretable, with the inevitable result that a subject becomes obligatory. Secondly, pronouns and demonstratives undergo two types of change, internal and external. The demonstratives lose features in a grammaticalization process and pronouns are renewed through external pressure (and the new personal pronouns *she* and *they* appear). Finally, the CP-layer is reanalyzed and no longer has familiar topics licensing subordinate null subjects.

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Specific indefinites in Late Latin

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As Haspelmath's (1997) foundational study of the crosslinguistic behavior of indefinites has shown, indefinites are diachronically quite unstable and, as such, can differ significantly even in closely related languages; at the same time, there are a number of recurrent paths of change within indefinite systems. In this paper we focus on the development of specific indefinites from Classical to Late Latin, and we investigate the relevance of some observable changes for the subsequent history of Romance varieties. We conduct a corpus study on the material of the PROIEL Corpus (PROIEL 2012), which is annotated for parts of speech, and partially for syntactic dependencies and information structure. For Latin, the PROIEL corpus contains both Classical texts (Caesar and Cicero, 1st cent. BCE) and Late texts (Vulgata and *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, 4th cent. CE). We analyze the behavior and diachronic development of three items: *quidam* 'a certain' (1a), *aliquis* 'someone' (1b), and *unus* 'one' (1c). As is well known, the latter is the source of the Romance indefinite article, and it has been often argued that, in the development from numeral to article, the earliest grammaticalization stage consists in marking specificity (cf. e.g. Stark 2002, 2006 for Old Italian, Pierluigi 2006 for the oldest stages of French, Italian, Catalan, and Spanish; cf. however Carlier ms. for a different appraisal of the Old French evidence).

- (1) a. et venit **quidam** de archisynagogis nomine Iairus (Mc 5.22)
 'And, behold, there cometh one of the rulers of the synagogue, Jairus by name'
 b. Tetigit me **aliquis**, nam ego novi virtutem de me exisse. (L 8.46)
 'Somebody hath touched me, for I perceive that virtue is gone out of me'
 c. et respondens **unus** de turba dixit (Mc 9.16)
 'And one of the multitude answered and said'

The distribution of *quidam* and *aliquis* in Classical Latin has been recently exhaustively described by Bertocchi et al. (2010), Bortolussi (2011). A first look at Haspelmath's (1997: 253-265) semantic maps of indefinites in Latin (cf. Appendix) and in some Romance languages (Haspelmath 1997: 256-265) shows that the Latin sub-system of specific indefinites has not survived into the daughter languages. In fact, we witness a split in Western Romance: French and Italian develop a new element (*quelque*, *qualche*), which expands into the expression of specificity from an original free-choice function (cf. Foulet 1919); Portuguese, Spanish and Catalan continue Latin *aliquis* respectively with *alguém*, *algún*, *algun*, whose origin is to be traced to the Late Latin complex indefinite *aliquis unus*.

Two aspects are common to all these languages: first, specific indefinites also cover other non-specific contexts, i.e. they are found in irrealis-non specific (future or modalized) contexts, interrogatives and conditionals, and in some cases may also function as negative polarity items (cf. Martins 2000: 210 ff.). Secondly, none of these languages retain the unambiguous lexical encoding of the epistemic status of the speaker, i.e. what Haspelmath (1997: 45 ff.) calls 'specific known' (cf. 1a) vs. 'specific unknown' (cf. 1b).

Our goal is to trace the emergence of these two tendencies in Late Latin, i.e. to observe the evolutionary directions taken by the Latin indefinites and to evaluate the effect that the semantic shifts of individual items might have had on the entire system. If, in some cases, as with Fr. *quelque*, the development follows a crosslinguistically well attested pattern, the 'Free-Choice Cycle' (cf. Willis 2011, Jayez & Tovena 2011), the extension into non-specific functions of the Late Latin / Romance forms continuing specific *aliquis* is more rarely observed (but see Willis 2011 for examples from Welsh), and runs against Haspelmath's (1997: 150 ff.) generalization that diachronic shifts affecting indefinites operate, through semantic weakening, unidirectionally from left to right on the semantic map. It seems that the crucial factor in this development is the fate of *aliquis*, especially when it starts to be frequently combined with *unus*, a stage of the linguistic history of Latin that has never been investigated in detail. On the one hand, *aliquis unus* expands to the left of Haspelmath's functional space in taking over the

contexts where *quidam* was regularly found in Classical Latin, and to a certain extent also in Late Latin, to the effect that no modern Romance language continues *quidam*. On the other hand, *aliquis unus*, and the simplex *aliquis* before it, expands into ‘right-hand’ functions, to the detriment of *quis* in conditional and other non-veridical contexts, and even into negative contexts, where it takes the same value of *quisquam* ‘any’.

We propose that we can offer a formal account of the meaning shifts affecting *aliquis*, by comparing its contexts and conditions of employ with those of ‘epistemic indefinites’, as known from modern Romance languages (e.g. Sp. *algún*, Alonso-Ovalle & Menéndez-Benito 2003, Fr. *quelque*, Jayez &

Tovena 2011). Epistemic indefinites mark a speaker’s lack of knowledge; they trigger at the same time scalar alternatives (as in certain Classical uses of *aliquis* to express quantity, cf. Bertocchi et al (2010: 45 ff.) and (2a)) and domain alternatives, with effects similar to those yielded by free-choice indefinites, although the freedom of choice may be restricted with these elements. Crucially, Bertocchi et al. (2010: 46 ff.) have noticed that *aliquis* presents some uses that they describe as ‘next to a free-choice pronoun’, and that this effect is stronger if *aliquis* occurs with *unus* (cf. 2b). The introduction of scalarity in the meaning of *aliquis* is responsible for its expansion witnessed by the Late Latin data.

- (2) a. Elleborum potabis faxo **aliquos** viginti dies (Pl. Men. 950)
 ‘I will see to it that you will drink hellebore for some twenty days’
 b. Haec vitia **unus aliquis** inducit, ... ceteri imitantur (Sen. ep. 114.17)
 ‘There is someone who introduces these faults, ...the others go on imitating’

Appendix

Semantic map of Latin indefinites in Haspelmath (1997: 254):

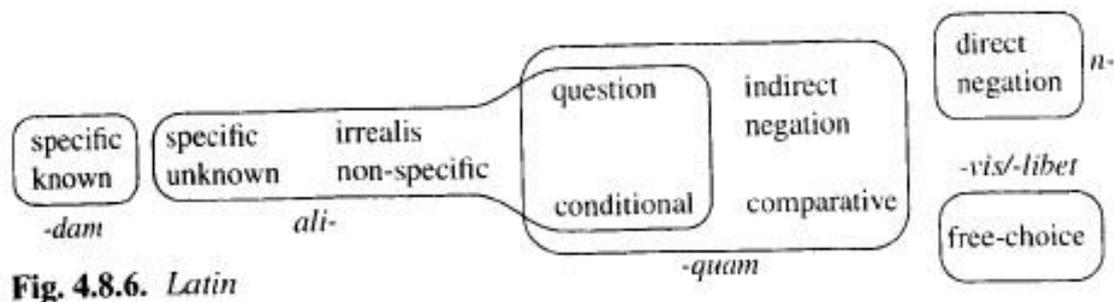


Fig. 4.8.6. Latin

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Adverb Placement and the Loss of V-to-I Movement in the History of English

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The verbal syntax of English underwent some substantial changes in the Early Modern English period. In particular, we can observe the rise of *do*-support in contexts such as negative declarative clauses and a decline in ‘verb-adverb’ orders. The effects of these developments are illustrated in (1) on the basis of two grammatical word orders from Late Middle English (1a/c) and the Present Day English (PDE) equivalents (1b/d).

- (1) a. Bott I **sawe** *noght* synne. (CMJULNOR, 60.289)
 b. * But I **saw** *not* sin.
 But I **did** *not see* sin.
 c. ... he **sawe** *never* so grete a knight ... (CMMALORY, 180.2433)
 d. *... he **saw** *never* so great a knight ...
 ... he never **saw** so great a knight ...

In the generative literature the two developments shown in (1) have generally been considered as manifestations of a single underlying grammatical change, i.e. the loss of verb movement into the inflectional domain (cf. e.g. Roberts 1985, Kroch 1989 among many others). The occurrence of the finite verb before VP-peripheral elements such as sentential negation (1a) or adverbs (1c) in early English has been analyzed in terms of V-to-I movement, whereas the ungrammaticality of such orders in (1b/d) is considered as evidence for the lack of V-to-I.

The developments in the history of English have played an important role in the wider context of the discussion of cross-linguistic variation with respect to V-to-I movement and the possible reasons for this parametric variation (cf. the alleged correlation between V-to-I movement and richness of verbal agreement (Vikner 1997, Rohrbacher 1999 etc.)). However, the empirical basis of the discussions of the loss of V-to-I movement in English has remained incomplete. Thanks to the detailed quantitative study of the rise of *do*-support by Ellegård (1953), we have a relatively good picture of the change illustrated in (1a/b), but there is little empirical work on the development of the distribution of adverbs with respect to verbs as shown in (1c/d). This imbalance is unfortunate given that the rise of *do* must involve factors that are independent of the loss of V-to-I as is shown by the fact that a language can lose V-to-I without necessarily developing *do*-support (cf. e.g. Falk 1993 for Swedish). Adverb placement, which does not involve *do*-support, could therefore be a potentially more straightforward empirical domain to focus on in order to investigate the loss of V-to-I movement in English.

The aim of this paper is to fill this empirical gap and to examine the distribution of finite verbs with respect to adverbs in Middle English and Early Modern English on the basis of an analysis of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2), the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (PPCEME), and the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence (PCEEC). Apart from tracing the general diachronic development of adverb placement, we will also consider potential factors influencing this development such as clause type or subject type. Finally, we will explore some theoretical consequences of our empirical findings, focusing in particular on earlier proposals that have been made concerning the loss of V-to-I on the basis of the rise of *do*-support.

If we consider the general developments with respect to the placement of adverbs and finite main verbs from 1350 to 1700 in all types of clauses with an overt subject and a finite main verb in PPCME2 and PPCEME, we can observe two major drops in the frequency of the ‘V-Adv’ order. The first one occurs in the first half of the 16th century and it is particularly striking with the adverb *never* whose frequency of occurrence in postverbal position drops from 77.5% in the PPCME period m4 (1420-1500) to 12.6% in the PPCEME period e1 (1500-1569). Although *never* is not entirely representative for the class of adverbs in general and the overall decrease of ‘V-Adv’ order is much more moderate, it is nevertheless highly significant. The second significant drop in the word order ‘V-Adv’ is situated in the second half of the 17th century. If we consider a narrower data set, i.e. clauses with an overt subject followed by a finite

main verb, an adverb and a full DP object, a somewhat different picture emerges. This context is of diachronic relevance in that, in contrast to simple ‘V-Adv’ order, the order ‘V-Adv-O’ as in (1c/d) has become to a large extent ungrammatical in PDE (with exceptions mainly due to heavy NP shift). Here we can observe a significant decrease in ‘V-Adv-O’ order already in the second half of the 15th century and a second significant decrease in the first half of the 16th century. Although the timing is slightly different, both contexts suggest a stepwise decline in ‘V-Adv’ order. We will also show that the decline of ‘V-Adv’ order is sensitive to various factors. For example, the ‘Adv-V’ order is consistently (and significantly) more frequent in subordinate clauses throughout the entire period considered. Even more favourable to ‘Adv-V’ order are contexts that lack an overt subject such as conjoined clauses and subject relative clauses. We will also consider the relevance of other variables such as the type of subject (full DP vs. pronominal), lexical choices of verbs and adverbs, and, on the basis of the PCEEC data, possible register effects.

In the second part of the paper, we will consider some implications of our findings for the theoretical analysis of the loss of V-to-I movement in English. Much work on the loss of V-to-I movement considers the second half of the 16th century as a period of major grammatical reanalysis. For example, on the basis of the development of *do*-support, Kroch (1989) and Roberts (1993) identify this as the period when V-to-I was lost. The adverb data do not seem to confirm such a hypothesis (cf. also Warner 2005 for a reinterpretation of the data involving *do*). Instead, given our observation that significant decreases in ‘V-Adv’ order can be observed at more than one stage and that they start already in the 15th century, we will explore the possibility, put forward by Han (2000) and Han and Kroch (2000), that V-to-I was lost sequentially. The adverb data also suggest that the loss of V-to-I was a process that was not entirely completed at the end of the Early Modern English period. This is in line with Warner (1997) who situates the complete loss of V-to-I around the 19th century. Finally, we will consider issues related to the source of the decline of verb movement, focusing in particular on the contexts we have identified as favouring ‘Adv-V’ order and on approaches that try to relate verb movement to properties of verbal morphology.

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Particle-verb order in Old Hungarian and complex predicates

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Main claim: This talk proposes an analysis of particle-verb constructions in Old Hungarian. I claim that the change of word order from SOV to SVO in the history of Hungarian did not affect the surface word order of particles and verbs because the former preverbal thematic position was reanalyzed as a functional one, a position that hosts predicative elements and is the locus of complex predicate formation.

Background: Hungarian verb-particle constructions have received a lot of attention in the generative literature, but their diachronic development is a less studied area. Particles appear in the preverbal position in neutral sentences and are postverbal in non-neutral ones in present day Hungarian (cf. (1); É. Kiss 2002). Their distribution was very similar in Old Hungarian, but: (i) there were fewer particles in the beginning of the written period, and new ones appeared in Old Hungarian and Middle Hungarian, and because of their more limited number, (ii) they were used in fewer contexts than later. The oldest particles are *meg* ‘orig. back_{DIR}’, *el* ‘away’, *be-bel* ‘into’, *ki* ‘out_{DIR}’, *fel* ‘up_{DIR}’, *le* ‘down_{DIR}’ (Kiss & Pusztai 2003). *Meg* was often already used in a purely functional way as a telicizer, but sometimes its lexical meaning was still present (see (2)). The use of particles also got extended to contexts where they had been absent from in the beginning of the written period, as in (3).

É. Kiss (2011) proposed that a word order change from OV to VO in the history of Hungarian that began in Proto-Hungarian but was still causing restructuring in the word order in Old Hungarian. Such a change in the word order has also taken place in English and it has been claimed to be the reason behind the change in the order the verb and the particle (Van Kemenade & Los 2003). The question is then: why do Hungarian particles still appear preverbally? I propose that they remained preverbal despite the changes because they got reanalyzed as being in a functional, predicative position and thus moved there even after the restructuring of the word order.

Analysis: I adopt an analysis of verb-particle constructions in terms of a syntactic complex predicate formation whereby secondary predicates move to the preverbal position because of their predicative nature (cf. Zwart 1993, Koster 1994 for Dutch; É. Kiss 2006 for Hungarian). Hungarian particles behave the same way as Germanic separable prefixes as they are also secondary predicates (following Den Dikken 1995 a.o.) denoting and end state or result. In Hungarian, they form complex predicates with the verb in overt syntax, which is also true of other predicative elements (the so-called verbal modifiers, cf. É. Kiss 2002, 2006). In an SOV language, these elements are often preverbal, but they remained preverbal even after the word order change in Hungarian, because their surface position was reanalyzed as a functional position in the lower left periphery (cf. (4) and (5) for the two stages before and after the reanalysis). The particle is the head of an adpositional Small Clause, whose predicate is labeled as PR in (4) and (5) to avoid confusion with the functional projection PredP (the place of complex predicate formation).

Other verbal modifiers: Old Hungarian does show variation in terms of the placement of secondary predicates. Particles appear quite consistently in front of the verb when we expect them to, but other predicative elements show more variation (cf. (6)). I hypothesize that the general rule of having referential arguments postverbally was to some extent over-generalized to predicative arguments as well, particles being the least affected by it, since they had hardly any lexical content. The word order becomes more prevalently predicate-verb again, however, since the reanalyzed position attracts all secondary predicates.

Extension to emerging particles: During the Old Hungarian period and later, the use of particles became more general: the old particles were used in a lot of contexts (see (3a.) vs. (3b)) and new ones appeared as well. These particles have also developed from directional adpositional elements by grammaticalizing and becoming functional adpositions and SC-heads. The new particles have a transparent directional meaning, and the most fully grammaticalized *meg* ‘orig. back_{DIR}’, which has lost its lexical meaning completely, was replaced by the newer

vissza/hátra ‘back_{DIR}’ in directional contexts. All particles remain morphologically independent and are separated from the verb in non-neutral clauses.

Examples

- (1) a. Péter meg-ette a levest.
Peter PRT- ate the soup.ACC
‘Peter ate (up) the soup.’
b. Péter nem ette meg a levest.
Peter not ate PRT the soup.ACC
‘Peter didn’t eat (up) the soup.’
- (2) a. zent ferenc mene zent Jacobot meg-latny
saint Frances went saint Jacob PRT- see.INF
‘Saint Frances went to see Saint Jacob’ (Jókai Codex, 1372/1448)
b. És felelet vevén álmokban, hogy ne mennének meg Heródeshez
and answer taken dream.POSS.IN that not go.COND.3PL back Herod.to
‘And having been warned in a dream not to go back to Herod’
(Matthew 2:12, Munich Codex, 1416/1466)
- (3) a. És eresztvén őket Betlehembe
and sent them Betlehem.into
‘He sent them to Bethlehem’ (Matthew 2:8, Munich Codex, 1416/1466)
b. es el-ereztwen hwket betlehembe
and away-sent them Betlehem.into
‘He sent them to Bethlehem’ (Matthew 2:8, Jordánszky Codex, 1516-1519)
- (4) [VP [Spec/SC SUBJ PR] V]
(5) [PredP PR [Pred’ V ... [VP \forall [SC SUBJ PR]]]]
- (6) a. kiket es apostoloknak neveze
whom.PL too apostle.DAT name.3SG
‘whom he also designated apostles’ (Luke 6:13, Munich Codex, 1416/1466)
b. kit neveze Péternek
whom name.3SG Peter.DAT
‘whom he named Peter’ (Luke 6:14, Munich Codex, 1416/1466)

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**Explaining the loss of verb movement:
How embedded V2 and V-in-situ conspired against V-to-T**

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Although language acquisition is frequently invoked as a cause of syntactic change, there has been relatively little work applying a formal model of acquisition to an actual case of language change and testing its predictions empirically. Yang (2000) presents a formal model of syntactic acquisition which generates some of the observed evolutionary dynamics of language change (cf. Kroch 1989). The model also has very clear predictions concerning what kinds of new syntactic variant would be able to overtake and replace an older syntactic variant. Using quantitative data from a number of parsed corpora, we test Yang's variational acquisition model on the historical case of the loss of verb movement to Tense (V-to-T) in Faroese and mainland Scandinavian. We show that this model straightforwardly predicts the historical data, given uncontroversial assumptions about Scandinavian syntax. The newer V-in-situ parameter setting overcomes the original V-to-T grammar because it is more learnable in a language that also has embedded verb-second (V2). Furthermore, while the diachronic change is evidence against a strong version of the "Rich Agreement Hypothesis" (RAH), under this account the stability of V-to-T in Icelandic provides evidence for the weaker version (cf. Bobaljik 2003).

As already argued in Sundquist (2002), the more than two-century-long lag between the total loss of person agreement morphology in Danish and the total loss of V-to-T means that many generations of speakers acquired a system that allowed V-to-T (at frequencies as high as 45%) in the absence of the person agreement that all proponents of the strong RAH have argued is the necessary condition for the movement. Thus, the fact that V-to-T can exist at all in a language that has already lost agreement morphology invalidates a strong version of the RAH, where there is a biconditional relation between the presence of rich inflectional morphology and V-to-T movement (Rohrbacher 1999). The fact that the loss is gradual, and that it proceeds via changes in the relative frequency of two variants within the usage of individuals, is also incompatible with the strong RAH.

Given that V-to-T can still be acquired without morphological evidence, this paper addresses the question of why there is nevertheless a strong tendency to lose V-to-T after agreement morphology has been lost (e.g. Swedish, Danish, Faroese). Even according to a weaker version of the RAH in which morphology is an acquisitional cue to the existence of an elaborated functional structure (Bobaljik 2003; Bobaljik and Thráinsson 1998), there is no obvious reason why verb movement should be lost when

syntactic evidence for it is present, even if this evidence is present only variably. This problem is made even more acute by recent findings that there is no general acquisitional bias against verb movement per se (e.g. Waldmann 2008 on Swedish). That is, while the strong RAH incorrectly predicts an abrupt and early change, the weak RAH incorrectly predicts stasis. The variational acquisition model of Yang 2000 solves this problem by asking the question: does either the V-to-T grammar or a V-in-situ grammar have a selectional advantage on account of its learnability?

We assume that the grammar that accounts for the majority of the input to children at the earliest stages of the change is in essential respects like that of modern Icelandic. At some point, children are also exposed to some output of a grammar like that of modern Mainland Scandinavian (whether as a result of contact or spontaneous variation). Using the Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (Wallenberg et al. 2011) and other corpora as quantitative models for historical stages of Scandinavian, we are able to calculate the evolutionary disadvantage of a hypothetical early Scandinavian grammar, compared with the advantage of an invasive V-in-situ grammar.

We demonstrate that when the input is of this mixed type, the V-in-situ grammar provides more unambiguous evidence for itself to the learner than the V-to-T grammar does. This gives a slight but sufficient advantage to the V-in-situ grammar in the competition to be acquired by learners. Perhaps counterintuitively, this advantage derives from the possibility of embedded V2. In all environments in which embedded root phenomena are excluded (e.g. embedded Qs, relatives),

wherever there is a marker for the position of the verb (negation or medial adverb), each grammar produces unambiguous output signalling its presence to the learner. However, in environments in which embedded V2 is possible (e.g. declarative complements to nonfactive predicates, certain adverbial clauses like 1 and 2), all the output of the older V-to-T grammar can be parsed by the V-in-situ grammar (e.g. Verb–Neg order, as in 1, being parsed as embedded V2), while the new V-in-situ grammar produces outputs that cannot be parsed at all by the V-to-T grammar (i.e. embedded root contexts with Neg/Adv–Verb order, as in 2). Given the simple learning model of Yang (2000), this advantage of the V-in-situ grammar will inevitably lead to the eventual elimination of the other grammar. Since the possibility of embedded V2 is crucial in providing the V-in-situ language with an advantage, this explains why all of the V-in-situ Scandinavian languages also allow some amount of embedded V2.

Because of the advantage the V-in-situ grammar has in acquisition, we conclude that a V-to-T grammar could only be diachronically stable if it showed some evidence to the learner other than word order, e.g. agreement morphology. In this way, our results not only constitute an argument against the strong version of the RAH, but also indirectly support the weak version over an alternative where there is no link between morphology and the possibility of V-to-T. Finally, the fact that the variational model of acquisition straightforwardly predicts the correct historical outcome is convincing evidence for this account of how language acquisition and syntactic change are linked.

- (1) så at the hadhe icke tijdh til at äta.
...so that they had **not** time for to eat.
- (2) Så at han icke nu meer kunde vppenbarligha gå in vthi stadhen
...so that he **not** now more could openly go in into place-the
(Mark 6:31, 1:45, Swedish *Gustav Vasa Bible*, date: 1526/1541)

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How German turned into a pure OV-language

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In this talk, I will discuss the development of German from a mixed OV/VO language to a pure OV-language. I will adopt an interface-based approach to word order variation and discuss two factors that may be responsible for this change: A) the grammaticalization of the definite determiner and B) the formation and licensing of complex predicates.

1. OHG had a VO-basis: OHG like its Germanic sister language OE allowed for mixed OV/VO orders, as is illustrated in (1). In this context, it is important to note that VO orders cannot be relegated to Latin influence but must constitute properties of an independent German system, since VO orders also occur against (2) or independently of (3) the Latin original text. Furthermore, VO orders cannot be explained in terms of extraposition from an OV-base, since they may involve light arguments, as in (2), and nominal and adjectival predicates, as in (3), which are not subject to extraposition in the modern West Germanic OV-languages. This implies that a VO-basis has to be assumed for OHG in as much as a VO-basis has been assumed for OE (cf. Pintzuk 1999, Roberts 1997, among others).

- (1) a. thaz then alton giqu&an uúas (T64, 13a)
that to-the old ones said was
- b. thaz gibricuit uuvrdi al these umbiuuerft (T35,9)
that listed was-SUB all this mankind
- (2) a. ut In me **pacem** habeatis
thaz in mir habet **sibba** (T 290, 8)
so-that in me have-you peace
- b. & qui **demonia** habebant
Inti thic thár hab&un **diuual** (T 59, 1)
and those that have demon
- (3) a. cui nomen simeon
thes namo uuas **gihezzen Simeon** (T 37)
whose name was named Simeon
- b. Beati misericordes (T 60, 12)
salige sint thiethar sint **miltherze**
blessed are those who are mild-hearted

As far as OV orders are concerned, I assume that it is not necessary to assume a separate OV-basis for OHG and propose that OV orders are due to leftward movement processes argued to exist in the modern West Germanic languages German and Dutch, given in (4).

- (4) a. licensing movement of arguments into a Case position
(Zwart 1993 for Dutch, Hinterhölzl 1999 for German)
- b. licensing movement of verb particles into the specifier of a low Aspect position
(cf. Hinterhölzl 2006)
- c. licensing movement of predicative elements into a Predicate phrase (cf. Koster 1995 for Dutch, Hinterhölzl 2006 for German)

2. Prosodic and information-structural conditions on word order: There is widespread agreement by now that word order variation in older Germanic is crucially determined by information structural and prosodic factors (cf. Hroarsdottir 2002 for OI, Hinterhölzl 2009 for OHG, Pintzuk & Taylor 2008 for OE). Already Behaghel (1932) noted that pronouns and unmodified nouns precede the verb, while modified nouns, PPs and other heavy phrases tend to follow the verb in OI, OE and OHG (law of the growing members). In Hinterhölzl (2009), it is proposed that this condition is essentially metrical in nature and requires that heavy arguments

and adjuncts are placed postverbally if the mapping between syntactic structure and prosodic structure is weight-sensitive in a given domain (cf. (5) and (6)).

(5) The weight condition:

A specifier that constitutes a heavy syntactic constituent must appear on a right branch with respect to the selecting / modified head (to occupy a more prominent branch than the head in prosodic structure)

(6) Heaviness: A syntactic phrase XP counts as heavy if both its head X and the complement of X contain lexical material

The second condition concerns the information-structural value of a constituent and is specified in (7) for OHG. According to (7), discourse-given elements precede the verb, while discourse-new or focused elements tend to follow the verb, unless they are contrastively focused. Constituents with a contrastive focus value are placed left-adjacent to the verb.

(7) C background contrastive focus V presentational focus

In the above approach, these interface conditions can be taken to fix spell-out options, deriving OV orders if a complement is spelled-out in its licensing position, and deriving VO orders, if a complement is spelled-out in its base position (in the vP). While Hroarsdottir (2000) argues that prosodic weight was the decisive factor in OI and Pintzuk & Taylor (2009) argue that the IS-factor loses strength at the end of the OE-period, I will show that IS-conditions regularly take precedence over the prosodic condition in OHG, leading to the prediction in (8).

(8) Languages with mixed word order but a prevalence of prosodic weight tend to develop into pure VO-languages

Languages with mixed word order but a prevalence of IS-weight tend to develop into pure OV-languages

3. How did postverbal arguments and predicates disappear?

This raises the question which factors led to a further weakening of the prosodic condition in OHG. In this talk, I will investigate two hypotheses: A) The change in word order is triggered by the grammaticalization of the definite determiner. The grammaticalization of the definite determiner starts in the earliest OHG-texts and is concluded in Notker (early 11th century), in which text all semantic groups of nouns (including abstract nouns and uniquely referring expressions) appear with the definite determiner. The definite determiner first appears with pragmatic definites in the preverbal domain, as is expected by the IS-condition in (7). These definite expressions thus introduce heavy constituents in the middle field in German, when the determiner is reanalysed as the head of DP. If this pattern becomes inductive for semantic definites, then we expect a greater occurrence of preverbal arguments in late OHG with respect to early OHG, while the placement of predicates should not be affected by this. A first quantitative analysis shows that predicates appear in higher numbers than arguments in the preverbal domain in late OHG, leading to hypothesis B): The preverbal focus position is crucially involved in the change of word order properties. As stated above OHG had two focus positions. The preverbal focus position, however, was special since narrow focus triggers phonological restructuring between the focus constituent and the verb (cf. Frascarelli 2000). Note that it is particular of the West Germanic OV-languages that the first argument always forms a joint phonological phrase with the verb yielding the metrical pattern (s w) and explaining why the main stress always falls on the object rather than on (the deeper embedded) verb as is typical for OV-languages like Japanese and Hindi. Note that predicative elements form a joint phonological phrase with the verb and are stored in the lexicon with their possibly non-transparent meaning as compounds, which have the prosodic pattern (s w) in Germanic. Thus it stands to reason that the preverbal placement of predicates - due to their status as complements - paved the way for the preverbal placement and integration of arguments that is so typical of the West Germanic OV-languages. A similar effect is excluded in the history of

English, since the contrastive focus position in OE was also preverbal but not adjacent to the verb, as Petrova and Speyer (2010) have shown.

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Antisocial Syntax

Disentangling the Icelandic VO/OV parameter and its lexical remains

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A number of studies on syntactic change have demonstrated that when one syntactic variant (or parameter setting) replaces another in a population, it does so in all possible syntactic contexts at the same rate (the “Constant Rate Effect” (CRE), Kroch 1989). One such case is the change in the structure of the English vP from OV to VO (Pintzuk and Taylor 2004). We present a new, quantitative study of the OV-to-VO change in Icelandic, and show that it presents a serious challenge to the CRE: clauses with different types of object do not show the same rate of change over time, and neither do different genres.

However, we show that this finding is only an apparent counterexample to the CRE. Once semi-fixed uses of OV are removed, the exception disappears. Any apparent style shift in word order also disappears once only clear cases of productive use are considered. The corrected data reveals not only a *constant rate* of change across genres but a *constant weight*; the decline of OV actually follows the same curve in different genres. This super-CRE suggests that syntax is strongly antisocial: syntactic parameter-settings are not socially evaluated and cannot show style shifting unless they are tied to some specific lexical item.

Background: Previous work on the evolution of the OV/VO parameter has been carried out most thoroughly for English (Pintzuk and Taylor 2004). In line with other work on diachronic syntax, the change manifests a CRE where a single underlying change is independently offset by grammatical contexts. Hróarsdóttir (2000) studied the change in Icelandic and revealed the general pattern of change, but she did not separate different grammatical contexts in a way that could be compared to the English study.

OV-to-VO in IcePaHC: The Icelandic Parsed Historical Corpus (Wallenberg et al. 2011) contains samples from two distinct genres, spanning the period from the 12th to the 21st century. We extracted 6378 tokens from IcePaHC each of which contains either the order *auxiliary-object-verb* or *auxiliary-verb-object*. We coded each token for object type (pronoun/quantified/other), clause type (matrix/subordinate), year (exact or philological estimate), object heaviness in number of words (cf. Shih and Grafmiller 2011), and genre (narrative/religious). All the coded variables are significant predictors at the $p < .05$ level in a mixed effects regression with text as a random effect (see Johnson 2009). The OV order is favored by quantifiers, subordinate clauses, and religious texts, but disfavored with pronoun objects and heavy objects which are prone to extraposition. Importantly, we find an interaction between genre and object type: full DP objects favor OV when combined with religious style.

The Antisocial Hypothesis: Fixed phrases with the archaic OV order in Modern Icelandic always include a lexical DP object. A fixed verb phrase can be stored as a unit in the mental lexicon along with the archaic order, whereas pronoun objects indicate productive use. The logistic regression in Figure 1 shows that the genres evolve identically for pronouns, whereas the superficially conservative nature of the religious texts is tied to lexical DP objects. We hypothesize that all cases of style-related probabilities in parametric variation are tied to specific lexical contexts. The Antisocial Hypothesis predicts that syntax is simply not available for style shifting in truly productive contexts (like *verb-pronoun* vPs). Exceptional probabilities can only be stored as part of lexical units. The paper also considers some apparent counterexamples to the Antisocial Hypothesis, such as some possible cases of syntactic style-shifting during the loss of V2 in Late Middle English and *do*-support (Warner 2005). We conclude that, as in the case of *do*, syntactic style-shifting only exists when tied to some specific word(s).

Conclusion: Our main empirical contribution is a large scale study of phrase structure change in Icelandic, in greater detail than Hróarsdóttir (2000) and on a larger, balanced corpus. Additionally, our data make an important theoretical contribution: the strong hypothesis that external (social) factors in variation and change do not affect word order in the absence of lexical exceptions. This proposal suggests that idiomatic units are stored in such a way that they can be connected to social information, like phonological variables, but that syntactic heads (the

locus of parameter variation) are not accessible in the same way. We believe this finding has consequences for the architecture of the grammar and how it interfaces with sociolinguistic knowledge.

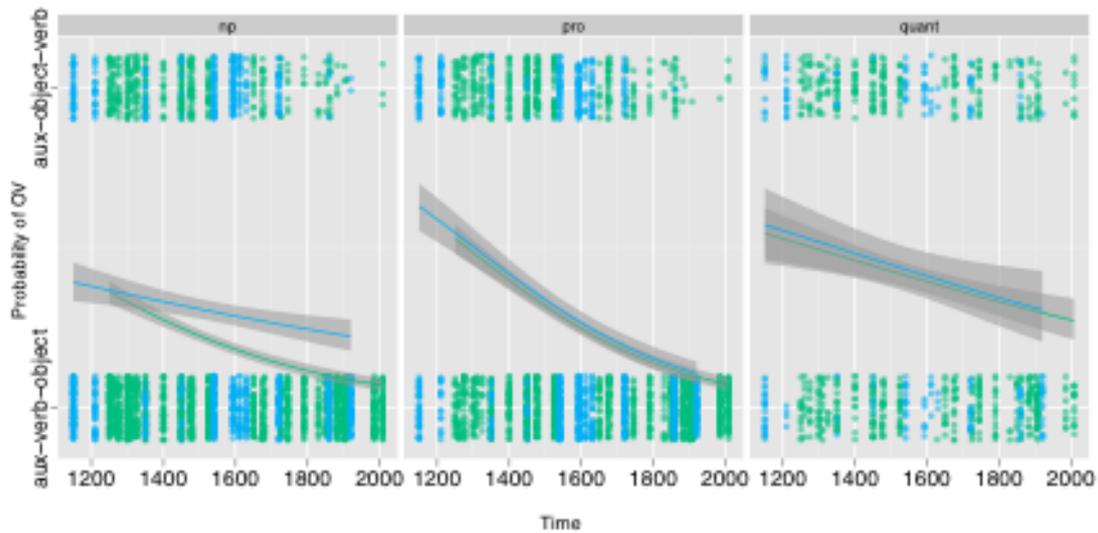


FIGURE 1. OV-to-VO in IcePaHC. Religious texts (blue) appear more conservative than narratives (green) for full DP objects but not for pronouns.

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'How' to become a comparison particle

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Comparison particles in German underwent a cyclical process of renewal, as part of which the wh-adverb *wie* 'how' was grammaticalised into a comparison particle. The present paper discusses this development on the basis of a corpus analysis of several Old High German (OHG), Middle High German (MHG) and in particular Early New High German (ENHG) texts as well as additional Modern German dialect data, demonstrating how diachronic data may shed light on the theoretical linguistic analysis of comparison constructions.

Besides occurring as a wh-adverb, the predecessor of Modern German *wie*, OHG (*so*) *wio* (*so*) > MHG (*s*)*wie* 'how (ever)', occasionally occurred in constructions that could best be characterized as modal free relatives and are very close in function to modal equative comparisons, cf. (1) and (2). On the basis of these constructions, *wie* was fully grammaticalised into a comparison particle 'as' during and at the end of the ENHG period, expanding from modal equatives, cf. (3), into degree equatives, cf. (5), supplanting the former equative particle *als* (cognate of English *as*), cf. (4). Data from Modern German dialects demonstrate that the development went even further in many varieties of German in which *wie* has become the one uniform comparison particle 'as/than' used in equatives and comparatives alike, cf. (6) and (7), reminiscent for instance of French *que* (*aussi grand que, plus grand que*).

The development of *wie* is shown to involve several instances of syntactic reanalysis, notably a diachronic movement of a matrix-internal correlative into comparison clause-initial position as well as a change from specifier to syntactic head position within the left periphery of the comparison clause. In the light of van Gelderen (2004), this change can be analysed as driven by economy principles.

The diachronic results prove to be significant for the theoretical linguistic analysis of comparison constructions, too: The grammaticalisation of *wie* proceeds in several steps depending on the semantic and syntactic type of comparison. It will be argued that the way in which this development proceeds constitutes evidence in favour of a so-called direct analysis of phrasal comparisons, i.e. the assumption of a structural difference between phrasal and clausal comparisons (cf. Kennedy 1999, Pancheva 2006) rather than an account of phrasal comparisons in terms of ellipsis (cf. Bresnan 1973, Bierwisch 1987 among others).

OHG:

- (1) Modal free relative/modal equative with *so wio so*:
er bi unsih tod thulti, so wio so er selbo wolti
 'He suffered death amongst us, just how/as he himself wanted'
 (Otfrid V, 1, 7)

MHG:

- (2) Modal free relative/modal equative with *swie*:
swie si sint, sô wil ich sîn
 'How/as they are, so do I want do be'
 (Walter 48, 7)

ENHG:

- (3) Modal equative with *wie*:
es zergetet vnd schmelzet nicht von der Sonnen/ wie das Hartz vnd Pech auß
Norwegen
 'It does not dissolve and melt from the sun as/like the resin and pitch from
 Norway'
 (Walter Raleigh 2, 7f.)
- (4) Degree-equative with *als*:
So lange er dem wort des Herrn trawet/ helt das Meer so fest als ein maur

'As long as he trusts the word of the Lord, the sea is as firm as a wall'
(Veit Dietrich 23 r, 21f.)

- (5) Degree-equative with *wie* :
Darumb sie auch also schmeulich vnd Gotteslesterlich/ wie die Mahometisten vom Abendmal des HERRN [...] gedencken vnd reden.
'Therefore, they think and talk as disgracefully and blasphemously as the muslims about the Lord's supper'
(Mathesius 51v, 16-20)

Contemporary Central Hessian/Central Franconian:

- (6) Degree-equative with *wie*:
De Thomas is so alt wie meu Schwester.
'Thomas is as old as my sister'
- (7) Comparative with *wie*:
De Thomas is größer wie senn Brure.
'Thomas is taller than his brother'

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Word order and subjecthood in Old Icelandic

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The status of oblique subjects in Old Icelandic has been a contentious issue over the years. The debate has centered around various potential tests for subjecthood, such as control, raising and reflexivization (see e.g. Rögnvaldsson 1996, Haugan 2001, Askedal 2001, Faarlund 2001, 2004 and Barðdal & Eythórsson 2003). Word order has not figured prominently in this debate, presumably because Old Icelandic, with its mix of VO-OV orders, had a much freer word order than Modern Icelandic where word order is known to be a reliable test for subjecthood (Zaenen, Maling & Thráinsson 1985, Sigurðsson 1989 and Jónsson 1996 among others). Still, as I will argue below, word order facts can be used to distinguish subjects from objects in Old Icelandic. These facts show that Old Icelandic had a designated subject position and this position could be occupied by nominative as well as oblique subjects. This is a welcome result in that it supports the null hypothesis that there has been no change in the status of oblique subjects in the history of Icelandic. It is also consistent with the view that there is a strong diachronic link between Stylistic Fronting (which is clearly found in Old Icelandic) and the existence of oblique subjects (Fischer 2004 and Mathieu 2006).

Subjects precede objects in the basic word order of Old Icelandic but object-subject orders arise if (a) the object is fronted by A-bar movement, (b) an unstressed object pronoun moves across an indefinite subject (but still follows the finite verb), or (c) a heavy or indefinite subject undergoes Heavy NP Shift. This is very similar to Modern Icelandic, the main difference being that unstressed object pronouns could be shifted across subjects in auxiliary constructions in Old Icelandic. By contrast, pronominal Object Shift in Modern Icelandic is conditioned by the raising of the finite main verb out of the VP (Holmberg's Generalization). This contrast can be directly related to the loss of OV orders in Modern Icelandic.

Topicalization of objects is quite common in Old Icelandic main clauses, in particular with the pronoun *það* 'it, that', but topicalization in embedded clauses is heavily restricted. This is especially true of adverbial clauses and relative clauses. Hence, a clause-initial DP in Old (and Modern) Icelandic adverbial or relative clauses is highly likely to be a subject. Looking for more conclusive tests for subjecthood, we come to examples like (1) where a post-finite object precedes the subject:

- (1) Munu það þá margir mæla að þú sért líkur Hallkatli (Brennu-Njáls saga,
will it.Acc then many.Nom say that you are like Hallkell p. 183)
'Many will then say that you are like Hallkell.'

Examples of this kind are characterized by the following properties: (i) the object is a personal pronoun, usually *það*, (ii) the subject is an indefinite DP, and (iii) the first position is usually occupied by the finite verb. Moreover, the main verb (whether it is finite or non-finite) is typically a verb of saying. Faarlund (2001) takes examples like (1) to show that objects could occupy the subject position in Old Icelandic but I disagree with that conclusion (see also Barðdal & Eythórsson 2003). In my view, examples like (1) arise because the object pronoun is shifted across an indefinite DP in a lower subject position. Such a lower subject position also exists in Modern Icelandic (Bobaljik and Jonas 1996, Jónsson 1996 and Vangsnes 2002) and it is not accessible for definite subjects unless they are quantified. In Old Icelandic, this position seems to be excluded for all definite subjects as I have not found any examples like (1) where the subject is a definite DP. (It is irrelevant for my argumentation here that this lower

subject position can be diagnosed by the presence of an expletive in Modern Icelandic but not in Old Icelandic which lacked expletives.)

With this in mind, we can start looking for examples that unambiguously show the existence of oblique subjects in Old Icelandic. One such example in (2) below where the dative DP immediately following the finite verb is not a pronoun and the nominative DP is definite. As a result, only the dative be analyzed as a subject.

- (2) Líkaði Kálfi þetta allþungt (Hallfreðar saga, p. 1235)
 liked Kálfur.Dat this.Nom very.badly
 ‘Kálfur was very unhappy about it.’

Since the verb *líka* ‘like’ is fairly common in Old Icelandic it is easy to find examples of this verb where the dative argument is clearly the subject. Importantly, there are no examples of *líka* in Old Icelandic where the dative DP must be analyzed as an object. Hence, we can be confident that *líka* is not one of those two-place verbs where either the dative or the nominative argument can be a subject (but see Jónsson 1997-1998 for a discussion of such verbs in Modern Icelandic).

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The loss of V2 in English revisited

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This paper explores a number of so far understudied aspects of the loss of V2 in English over the late Middle English (ME) and early Modern (EME) periods, and their theoretical implications.

As is well-known, Old English (OE) had two distinct types of V2-like constructions. The first involves Germanic-style V to C movement and in OE and early ME features primarily in root clause questions, negative-initial clauses, and clauses introduced by adverbs such as *þa* and *þonne* 'then'. One example is (1a). The second type, which we here dub 'accidental V2', may involve inversion, most often of DP subjects; DP subjects may be preverbal, pronominal subjects are dominantly preverbal. Two examples are (1b) and (1c):

- (1)a *þonne he ymb þæt þohte oþþe spræc, ðonne **aswætte** he eall*, (Mart.5: Ja16,B.6.109)
 when he about that thought or spoke, then sweated he all
 b **On twam þingum hæfde God** þæs mannes sawle *gegodod* (*ÆCHom* I, 1.20.1)
 in two things had God the man's soul endowed
 c **Be ðæm we magon** *suiðe swutule oncnawan* ðæt ... (*CP* 26.181.16)
 By that, we may very clearly perceive that ...

The second type of V2 as in (1a-b) is analysed by Haerberli (2002a); van Kemenade (2000), following up Pintzuk (1999) as involving movement to a functional head below C, which is called F here; pronominal subjects occur in Subject 1, DP subjects in Subject 2, as in (2):

- (2) [_{CP} XP C [_{FP} Subject 1 F [_{TP} Subject 2 T ... [VP]]]]
 Vf 1 Vf 2

Beside these two vP-external subject positions, unaccusative constructions feature low positions for nominative internal arguments, low in the vP domain or in clause-final position, testifying to the non-obligatoriness of subject raising:

- (3)a *þæt him wære from Drihtne sylfum **heofonlic gifu** forgifen* (*Bede*_4:25.344.23)
 that him were by the-Lord himself heavenly grace (N) granted
 b *for þan þe on me is afunden ætforan Gode **rihtwisnyss*** (*ÆHP*.XXI.331)
 because that in me is found before God justice (N)

This paper explores the development of these constructions over the ME and EME periods and its theoretical implications, based on quantitative case studies on the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (Kroch and Taylor 2000), and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of early Modern English (Kroch, Santorini and Diertani 2007). Recognizing the importance of differential developments with various types of finite verb in the second type of V2 construction, types of finite verb that are distinguished are 1) transitives/unergative intransitives; 2) unaccusative contexts; 3) auxiliaries.

Both types of V2 show up an interesting interplay between syntactic and information-structural requirements. The first type of V2, involving V to C movement, is primarily triggered by specific types of first constituent: *wh*-phrases, negative-initial elements, and particular discourse-linking adverbs such as *þa* and *þonne* (cf. van Kemenade & Los 2006). *Wh*-initial V2 clauses are consistent throughout the history, modulo the fact that V to C movement becomes restricted to auxiliaries as V to T movement of lexical finite verbs is lost over the EME period. Negative-initial V2 clauses are close to extinction by 1300, but are revived over the EME period to their present-day status, with auxiliaries. *þa* and *þonne*-initial V2 clauses first undergo an impressive increase in V to C-movement, peaking in the 15th century, though only with auxiliaries, and a subsequent even more dramatic decline over the EME period. This tells us that, while the syntactic conditions for V to C movement continued to be available, this construction, a very frequent discourse-linking construction, simply dropped out of the pattern. A similar, though less robust, increase in V to C movement is attested with other types of first constituent over the ME period. These developments thus represent a substantial overgeneralization of V to C movement, in ME, which is lost again in EME.

The second type of V2 involves nonsubject first constituents that do not trigger V to C movement; the finite verb is in a position lower in the C-domain, as in (2). The diversification of subject positions is shown to be strongly triggered by their information-structural status: up to the late 14th century, what is called 'subject position 1 in (2) is reserved for subjects (DP or pronominal) that refer back to an antecedent in the immediately preceding discourse (optionally, also pronominal objects), cf. van Kemenade, Milicev and Baayen (2008) for Old English; van Kemenade and Westergaard (in press) for Middle English. By 1400, this distinction begins to break down: there is a rapid increase in the number of preverbal DP subjects (see also Haerberli 2002b), and van Kemenade and Westergaard (in press) show that the IS distinction between the two subject positions is in the process of being neutralized. To account for this, I also consider the overall evidence that the language learner is presented with as V2 inversion decreases, and compare the robustness of V2 with that of subject-initial main clauses: quantitative evidence shows that over the 15th century, nonsubject-initial main clauses, whether with a pronominal or a DP subject, are hard to distinguish in structure from subject-initial ones, while clauses that do show inversion are often not incompatible with a V to C structure. The older IS-sensitive system with diversified subject positions and V to F movement is reanalysed as a syntactically based system, with a subject in spec,TP and Vf in T.

The underlying change is argued to be one affecting the nature of Spec,TP (contra, e.g. Haerberli's (2002b) loss of null expletives). Here, we follow up the account of the nature of Spec,TP in Biberauer and Roberts (2005); Biberauer and van Kemenade (2011). In earlier stages of English, there were two modes of satisfying the EPP feature on T: one is by subject raising; the other is by pied piping the whole vP including the subject to Spec,TP, with subsequent movement of the discourse-referential DP to the F-domain. Around 1450, the vP pied piping option was lost, and subject raising to Spec,TP became the only option of satisfying T's EPP feature and was thus rapidly increasing. Evidence will also be presented, in particular from unaccusative constructions, that subject raising did not become fully obligatory (low subjects in unaccusatives were not straightforwardly lost even by the end of the early Modern period); also the older discourse-sensitive system remained alive in some corners of the grammar, e.g. subject positions continued to be diversified in negative questions, and they continued to feature in transitive expletive constructions

We thus argue here, on the basis of detailed case studies, for a picture in which the variation with respect to the two types of V2 in ME demonstrates at various points the interaction between syntactic requirements and IS requirements. What this picture also shows is that by the end of the Middle English period, a syntactically based system largely "won out" over the older system that was much more strongly IS-sensitive, as a range of morphological properties sustaining that system were lost.

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The structure of the clause in 13th century English and French: an essay in comparative quantitative syntax

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Early Middle English and Old French exhibit similar sorts of surface word order variation: between V2 and non-V2, between OV and VO, and between topic-initial and subject-initial sentence types. At the same time, the grammars of the two languages are quite different. V-to-C in EME main clauses is restricted, while in OF it seems to be general. OF has widespread pro-drop, which EME lacks. Also, OF weak object pronouns are already clitics of the Romance type but EME pronouns largely preserve the behavior of pronouns in Old English, that is general West Germanic behavior. When we look at the frequency distribution of word order types in the available parsed corpora of the two languages (the PPCME2 and the MCVF corpora), we find patterns of similarity and difference that comparisons of the grammars of the two languages can only partly explain. Departing from known grammatical factors, we hope to show that a more comprehensive understanding is possible when factors from two further domains are taken into consideration; firstly, the genre distribution of the surviving texts and, secondly, the effect on word order patterns of the interface between grammar and information structure.

The Fall and Rise of the Romance Subjunctive: A Syntactic Account

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The majority of the Romance languages display a robust modal distinction in the formal indicative versus subjunctive opposition manifested in the verb (cf. 1–4), spelling out a number of modal values which can be crudely, yet conveniently, subsumed in terms of the labels realis/irrealis (cf. Quer 2009b: 1779-80).

- 1 a *Estic segur que tindrà èxit* (Cat.)
I.am sure that he.will.have success
b *Estic molt satisfet que tingui èxit* (Cat.)
I.am very satisfied that he.has.SBJ success
- 2 a *Sapevo che viaggiava con gli altri* (It.)
I.knew that he.travelled with the others
b *Non so che viaggiasse con gli altri* (It.)
not I.knew that he.travelled.SBJ with the others
- 3 a *sei que você vem amanhã* (Pt.)
I.knew that you.3SG comes tomorrow
b *quero que você venha amanhã* (Pt.)
I.want that you.3SG come.SBJ tomorrow
- 4 a *Lukia iskit ki bi andas* (Srd.)
Lucia knows that there= you.go
b *Lukia permettut ki bi andes* (Srd.)
Lucia permits that there= you.go.SBJ

In addition, some Romance varieties mark the relevant distinction also in the C-domain through the formal shape of the complementizer (Rohlf's 1969:190; 1997a,b,c; Calabrese 1993; Lombardi 1998; Ledgeway 2000:§3.2.1; 2004; 2005; 2007; 2010; Ralli and Rivero 2001; Roberts and Roussou 2003; Damonte 2005; 2010), contrasting, for example, an 'indicative' complementizer with a 'subjunctive' complementizer, as in the Romanian examples illustrated in (5a–b):

- 5 a *Văd că nu plătesc niciodată* (Ro.)
I.see that.IND not pay.IND.3PL never
b *Vreau să nu plătească niciodată* (Ro.)
I.want that.SBJ not pay.SBJ.3PL never

Despite such wide-spread marking of the realis/irrealis modal distinction across Romance at the level of the clause and the left periphery, there are some Romance varieties, especially those spoken in southern Italy, where such morphological marking at the level of the T- and C-domains has been seriously eroded (Rohlf's 1968: 301f.; 1969: 61f.). For instance, the Salentino dialect of Scorrano still marks a formal opposition in the shape of the complementizer (Calabrese 1993; Ledgeway forthc.), but generalizes the indicative to both propositional and irrealis clauses (6a–b). By contrast, modern Neapolitan no longer marks the indicative/subjunctive opposition either on the complementizer or the verb (Ledgeway 2009), employing the generalized complementizer *ca* and the indicative in all cases (7a–b).

- 6 a *Si sicura ca nu sbaj* (Scorrano (LE))
you.are sure that_{Realis} not you.err.IND ('you're sure you're not mistaken')
- b *Num boi cu capisci* (Scorrano (LE))
not you.want that_{Irrealis} you.understand.SBJ ('you don't want to understand')

- 7 a *Diceno* *ca* *me nne vaco* (Neap.)
 they.say that._{Realis} me=therefrom= I.go.IND
 b *Che bbuò* *ca* *te faccio?* (Neap.)
 what you.want that._{Realis} you= I.do.IND

Now, while it is true that the formal marking of the subjunctive at the level of the complementizer and the verb has variously been lost in the dialects of southern Italy, the question naturally arises whether the modal distinction traditionally encoded by the indicative/subjunctive morphological opposition has been entirely jettisoned in these same dialects, or whether the relevant grammars have come to mark the distinction by some other means. Indeed it has not gone unnoticed in the literature that in particular cases there may be a strong correlation between morphological marking for indicative/subjunctive and the licensing of specific syntactic phenomena (for an overview, see Quer 2009a), yet it remains to be understood whether the relevant modal distinction can be independently licensed and marked through syntax alone.

The evidence reviewed in this paper will highlight how in the dialects of southern Italy the indicative/subjunctive distinction, although no longer robustly marked, if at all, morphologically at the level of the verb and the complementizer, is still very much alive in the syntax of these same dialects, where the relevant distinction has come to manifest itself in the different positions lexicalized by the verb and the complementizer in the T- and C-domains, respectively. In particular, I shall show how, with the formal loss of the irrealis marking in these dialects, the structural positions targeted by the verb and the complementizer have changed through time. More specifically, in these dialects there emerges an asymmetrical distribution of the verb in declarative and irrealis contexts, respectively targeting low and high positions in the sentential core which, in turn, directly correlate with the placement of the (morphologically undifferentiated) complementizer merged in *Force* in the former case and *Fin* in the latter, as illustrated in (8a–b):

- 8 a [_{Force} *ca*_{Realis} [_{TopP}... [_{FocP}... [_{Fin} \emptyset [_{TP} Adv V_{Ind} [_{v-VP} Ψ]]]]]]]]
 b [_{Force} \emptyset [_{TopP}... [_{FocP}... [_{Fin} *ca*_{Irrealis} [_{TP} V_{Ind} Adv Ψ _{Ind} [_{v-VP} Ψ]]]]]]]]

Following Chomsky's (2007; 2008) ideas about feature transmission and inheritance between phase heads and their complements (cf. also Ouali 2008), I shall propose that the modal interpretation of the clause is ultimately licensed by the feature specification of the phasal C-head. Assuming a strong correlation between morphological marking and syntactic licensing (cf. Baker's (1985) *Mirror Principle* and Bobaljik's (2002) *Rich Agreement Hypothesis*), I take the marked modal reading of irrealis clauses in most Romance languages to be licensed by the verb alone which, by virtue of its rich subjunctive morphology (cf. 1–4 above), can readily make visible and license under long-distance Agree the relevant modal feature on *Fin*. In the dialects of the South, by contrast, the modally-neutral morphology of the verb is such that the marked modal reading of irrealis clauses can no longer be licensed by a long-distance Agree relation between the verb and the *Fin* head (cf. 7a–b), even when the latter displays a morphologically overt irrealis form as happens in the dialects of the Extreme South (cf. 6a–b). Rather, in the absence of distinct irrealis morphology, the verb form in these varieties must raise to the highest available position within the sentential core, and hence to the left of all higher adverbs, from where it can enter into a strictly local agreement configuration with the complementizer in *Fin* to license the marked irrealis interpretation (cf. 8b). In short, this local agreement configuration represents an overt reflex of the mechanism of feature transmission between C and T, highlighting how a case of morphological loss ('the fall of the subjunctive') has given rise to a case of syntactic gain through the exploitation of different verb and complementizer positions to license the relevant modal opposition ('the rise of the subjunctive').

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Phylogenetic reconstruction and syntactic parameters.**Quantitative experiments on Indo-European**

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Goals. The Parametric Comparison Method offers unprecedented tools for the exploration of the historical relations within Indo-European, and for evaluating the impact of syntax in the reconstruction of such relationships on a quantitative basis.

Premises. The most sophisticated enterprises for reconstructing the phylogenetic relations across Indo-European with the aid of statistical tools elaborated so far (Ringe, Warnow and Taylor 2002, Gray and Atkinson 2003, Atkinson, Nicholls, Welch and Gray 2005, McMahon and McMahon 2003, 2005, a.o.) aim at three main goals: **i.** to build a correct evolutionary tree; **ii.** to identify the internal relationships across subgroups; **iii.** to date the splits and, ultimately, the root. The results proposed are promising in many respects; yet, none of them has revealed itself as conclusive to solve the main debated issues in the reconstruction of the historical relations within the family. This is likely to depend on both the fact that the quantitative tools implemented (essentially imported from molecular biology) are not entirely appropriate to language data (Evans, Ringe and Warnow 2004), and that, in turn, the characters used for comparison are not unconditionally suitable for objective measuring (Longobardi and Guardiano 2009), so that they run the risk of producing misleading effects on the overall estimation of similarities, as well as on the taxonomies themselves. The Parametric Comparison Method (PCM, Guardiano and Longobardi 2005, Longobardi and Guardiano 2009) grounds on the assumption that syntactic parameters are more appropriate than other traits to be used as *comparanda* for historical reconstruction, precisely because they are able to provide non-ambiguous judgments and objective measurements: indeed, their discreteness and universality, as further proved in Bortolussi, Longobardi, Guardiano and Sgarro (2011) over statistical evaluations, guarantee wide applicability and quantitative exactness.

Background. The empirical implementations of PCM proposed so far (Guardiano and Longobardi 2005, Longobardi and Guardiano 2009, Bortolussi, Longobardi, Guardiano and Sgarro 2011), have shown that: **a.** syntactic data can be in fact used as an effective tool for language comparison; **b.** syntactic data prompt themselves as particularly apt to be treated with computational methods, able to produce results objectively replicable and substantiated over a quantitative basis. The experiments implemented here focus on a more detailed evaluation of the proper impact of parametric syntax in representing historical relatedness; in particular, they aim at validating: **i.** the robustness of the phylogenetic hypotheses based on syntactic data; **ii.** the potential of PCM in discriminating between effects of contact and ‘proper’ genealogical transmission; **iii.** the congruence of the information provided by syntax with that delivered by more frequently used taxonomic characters.

Phylogenetic hypotheses. The database consists of 56 binary parameters, all describing syntactic properties of nominal structures (DPs). The phylogenetic algorithms used (Longobardi and Guardiano 2009, Rigon 2008) are UPGMA and Kitsch, both provided in the PHYLIP package (Felsenstein 2004), and able to produce computational taxonomies in the form of both rooted trees and networks. The computation of identities and differences in the settings of the 56 parameters in each pair of the languages of the sample provided us with a distance matrix that was eventually fed into the mentioned programs. The experiments run over this matrix produced phylogenetic trees largely overlapping to those provided by independent evaluations, so preliminarily advocating syntax as an appropriate indicator of genealogical relatedness.

Secondary convergence in syntax. The results provided by the tree taxonomies further insinuate that non-genealogical information (i.e. horizontal transmission) is incorporated as well in the evidence provided by syntactic parameters. Thus, in order to ascertain to what degree syntax is sensible to contact effects, and what is the impact of such effects on the overall evaluation of relatedness, peculiar experiments have been performed on purpose: the network representations (precisely capable to detect cues of secondary convergence) extracted from our database, while neatly identifying the six genealogical subgroups (thus suggesting that the effects of secondary convergence do not obscure the definition of genealogical relations in the information encoded

through syntax) still manifest correctly the effects of prolonged contact, as in the case of the *Balkansprachbund*, of the relations between Germanic and Celtic, or of those among the Romance and the Greek varieties in Southern Italy. Such results are also congruent with those provided by a preliminary experiment performed through a character-based algorithm (*Structure*, Pritchard *et al.* 2000) on a subsample of parameters. For, the effects of admixture on syntax, although visible and systematically detectable on a quantitative basis, are never such to obscure those of proper genealogical transmission, i.e. of descent from a common ancestor: parametric syntax is resistant enough to contact-induced changes to provide good indication of genealogical information. Additionally, in order to check to what extent the effects of secondary convergence are encoded in syntax, we performed a set of preliminary quantitative tests on a tiny subsample of varieties (the Romance and Greek varieties of Southern Italy). The first interesting result is that the percentage of borrowed traits in syntax (7,14%) is consistently lower than that of the lexicon (13%, Longobardi and Guardiano 2007), so confirming syntax as less sensitive to massive borrowing effects. Additionally, the implementation of procedures aimed at measuring the impact of contact on the relation across distinct varieties and groups (Wang and Minett 2005) suggests that it is in fact possible to isolate the effects of contact when exploring phylogenetic aggregations, so that their impact on the estimation of genealogical relatedness can be precisely evaluated.

Syntax and the lexicon. 21 languages of our sample overlap with those of Dyen, Kruskal and Black's (1992) Indo-European database of lexical cognates. Comparisons between lexical and syntactic information were performed using a uniform measure of distance, with the following results: **a.** The topologies of the trees drawn from the two matrices are largely overlapping, thus suggesting that the results provided by syntax are not orthogonal to those of the lexicon. Furthermore, we measured the correlation between the two distance matrices through a Mantel test: lexical and syntactic distances turn out as highly correlated ($r = 0.70$, $p < 0.001$, 9999 permutations), thus additionally proving the orthogonality hypothesis wrong. **b.** Syntactic distances are considerably smaller (1:3,7) than lexical ones, thus suggesting that syntax evolves more slowly than the lexicon (i.e. it is able to provide reliable results even on bigger time-spans). **c.** The distribution of the distances in the two matrices (estimated through statistical inference procedures) can be assimilated to a normal distribution, while that of lexical distances can not: lexical distances show a bimodal distribution, with a first peak for the interval 0.3-0.4 and a second at 0.8-0.9. In other words, lexical distances are able to clearly detect chronological signals up to 0.5, while they tend to saturate, i.e. to become uninformative on higher values; conversely, syntax remains able to distribute across scattered values even on higher distances. Further statistical experiments (MDS, Procrustes analysis) suggest that lexical distances tend to minimize the internal relations within the same subgroup, while maximizing those across distinct subgroups, that is they are not able to correctly reconstruct the genealogical relationships between subgroups; conversely, syntactic information is equally informative even with less strictly related entities.

Conclusion. The experiment performed here suggest that PCM, once appropriately implemented and refined through more sophisticated quantitative procedures, prompts itself as an unprecedented tools for the analysis of historical relationships not only on a long-range perspective (hinted by Longobardi and Guardiano 2009), but even on more fine-grained perspectives, ultimately proving that syntax can in fact give successful contributions to many of the intriguing puzzles put forward within historical linguistics.

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Word-internal case doubling as part of a diachronic change

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Demonstratives in colloquial Czech, Slovak and Slovenian exhibit several case paradigms, one of which, as shown in (1) for all cases of the masculine singular paradigm, also includes doubling of the case morpheme on both sides of the invariable deictic (demonstrative reinforcer) element *-(h)le* (historically derived from an imperative form of “look”, cf. Janda & Townsend 2002, Snoj 2003). All the forms of all three demonstrative pronouns in (1) have the internal composition “DEM-CASE-*(h)le*-CASE” (the entire paradigm for all three genders is attested in corpora).

(1)		Czech	Slovak	Slovenian
	Nom	<i>tenhlen</i>	<i>tenhlen</i>	<i>tala</i>
	Acc	<i>tohohleho</i>	<i>tohohleho</i>	<i>tegalega</i>
	Gen	<i>tohohleho</i>	<i>tohohleho</i>	<i>tegalega</i>
	Dat	<i>tomuhlemu</i>	<i>tomuhlemu</i>	<i>temulemu</i>
	Loc	<i>tomhlem</i>	<i>tomhlem</i>	<i>temlem</i>
	Inst	<i>timhlem</i>	<i>tymhlem</i>	<i>temlem</i>

Haspelmath (1993), Harris & Halle (2005), Harris & Faarlund (2006), and Nevins (2009) discuss similar cases of doubled inflectional morphology in various languages. They all propose morphological analyses for such cases. Haspelmath goes even further and claims (without explaining) that such data argue for an independent level of morphology, or that morphology is not just word-level syntax. This goes directly against the prominent framework of Distributed Morphology (Marantz 1997, Harley and Noyer 1999), which claims that there is no independent level of morphology. We will argue that not only can such data also be captured with a syntactic account, but also that the latter is not inferior to the morphological one.

If there is no independent level of morphology, such data will have to be analyzed using the same mechanisms as all other phenomena observed in natural languages. According to Marantz (2001), derivation is related to category-defining heads and happens before spell-out, while inflection is added on top of derivation after spell-out. Since inflection happens at a later stage of the derivation, adding the derivational-looking *-(h)le* on top of inflection should be impossible, so the data in (1) do seem to pose a problem.

One solution may be to take to the complexes in (1) simply as two words, each with its own case morpheme. However, this does not seem to be correct, since *-(h)le* cannot be used by itself, without the demonstrative. Also, *-(h)le* can never be split from the demonstrative, and forms a single prosodic word with it. Moreover, the examples with two case endings coexist with those given in (2), which suggests that the variation reflects a diachronic change with (1) as an intermediate stage from (2a/a'/a'') to (2b/b'/b''), as argued by Haspelmath (1993) for similar variations in Georgian and elsewhere (cf. also Harris and Faarlund 2006).

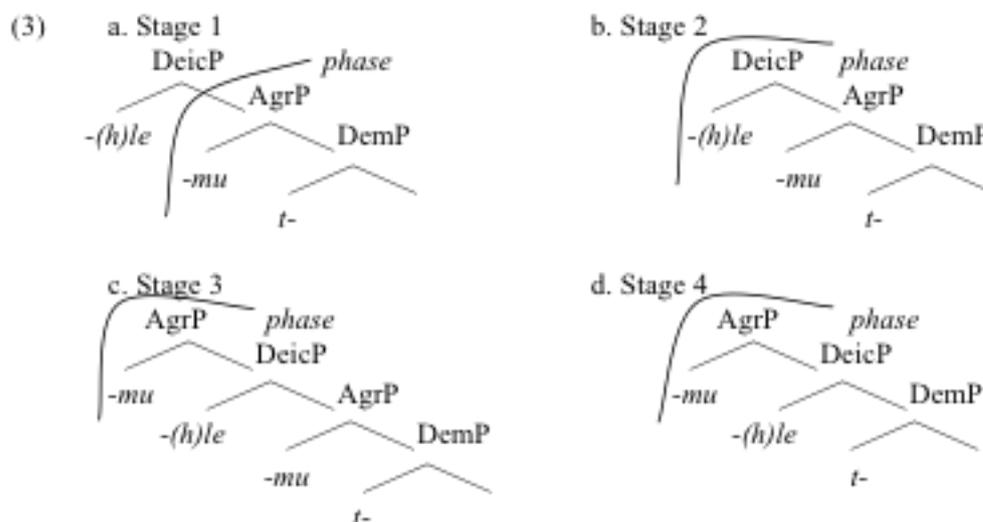
(2)		Czech	Slovak	Slovenian
	a.	<i>tohohle</i> this-GEN/ACC-hle	a'. <i>tohohle</i> this-GEN/ACC-hle	a''. <i>tegale</i> this-GEN/ACC-le
	b.	<i>tohleho</i> this-hle-GEN/ACC	b'. <i>tohleho</i> this-hle-GEN/ACC	b''. <i>telega</i> this-le-GEN/ACC

According to Haspelmath (1993), this type of diachronic change occurs because a clitic that grammaticalizes as a bound derivational morpheme traps case inflection inside the word, leading to a violation of the universally preferred morpheme order: ROOT > DERIVATION > INFLECTION (Greenberg 1963, Bybee 1985, Dressler et al. 1987 etc.). Case inflection therefore shifts to the edge of the word via an intermediate stage which keeps both copies of the displaced morpheme.

As the Czech, Slovak and Slovenian patterns from above seem to be just like the cases described by Haspelmath (1993), we can assume that they also form part of a diachronic change. At the same time, at this point in time, the three forms coexist; so a syntax-only model needs to derive all three and show how they are related (three completely unrelated grammars can't produce coexistence that will bring about a historical change).

(2a/a'/a'') and (2b/b'/b'') are unproblematic: in (2a/a'/a''), we have a case-inflected demonstrative followed by an invariant clitic (*(h)le*); in (2b/b'/b''), (*(h)le*) is a derivational suffix on the demonstrative stem *tV-*, and case inflection is added on the outside of this complex demonstrative. However, if the clitic from (2a/a'/a'') gets reanalyzed as a derivational affix, the latter should merge directly with the stem and we should get (2b/b'/b'') directly from (2a/a'/a''), without an intermediate stage. And if we assume that at the doubling stage, the deictic is still an independent word with its own case inflection, we cannot explain why it doesn't behave like a word (cf. above).

We suggest that a syntax-only model can approach these cases as follows. The fact that the two instances of inflection in (1) are the same suggests that the complex only gets spelled-out once. (We assume inflection to be the spell-out of some agreement heads that are present in the syntax but get their values after spell-out, cf. Bobaljik 2005.) The first step in the observed change is a delay of spell-out at the Agr head. At first, spell-out is delayed for one merge only, to include the Deictic phrase, but later, when a new Agr head is introduced on top of the now derivational morpheme in DeicP, the lower Agr head stops behaving like a phase, (3c), and is, in the last step, (3d), simply omitted. As Agr head is still in the structure, it can get its values when it reaches PF, even if it is inside the word.



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just as the V^0 terminal moves to v^0 , we would expect $\&^0$ to incorporate into o^0 . This is also an empirical fact for which we have evidence that empirically justifies (i) this theoretical step towards a refined (light coordinator) structure and (ii) head movement obtaining a compound connective, composed of o^0 and an incorporated $\&^0$, as per (3d).

EMPIRICAL MOTIVATION. Aside from differences in configurationality, the double system of coordination in IE relates to the categorial makeup of the coordinate complexes. 2P coordinators combine with sub-/non-clausal $[-C]$ elements, while medial coordinators concatenate objects of all categories, incl. $[+C]$. Therefore, the categorial features of *ca*-type $\&^0$ s are a proper subset of the categorial features of *utá*-type $\&^0$ s. The defective status of *ca*-type $\&^0$ s may be repaired in two ways: (i) either by movement of (a head from within) its complement, i.e. internal coordinand, where $\&^0$ is the mover (4), (ii) or by $\&^0$ itself undergoing movement to and incorporation with o^0 , where *u-* seems like an expletive particle, satisfying the 2P requirement of $\&^0$ morphologically (5).

$$(4)[_{XP} \alpha \beta \gamma] \delta_i = \mathbf{ca}_{\&} [_{YP} (\delta_i) \varepsilon \zeta]$$

$$(5)[_{XP} \alpha \beta \gamma] \mathbf{u}_e = \mathbf{ta}_{\&} [_{YP} \delta \varepsilon \zeta]$$

The evidence for the latter form of head movement and morphologically complex (i.e. compound) structure of coordinators comes from IE reconstruction. Dunkel (1982) reconstructs two series of four coordinators in IE (Tab. 1). One series is orthotone and another enclitic, both of which capture the duality (i.e. double system) of IE coordination. Etymology sheds light on the complexity of head-initial (*utá*-type) coordinators which are not only orthotone but in fact pleonastic/compound forms, comprising of an orthotone and an enclitic half, as shown in (6). Semantically, the orthotone half of the complex seems to type-lift the $\&^0$ so as to operate on all categorial levels, as only compound coordinators may conjoin CPs. (See Mitrović 2011, i.a. for evidence.)

(6) **Generalised (*utá*-type) coordinators in IE, operating on all categorial levels:**

	IE COMPOUND COORDINATOR	=	Λ^0 [ORTHOTONE]	+	$\&^0$ [ENCLITIC]
a.	Vedic <i>utá</i> , Ancient Greek <i>autē</i> , Latin <i>aut</i>	=	* h_2u	+	*- <i>te</i>
b.	Vedic <i>u ca</i> , Gothic <i>uh</i>	=	* h_2u	+	*- $k^w e$
c.	Gothic <i>jau</i>	=	* $yó$	+	*- h_2u
d.	Hittite <i>takku</i> , Old Irish <i>toch</i>	=	* $tó$	+	*- $k^w e$

TAB. 1

ORTHOTONE	ENCLITIC
* $k^w ó$ /* $kwí$	*- $k^w e$
* $h_2éw$	*- h_2u
* $yó$	*- yo
* $tó$	*- <i>te</i>

A detailed synchronic analysis of IE coordination also facilitates a diachronic explanation. IE has altogether lost the double system of coordination and retained a single construction, where only one $\&^0$ is designated for concatenation of objects of all categories. In light of the proposed light coordinator (o^0) layer on top of the default coordinate structure (3d) and the morphosemantic aspects of the two types of coordinators, the loss of the double system of coordination is seen as deriving from reanalysis of the $\&^0$ -to- o^0 movement, yielding a (semantically) type-ambivalent and (syntactically) category-insensitive coordinator.

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A Preliminary Investigation into the Clause Type Hierarchy Effects in Old English

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In well-studied cases of syntactic change, it is often shown that different clause types are affected at different frequencies during the period of change: main clauses are the most innovative clause type, i.e. they exhibit the highest frequency of the new variant, while subordinate clauses are affected at lower frequencies than main clauses, with that-complements the most innovative and relative clauses the least innovative. See, for example, Pintzuk 1999 for Old English, Burridge 1993 for Middle Dutch and Dunbar 1979 for Old High German. Taylor and Pintzuk 2010 demonstrate that in Old English, the clause type hierarchy shows up in two different contexts: first, in the overall frequency of AuxV vs. VAux clauses; second, in the frequency of VO order, but only in AuxV clauses, not in VAux clauses.

Various explanations have been given for the clause type hierarchy; e.g., that-complements are the most 'main-clause-like' and relative clauses the least, although it is not obvious how subordinate clauses can be more or less like main clauses or indeed why the main-subordinate clause distinction exists at all. In this talk I examine the clause type hierarchy in Old English in more detail, and investigate some of the possible reasons for its effects in terms of information structure, syntactic structure and acquisition.

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Inclusion Relations Across Dialects

The competition of the clitic preposition *te* 'to' and the heavy preposition *to* in North-Eastern Dutch of the 14th century

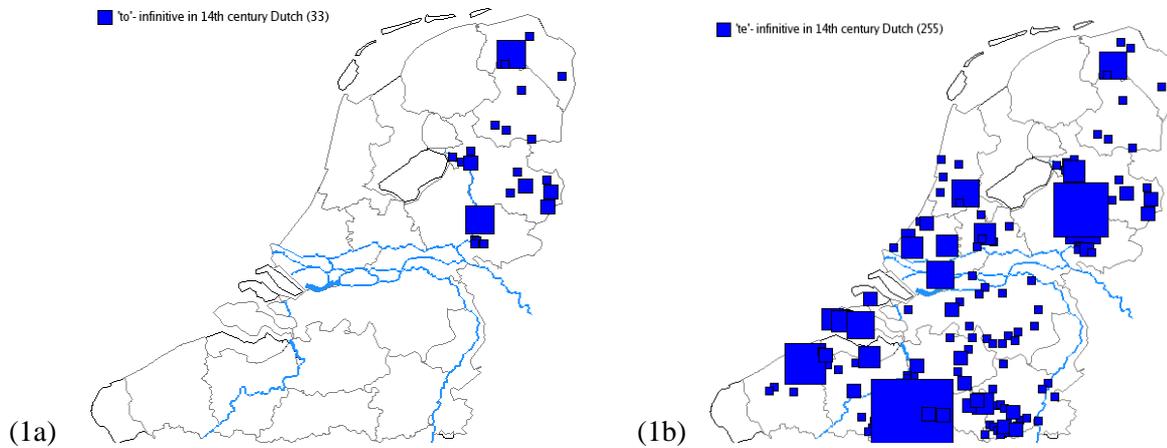
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Ideally, diachronic corpora include sufficient data at specific locations in virtually every year. Not all corpora fulfil this ideal because of the scarceness of data. In the CRM-corpus (a 14th century Dutch charter corpus), for instance, the North-Eastern texts are airily dispersed in time and place. True geographical or true diachronic research can not be carried out. In this talk, we show how *inclusion relations* between sets of dialects without reference to their space-time locality can, nevertheless, hint at language change, albeit that it lacks clues as to the directionality of the change. We exemplify the method using a diachronic change from *to* 'to' towards *te* in the history of Dutch.

- In Middle Dutch, there are two forms of the preposition 'to': 1. *te*, with clitic-like properties; and 2. *to*, which is a full preposition and represents the etymological counterpart of Eng. *to* and Ger. *zu*. The form *to* is mainly North-Eastern, cf. (1a), while *te* occurs everywhere in the geographical area of the Low Countries, the North-East included, cf. (1b).
- In modern Dutch dialects, the form is exclusively *te* (Barbiers *et al.* 2005), be it before verbs, before nouns, or in P+D contracted forms (*ter/ten*). The replacement of *to* by *te* in the North-East is a process that spans various centuries. In this talk, we report on dialectological and diachronic research of the occurrence of *to* and *te* using the CRM-corpus. We study three contexts: *to* + V (*to/te doene* 'to do'), *to* + N (*to/te behoeft* 'on behalf'), and *to*+D (contractions) *ton/ten hofstede* 'at the farm'. As said, the North-Eastern part of the CRM-corpus hardly allows geographical or diachronic research. However, it is possible to classify language variants independent of their place and time, cf. (2).
- Interestingly, of the logically 3!=6 possible combinations, only 4 are realized. The restriction can be captured using inclusion relations as given in (3). Notice that the inclusion relations should not be interpreted geographically, nor within a time dimension. The inclusion relations are inconclusive whether we are dealing with a change of *to* towards *te*, or *te* towards *to* (or any change at all). The first implication *can* be interpreted that there is a change *to-to-te*, which starts of in contracted forms, actuate retardedly in verbs, and actuate even later in nouns. The second implication *may* describe a change from *te* to *to* which starts of in nouns, spreads to verbs, and finally affects contracted forms. To decide, it is good to look at the properties of the two constructions. There is evidence that *ton hofstede* concerns a contraction of P and D (*to+n*), where a reduced D incorporates and cliticizes to P, while in *ten hofstede*, the weak preposition *te* cliticizes phonologically to the right. Evidence for this is the insensitivity of *te* to grammatical borders, resulting in forms like *tes*, as in (4) where *te* cliticizes to a genitive article across a possessive constituent border (both *te* and *to* select a dative).
- Contracted forms like *tos* (*to* + *des* 'to the.GEN') are absent. We, therefore, describe *to-to-te* as a transition from a syntactic process of incorporation+cliticization towards a purely phonological process of clitic merger.
- Now, the question is whether the intermediate dialects in (2) only have status in the E-language (mixture of speakers), or that they have a status in the I-language. Imagine a dialect that has both the clitic form *te* and the full form *to*. Then speakers of such a dialect will tend to use the clitic form preferably in true merger forms, like P+D, they may favor use of the clitic form in necessarily adjacent form P+V, but less in free syntactic forms P+N. So if we assume an I-language status to the intermediate 'types' of (2), we predict that if a speaker uses *te* in P+V contexts, he/she will also, and preferable so, use it in P+D contexts, etc. The I-status, therefore, predicts the absence of missing language variants in the scheme of (2). The scheme of (2) is, therefore, explained by 1. the existence of a change *to-to-te*, 2. distinct actuation times in different syntactic contexts, and 3. the intermediate stages have not only E-language reality (a mixture of grammars produces the facts), but also I-language reality (a single grammar produces the facts).
- Let us finally investigate the diachronic developments of the three contexts in the entire NE area, considered as a collective. The results are given in (6). We observe that there is virtually no change in relative frequencies of P+V and P+N, despite the fact that the frequencies are different. It seems, therefore, that the change, which actuated at different moments, and therefore reached different frequencies, has been 'stalled', i.e. frozen at a specific moment during the change. The stalling process lasts over at least a century. We hypothesize that stalling is only

possible if the intermediate relative frequencies have status in the I-language, so that new L1-acquirers can individually acquire the intermediate situation and represent it as an instantiation of UG.

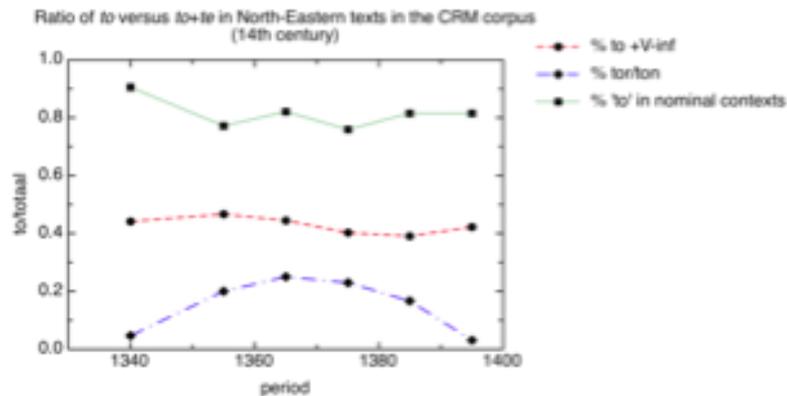


(2) dialect	pattern	locality (province of Overijssel only)
type 1	to+D, to V, to N	Rijssen, Ootmarsum
type 2	te+D, to V, to N	Delden, Oldenzaal, Almelo, Dalfsen Hasselt, Doesburg
type 3	te+D, te V, to N	Zalk, Deventer, Zwolle, Sibculo, Enschede Zutphen, Harderwijk
type 4	te+D, te V, te N	Kampen, Vollenhove, IJsselmuiden, Mastenbroek Ravenswaaij, Ede

(3) Inclusion relations

- Dialect Set (te+D) ⊃ Dialect Set (te +V) ⊃ Dialect Set (te + N)
- Dialect Set (to+N) ⊃ Dialect Set (to+V) ⊃ Dialect Set (to+D)

(4) *tes kercheren, ter scepenen ende tes raeds wisinge* (Zwolle 1397)
 = [te [[des kercheren [ec], te der scepenen [ec] ende te des raeds] wijzinge]]
 to+de.GEN church lord.GEN, to the.GEN alderman,PL and to +de.GEN judgement.D
 'to the church lord's, to the aldermen's, and to the council's judgement'



(5)

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Identifying the sources of syntactic variation in Old Portuguese texts

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It has early been noticed in studies on Old Portuguese (OP) that the syntax of the medieval language is more flexible than that of modern Portuguese, especially with respect to word order (Nunes 1906). Syntactic variation in OP concerns subject placement in declarative clauses (Ribeiro 1995, Fiéis 2003, Rinke 2007, 2009), clitic placement in main clauses (Martins 1994), optional interpolation in subordinate clauses (Martins 2002), object placement in infinitival constructions (Rinke 2008) and article realization in argument positions. This variability has been interpreted as evidence of competing grammatical systems that indicate ongoing grammatical change (e.g. the loss of a verb second grammar or the change from a (Latin)OV to a (Romance)VO grammar).

In my talk, it will be shown that the syntactic variation in OP only partly reflects ongoing syntactic change. I will focus on two phenomena: a) subject placement in declarative sentences and b) the realization/omission of determiners in argument positions. I will show that only the second phenomenon reveals grammatical change in progress whereas subject placement in declarative sentences is determined by pragmatic factors only.

With respect to word order variation, I will argue that apparent verb second structures do not indicate a change from a V2 to a non-V2 grammar (Fiéis 2003, Rinke 2007, 2009). The evidence of a verb second grammar in OP and of syntactic change is not conclusive because every single word order option in the medieval texts can also be generated by the grammar of modern European Portuguese. As in the modern language, subject inversion and the preposing of constituents are information structurally conditioned. Additional evidence against verb movement to the left periphery comes from clitic placement and interpolation structures in OP, as shown by Martins (2002, 2012). I will conclude that the syntactic flexibility of medieval texts can only be attributed to ongoing syntactic change when the empirical data unambiguously shows this and only if the attested variation cannot be accounted for by alternative explanations.

The second case study shows that OP omits articles in contexts where the modern language requires the realization of determiners (e.g. generic noun phrases, proper names, singular count nouns in subject position (1)).

- (1) *costume é (que) m(er)cadador q(ue) alugar casa na vila & uezj~dade*
 custom (law) is (that) merchant that rent house in-the town and vicinity
q(u)is(er) fazer de soldada ... (Costumes de Santarém)
 want do give reward ...

In modern Portuguese, examples like (1) are not grammatical because the D-head generally requires-PF realization in (ungoverned) argument positions. I will argue that the variability of article use in OP follows from a different feature specification of the DP: [+specific] D-heads require PF-realization whereas [-specific] D-heads allow for pragmatically conditioned variation. This system, which is different from both Latin and modern Portuguese, represents an intermediate step in the evolution of the Portuguese DP and therefore reflects ongoing syntactic change. If this analysis is on the right track it shows that change in progress does not necessarily involve competing grammatical systems.

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Refining the ‘null argument cycle’: the place of partial null argument languages

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In the literature on syntactic change a ‘null argument cycle’ parallel to Jespersen’s cycle has occasionally been proposed (e.g. by Rowlett 1998, Faarlund 2011, van Gelderen 2011). Central to the cycle is the emergence of null arguments via a reanalysis of pronominal elements as agreement morphology, which itself is later eroded, leading to identification becoming impossible.

This paper considers the place of ‘partial’ null argument languages (NALs; see e.g. Holmberg, Nayudu & Sheehan 2009) in the cycle. Data is drawn from Old English (OE), Old High German (OHG), Old Norse-Icelandic (ON) and Old Saxon (OS). I argue that these early Northwest Germanic (eNWGmc) languages were partial NALs, albeit with mirror image properties of the classic partial NALs Hebrew and Finnish, and that this can be accounted for in terms of a modified version of Holmberg’s (2010) analysis of partial NALs.

New quantitative investigations of OE (YCOE; Taylor et al. 2003), ON (IcePaHC; Wallenberg et al. 2011) and OS corpora are presented, illustrating that referential subjects in eNWGmc could be null (e.g. 23.7% (n=28) in the OE text *Bald’s Leechbook*). However, this possibility was only frequently realised a) in the third person, and b) in main clauses, as in (1) and (2) from OS; first and second person null subjects, and null subjects in embedded clauses, were rare (cf. Sigurðsson 1993, van Gelderen 2000, Axel 2007, Rosenkvist 2009).

- (1) gisâhun iro barn biforan, kindiunge man, qualmu sueltan
 saw.3PL their children before child-young men murder.INSTR die.INF
 ‘**They** saw their young children murdered before them’ (*Heliand* 749–751)
- (2) líbes ueldi ina bilôsien, of he mahti gilêstien sô
 life.GEN would him take if he could achieve so
 ‘**he**_i would take his_j life if he_i could’ (*Heliand* 1442)

It is argued that the eNWGmc languages cannot be canonical ‘agreement-licensed’ NALs, due to the fact that system-wide syncretisms in verbal paradigms can be found (cf. Müller 2005), as well as the additional possibility of referential null objects, as in (3); other problems arise for ‘radical null argument’ and ‘topic drop’ analyses.

- (3) huuand it rotat hîr an roste, endi regintheobos farstelad, uurmi auuardiad ...
 because it rusts here to rust and thieves steal worms spoil
 ‘because it rusts away, thieves steal (it), worms spoil (it) ...’ (*Heliand* 1644–1645)

I propose that eNWGmc be viewed as a new type of partial NAL. In standard Finnish, first and second person subjects can always be left unexpressed in finite contexts, as may referential objects (Huang 2000: 85–86), and third person subjects when bound by a higher argument (Holmberg 2005: 539). The eNWGmc languages have mirror image properties, though crucially both types of partial NAL permit generic null subjects (see Holmberg 2010), as in (4) from OE.

- (4) Wip þæs magan springe þonne þurh muð bitere hræcð oþþe bealcet
 for the maw.GEN sore.DAT when through mouth bitterly retches or belches
 ‘For sores of the mouth when the patient retches or belches bitterly through the mouth’
 (colaece,Lch_II_[2]:15.1.1.2296)

In Holmberg’s (2010) analysis, referential null subjects in partial NALs are DPs whose [uD]-feature is valued by agreement with speaker or addressee operators in the left periphery (Λ_A and Λ_P , cf. Sigurðsson 2004: 227). In the third person, [uD] may be valued through control. The accommodation of eNWGmc requires modification of Holmberg’s account, which however is independently necessitated. I hypothesize that left-peripheral probing is parameterized. Specifically, operators in the specifiers of Λ_{AP} , Λ_{pP} and ShiftP (the left-peripheral head

connected to Aboutness-topicality; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007) may each independently bear a probing feature. In Finnish, Λ_A and Λ_P may probe, licensing first and second person null arguments; in eNWGmc, it is topic operators that probe, licensing (largely) third person null arguments. The rarity of null arguments in embedded clauses is captured if subordinate finite clauses in eNWGmc are islands with respect to agreement and do not always project their own ShiftP. The proposal thus contributes to the theory of null arguments as well as shedding light on the syntax of the eNWGmc languages.

The admission of partial NALs into our typology raises the question of their place, if any, in the null argument cycle. The crucial observation is that where the ancestor languages of partial NALs are attested and studied (e.g. for Brazilian Portuguese, Russian, Hebrew, Marathi), these ancestors are languages in which subject omission occurred more liberally (earlier European Portuguese, Old Church Slavonic, Biblical Hebrew and Sanskrit respectively). I argue on this basis that partial NALs are a diachronic ‘waystation’ between full NSLs such as Italian and languages such as modern English and standard French in which referential null arguments are impossible. The relevant change is motivated by the loss of a [uD] feature associated with T^0 , which may, but does not have to, be associated with the loss of rich verbal agreement.

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The rise and fall of agreement in the Welsh pronominal system

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This paper presents a formal account of some recent changes in the Welsh pronominal system, specifically of the distribution of two forms of the second-person singular pronoun, *ti/di* and *chdi* found today in many northern varieties. Welsh is a VSO language with morphological agreement between verbs and pronominal subjects and between some prepositions and their pronominal object. No agreement is found with lexical nominal arguments. I argue that complex patterns of variation in the syntax of the second person pronoun, mainly from the nineteenth century onwards, can be derived from larger-scale changes: first an expansion in the realm of agreement, and then a collapse of the agreement system in some varieties.

In grammar 1a (up to 16th century), the language had a weak pronominal form *ti/di* ‘you’ and a strong form *tydi*. *Tydi* becomes *thydi* by aspirate mutation (indicated by ^A), a regular morphosyntactic alternation, after *â^A* ‘with’, *efo^A* ‘with’ and *na^A* ‘than’. A further purely phonological change leads to grammar 1b (16–18th centuries), where the vowel is lost in the strong form after these same prepositions (hence *â^A thydi* > *â^A th’di* ‘with you’), while *tydi* remains in other contexts.

From the outset, the weak pronoun is associated with agreeing contexts, and the strong pronoun with non-agreeing contexts. I assume that the weak pronoun results from surface-level readjustment along the lines of pronoun incorporation analyses of Celtic agreement, via a morphological readjustment rule as with the allomorphy rules of Ackema and Neeleman (2004), or via some similar mechanism (Anderson 1982, Doron 1988, Rouveret 1991, Adger 2000). Agreement is a prerequisite for this process (data hold for grammar 1). In (1), the preposition *â^A* ‘with’, morphologically incapable of agreeing with a pronominal object, allows both strong and weak pronouns after it, while *am* ‘about’, which has inflected forms such as *amdanat* about.2SG, allows only the weak pronoun *ti*:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| (1) | <i>â^A th(y)di</i> | <i>*amdanat tydi</i> | strong |
| | <i>â^A thi</i> | <i>amdanat ti</i> | weak |
| | ‘with you’ | ‘about you’ | |

Similarly, with verbs in (2), the third person singular, often assumed to be a default form manifesting complete absence of agreement, allows either strong or weak forms, while other persons and numbers allow only weak forms:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------|--------|
| (2) | <i>buasai efo</i> | <i>*buaset tydi</i> | strong |
| | <i>buasai ef</i> | <i>buaset ti</i> | weak |
| | ‘he would be’ | ‘you would be’ | |

This follows from the following lexical specification of the items in question (a full implementation needs phi features to be split into speaker, hearer, number and gender features to deal with specific issues omitted here for simplicity):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------|----------|------------|----------|
| (3) | <i>am</i> | <i>be.COND</i> | <i>â</i> | 2SG | 3MSG |
| | [uphi: ____] | [uphi: ____] | | [phi: 2SG] | [phi: ø] |
| | ‘about’ | ‘would be’ | ‘with’ | ‘you’ | ‘he’ |

Allomorphy spellout rule

- (4) [uphi: 2SG] [phi: 2SG] > agreement morphology + *ti*
 (5) am 2SG > amdanat ti
 [uphi: 2SG] [phi: 2SG]
 (6) be.COND 2SG > buaset ti
 [uphi: 2SG] [phi: 2SG]

All other combinations are spelled out word for word:

- (7) â^A 2SG > â^A th'di / â^A thi (dependent on other feature values)
 [phi: 2SG]
 (8) be.COND 3MSG > buasai ef / buasai efo (as above)
 [uphi: ∅] [phi: ∅]

Later (grammar 2a), learners fail to relate *th'di* to its baseform *tydi* and create a new lexical entry, *thdi*; in grammar 2b: dissimilation occurs, changing the form of *thdi* to *chdi*, as we find today. In grammar 2, occurrence of *chdi* is not dependent on the presence of a preposition that triggers aspirate mutation; hence, it spreads to any non-agreeing environment, notably in fronted focus position, as in (9), not possible in grammar 1, where *chdi* is fronted from postverbal position (the normal position for the subject in a VSO language) to preverbal focus:

- (9) ... ond os **ch'di** geiff y lle ...
 but if you get.FUT.3SG the place
 '...if it's you that gets the place...' (L. W. Lewis, *Huw Huws* 15, 1860)

Type 2 grammars are found in speakers born in the first half of the 19th century. The effect of this change is to adjust the spellout rules, so that the spellout for 2SG [phi: 2SG] when not subject to the agreement allomorphy rule in (4) is *chdi*.

Next, in grammar 3, learners treat *chdi* as being both a weak and strong form (analogous to cases such as the second person plural pronoun, where both weak and strong forms are *chi*); as a weak form, it can participate in agreement in cases where morphological spellout allows this; that is, individual additions to the agreement allomorphy rule in (4) emerge. The first innovation (grammar 3a), in speakers born in the 1880s, allows *chdi* as the subject of a nonfinite verb, an agreement environment:

- (10) [uphi: 2SG] [phi: 2SG] > agreement morphology + *chdi*
 [–FIN]
 (11) Mae o 'n beth rhyfedd iawn **dy fod chdi** 'n priodi rwan.
 be.3SGit PRED thing strange very 2SG be.INF you PROG marry.INF now
 'It's a very strange thing that you're getting married now.' (Kate Roberts, *Traed mewn cyffion*, p. 108, 1936)

A parallel but later innovation introduces special forms of auxiliaries in tag questions.

Finally, in grammar 4, a second more recent set of changes concerns the agreement system itself, with various evidence suggesting that Welsh is losing subject–verb agreement and object–preposition agreement. Formally, this means the loss of phi-features on the relevant heads, with 'about' spelling out simply as *amdana* before a pronoun and be.COND spelling out as (*ba*)*sa*. This leads to the ongoing elimination of the agreement allomorphy rule in (4). The consequence is that *chdi* spreads to all of the other environments: *amdana chdi* 'about you' and *basa chdi* 'you would' in place of the forms in (1) and (2). Type 4 grammars have emerged in speakers born since the 1930s, with their fullest implementation in the youngest speakers today.

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Grammar Competition in Old English Relative Clauses

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Syntactic change can fruitfully be modelled as competition between two grammatical options (e.g. Kroch 1989). Rather than a population of n competing grammars G_{1-n} drawn from the “hypothesis space” Universal Grammar (Yang 2000), I suggest that speakers normally have access to only one grammar, which may, however, include sets of rules in competition. If two competing rules involve the same initial node in the syntactic structure, we find structured variation within individual speakers / texts with only two variants (e.g. I-initial vs. I-final structure (Pintzuk 1999) etc.). However, it is also possible that two competing rules do not involve the same initial node, but merely make a similar functional contribution (e.g. negation) to the clause in different points of the syntactic structure. For such cases, one would expect diachronic variation with three variants - two for each separate rule and one for the two rules combined (e.g. negation through the negative clitic *ne* in Old English (OE), through the secondary negator *not* in Middle English (ME), or, at an intermediate stage, both (Jespersen 1917)). The result of such a state of affairs will be a grammatical cycle.

I claim that OE relative clauses can be analyzed as a grammatical cycle in that sense: Relative clauses in that language can be generated by a rule that places a form of the demonstrative *se* in Spec,CP (1), or by a competing rule that merges the indeclinable relativizer *ðe* with a tensed clause (2). Since the starting nodes of the two rules are different (CP and C' respectively), the “overlapping rule” is possible as well (3).

- (1) ðonne cymeð [se man [se þæt swiftoste hors hafað to þæm ærestan dæle]]
 then came the man who the fastest horse had to the first valley
 ‘Then the man who had the fastest horse came to the first valley’
 (coorosiu,Or_1:1.17.21.333)
- (2) ... gold-horde on þam æcere þone behyt [se man [þe hyne fint]]
 ... treasure in the field which hides the man that it finds
 ‘... a treasure in the field which the man who that finds it hides’
 (cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:13.44.890)
- (3) Eadig bið [se man [se ðe gemet wisdom]]
 blessed is the men who that meets wisdom
 ‘Blessed is the man who finds wisdom’
 (coaelive,ÆLS[Pr_Moses]:322.3053)

A multivariate analysis is carried out, based on quantitative data from the YCOE2 (Taylor et al. 2003) and the PPCME2 (Kroch & Taylor 2000), in order to determine which factors have a significant effect on the distribution of the two base rules. On the one hand, the two rules undergo a syntactic change to the effect that the demonstrative relativization strategy is lost and “that in the thirteenth century *that* stood practically alone as a relativizer” (Fischer et al. 2000: 91). This is true for OE prose, poetry as well as documents. On the other hand, antecedent type, restrictiveness and position of the relative clause influence the relativization strategy significantly as well (e.g. Mitchell 1985, Troup 2010). Thus, the two base rules cannot be regarded as perfectly synonymous.

The diachronic variation in relative clause formation is subsequently investigated quantitatively in those contexts that have proven to be the most conservative and behave near-synonymously in the multivariate analysis. The findings are compatible with the assumption that the overlapping option is the result of accidental and simultaneous application of the two independent base rules. Thus, the frequency of *se þe* relatives can be directly estimated as $P(se\ þe) = P(se) \times P(þe)$. Similar observations have been made for the history of negation in English (Wallage 2008) and are possibly a feature of grammatical cycles in general.

I will propose that the constant rate hypothesis (Kroch 1989) holds for the overlapping form in grammatical cycles just as it does for ordinary syntactic changes. This conclusion is based on the factor weights for the overlap form in various contexts as well as logistic transforms of the base rules.

Furthermore, I will briefly discuss why doubly-filled COMP relative clauses might have become by and large extinct in ME after the introduction of *wh*-relative pronouns, despite some counter-examples such as (4).

- (4) [*thy freend [which that thou has lorn]*]
 your friend which that you have lost
 'your friend that you have lost'
 (cmctmeli.m3, 218.C1.31)

Finally, a stochastic model of the variation under investigation will be outlined that takes LFG as its underlying grammar framework and amends every production rule in competition with a probability distribution. Variation is thus argued to be generated by core grammar, i.e. to form an integral part of competence (e.g. Clark 2004).

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