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Abstracts

Résumés de communication

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PLENARY CONFERENCES / CONFÉRENCES PLENIÈRES

How Many Language Families are there in the World?

Lyle Campbell, University of Utah

How many language families (including isolates) are there in the world? Surprisingly, most historical linguists do not know – estimates range around 250 but vary from only 1 to 500 or so. The answer to this question is complicated by a number of theoretical and methodological questions fundamental to historical linguistics:

- (1) Is the family tree model flawed?, or better put, why are most of the challenges to family trees without foundation?
- (2) Can linguistic diffusion be a serious challenge to linguistic genealogical relationships?, or, put differently, how successful in difficult cases can we be at distinguishing inheritance from borrowing?
- (3) Is there a temporal threshold beyond which genetic relationship among languages is no longer demonstrable?
- (4) Why have typological comparisons sometimes led to erroneous hypotheses of language families?
- (5) Can the wide geographical distributions of certain linguistic traits make it impossible to sort out genetic relationships among languages?
- (6) Why is it that human genetics and other non-linguistic fields cannot help us determine genetic relationships among languages?
- (7) Can the speakers' type of society or the sort of culture determine the nature of change in their languages and thus influence how they might be classified?
- (8) Why is it impossible to demonstrate Proto-World on the basis of extant evidence?
- (9) What is the prognosis for discovering new family relationships among languages?, What recent progress has been made?

This paper addresses these issues, attempting to proffer answers (or at least perspective) and thus to contribute to the classification of languages generally, and ultimately to answering the question, how many language families are there, really?

Grammaticalizing number and definiteness in French based Creoles

Viviane Déprez, Rutgers University

Tradition views grammaticalization as the gradual change of a lexical item into a functional one. In the generative literature, grammaticalization has been modeled as the movement of a lexical head up the functional structure that dominates it (Déprez 2000, Robert and Roussou 2002). This paper argues for a more fractionalized approach to grammaticalization that brings the relevant changes down to the level of the grammatical features within lexical items, with semantic and structural variation following as derived consequences. Concretely, I propose that grammaticalization encodes a change in the *interpretability* of features, where *interpretability* is understood as legibility at the phonetic or semantic interface (Chomsky 2000). From *interpretable*, some feature(s) of a lexical item becomes *un-interpretable*, with the consequence that they must be eliminated under checking during the syntactic derivation. On Chomsky's view, content-full lexical items have largely syntactically inert *interpretable* features. Functional projections, in contrast, contain *un-interpretable* features that act as probes, attracting elements of similar feature content for checking. By changing the interpretability of some of its feature values, a lexical item in effect changes its status from that of an attractable independent argument or 'goal', to that of an attracting functor or 'probe' that drives the syntactic derivation. This approach to grammaticalization is here shown to provide an explanatory account of the surprising ordering variation observed in French based creole noun phrases. The paper further shows that changes in feature interpretability are linked to changes in semantic properties, explicitly coupling the grammaticalization of morphological features to specific semantic distinctions. The paper focuses particularly on the grammaticalization of number and definiteness in French based creole determiners.

Some Thoughts on Grammaticalization

Richard S. Kayne, New York University

The way in which the notion of grammaticalization plays a role in diachronic syntax depends on various assumptions. I will consider, among other things, the role of silent elements and the status of complementizers.

The Life History of Linguistic Chance

William Labov, University of Pennsylvania

As Meillet and Saussure both pointed out, we cannot hope to explain the sporadic course of linguistic change by the operation of invariant physiological or psychological factors. Studies of linguistic changes in progress over the last half-century have illuminated our understanding of the causes of change by locating the events in specific social and linguistic structures. This paper will draw upon these studies to trace the characteristic life history of linguistic changes: *the triggering events* which initiate change; *forks in the road* that are responsible for the differentiation of contiguous dialects, *driving forces* which move the changes forward; and the *rising levels* that lead to completion.

The paper will first consider the triggering events that led to the differentiation of English dialects in the inventory of the low vowels: the instability of the opposition of long and short open *o* and the variable split of short *a* into tense and lax forms. It will then take up the chain shifts and mergers that were initiated or inhibited by these conditions, and their progress as shown in the recently completed *Atlas of North American English*. The structural consequences of the initial changes are shown to lead to the sharp and increasing differentiation of regional dialects. The continued advancement of these changes will be linked to their correlations with social class and gender. Reinterpretations of the social significance of innovating forms by successive generations of language learners eventually leads to the consolidation of the community pattern and the creation of the uniform structural base that is characteristic of metropolitan speech communities.

Statistical Inference in Historical Text Mining

Ludovic Lebart, École Normale Supérieure des Télécommunications

Principal axes methods (multivariate descriptive techniques such as principal components analysis, correspondence analysis) provide useful visualizations of high-dimensional data. In the context of historical textual data, these techniques produce planar maps highlighting the associations between graphemes and texts (paragraphs, chapters, full texts, authors). The set of graphemes is frequently very large, and tools are needed to assess the locations of points and then select the subsets of units that are significant from a statistical standpoint. A classical analytical approach is both unrealistic and analytically complex. However, the “bootstrap” techniques as well as similar Monte-Carlo methods make weak assumptions about the underlying distributions and allow for drawing confidence areas for the locations of points in the obtained graphical displays. A valid statistical inference can then be carried out in a particularly complex context. Examples relate to a series of medieval French texts (12-th to 14-th centuries) rich in spelling variants. A free software is available.

A Theory of Creole Genesis

Claire Lefebvre, Université du Québec à Montréal

The most intriguing question about creole languages is no doubt that of how they come about. Since creole languages are natural languages, it must be possible to formulate a theory of their origin within the framework of the processes that play a role in language creation and language change in general. This is the assumption that I had in mind when I first started working on the problem of creole genesis in the early eighties.

The first part of my talk will outline the theory that we developed within the aforementioned framework. This theory involves the process of relexification or relabelling, as well as the processes of leveling, grammaticalisation, reanalysis, lexical diffusion and innovation. The second part of the talk will summarize the various dimensions of a valid test of this theory. On the basis of data drawn from various creole languages, the third part of the talk will illustrate how the various processes interact in creole genesis and development. The fourth part will show that the proposed theory can account for all the features that characterize the emergence and early development of a creole language, and it will discuss the consequences of the findings for historical linguistics.

VO et V (...) O en français

Christiane Marchello-Nizia, ENS-LSH-Lyon

Le passage du latin aux langues romanes a été marqué, entre autres phénomènes, par le déplacement de l'objet nominal à la droite du verbe. En français, ce changement d'organisation valencielle s'est effectué sur plusieurs siècles, en plusieurs étapes. S'est ajoutée à cela la contrainte de contiguïté (grammaticalisation), qui n'admet désormais entre V et O que certains éléments adverbiaux, excluant le sujet nominal de cette place.

On reprendra la chronologie fine de l'évolution relative de V, O (objet nominal) et S (sujet nominal) en français, afin d'approfondir cette question particulière de la disparition de (X)VSO. En effet, en ancien français X-VSO et X-VOS sont possibles : *Donc perdreit Carles (S) le destre bras (O) del cors* (*Chanson de Roland* 597, 11^e-12^e s. : 'Charles perdrait son bras droit'), et *Ja n'i avrunt reproece (O) mi parent (S)* (*ibid.* 1076 : 'Jamais mes parents n'encourront de reproche'). En français moderne seul (X) VOS est possible (*Paieront une amende tous les professeurs ayant rendu leurs livres en retard, A Bruxelles se feront jour deux priorités, Prennent place ensuite les autres invités...*).

De l’Ancien au Nouveau Monde : configurations sociales et linguistiques

France Martineau, Université d’Ottawa

L’époque classique est une période importante de réflexions sur le français. Les grammaires prescriptives de l’époque (Vaugelas, Maupas, Ménage, etc.) nous permettent d’avoir un aperçu assez juste du sentiment sur la norme qui devait prévaloir, tout au moins à Paris. On connaît toutefois beaucoup moins les usages qui avaient cours dans les différents milieux sociaux, à Paris et en province. Après une brève revue des sources existantes, nous présenterons deux corpus qui permettent de reconstruire une partie de ces usages. Le Corpus *Voies du français* (www.voies.uottawa.ca) couvre la période qui va du Moyen Âge au XVIIIe siècle et a été structuré de façon à tenir compte des grandes divisions dialectales. Le second corpus, *Corpus de français familier ancien* (<http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/arts/lettres/nf/>), est constitué de documents privés écrits par des scripteurs nés en Nouvelle-France mais aussi dans les régions d’origine des colons. Il intègre également des documents provenant de variétés de français qui se sont développées à partir du français de la vallée du Saint-Laurent et du français acadien.

Si on connaît assez bien les origines des immigrants qui se sont installés dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, on connaît moins bien l’évolution historique du français au Canada, en particulier en ce qui a trait à la morphosyntaxe. Nous tenterons de situer la variation que l’on observe en Nouvelle-France dans une perspective dialectale (par exemple, l’alternance *point / pas*) et sociale (*je vas / je vais*; effacement de *ne*), en particulier en mesurant la distance qui a pu se créer entre les usages du français de la vallée du Saint-Laurent et ceux qui avaient cours à Paris et en périphérie à l’époque.

A diachronic view of psychological verbs with dative experiencers in Spanish

María Luisa Rivero, with the collaboration of Rodica C. Diaconescu

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In Modern Spanish, a familiar class of psychological constructions with Vs such as gustar “please, appeal to” is characterized by two syntactic properties. On the one hand, like in Italian, such constructions contain experiencers in the dative and {themes/subjects of emotion} in the nominative in agreement with the verb. On the other hand, in Modern Spanish they must also contain a dative clitic, unless their reading is generic. Thus, Vs such as gustar associate with obligatory clitic doubling in the modern period, since constructions must have a dative clitic even when the dative phrase is present, as in (1). This second characteristic has been coupled to the hypothesis that the dative sits in a High Applicative phrase with the clitic as obligatory head, and makes Spanish resemble clitic doubling languages such as Rumanian and Bulgarian.

- (1) Al rey le gustaron estas cosas.
The.king.Dat Dat.Cl like.3Pl those things.Nom.3Pl
‘The king liked those things. Those things appealed to the king.’

Old Spanish psychological constructions with Vs such plazer ‘please’, displazer “displease”, and pesar “pain” also contain dative experiencers, but differ from their Modern Spanish counterparts in two important respects. First, their {themes/subjects of emotion} are within prepositional phrases, so they arguably lack nominatives and display Vs in default form without agreement. Second, they

need not contain dative clitics, and do not associate with obligatory clitic doubling as a consequence. These properties are illustrated in (2) from the 14th c.

- (2) a. E al rey plogo dello. Crónica de Juan I
And the king.Dat liked.3Sg of.it
'And the king liked it. And that appealed to the king.'

In this paper, I explore the historical evolution of psychological constructions with dative experiencers in Spanish. My initial hypothesis is that Old Spanish predicates such as plazer were not psych Vs of class III, and thus differed from Modern Spanish gustar. Old Spanish Vs of the relevant type participated in constructions with properties that resemble those of so-called adversative constructions in Russian, which also exhibit Vs in default form, two oblique arguments, and no nominative. On this view, the lack of doubling in the old period is an indication that the dative experiencer was not treated as a High Applicative, among several other differences.

Lifespan change and language change

Gillian Sankoff, University of Pennsylvania

Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (WLH 1968) demonstrated that a plot of the frequency of a linguistic feature following the regular curve of an age distribution could be shown to reflect language change in progress. This discovery is widely accepted as the beginning of the modern reintegration of synchronic and diachronic linguistics. In the 40 years since WLH, many studies combining diachronic evidence with the synchronic analysis of contemporary speech communities attest to the well-foundedness of the concept of apparent time, on which real-time interpretation rests. Modeling the progress of change, however, is complicated by the fact that sociolinguists have not had access to the kind of data that would allow us to factor in the change that may occur for speakers across their lifespans, a factor known as "age grading". The current paper uses data from a longitudinal study of Montreal French, including the re-recording of the same speakers in 1971, 1984 and 1995, to propose several models of the possible relationships between language change in the community and language change across individual lifespans.

Rome, Etruria, Carthage? Origins of the Germanic runes

Theo Vennemann, University of Munich

The ultimate origin of the Germanic runic writing system in the Canaanite consonantal alphabet is obvious, but the immediate source of the system is less clear. While variants of a theory of a Greek source alphabet continue appearing and will find attention in this lecture, three theories, two old (the "Latin thesis" and the "Etruscan thesis") and one new (the "Phoenician thesis"), will be most directly expounded and evaluated. A catalog of explananda will be presented as a basis for evaluating the different theses, among them:

- the shape and value of the runes
- the naming and order of the runes
- the writing rules
- the time and location of the earliest finds

It will be shown on this basis that while no theory so far is able to account for all the properties of runic writing, there exist among them considerable differences of explanatory power.

REGULAR PROGRAMME /
PROGRAMME RÉGULIER

The disintegration of Germanic nominal inflection: The case of West Germanic r-stems

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The paper addresses the issue of morphological constitution of the early Germanic nominal system, concentrating on an evident tendency revealed by minor (unproductive) nouns to adopt the inflectional endings of the productive types. This phenomenon can be seen in the original r-stems, known as nouns of relationship, which constitute the focus of the present study. The analysis covers the data provided by two representatives of the West Germanic branch: Old High German and Old English. The material offered by both dialects evinces a striking instability of the original r-stem type which inclines towards the productive a-stem type. The fluctuation between the two competing types can be seen, for instance, in forms of the genitive and dative singular of the masculine paradigm, where alongside the expected endingless formations, productive forms in -es and -e (for genitive and dative respectively) are attested (e.g. OE *fæder* ~ *fæd(e)res*; *fæder* ~ *fæd(e)re*, OHG *fater* ~ *fateres*, *fater* ~ *fateres*). Such fluctuation within the investigated paradigms attests to the ongoing syncretism, resulting in the eventual disintegration of the original stem type distinctions. Through a detailed scrutiny of selected texts from both languages, the study attempts to determine the pattern of dissemination of the productive inflection in nouns containing the original r-stems. Given that the two investigated dialects may display different behaviour with respect to paradigmatic restructuring, the analysis seeks to trace down and compare the peculiarities and tendencies characteristic of both languages, including those with respect to which the two do not pattern alike.

El coche ese vs el coche de marras: A diachronic view of discourse strategies in Spanish

David Alexander, The Ohio State University

Modern Spanish has two referring expressions for given information: (1)a. Dame [la carta]i V-give-CL-1st-s ART-the letter [La carta esa]i que ART-the letter DEM-that CP-that te mencioné. CL-2nd-s V-1st-s mentioned (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002) (1)b. [el Quijote]i...[el libro de marras]i. ART-the Quijote...ART-the book PREP-of before (CREA) The pronominal demonstrative is the default across Romance languages (Bernstein 2001) in contrast to (1)a identified with a pejorative reading (Gutiérrez-Rexach 2002). This study clarifies the role of the “pejorative” postposed demonstrative and the PP “de marras”. I investigate 1a&b) in diachronic/synchronic corpora (CREA, CORDE, www.corpusdelespanol) via Prince 1981’s Givenness, and Blackwell 2003’s Neo-Gricean Framework. The postnominal demonstrative emerges in the 14th-15th centuries from Neo-Latin material: 2) La tenor de la carta esta ART-the tenor PREP-of ART-the letter DEM-this (Biblia Latina, Anónimo. 1300-1400) Whereas “de marras”, stemming from Arabic *marrah*-once, one time, first appears in the 13th century (Corominas&Pascual 1980) and within a PP from the 15th century onwards(1b). I argue that the postnominal demonstrative is not pejorative but used to encode hearer-old information: Anaphoric, Shared Knowledge, and Situationally Accessible, in contrast to “de marras” which is inherently pejorative(1b). This adjunct has a more “affective” import than syntactic inversion given that lexical terms are fixed whereas syntax depends on shifting discourse frames (Fillmore 1983). Therefore, “de marras” appears more regularly in the diachronic record than the postnominal demonstrative given that the discourse context vital to the use of the inverted demonstrative is largely absent from written corpora.

On the disappearance of genitive types in Middle English: The syntax of love and fear and the nature of syntactic change

Cynthia Allen, Australian National University

In Modern English, a possessive phrases such as God's love can only refer to the love which God has (for some target). In OE, however, *godes lufu* could be either 'subjective' or 'objective', with God ambiguously the experiencer or the target of the emotion. This paper presents the result of a corpus-based investigation into this change and how it correlates with the loss of genitive verbal objects. Tracking the frequencies of different types of genitives of nouns of emotion from early to late OE and through ME, I found that these 'objective' genitives were more often prenominal than postnominal in all periods and participated in the general shifting of genitives to the prenominal position of late OE. Thus the disappearance of these genitives is not directly related to the disappearance of postnominal genitives. I also found no significant difference between the case rich and case impoverished texts in the use of these objective genitives. The prenominal objective genitive of emotion remained long into the ME period in all dialects. A single triggering event cannot explain the loss of all the 'obsolete' genitives. No single explanation offered so far for the disappearance of all the 'obsolete' genitives fits the facts. It appears that the loss of the 'objective' genitives with nouns of emotion was part of a general trend towards limiting prenominal genitives to the most typical types and replacing the less typical types with of phrases.

The Genealogical Classification of the Western Torres Strait Language

Barry Alpher, Georgetown University

Claire Bowers, Rice University

Geoffrey O'Grady, University of Victoria

We present evidence for classing the Western Torres Strait (WTS) language as Pama-Nyungan, with a complex history of contact with both neighboring Pama-Nyungan languages and unrelated ("Papuan") languages. Some of the recent literature regarding language contact contains emphatically stated claims that the Australian situation is exceptional, and indeed, in the case of Torres Strait, that the determination of linguistic relatedness is impossible (e.g. Dixon 2002:130). The Western Torres Strait dialect chain, although classed as Pama-Nyungan from the earliest work (and implicitly but clearly in the work that preceded the coining of the term "Pama-Nyungan"), has recently been claimed not to be Australian at all. In this paper we review the evidence for the genetic status of WTS and conclude with comments on the methodological implications of diffusionist views applied indiscriminately. We stress the importance of the study of WTS in the PN context because of its almost unique status as a language not geographically contiguous with other members of the family. Evidence for the genetic affiliation of WTS includes: • Regular reflexes of core (and non-core) vocabulary • Regular reflexes of pronouns, complete with suppletive paradigms • Reflexes of nominal and verbal morphology • Fossilized PN suffixes otherwise lost in WTS Items which confuse the picture include: • Extensive loans from neighboring languages, including Uradhi and Meryam. • Multiple correspondences (e.g. Pama-Nyungan initial stops sometimes reflected as voiced, sometimes as voiceless) • Presumed substrate effects from "Papuan"

‘Flexible’ re- etc. in Medieval and Modern Romance

John Ole Askedal, University of Oslo

Lene Schoesler, University of Copenhagen

In “On directionality in language change with particular reference to grammaticalization” (2004), Haspelmath (2004: 29) lists the development of “Latin rigid prefix re- “again” > Italian flexible prefix ri- (e.g. ridevo fare “I must do again”)” as one of eight “attested antigrammaticalizations” known to him, assuming a shifting of re/ri- from its primary lexical host to a secondary modal one. To provide further information on this phenomenon, we have conducted a search of re- in verbs that have an auxiliary use in electronic corpora of Old, Middle and Modern French, in addition to consulting the relevant literature on historical Romance grammar for similar phenomena. On the whole, ‘flexible re-’ appears to be very rare. As a verb prefix, it is attested, with decreasing frequency, throughout the history of French and, marginally, in revoilà, revoici and pronouns and pronominal adverbs. Similar and equally marginal phenomena are attested in Modern Italian, Spanish, French vernaculars and Medieval Galician-Portuguese. ‘Flexible re-’ in auxiliaries can be interpreted in terms of lexical extension from one class of verbs to another or some sort of semantico-syntactic ‘hopping’ rule (cf. ‘negation hopping’). In other cases only an explanation in terms of extended combinability or reanalysis applies. The various developments of ‘flexible re-’ can be described as ‘reversals’ on Hopper and Traugott’s (2003: 7) ‘grammaticalization cline’. In conclusion it is discussed whether this suffices to characterize them as instances of ‘antigrammaticalization’ (or ‘degrammaticalization’).

Rethinking Morphological Conditioning: Schwa Maintenance and Apocope in 17th century Dutch

Angela Bagwell, University of Wisconsin at Madison

Robert B. Howell, University of Wisconsin at Madison

In this paper, we revisit Russ’s (1982) claim that Middle Dutch final schwas were maintained as part of “strong” grammatical categories, such as past tense weak verbs, attributive adjectives, ordinal numbers, and nominal suffixes. We take an alternative view that rather than being the result of morphological conditioning, schwa loss or retention results from a process of koineisation (cf. Kerswill and Williams 2000) in the burgeoning cities of the northern Netherlands during the Eighty Years War (1568-1648). Citing examples from contemporary texts which most closely reflect vernacular usage (personal letters, diaries, the language of low-brow farces), we show that speakers in rapidly growing cities were confronted by a welter of different dialects, each of which showed varying treatment of final schwa and final –e(n). As a result of this highly varied input, subsequent generations of dialect speakers seem to extend one variant or another through entire paradigms. While the resultant systems retain marking of grammatical distinctions such as present versus past tense of weak verbs, the generalized forms can be attributed to leveling, a common outcome in koine formation. We propose that it was this type of process which determined the maintenance or loss of final schwa in 17th century Dutch urban vernaculars. References Kerswill, Paul & Williams, Ann. 2000. ‘Creating a New Town koine: children and language change in Milton Keynes’, *Language in Society* 29, 65-115. Russ, Charles V.J. 1982. ‘The Grammatical Conditioning of Sound Changes.’ *Leuvense Bijdragen* 71, 141-150.

Expansion of the Mexican Lexicon

Brandon Baird, Brandon is an undergraduate majoring in Spanish and Linguistics at *Brigham*

Lexical Expansion has happened throughout the history of the world. Words are added into languages everyday. Modern day Spanish in Mexico is one of the best examples of this. Many words and integrated themselves into the common speech of Mexico. English and Náhuatl have been two of the biggest influences on the expanding lexicon of Mexico. But where and how is this expansion taking place? If we take certain words that are synonyms from both Náhuatl and Spanish, for example the Náhuatl word *tecolote* and the Spanish word *búho* both mean owl and are generally understood in Mexico, we can tell certain things about where a person's preference lies, whether it be with Náhuatl or Spanish in this example. To better understand this lexical expansion interviews will be done using a flashcard with a picture of the desired word, for example an owl, and the interviewee is asked to state what he sees in the picture. The answers reveal the areas of influence of the languages. Interviewees are split up into groups such as, age, gender, education level, and rural/ urban living areas. The interviews are done in Central Mexico to better understand the lexical expansion of the "middle ground" of the Mexican language. Results possibly show the greater influence of Náhuatl in rural areas and among the less educated and older interviewees with English influence being greater among the opposite groups. Results will show possible lexical expansion.

Word Order and Agreement in Old French Brace Constructions

Brigitte L. M. Bauer, The University of Texas at Austin

Word Order and Agreement in Old French Brace Constructions Brigitte L.M. Bauer The University of Texas at Austin Old French verbal syntax is characterized by a variety of word order patterns which all have their special status and values. While VO patterns become increasingly important, there are for example a number of archaic word order characteristics, such as OV sequences in relative clauses. Another, related, change pertains to the spread of [auxiliary + perfective participle] constructions. Crucial in this development is the change in the relative order of these two elements and even more so the position of the (direct) object. Following the emergence of *habeo* as an auxiliary element in the late stages of Latin, the subsequent development can be summarized as going from *EPISTULAM SCRIPTAM HABEO* to *HABEO EPISTULAM SCRIPTAM* to *HABEO SCRIPTAM EPISTULAM*. On the basis of data from a variety of Old and Middle French texts I will discuss in this talk how these patterns developed over time, what factors played a role (e.g. syntactic context) and how these findings relate to the development of agreement patterns on perfective participles in Old and Middle French. The aim of the paper is to detect how the partial loss of a nominal feature on a verbal element—agreement—is related to the development of verbal syntax.

Patrons sociolinguistiques d'une flexion traditionnelle chez trois générations de locuteurs acadiens

Louise Beaulieu, Université de Moncton

Wladyslaw Cichocki, University of New Brunswick

Cette communication porte sur l'emploi de la flexion traditionnelle de 3e personne du pluriel (-ont) chez trois générations de locuteurs de la variété de français acadien parlé dans le nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick (Canada). Dans cette variété, l'accord sujet-verbe à la 3e personne du pluriel a trois variantes : \emptyset -V- \emptyset (les enfants parl-ent), la forme généralement associée au français normatif; i-V- \emptyset (les enfants i-parl-ent), une forme répandue en français parlé; i-V-ont (les enfants i-parl-ont), la variante à l'étude. Les données analysées proviennent de deux corpus de langage spontané : un corpus de 16 adultes stratifié d'après le sexe, l'âge et le réseau social (réseau fermé et réseau ouvert) et un

corpus de 24 enfants stratifié selon le sexe, l'âge et le réseau social parental. Les patrons sociolinguistiques chez les locuteurs adultes suggèrent que la flexion -ont est un trait linguistique stigmatisé en déclin. La variation observée est explicable d'abord par des facteurs extralinguistiques, plus particulièrement le réseau social, et par un phénomène interne à la langue, soit la forme du radical du verbe. Chez les enfants, on note des différences considérables dans l'emploi de -ont dues aussi au réseau social. Cependant, les facteurs internes montrent des patrons qui diffèrent de ceux observés chez les adultes. Ce dernier résultat suggère que le processus de « transmission » de la variation d'une génération à l'autre (Labov, 2001) met en jeu la réorganisation de l'input linguistique fourni par les adultes des générations précédentes.

Is Modern Hebrew Semitic? One more argument in favour of the relexification hypothesis of its genesis

Alyona Belikova, McGill University

There exist two major hypotheses of the genesis of Modern Hebrew (MH). The Traditional School (Rosen 1977, Rabin 1974) claims that MH is Biblical Hebrew revived, while the Revolutionary School (Wexler 1990, 2002; Horvath & Wexler 1994, 1997) argues that MH is Indo-European in nature. In particular, Wexler and Horvath (1994, 1997) assert that MH is Yiddish relexified to Old Hebrew and show with numerous examples that its grammar seems to manifest: (a) the absence of most properties known to be characteristic of Old Hebrew and other Semitic languages which do not coincide with Yiddish, and (b) the presence of a host of Yiddish features that are unlikely to be due to borrowing. In the present paper I provide a new piece of evidence in favour of the relexification hypothesis of the genesis of MH. The comparative analysis of relative clauses (RCs) in MH, Biblical Hebrew and Yiddish shows that the structure of RCs in MH mirrors the peculiarities of Yiddish RCs, rather than the ones of Biblical Hebrew RCs. Although Modern and Biblical Hebrew RCs are similar in that they both involve resumptive pronouns, only MH resumptives behave like *wh*-phrases in the absence of the overt complementizer (Demirdache 1991). This fact is puzzling for the traditional approach to MH genesis, while the relexification hypothesis in fact predicts it, given that Yiddish employs both resumptive pronouns and the *wh*-strategy, and in addition respects the Doubly Filled COMP Filter barring co-occurrence of a *wh*-phrase and the overt complementizer.

Some questions raised by early Proto-Indo-European

Jacqueline Boley

Based on established data of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and of the earliest extant IE languages (Hittite, Homeric Greek and Vedic Sanskrit), this paper seeks to reexamine the analysis of syntax into a basic underlying model S O and V (in some order), with the Verb determining thematic roles for the Nouns; and the strict distinction between Noun and Verb. The first does not appear to hold for the earliest traceable PIE (which has been analyzed as an active language), which seems centered around an Animate Central Figure, to which the rest of the language, including the Verb, is coordinated. The Object as a category does not appear to exist in early PIE: animate and inanimate are distinguished in syntax and morphology. The ancient view of an utterance seems based not on SOV, but rather on a Central Person and its attributes/activities and relations with its surroundings. And reconstructing back into the prehistory of PIE, it appears that there was no formal distinction between Noun and Verb, the same roots appearing in dual roles. These phenomena among others may aid our further understanding of ancient logic. And a connection can be made between these data and some aspects of what is currently known about the processing of language in the brain, which may help us to analyze even a modern utterance on a more basic level than the above-mentioned model.

Australian Models of Language Spread

Claire Bovern, Rice University Linguistics

Australian historical linguistics has been haunted by difficulties in the reconstruction of Proto-Pama-Nyungan. Estimates of the family's age vary wildly (from 4000BP to more than 40,000BP), and new theories of change have been developed to account for the current distribution of languages. Here I outline a reconstruction model with a case study from the Karnic subgroup of Pama-Nyungan. I work within a model that is similar to Ross' (1997) speech community networks, and argue that the Comparative Method can be used to reconstruct isogloss networks as well as neatly bifurcating trees (contra Dixon 2002). Such networks can be modeled on "rakes", such as Ross', or on reticulate networks, such as those used here. There are several important implications. First, the unit of input to the tree is simultaneously the speech community and the "lect"; these two entities do not map directly to one another in most pre-European Australian societies. Thus this is not solely a linguistic model of change. Secondly, in a model such as this the concept of "contact-induced change" is potentially highly problematic. At that level, all change is contact-induced, in that it is spread through a speech community network which may or may not involve multiple "languages". It remains to be seen whether this is a desirable consequence of the model. Importantly, however, such a model accurately and realistically models a family where linguistic diversification has primarily occurred while speakers of different geographical lects have remained in contact with one another.

A hybrid approach to Jespersen's Cycle in West Germanic

Anne Breitbarth, University of Cambridge, Dept. of Linguistics

Jespersen (1917) first observed the cyclic weakening and subsequent strengthening in the expression of sentential negation in a number of European languages. Similar cyclic changes in the expression of negation have since been discussed for other languages as well. There are essentially two positions concerning the driving forces behind this type of change. Under a pull-chain scenario, as assumed by Jespersen himself, the weakening of the original marker drives the cycle, and its loss is due to a form of functional redundancy. Under a push-chain scenario, it is the grammaticalisation of the secondary negator that pushes the original marker out of use. Under both conceptions, there is a stage in which there are two markers bearing negation features of some sort present simultaneously, requiring extra syntactic (checking) or semantic (absorption) machinery. In this paper, I argue for a hybrid approach. The original marker undergoes a morphosyntactic change from expressing negation to expressing non-affirmative polarity. Due to its non-veridicality, it can license negative polarity items and therefore remains semantically compatible with a negative interpretation. Simultaneously, an independently grammaticalised adverbial reinforcer is reanalysed as new negator, paving the way for the eventual loss of the preverbal marker. Evidence comes from a subset of the cases of expletive negation in the history of West Germanic languages, in which the preverbal marker develops into a scope marker for certain non-veridical contexts. The observed development of different types of expletive negation falls out automatically. The proposal additionally makes interesting predictions beyond Jespersen's Cycle and negation proper.

Middle English Vowel Length in French Loanwords

Ashley Burnett, University of Calgary

During the 11th through 14th centuries, the English vocabulary came to include a large number of French loanwords. Unlike Middle English, Old French did not differentiate vowels by their length. As a result, the vowels in the borrowed French words were either shortened or lengthened as they entered English. For example, the Old French words 'cite' and 'stile' both contained [i]. However, when the words were borrowed into Middle English, the /i/ in 'cite' became a short vowel (and ultimately [ɪ]) as in 'city', while the /i/ in 'stile' was lengthened, as reflected in 'style' (where [i:] > [aj] during the Great Vowel Shift). Bliss 1952-53 provides many environments related to vowel lengths, but leaves numerous exceptions unaccounted for. As a consequence, an inclusive explanation for these forms and their environments has yet to be made. In the present study, I use Syllable Cut Theory to demonstrate that vowel length changes in these loanwords occurred in a predictable manner. Applying Syllable Cut Theory to Middle English allows for the association of vowel length and syllable structure. Syllables that are abruptly cut contain short vowels and end in a consonant. In comparison, smoothly cut syllables contain long vowels and may end with a vowel or a consonant (Murray 2000, 2002, Vennemann 2000). Consequently, the length given to the vowels of French loanwords was determined by their syllable cut structure in Middle English.

Objects, Relative Clauses, English, and Dutch

Robert Cloutier, Universiteit van Amsterdam

Detailed analyses of Rcs modifying Os in a number of Old and Middle English texts are compared to one another as well as to similar examples in Middle and Modern Dutch texts. The position of Rc and O is considered across a number of different factors: type of Rc (restrictive or non-restrictive), newness of the information presented, and weight. At first glance, restrictive Rcs seem to be likely candidates for appearance next to Os and embedding within the clause due to their close relationship to Os. The earlier pilot study, however, suggests that non-restrictive Rcs tend to appear in this position. I expect that the newness of the information may be the more important factor: new information tends to appear outside of the boundaries of the clause, and old information tends to stay within. The weight of an Rc, if it proves to be significant, may be an epiphenomenon of other factors.

A New Sound Law of PIE: Initial **h3w > *h2w****

Paul S. Cohen

Adam Hyllested, University of Copenhagen

The infrequency of PIE initial ***h3w** (***h3w^o**), and of ***h1w^o**, compared to the rather frequent ***h2w^o** is very conspicuous. We offer phonetic and phonological explanations for the rarity of ***h3w^o**. The exact details of these explanations are, of course, dependent on the phonetic identity of ***h3**—and, as it turns out, that of ***h2** as well. We examine and discuss the range of possibilities, and conclude that at a stage of PIE before the coloration of vowels by laryngeals, the sound change **h3w^o > h2w^o** had occurred. This exceptionless sound change enables us to give straightforward etymologies for several PIE lexical items whose details have heretofore been bones of contention, including the words for ‘sheep’, ‘bird’, and ‘egg’, without any need to resort (as other scholars have had to do) for the last two to an underlying form with ablauting ***a**.

A diachronic study of constructional semantics: the ditransitive in English and Dutch

Timothy Coleman, Ghent University

In Construction Grammar, the ditransitive [SBJ V OBJ1 OBJ2] argument structure constructions of both English and Dutch have been presented as prime cases of constructional polysemy, which display a family of related senses built around a prototypical ‘Agent causes Recipient to receive Patient’ sense (Goldberg 1995, Geeraerts 1998). This study will provide further corroboration for such an analysis by exploring the semantic history of the ditransitive. On the basis of corpus data from Early Modern English and Early Modern Dutch, it will be shown that the semantic range of the ditransitive has decreased considerably over the last three to four centuries in both languages. Examples of uses which have either completely disappeared from the grammar or which have been marginalized include the use of the ditransitive with verbs of stealing and taking away, the use of the ditransitive to encode “true” benefactive events which do not involve a subevent of reception, and the use of the construction with attitudinal verbs such as envy and forgive. These shifts suggest that the present-day ‘caused reception’ semantics of the ditransitive construction in English and Dutch is the outcome of a process of semantic specialization. References Geeraerts, Dirk. 1998. The semantic structure of the indirect object in Dutch. *The Dative*. Volume II: Theoretical and Contrastive Studies, W. Van Langendonck & W. Van Belle (eds.), 185-210. Amsterdam: Benjamins. Goldberg, Adele E. 1995. *Constructions: a Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University Press.

An Acoustic Explanation for Unstressed Vowel Reduction and Loss in Germanic

Jennifer Cornish, University at Buffalo, SUNY

The current study posits that after the Germanic Stress Shift, the increased use of duration as a stress correlate led to a significant durational distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables, and it was this shorter duration of unstressed syllables that brought about the reduction and loss of unstressed segments that reshaped the morphology of the Germanic family. If reduction was a consequence of non-prominent positions regardless of durational differences, we would expect to find it in languages that do not use duration as a primary correlate of stress. If reduction develops only where duration becomes central in stress, we should not find reduction in languages that use pitch or other cues as primary correlates. Results from a speech production study of Polish and Turkish, thought to use pitch as their primary acoustic cue, serves as an important contrast to results found for English. Results from Polish reveal a direct relationship between duration and reduction, while Turkish shows neither a strong use of duration nor reduction. Results from both languages support the claim that shorter duration in unstressed syllables resulted in the reduction and loss process in Germanic. The interaction of shortening and reduction can also help to explain the persistence of reduction and loss into the modern daughter languages.

Variable Analogical Extension of Velar Augments in Dialectal Catalan

Angelo Costanzo, The Ohio State University

While it is present in other Romance languages to a far lesser extent, an unetymological velar stop appears frequently in Catalan 1SG.PRES.IND.ACT forms (e.g. Lat.SCRIB? ? Std.Cat. *escrib* cf. Sp. *escribo*, It. *scrivo*). Dialectal data from Griera's *Atlas lingüístic de Catalunya* show the velar insert to an even greater extent in regional Catalan dialects (Lat. CANT? ? Std.Cat. *canto*, but dialectally (Girona), *cántuk*). While the ultimate origin of the velar is uncertain, the process by which it has spread and caused the observed dialectal variation is clearly analogical in nature: the verbs showing the velar have acquired it via influence from other forms that already had the velar consonant. Looking at only the standard language is deceiving, as the full range of occurrence of the velar is observable only in nonstandard dialects. Dialectal data not only show the differing degrees to which this analogical change is accomplished, but also the different analogical options available. For example, Lat.DORM(I)? (Std.Cat. *dormo*) gives a variety of reflexes with this unetymological velar: *dórmik* (SE.France), *dórmuk* (Girona), *dórk* (Valencia), *dórmigo* (W.Tarragona), each form showing a different "solution" to the issue of velar accretion. Variation of this sort, with analogy at its root, unlike the more commonly described phonological variation, has a distinctively cognitive dimension to it (Anttila 2003). Observing this variation gives insight into precisely how the language has changed, and furthermore, observing these changes can give insight into how the cognitive processes underlying analogy actually work.

Cluster, interrupted. Dialect variation and standardisation in Early Modern Dutch

Griet Coupé, Radboud University Nijmegen

The continental West-Germanic dialects vary in the extent to which they allow the clause-final verb cluster to be interrupted by non-verbal elements. Variation can be found along several dimensions: according to the type of intervening material (from particle to full NP), according to the frequency of the phenomenon and according to the number of constituents that can intervene between the verbs. However, the grammars of modern standard Dutch, German and Frisian do not permit verb clusters to be interrupted. In older varieties of these languages, verb cluster interruption seems to have been much more common (see Behagel (1932): Old High German, Van der Meer (1990): Old Frisian and Hoeksema (1994): Early Middle Dutch). In this paper, I will investigate how 15th to 17th century Dutch dialects behave with regard to cluster interruption. Data have been drawn from the newly built historical corpus Dutch in Transition, which covers three main regions: Holland, Brabant and the Northeast of the Dutch-speaking area. Verb cluster patterns in these dialect areas will be compared to the pattern characteristic of modern Dutch. This will provide insights into the contribution of different dialects to the standardisation process that took place in 17th century Dutch. The data also raises questions about the conceptualisation of verb clustering: can a sequence of verbs, interrupted by some non-verbal material, actually be defined as a cluster? What does the decline of the phenomenon tell us about the grammaticalisation of verb patterns in Dutch?

Constructional ambiguity and word order change

Evie Coussé, Ghent University

Constructional ambiguity and word order change In Standard Dutch, the construction [be + Past Participle] has a variable word order in the subordinate clause: e.g. Ik heb gehoord dat het zwembad gesloten is // is gesloten. I have heard that the swimming pool closed_PP be_INFL // be_INFL closed_PP This synchronic word order variation has been correlated with an ambiguous interpretation of the construction (cf. De Sutter 2005). An adjectival interpretation (be_COPULA PP_ADJ) triggers the word order of predicative adjectival constructions (i.e. Adjective – Copula). A verbal interpretation (be_AUX PP_VERB) allows both word order variants, as in other verbal constructions in Dutch. In this paper, the relation between the constructional ambiguity and variable word order of the [be PP] construction is considered in a diachronic perspective. In a corpus of Middle Dutch texts, all instances of the [be PP] construction are put on a cline from adjectival to verbal interpretation, on the basis of strictly defined contextual and distributional cues. The results indicate that in general PP's move from a more adjectival to a more verbal interpretation over time. These diachronic findings provide empirical support for the hypothesis that the [be PP] construction is increasingly used as a periphrastic verb tense. Moreover, the shifting interpretation of the construction can be correlated with the changing word order of the construction in time. In the full paper, the role of constructional analogy with the (changing) word order of parallel adjectival and verbal constructions will be evaluated in more detail. References De Sutter (2005) Rood, groen, corpus! PhD thesis KULeuven.

Verbal morphosyntax in Northern Middle English: -s, Verb Second, and the NSR

Nynke de Haas, Radboud University Nijmegen

Among Middle English (ME) dialects, the Northern dialect was unique in its verbal morphosyntax. Not only did it have *-s* in the present tense 3SG and 1,2,3PL, instead of *-eþ* or *-en*; it also displayed a striking pattern of syntactically conditioned morphological variation, known as the Northern Subject Rule (NSR). According to this rule, 1SG and 1,2,3PL present tense verbs take a zero ending when adjacent to a pronominal subject, but they end in *-s* in all other contexts: when not adjacent to a pronominal subject, or with a nominal subject. This results in an opposition between ‘they sing’ and ‘they only sings’ and ‘birds sings’ (Pietsch 2005). This pattern may be related to contact with Brythonic Celtic (cf. Klemola 2000, De Haas forthcoming). Another salient feature that has been found in Northern ME texts is CP-V2 (Kroch & Taylor 1997): a form of Verb Second (V2) where the finite verb moves to the highest projection in the sentence, CP – unlike in Southern Old English (OE) and ME, where the verb only moved to I. Kroch and Taylor link the existence of CP-V2 to morphosyntactic developments ensuing from language contact with Old Norse. How did these idiosyncrasies work together in the morphosyntax of Northern ME, and how viable are the contact hypotheses for their origins? To help answer these questions, I will present an overview of verbal morphology in several Northern (and East Midlands) OE and ME texts, relating paradigms to the syntactic positions of subjects and the finite verb.

Waves of analogy: pathways of morphological change in continental West Germanic

Gunther De Vogelaer, FWO Flanders / Ghent University

In Dutch, Frisian and German dialects, a bewildering morphological variation is found with regard to different aspects of the person marking system (see, e.g., the recent Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects for Dutch and Frisian, and Goossens 1994 for German). One type of variation concerns the formation of subject clitics in clauses with inverted word order, i.e. with the subject following the verb. These elements are subsequently extended to other syntactic positions through analogy, via a pathway described by Kathol (2001): originally enclitic elements spread first to the position enclitic to the complementiser, then to verbs in sentences with regular word order, and finally, in a rare number of cases, to verbs in the sentence-final position in subclauses. In my talk, I will show that the proposed pathway in Kathol (2001) actually comprises two similar but nevertheless not identical pathways, i.e. one for elements which are specifically enclitic, and one for elements occurring both pro- and enclitically. Each of the pathways will be illustrated extensively with data from Dutch, Frisian and German dialects. In addition, the pathways apply to more data than originally assumed: they do not only explain the extension of clitics, but also the spread of many innovative agreement markers and pronouns, and, hence, of a whole range of person marking phenomena, including complementiser agreement (see, e.g., Fuss 2004, Van Koppen 2006) and double agreement (see, e.g., Zwart 1997).

West Germanic Consonant Gemination's Prosodic and Phonetic Origins

Jeannette Denton, Baylor University

This paper analyzes West Germanic consonant gemination (WGCG) as a phonetic process which produced strengthened, ambisyllabic consonants which were then subject to reanalysis as true geminates. All consonants except *r were geminated in West Germanic when they occurred between a short vowel and an immediately following *j: Gmc. *'skapjan > OE scieppan, OS skeppian, OHG scepfen, but Go. skapjan, ON skepja, 'to create'. Voiceless stops were also geminated by *r and *l (Gmc. *'bitr > OE bi(t)ter, OS bitter, OS, OHG bittar, Go. baitrs, ON bitr 'bitter'), while *w sometimes affected voiceless velars. Denton's (1999) acoustic analysis of English medial consonants reveals significant increases in the mean durations of certain sonorants and in the VOTs of most stops in environments which mirror those of WGCG. While these increases were not on the order of true geminates, they do suggest a more fortis articulation which would have anchored their consonantal releases in the following syllable's onset even as Germanic's preference for bimoraic stressed syllables pulled the onset of these medial consonants into the coda of the preceding syllable. Since the geminates resulting from WGCG were eventually simplified in most Germanic dialects, even where other early geminates were maintained, there is reason to believe that WGCG, itself, did not initially generate true geminates, but were reanalyzed by listeners as tokens of existing geminates. By positing natural phonetic origins for WGCG and a phonologically ambiguous output, we have no need for positing unnatural syllabifications or ranked phonological constraints.

Gender reduction and loss in Germanic: Three case studies

Janet Duke, University of Freiburg

Although much has been written about the genesis of gender systems, until now very little work has systematically looked at gender reduction and loss. The Germanic languages make for interesting case studies in this respect because they cover the entire spectrum of systems to develop out the late IE three-gender system, from three to zero genders. This paper compares the factors involved in reduction and/or loss of grammatical gender in three Germanic case studies, those of Mainland Scandinavian (Swedish and Danish), Dutch, and Afrikaans. Whereas gender loss in Afrikaans appears to clearly have been motivated by language contact, for the Scandinavian and Dutch cases the primary cause is much less clear. The Scandinavian case is particularly controversial due to uncertainty surrounding the degree of mutual intelligibility between Danish, Swedish and Middle Low German in the decisive period in the late Middle Ages, although in recent years the case for semicommunication and thus mutual intelligibility has been strengthened significantly. Interestingly, although many of the morpho-phonological factors involved in gender reduction in Dutch have parallels in the Scandinavian case, a language or dialect contact scenario has rarely been considered the culprit. The effect of dialect contact on gender systems is not yet well understood. It is then shown that Germanic case studies could provide an important contribution to this field of research.

L'antirhotacisme du doublet français chaire, chaise < lat. cathedra, etc.

Denis Dumas, Université du Québec à Montréal

On appelle rhotacisme le changement d'une consonne coronale en /r/, le cas classique étant celui du latin /s/ > /r/, p. ex. flos, floris. J'appellerai donc antirhotacisme le cas inverse, /r/ > /z/ (le premier changement implique nécessairement la sonorisation intervocalique de /s/), tel qu'il a été lexicalisé en français dans le doublet chaire, chaise < latin cathedra et quelques autres mots. Ce changement, tout aussi paradoxal que le premier en ce qu'il marque un transfert radical de catégorie de sonance, soit ici de liquide à obstruante, ne peut s'expliquer que par un phénomène de lénition de la vibrante apicale traditionnelle. En effet, la reconstruction qui s'impose est que la vibrante s'est d'abord nécessairement réduite à un battement unique avant que celui-ci ne perde à son tour son occlusion et ne conserve que la valeur continue du phonème; le changement de catégorie de sonante à obstruante est alors simplement le résultat d'un effet secondaire automatique. Thurot 1880 collige de nombreux témoignages de grammairiens qui attestent cet affaiblissement tout au long du 16^e siècle. Localisé surtout dans le français populaire de Paris, il prend la forme d'une variation bidirectionnelle dans un certain nombre de mots, mais aussi celle de l'effacement et de l'épenthèse réactionnelle en coda, ou encore d'échanges avec /l/ dans plusieurs positions syllabiques. Ce flottement laisse le terrain libre pour l'imposition dans la norme d'une variante postérieure de /r/ au cours du siècle suivant.

L'émergence de la cataphore dans la prose du moyen français

Estèle Dupuy-Parant, Université de Poitiers – CESC

La cataphore telle que nous la connaissons en français moderne (« Lorsqu'elle parlait, Claire tremblait. »), n'existait pas en ancien français comme l'a récemment montré B. Combettes. Dans cette étude, après une présentation théorique, nous insisterons sur quelques occurrences relevées qui semblent montrer l'émergence de la cataphore en moyen français en nous appuyant principalement sur un corpus de trois textes éloignés d'un siècle – *Quinze joies de mariage* et *Chroniques de Froissart* (chronologiquement très proches mais d'un genre littéraire différent) et *Mémoires de Commines* (texte distant des deux précédents d'un siècle). Ces rares occurrences ne correspondent pas à la cataphore telle que nous la définissons en français moderne : « Et i fu pris et moult dolereusement navrés mesires Thomas d'Angourne, et se sauva, au mieuls que il pot, messires Jehans de Hartecelle, et aussi fist messires Tangis dou Chastel » : il > messires Jehans de Hartecelle (Froissart, livre I, chapitre CCXLVII, p. 814, l. 136-141) Elles soulèvent la question de l'expression d'un sujet là où il n'y en avait pas en ancien français. Cependant, même si pour la cataphore du moyen français le référent est déjà présent en amont (sa chaîne anaphorique peut avoir été mise en sommeil), la référenciation fait déjà appel à la rétro-action de l'identification du référent. La cataphore du français moderne fonctionne de cette manière et ajoute à la rétro-action, la nouveauté du référent visé par le pronom (le fonctionnement est le même en proposition temporelle ou entre proposition non régies puisqu'elles ont toutes deux une frontière de sortie poreuse). Un relevé de la fréquence de ces constructions en diachronie du moyen français au français moderne (en étendant le corpus) et l'étude du fonctionnement cataphorique permettra de voir comment est apparu et a évolué ce phénomène référentiel jusqu'à nos jours.

A usage-based approach to change: Old Russian possessive constructions

Hanne Martine Eckhoff, University of Oslo

A usage-based approach to change: Old Russian possessive constructions The usage-based model (as advocated e.g. by Joan Bybee, Ronald Langacker and William Croft) assumes that linguistic knowledge is organised in schematic networks, which emerge as a result of the speaker's linguistic experience and generalisations made over actual usage. The networks are organised bottom-up; much of a person's linguistic knowledge is assumed to be completely specific, or consisting of lower-level generalisation schemas. Higher-level generalisations are also present, but only if justified by high type frequency. The possibility of looking at the emergence and decline of schemas on different levels makes the model a useful tool for understanding linguistic change. The history of Russian possessive constructions illustrates this point: The earliest attested Old Russian had a situation of competition between genitive, dative and adjective constructions expressing possession in a wide sense, whereas modern Russian has a very dominating genitive construction, a restricted use of denominal adjectives and no possessive dative. The expansion of the genitive construction occurred rather late; even in 18th century texts, genitive constructions are subject to many of the same restrictions as in 11th–14th century texts. However, in 15th–17th century texts, we find clear changes in the schematic networks of the adjective constructions that make them less useful for replacing the genitive constructions: Lower-level construction schemas are strengthened at the expense of the higher-level schema. The range of possessors occurring in the adjective constructions narrows radically throughout the 15th–17th centuries, preparing the ground for a new, more schematic genitive construction.

The Evolution of the Pronoun Systems of Niger-Congo

Christopher Ehret, University of California at Los Angeles

Recent work on the pronoun systems in the Bantu subgroup of the Niger-Congo language family confirms and adds to earlier findings that proto-Bantu (PB) had a variety of suppletive roots serving the functions of independent, possessive, and verb object and subject pronouns. A pan-familial survey shows that the majority of the PB pronominal roots, and thus the kind of system they comprise, track much farther back in the history of the Niger-Congo family. The primary PB first person plural root reconstructs only to proto-Benue-Kwa, but at least eleven other PB pronominal roots appear in languages of the still more distantly related Atlantic and/or Mande branches of the family. These include three 1s roots, three 2s roots, one 3s root, two 1p plural roots, and two 2p roots. An twelfth root, for third person plural, appears in Benue-Kwa and Ubangian. Five of the old pronoun roots recur as independent pronouns in the Kordofanian group, usually considered to form one primary branch of the family coordinate with a second branch comprised of all the rest of the family. In addition, the combined Mande and Kordofanian evidence supports reconstruction of a proto-Niger-Congo second person plural independent pronoun not found in the line of ancestry leading down to Bantu. These findings suggest plausible identifications of the PNC pronouns for each person/number and have a variety of subsidiary implications for the history and subclassification of the family.

Historical development of discourse structures in Portuguese.

Kristine Eide, University of Oslo

The Portuguese language can roughly be divided into three periods: Old Portuguese, Classical Portuguese and Modern (European) Portuguese. While Old and Modern Portuguese have a basic SVO structure (Fiéis 2003, Rinke 2007, Costa 2004), the middle period, that of Classical Portuguese stands out, due to the large number of inversions that makes it seem more of a verb second structure than the other periods. In this paper I show how a verb-second like structure in Classical Portuguese is really no more than a way to organise the information structure of the sentence, and, rather than being a syntactic constraint, is a prosodic-pragmatic one. I assume that the position of the clitic pronouns are prosodically determined and that a change in the position of the clitics, from postverbal in Old Portuguese to preverbal in Classical and then postverbal in Modern Portuguese indicate a change in the prosody. I base my claims on an analysis of the organisation of given and new information in texts from all these periods, and argue that a change in the prosodic features linked to the pragmatic notion of topic provoked changes in the discourse structure. References Costa, J. (2004). Subject positions and interfaces: the case of European Portuguese. New York, Mouton de Gruyter. Fiéis, M. A. (2003). Ordem de palavras, transitividade e inacusatividade. Reflexão teórica e análise do Português dos séculos XIII a XVI. Universidade Nova de Lisboa.(Ms.) Rinke, Esther (2007) Syntaktische Variation aus synchronischer und diachronischer Perspektive. Die Entwicklung der Wortstellung im Portugiesischen.

Where do all these questions lead us? – Word order change in French interrogatives

Martin Elsig, Universität Hamburg

This presentation focuses on a diachronic change of word order in the French interrogative system. While inversion of the (nominal or pronominal) subject and the verb was virtually the only possible means of asking both yes/no- and wh-questions in Old French, the Middle French period features the emergence of variants exhibiting preverbal subjects (such as grammaticalized ‘est-ce que’ and Complex inversion, cf. Foulet 1921, Roberts 1993). From that time on, interrogatives with subject-verb word order have been gaining ground, resulting in a situation where inversion remains the exception (reserved for some regional varieties and normative Standard French). I will elucidate the structural changes which account for this evolution. Nineteen sources of near-colloquial literature from the Middle French period were evaluated, supplemented by tokens from contemporary oral French, yielding altogether more than 7.000 interrogative tokens. The results show that the contexts of inversion have become increasingly restricted, both lexically and linguistically. In particular, they suggest that inverted subject pronouns have evolved from phonological clitics (generated as XPs) via inflectional agreement markers (merged in T) into affixal interrogative morphemes (in Québec French). The present-day relegation of both Complex inversion and (even) ‘est-ce que’ to a formal style, as well as the disappearance of Simple inversion (featuring a nominal subject immediately to the right of the inflected verb) indicate a loss of verb movement to Comp and a subsequent loss of wh-movement to SpecCP. As an outcome of this development, I propose an interrogative system which entirely dispenses with the CP-layer.

How do words change inflection class? The Norwegian case

Hans-Olav Enger

Two extreme hypotheses are conceivable for inflection class changes: A) Words change their inflection class in one large step B) Words change their inflection class in many small steps; individual members of the paradigm do not necessarily shift class at the same time I shall show that evidence from Norwegian verbs supports B (as do Bittner's 1996 German data). For example, the present tense of the verbs *drepe*, *lese* retains a characteristic of the strong conjugation, long after the past tense has become weak. Conversely, in some dialects, the past participle of the verbs *drikke*, *skrive* has become weak, even if the rest of the paradigm remains strong. Thus, Kusters's (2003:230-31) claim that Norwegian "verbs change immediately to the most unmarked class" is not convincing. Still, evidence from Norwegian nouns support A, I shall show. If nouns shift declension, they do so 'tidily'. There are few cases of 'mixed' patterns for nouns. The indefinite plural and the definite plural never go 'separate ways', in marked contrast to the past and the past participle. Why do the two word-classes differ in this way? Rhodes (1987) claims that verb conjugation tends to be regular, noun declension to be quirky. The Norwegian data do not 'fit'. The reason, I suggest, is that the 'basic form' of the Norwegian verbs carries a non-segmental cue to the conjugation. Perhaps the difference between nouns and verbs relates to Carstairs-McCarthy's (1994) No Blur Principle (1994): Different stem alternants come to the rescue for synonymy avoidance purposes more often with verbs.

Grammaticalization and deaffixation in the verb compound: the case of Hup (Nadahup, Brazil)

Patience Epps, University of Texas at Austin

The robustness of unidirectionality as a principle in grammaticalization has been illustrated by the rarity of exceptions, and by the fact that the few clear cases of counter-directional change are generally idiosyncratic (cf. Haspelmath 2004, Heine 2003:582, Lehmann 2005:20, etc.). The closest thing to a productive source of changes that go against the predicted flow are examples of scope widening via the grammaticalization of discourse markers (Traugott 1998, 2001); however, even these cases of a syntax > discourse transition do not usually involve ‘deaffixation’, by which a morpheme goes from more to less bound. Yet in Hup, an endangered language of the Brazilian Amazon (Nadahup/Makú family), we find what appears to be a productive process of deaffixation, by which a set of bound suffixes (themselves grammaticalized from verbs) have detached from the verb core and developed the ability to appear as enclitics or particles. This paper addresses the historical changes that led to this unusual state of affairs, and argues that a widening of scope has in this case enabled regular deaffixation. Crucially, deaffixation is made possible in Hup by verb compounding, which provides a framework for new morphology to arise through grammaticalization, but in which morphemes are fully bound before grammaticalization can even begin, and can only become less bound as their scope widens from the verb to the entire predicate. The Hup case suggests that deaffixation may accompany scope widening in compounding languages, and thus offers new insight into cross-linguistic processes of grammaticalization.

From tense/aspect marker to discourse particle: reconstructing syntactic and semantic change

Bethwyn Evans, University of Manchester

This paper examines the reanalysis of a tense/aspect marker as a discourse connective particle from the perspectives of both syntactic and semantic change. Evidence of the change is found in the system of subject agreement in Marovo, an Oceanic language of the Solomon Islands. Marovo has preverbal markers which indicate the person and number of the subject argument and occur primarily in only two types of constructions, namely negative verbal declarative clauses and verbal clauses with an initial discourse connective particle. These unusual conditions on the presence of agreement in Marovo are shown to reflect its historical development. Through comparison of Marovo with other Oceanic languages, it is demonstrated that subject agreement in negative clauses is archaic, reflecting original constructions in which subject agreement markers occurred alongside preverbal markers of tense/aspect/mood and negation. The use of subject agreement markers with discourse connective particles reflects the same original construction, but in this case the reanalysis of a tense/aspect marker as a discourse connective particle has led to the extension of subject agreement to use with other discourse connective particles. While the reanalysis appears to have been triggered by structural ambiguity resulting from a chance homophony of forms, this paper also considers the semantic aspects of the change. Thus the change appears to also have been facilitated by the natural semantic connections between the temporal meaning of the tense/aspect marker and the connective function of the discourse particle, as supported by established tendencies of semantic change, in particular subjectivisation.

From clitic to affix: the Norwegian definite article

Jan Terje Faarlund

Both Old Norse (ON) and modern Norwegian (MN), have a postposed definite article: ON *hest-inn* > MN *hest-en* ‘the horse’. The morphological status of this article is different at the two stages. According to all relevant criteria, it was a clitic in ON: it has a free word counterpart, *inn*; it does not cause morphophonological changes in the host; there are no arbitrary gaps in its distribution, and no semantic idiosyncrasies. In addition, the cliticized article has its own inflection in agreement with the host noun, e.g. genitive *hests-ins*. In MN the postposed article does not exhibit any of those properties, and is therefore most adequately considered an inflectional suffix expressing definiteness as a grammatical feature distributed within the noun phrase according to general principles of Agreement. Thus, the so-called “double definiteness”, as in *den gamle hesten* ‘the old horse-DEF’, has become possible as an agreement phenomenon. In ON, definiteness in the noun was expressed by a lexical item (the clitic), which could not trigger definiteness agreement. This change from a clitic to an inflectional suffix is obviously a case of grammaticalization, but it has wider implications than just the change of morphosyntactic status. The introduction of the double definiteness has already been mentioned. The decisive causal factor in the change was the loss of the independent definite article *inn*. It was replaced by the demonstrative *þann* > *den*, which left the postposed article without a free word counterpart. This, combined with phonological reduction and semantic bleaching, reduced it to an inflectional suffix.

From clitic to affix: the Norwegian definite article

David Fertig, University at Buffalo (SUNY)

Inflectional regularization effects involving words formed by conversion (e.g. *_to king_*, past tense *_kinged_ / *_kung_*) have significant implications for the possibilities for diachronic regularization and irregularization in zero-derived words. A number of historical developments among West Germanic verbs, such as the irregularizations in *_to string_* and German *_gleichen_*, are problematic, however, for the standard dual-mechanism account of this phenomenon (Kim et al., "Why No Mere Mortal Has Ever Flown Out to Center Field", 1991). Building on ideas presented in Blevins 2003 and Clahsen 2006, this paper argues for a model of inflection with storage of irregular forms contrasting with "schematic paradigms" (Blevins 2004) for default inflectional classes. I argue that productivity is not entirely "a graded phenomenon" (Blevins 2003:757) in such a model. One would expect abstracted schematic paradigms to be freely available for the inflection of items perceived to be new to the language, whereas the limited analogical extension of patterns found among stored irregular forms would be largely a by-product of a strategy exploited by speakers/learners to maximize their chances of "guessing right" when they encounter an unfamiliar item that they take to be an existing word. This suggests that in addition to similarity and frequency effects, the likelihood of a word undergoing regularization or irregularization will depend on the (perceived) newness of the word (cf. Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 2004). This account provides a simple explanation for regularization effects in various kinds of derived and non-canonical lexical items without needing to appeal to explicit derivational structure.

Velar-insertion and variation in the Old Spanish verbal paradigm

Steven Fondow, The Ohio State University

The current investigation examines synchronic variation in the set of ‘velar-insert’ verbs in Old Spanish and the diachronic factors which led to their development. This group is a subcategory of the Spanish –er (II) and –ir (III) conjugations categorized by a non-etymological velar obstruent /g/ appearing in the first person singular of the present indicative and all forms of the present subjunctive, e.g. tengo ‘1s have, possess’; tengan ‘3p SUBJ have, possess’; cf. tenemos ‘1p have, possess’. The Old Spanish situation is of interest since it provides examples of synchronic variation within individual verbs, e.g. valgo ~ valo ‘1s be worth’, and it demonstrates the diachronic productivity of the verb class. This productivity is short lived, however, since several verbs which come to have a velar obstruent variant are ultimately reanalyzed, as is the case for OSp. suelo ~ suelo ‘1s be accustomed to’, corresponding to MSp. suelo. This analysis focuses on the analogical development of the velar-insert class, modeled on multiple phonological, morphological, lexical and, crucially, paradigmatic similarities with already existing forms. It is contended that the inflectional paradigm is a relevant linguistic unit for speakers since the presence of the velar element categorizes the conjugational structure of these verbs. An “immanent view” (Wanner 2006) of the basic tenets of Analogical Modeling (Skousen 2002; Wanner 2005) and Exemplar Modeling (Pierrehumbert 2001, Bybee 2007) demonstrates that analogy can be built directly into linguistic theory in order to account for synchronic variation and its diachronic outcome.

The role of diachrony in shaping language universals: The case of the head in compounds

Livio Gaeta, Dip. di Filologia Moderna, Università di Napoli

Although the hypothesis of a strict correlation between syntax and compounds as for the head position has been circulating in theoretical morphology, a recent investigation by Bauer (2001) casts severe doubts on the reliability of this supposed universal. However, the last word has not yet been told on this subject, because even in his restricted language sample a strict matching of head position and word order occurs in the case of head-final languages. As has been suggested (cf. Gaeta & Luraghi 2001 for evidence coming from gapping), the latter are typologically more consistent than the others, which provides us with a clue for looking at this question from a safer terrain. Relying on a larger language sample, a number of significant generalizations will be presented, in that the correlation between syntax and compounds can be maintained, but the investigation of the head position must be scattered along the different structural types providing the source for compounding. In this light, it does not come out as a surprise that head-final languages usually display right-branching compounds, because they are syntactically much more consistent. All of this emphasizes the role played by the diachronic dimension in shaping language systems, because on the one hand it helps us predicting the head parameter in compounds, while on the other it provides a possible explanation for the violation of the correlation, in that language change may have distorting effects (cf. Gaeta 2005), because syntax and word formation need not change at once.

‘Demetaphorization’ – a new path of semantic change in idioms

Elke Gehweiler, Freie Universität Berlin and BBAW

Anna Firenze, BBAW

Since Bréal studies on semantic change assume a number of ‘paths’ of semantic change according to the well-defined relations that connect the successive meanings: extension, restriction, pejoration, and amelioration. A corpus-based analysis of a large number of German VP-idioms has shown that these ‘paths’ also apply to idioms. There are however a number of idioms whose change of meaning cannot be accounted for by these types. Their new meaning is more concrete, more compositional and less metaphorical than their older meaning. As the emergence of idioms is normally associated with metaphorization and lexicalization (cf. Moon 1998 inter al.), we propose to call this ‘reverse’ change ‘demetaphorization’ or ‘delexicalization’. One of many examples of idioms that have undergone demetaphorization is “in die Röhre gucken” (literally ‘to look into the tube’), whose older meaning ‘to be left out, be left empty-handed’ is attested in corpora from 1943 onwards (1), and which more recently is attested with the meaning ‘to watch TV (extensively)’ (2). (1) *das Geld streicht der vorherige Besitzer der Aktie ein, und Siemens schaut in die Röhre* [the previous owner gets the money for the shares, and Siemens schaut in die Röhre ‘is left empty-handed’] (2) *Vier Stunden pro Tag schauen die Deutschen durchschnittlich in die Röhre* [The Germans schauen in die Röhre ‘watch TV’ an average of four hours a day] Using examples from different languages we show that demetaphorization arises through reanalysis and may be triggered by creative language use and encouraged by extralinguistic factors. We also ask which idioms can be subject to demetaphorization.

Present vs. past: linguistic purism revisited

Victorina Gonzalez-Diaz, University of Liverpool

An issue that seems to have attracted a fair amount of attention in recent historical socio-linguistic research is the extent to which linguistic purism has an effect on actual language usage at both micro- and macro-levels (cf. Tieken-Boon van Ostade (2005) for English, Elspaß (2005) for German or Kibbee (2006) for French). In this connection, Beal (2004) suggests that, in English, the prescriptive grammarians of the 18th century left “a legacy of linguistic insecurity” that in recent years has created a market for humorous yet clearly prescriptive texts (e.g. Parrish (2002), Truss (2003)). Her research (Beal 2006) constitutes a pioneering attempt at contrasting the ideologies reflected in these examples of ‘new prescriptivism’ and those of the eighteenth-century grammarians. Yet there is room for further investigation, as Beal (2006) mainly focuses on manuals of etiquette and handbooks and to date, there is not a uniform and objective method of measuring ‘prescriptiveness’— hence the difficulty of making comparisons across and within prescriptive traditions. This paper is the first report on a project that aims at developing an objective way of measuring prescriptive trends. Through a contrastive analysis of selected 18th century English grammars and a corpus of ‘letters to the editor’ from British newspapers (1956-2006), it suggests (a) the prevalence of well-entrenched prescriptive attitudes towards language change in present-day British English (especially in the 1990s) and (b) a change in the linguistic levels targeted by the 20th-21st century prescriptions as opposed to those in the 18th century grammars.

The glossing of the verbal arguments in the Códice Emilianense 60

Kristin Hagemann, University of Oslo (ILOS)

This paper investigates how the marking of verbal arguments in the Códice Emilianense 60 reflects the syntactico-semantic differences between unaccusative and unergative verbs. It has been claimed (Plank 1985) that in the development from the accusative-nominative pattern of Latin to the neutral pattern of the Romance languages, there was a stage of active-inactive pattern, i.e. a pattern in which the subjects of the unaccusative and the unergative intransitives were coded differently. The subjects of unaccusatives were coded as objects and received the accusative case. The subjects of unergatives were coded as subjects of transitive clauses and received the nominative case. The paper studies the argument structure and the marking of the arguments in the Glosas Emilianenses with this hypothesis in mind. The Glosas Emilianenses are the earliest known example of Ibero-Romance, as they probably date from the 11th century. Some of the glosses are declinations of the Latin relative pronoun *qui* that either mark the arguments already present in the text or introduce new ones. In the paper it is argued that the glossing of the verbal arguments in the Glosas Emilianenses show a non-random variation conditioned by the type of construction the glosses are attached to and by the degree of activity and control in the subject. This supports an active-inactive verbal alignment, albeit on the verge of disappearing. Reference: Plank, F. (1985). "The extended accusative/restricted nominative in perspective." in *Relational Typology*, ed. F. Plank. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

Syntactic Change in the History of Swedish

David Håkansson, Lund University

A standard assumption within diachronic generative linguistics is that syntactic change can be explained by the loss of inflectional morphology as well in general as for the Scandinavian languages (see e.g. Falk 1993; Holmberg & Platzack 1995). In recent years, this assumption has, however, been put in question by e.g. Sundquist (2002). Sundquist (2002:73) claims that "the loss of morphological forms is completely independent of syntactic changes and does not affect aspects of word order" and, instead, he (2002:7) states the role of information structure: "In some instances, information structure plays a more significant role than previously assumed." The important role of information structure in the medieval stages of the Scandinavian languages has, however, been emphasized also within other frameworks (see e.g. Jörgensen 1987). In the light of these different proposals, syntactic change in Swedish will in this paper be discussed with the main focus on the following questions: (1) Is syntactic change in Swedish completely independent of the loss of inflectional morphology? (2) How is the important role of information structure in the previous stages of the Scandinavian languages to be understood and how can this role be handled within the framework of generative grammar? The empirical part of this paper consists of a detailed syntactic analysis of 12 Old Swedish texts with the loss of null subjects as the main example. Selected references Falk, Cecilia. 1993. *Non-referential subjects in the History of Swedish*. Diss. Lund university. Sundquist, John D. 2002. *Morphosyntactic Change in the History of the Mainland Scandinavian Languages*. Diss. Indiana University.

Degrammaticalization as a consequence of reanalysis

Camiel Hamans, European Parliament

It is often claimed that grammaticalization processes are unidirectional. Haspelmath (2004) goes even a step further and claims all processes of language change are unidirectional and that is why this universal constraint applies to grammaticalization as well. According to this opinion degrammaticalization cannot exist. The few examples cited in the literature should be explained in a different way. Norde (1997, 2003 & 2005) extensively argues against this idea. In this paper I will show there is not such a universal as a directionality constraint of language change. I will discuss paradigmatic productivity in cases such as (1) edutainment relitainment militainment (2) docudrama docusoap docufantasy (3) motel rotel apartotel The forms under (1) follow a pattern coined by the word entertainment. Since in entertainment an existing but non related word enter might be distinguished, the form entertainment has been reanalyzed as a combination of enter + tainment. As can be concluded from the paradigm under (1) this morphological folk-etymology has become productive. A clipped form tainment combines with a truncation such as edu (from education) and results in a normal nominal compound with tainment as a head and the left component, edu, reli or mili as a modifier. The grammatical and lexical status of these stumps is unclear. In this paper I will show these clipped forms to be nouns, although the original status of -tainment, docu- and -otel was nothing more than a quasi suffix or a combining form. This process of morphological change, which has become frequent in the last century (Bauer 2001), starts with reanalysis and ends in degrammaticalization.

« Stylistic Fronting » en ancien français : Étude de deux dialectes français du 12e siècle

Alexandra Yvonne Hänsch, Université d'Ottawa

L'objectif principal de cette recherche est l'étude de « Stylistic Fronting » (SF) en ancien français. SF constitue une construction syntaxique exceptionnelle dans des langues qui ont d'habitude l'ordre des mots SVO comme c'est le cas en islandais, par exemple. L'ancien français est considéré comme une langue V2 asymétrique (Adams, 1987; Roberts, 1993; Vance, 1997). Même si l'ancien français et l'islandais partagent l'ordre des mots SVO dans la subordonnée, il est moins clair si l'ancien français peut être considéré comme une langue qui montre SF. Mathieu (2006) propose l'idée des constructions de SF en ancien français. Selon Labelle (2007), le très ancien français ne montre pas des cas de SF, mais à partir du 13e siècle, ces constructions commencent à être attestées. Dans le but d'éclaircir cette question, nous avons étudié les deux textes Gormont et Isembart (1100-1130 apr. J.-C. ; dialecte du centre de la France) et Le voyage de Saint-Brandan (1120 apr. J.-C. ; anglo-normand). Selon notre analyse, le texte du Voyage de Saint-Brandan montre plus de constructions de SF que le texte Gormont et Isembart. Cela veut dire que l'anglo-normand semble être plus propice à SF que le dialecte du Centre. Ces résultats nous donnent la base pour une discussion des analyses de Mathieu (2006) qui propose SF pour toute la période de l'ancien français et Labelle (2007) qui montre que SF était possible après le 12e siècle. En conclusion, nos résultats montrent que l'analyse de Mathieu (2006) pourrait être confirmée par nos données des deux dialectes.

Relative and absolute dating of Russian Sound Changes

David Hart, Brigham Young University

The Relative and Absolute Dating of the Chief Phonological Developments of Russian from Indo-European In this paper I will present the main phonological developments in the history of Russian including a synthesis of a number of works which suggest the relative, and in many cases, the absolute dating of these sound changes. The dating of virtually any phonological change is fraught with complications. It has been traditional in historical linguistics, particularly in etymological endeavors, to avoid asserting absolute dates for any series of sound changes. Instead, sound changes occur relative to each other as if in a vacuum. Eric Hamp, however, has suggested that a grounding in the social aspects of a given speech community is needed to move descriptions of historical linguistic events beyond the hypothetical level. An understanding of at least a general time frame for the sound shifts in question is therefore a fundamental requirement for historical linguistics. When discussing individual sound changes, researchers often place a phonological development within a historical framework, allowing for an implied absolute dating. This paper attempts to take advantage of the most salient datings developed in such works dealing with the development of Russian from Indo-European in an attempt to reconstruct a historically accurate date-based framework for Russian. Hamp, Eric. 'On Factors in Linguistic and Social Change' *Anthropological Linguistics*, 37:1, 89-90, 1996.

Hungarian Phonology

Michael Heath, Brigham Young University

For over 1100 years, the Hungarian people, or Magyars as they call themselves, have lived in the Carpathian Mountain basin. Nearly half of that time has been spent in bondage to or dual-government with a nation that speaks a non-Uralic language. Their culture, music, architecture, and history have all been impacted by Slavic, Ottoman, and German and Austrian peoples. They, being a proud people, contend that while many aspects of their lives have been altered over the centuries by these "godless nations," their language has remained constant and "uncorrupted." After participating in thousands of formal and informal discussions with Hungarians in the Hungarian language I noticed several differences from the pronunciation of words and their spelling. In recent months I have studied Hungarian poetry and noticed spelling and pronunciation differences from the earliest recorded poetry to that of the 20th century. If spelling and pronunciation differ in Modern Hungarian, and both spelling and pronunciation has changed over time I believe there is a distinct pattern to these sound changes. I will analyze phonological changes by comparing the original versions of these poems with the accepted modern Hungarian versions of the poems. I will also compare 18th and 19th century poetry to modern Hungarian spoken language. I anticipate that I will discover a systematic vowel shift. In addition, I believe that I will find cases of assimilation, particularly with nasal consonants assimilating in place with stops.

Word Order Change as Regrammaration

Lars Heltoft, Roskilde University

Although several articles in the Handbook of Historical Linguistics deal with syntactic change, there is no discussion of word order change as a grammaration process, nor its relation to morphological systems. By prevailing definition, grammaticalisation studies have their focus of attention on attrition processes affecting morphology in a wide sense. Paradigmatic structures known from morphological paradigms can be generalised to contrasts of word order, but of course, only as structures of content. The change from Old Scandinavian word order to Modern Danish will serve as our example. The two major patterns of MD are the verb second pattern: XVSO, and the Part(icle) SVO pattern: 1) Sin mor havde han ikke talt med His mother had he not spoken to 2) Gid han havde talt med sin mor! Part'wish' he had spoken to his mother As MCs (see 1-2), their paradigmatic contrast is between XVSO: the assertive pattern and Particle SVO: the subjective-emotive pattern. As SCs, they contrast in a way similar to inflexional mood in Italian. Modern Danish has lost inflexional mood to a large extent, but its word order systems are nevertheless a functional mood system. Medieval Scandinavian had verb second as the unmarked order, both in MCs and in SCs. Its content organisation was much similar to that of Old French: a deictic-textual system (Buridant 2000). A scenario for the regrammaration of the original V2 as part of a mood system will call for an analysis in terms of semantic specification, loss of narrative inversion, integration of V2 into new paradigms, and markedness shift.

'Ia suoi tovar prodam. Ich wÿll mÿne wahre vorkopen.' Foreign sources, questionable reliability? On a German source for Russian data

Pepijn Hendriks, Leiden University / LUCL

One of the most important documents for the study of the early modern stage of Russian was not written by Russians at all. It is a 17th-century German-Russian phrasebook compiled by Tönnies Fenne, a young merchant from Lübeck. Its linguistic importance has been recognised by leading scholars, such as A.A. Zaliznjak. However, linguists have recently come to realise that this document is firmly rooted in a tradition, as was shown by A. Bolek, A.L. Xoroškevič and others. In fact, its similarities with two earlier German-Russian phrasebooks are so striking that a genetic relationship must be assumed. How does this affect the use of Fenne's phrasebook as a reliable source for 17th-century Russian? After all, the earlier texts may very well have reduced the linguistic awareness of the non-native copyist. In my presentation, I will address this question by analysing one telling feature in Fenne's phrasebook, namely the expression of futurity. Whereas the older phrasebooks closely follow the original German and prefer a periphrastic future tense combining the verb *xotěti* 'to want' with an infinitive, this construction is almost absent in Fenne's phrasebook, and other constructions are favoured in its stead. Comparison of Fenne's data with those in the earlier phrasebooks will show that the material, used time and again, was not simply copied mechanically, but underwent a process of revision, arguing in favour of Fenne's reliability as an informant for 17th-century Russian.

Origins of Germanic and the reduplicated past of the strong verbs

Eugen Hill, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München

The Proto-Germanic system of conjugation had a class of strong verbs with reduplicated past. This means of forming the past is clearly documented in the earliest attested Germanic language Gothic, remnants of reduplicated pasts are also found in the more recently attested Northwest-Germanic languages. However in the majority of cases Northwest-Germanic pasts corresponding to reduplicated structures of Gothic lack reduplication but show special ablaut-patterns instead. In recent times different attempts to explain the shape of these Northwest-Germanic past forms have been made. The most promising approach of R. Fulk und R. d'Alquen explains the forms in question as analogic creations after reduplicated pasts of verbs with vowel initial roots. On this way the most prominent problems can be resolved satisfactorily, but a substantial residue of Northwest-Germanic pasts still remains unexplained. In Old Norse the regular type 1sg. hét : 1pl. hétum can be easily understood now, but not the variant forms like heit : heitum securely attested side by side with it. The origin of the vocalism of the Old English type heold : heoldon corresponding to held : heldon in Old Saxon but, again, hælt : hiuldum in Old Swedish and hialt : hiuldum in Old Danish is far from being clear. These problems can be successfully approached by considering the Indo-European pre-history of the Germanic reduplicated past, which leads to a modification of the traditional reconstruction of Proto-Germanic in important respects.

The origin of Modern Indo-Aryan ergative constructions revisited

Hans Henrich Hock, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign

Archna Bhatia, University of Illinois at Urbana- Champaign

Two major hypotheses exist regarding the origin of the Modern Indo-Aryan ergative. Some argue that it reflects an earlier passive (Dixon, Deo and Sharma); others that it continues an ergative perfective past participle (Hock, Klaiman, Beames). In this reexamination of the arguments we conclude that the situation is more complex: While the Ergative hypothesis is indeed appropriate for the majority of modern ergative constructions, some can only be derived from the passive. Arguments for the passive hypothesis are that the underlying subject was marked instrumental in both the Ergative and Passive constructions in Sanskrit; moreover Pāṇini analyzed the past participle construction of transitive verbs as passive. However, from the earliest period the past participle exhibits classical ergative typology, with S and O in the same case (nominative), and A in an oblique case (instrumental). Moreover, this ergative behavior goes back to Proto-Indo-European and seems to reflect a cross-linguistic tendency (Comrie). A number of marginal constructions, however, such as Marathi pahije(t), can only be derived from an original passive optative/imperative. Indirect evidence suggests that this type of construction was originally more widespread; consider e.g. the Hindi polite imperative type kiijiye, whose morphology, in the future imperative kiijiye-gaa, betrays its "impersonal" passive origin by the lack of gender/number agreement in the suffix -gaa (contrast the future ho-gaa (m.) : ho-gii 'he : she will be'). As our paper shows, much more detailed work is needed on the historical developments of Indo-Aryan morphosyntax, and such work can lead to interesting and new insights.

Traces of linguistic contacts between hunter gatherers and Bantu populations in sub-Saharan Africa

Jean-Marie Hombert, DDL ISH

Around 500 Bantu languages are spoken to-day in sub-saharan Africa. It is widely accepted that the populations speaking these languages started to migrate from an area close to the present day boarder between Nigeria and Cameroon some 4000 years ago. The first part of our presentation will illustrate to what extent linguistic reconstructions can help us to speculate on the chronology of several crucial developments of Bantu societies (especially agriculture and on iron technology. During their eastward and southward movements, these Bantu speakers came into contact with other populations. The descendants of these populations have either been assimilated to Bantu speaking groups or have remained hunter-gatherers. Two of these groups, the Pygmies and the San (bushman) are well known and present an interesting puzzle for historical linguists: - the contact between Bantu and Pygmies resulted in the apparent disappearance of a putative language used by pygmy hunter-gatherers before contact with Bantu agriculturalists - the contact between Bantu and San speakers did not lead to the death of the languages spoken by the hunter-gatherers ; they even influenced Bantu languages (for instance by incorporating clicks in some southern Bantu languages) In the second part on this presentation, I will show that these two superficially opposite situations are in fact quite parallel and that the main difference is a question of chronology: Bantu have been in contacts with pygmies for more than 3000 years but only over a 1000 years with San speakers.

Ergative/Active Traits in Ethiopian Semitic

Grover Hudson, Michigan State University

Ergative/Active Traits in Ethiopian Semitic Ethiopian Semitic has a not uncommon case marking, of definite objects, and this by different morphemes in the 12 languages, and so (with South Arabian Semitic) diverges from the type typically thought to be Semitic: -u nom., -a acc. and -i gen. (e.g. Arabic). Ethiopian Semitic is often thought to differ from 'common' Semitic as the result of borrowing from substratum Cushitic languages, but these have yet another case marking, usually marked nominative. Ethiopian Semitic thus seems to have evolved its case system independently within Semitic. Considerable evidence suggests that Ethiopian Semitic preserves more clearly than other Semitic languages characteristics of an active and/or ergative state of languages, as Afroasiatic and Proto-Semitic have been reconstructed. Ethiopian Semitic has ergative-language characteristics including a pronoun set functioning as genitive, accusative, and subject-of-copula, and cognate forms as subject of the past conjugation. It has active-language characteristics including the past conjugation reconstructed as stative, the nonpast conjugation reconstructed as active and/or transitive, different causatives for transitive and intransitive verbs, a verb of presence with the form of the past but present meaning, aspect rather than tense, and an archaic class of 'impersonal' verbs conjugated with the object pronouns as 'subject'. The evidence is consistent with the theory (Klimov, Bichakjian) of three historical stages of language active, ergative, and accusative, in which the active/ergative type is seen as archaic, consistent with its being typical of isolates (Basque, Sumerian), remote groups (Siouan, Australian, Caucasian), and reconstructed languages (Indo-European, Afroasiatic, Austronesian).

L'anglo-normand et la variation syntaxique en français médiéval

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La tradition veut que l'anglo-normand (désormais l'AN) ait été une variété «à part», voire même une langue seconde, du moins pour l'écrasante majorité de ses locuteurs. Pourtant, les écarts syntaxiques que l'on y a repérés se font voir dans d'autres variétés du français médiéval. Nous proposons dans cette communication de mieux situer l'AN parmi les dialectes de la francophonie médiévale, en exposant la variation syntaxique en ancien français tardif et aux débuts du moyen français. Est évoqué en premier lieu le syncrétisme de l'accusatif et du datif dans le système pronominal, trait caractéristique en effet du moyen anglais (hine/him -> him), mais qui se retrouve aussi dans certaines variétés septentrionales du français. L'emploi de eux pronom sujet, présenté comme un trait AN par Buridant (2000: 419), est fréquent dans les documents normands publiés par Delisle (1904) et Maillard (1961). L'emploi de formes toniques des pronoms c.o.d., trait AN par excellence, se retrouve également dans des textes wallons. L'omission de ne dans les propositions négatives, phénomène signalé comme un trait AN par Buridant, comme par bien d'autres chercheurs, apparaît non seulement en Flandres et au Luxembourg (Trotter 2003, Völker 2001), domaines à substrat germanique, mais aussi dans des textes picards. Il importe en somme de distinguer dans la variation syntaxique de l'AN les traits qui sont calqués sur un substrat anglais de ceux qu'il partageait avec d'autres variétés francophones plus ou moins «périphériques», afin de mieux comprendre le problème de son adhérence au continuum dialectal du français médiéval.

Semantic typology of suppletion

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The two principal types of suppletion—overlapping (where distinct lexemes share suppletive forms, as in Spanish 'es~fue/va~fue' 'is~was/goes~went') and non-overlapping (where the suppletive forms are unique to a given lexeme, as in English be~am)—have not yet been explained satisfactorily. Expanding on Juge (1999)'s claim that overlapping suppletion occurs when the various roots show greater semantic distance, I examine the semantic basis for these differing types of suppletion in verbs. While synchronic approaches consider such morphological issues as the nature of the paradigm or typological factors (Veselinova 2006), historical approaches to suppletion tend only to mention the etyma of the various stems involved (Lathrop 1984). Previous approaches have not adequately focused on the semantic factors—primarily semantic distance—involved in distinguishing overlapping and non-overlapping cases. In addition to data from Ibero-Romance, I adduce evidence from Rhaeto-Romance, which shows that deictic factors also play a role. For example, like Puter and Vallader, Surmeiran has overlapping suppletion in the first person singular: 'eir~ia vign/neir~ia vign' 'to go~I go/to come~I come'. I illustrate how the interaction of semantic factors with morphological patterns sheds light on this understudied aspect of suppletion and allows for better understanding of how phonology, morphology, and semantics interact in verbs.

The Emergence of Passive Constructions in Austronesian Languages

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This paper describes the process and mechanisms of the development of passive constructions in ergative languages that took place in Austronesian languages. In some Austronesian languages, an ergative clitic pronoun indicating the agent of a transitive sentence alternates with a verb affix which marks passive. An example of such alternation is shown in (1), with the alternating elements underlined. (1) Makassarese (South Sulawesi) a. Miong-a na=buno kongkong-a. cat-DET 3SG.ERG=kill dog-DET ‘The dog killed the cat.’ (Jukes 2005:669) b. Miong-a ni-buno=i (ri kongkong-a). cat-DET PASS-kill=3.NOM by dog-DET ‘The cat was killed (by the dog).’ (Jukes 2005:678) Based on a morphosyntactic comparison of the case-marking systems and of other relevant linguistic features, I will argue that the passive constructions in such languages are the result of a relatively recent innovation. This provides a counter-example to the claim made by Estical and Myhill (1988) that ergative systems result from a re-interpretation of a passive structure. I will show that in an earlier system where the ergative pronoun was obligatory, a third person ergative pronoun was used as a “dummy” agent when the actor of an event could be left inexplicit. This dummy element triggered the re-analysis of certain transitive sentences as passive. Mechanisms of the change and possible motivations for each stage of the change are explained, with examples from languages in which transitional stages can be found.

Fishing for words: the sociolinguistic significance of a word list

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The historical sociolinguist is often faced with a lack of reliable social and linguistic information about the object of his study, the so-called ‘bad data problem’. While this is a genuine problem and it is important to be aware of the limitations it presents for research, and to make the best possible use of the little available data. That ‘bad data’ can sometimes give unexpectedly productive results is shown by a 30-item word list in the Norn language of Orkney and Shetland. Norn, a West-Scandinavian language, ceased to be the community language in these two island groups north of Scotland in the 18th century, being replaced by Scots. As often in a situation of language shift, Norn had a significant substratum influence on the majority Scots varieties in the islands, particularly in lexical sets to do with the traditional way of life. The lack of more Norn lexical data from the 18th century has been blamed on the taboo-language of Shetland fishermen, a practice that outlawed and substituted certain lexical items when at sea (Rendboe 1984). However, I will argue that the word list was collected thanks to (rather than ‘in spite of’) the taboo-language practice. This reading of the word list’s provenance allows for a dating of the language shift in Shetland that is consistent with earlier socio-historical and linguistic evidence. It also serves as a reminder of the fact that language shift is a gradual, social and domain-based process.

Language contact and the grammaticalisation of motion: a case study from Central Australia

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A well elaborated grammatical category of “associated motion” (AM) seems to be an areal feature (along with prestopped nasals, kinship distinctions in pronouns) in a group of contiguous languages of Central Australia belonging to the Arandic, Karnic, and Thura-Yura genetic groups. AM verb forms contrast along the dimensions of (a) direction of motion (away, back, along, around, up, down) and (b) time of motion relative to the main action (prior, concurrent, subsequent). Many of the forms expressing AM consist of or can be internally reconstructed to phrases with the structure VERB-ppl VERBMOT, which appears to be the diachronic reflex of grammaticalisation processes of clause combining and auxiliatio; e.g. Kaytetye VERB-l+alpe- ‘VERB and go back’ (subsequent motion) < ‘*VERB-ing go.back’ (prior action + motion verb), and VERB-y+alpe- ‘go back and VERB’ (prior motion) < ‘*to VERB go.back’ (subsequent action + motion verb). The categories and forms will be compared. Which ones are explicable by: inheritance within genetic groups, language-internal renewal or elaboration of the system, imitation of the structures of neighbouring languages? Which of the presumed contact-induced changes be treated as instances of grammaticalisation, cf. Heine and Kuteva (2005), as opposed to the conclusions of Austin (1989)? Do the diachronic facts concerning AM in Central Australia define a “grammaticalisation area” in the sense of Heine and Kuteva? References Austin, Peter. 1989. Verb compounding in Central Australian languages. La Trobe Working Papers in Linguistics 2:1-31. Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2005. Language contact and grammatical change. Cambridge UP.

Traces of dialect differences in common language

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0. Any language includes elements from several dialects. The genuine Germanic *g* before vowel in beginning of word was transformed into [j] (palatalization): Goth. *gards* — Engl. *yard*. Scandinavian and French borrowings carried into English new sound *g* after the palatalization: *get* (< Old Norse *geta*), *garden* (from Northern French, cf. lit. *jardin*). There are also forms from several dialects: OE *y* is transformed into *i* in Middle English dialects of North East, into *u* in West ones, and into *e* in South East. Modern English have *i* previously: *dyde* → *did*, *fyllan* → *fill*. But also *byrgan* → *bury* (West feature), *myrige* → *merry* (South East feature). They correct the phonetic laws. 1. The most archaic features, which divides Old Greek dialects continuum in West and East parts is transformation of *t* > *s* before *i*, or assibilation. The assibilated dialects are: Ionic, Aeolic, Achaeon, non-assibilated ones are Doric and North-Western. Cf. Ionic *d...dwsī*, Myc. *didosi* — Doric *d...dwti*. But some dialects has a tendency to the confusion of this feature: In Gortyn Law the verbal ending *-ti/-nti* coexists with the nouns *-si-* (< *-ti-*): In Attic dialect and poetic language, where the assibilation is very consecutive, there are some nouns with the suffix *-ti-* (in-stead *-si-*): *ffsij/ fftij*, also *mÁtij* “thought; providence” *mftnij* “prophet”, *¥mpwtij* “sea ebb”. All these nouns belong to high style. In the report I’ll argue the thesis that in Greek existed a special language of priests and prophets. Such archaic forms are its traces.

Consonant and Vowel Gradation in Germanic

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Within the Indo-European language family Germanic is somewhat eccentric. Already in 1786 Sir William Jones noted that Gothic is related to Sanskrit and Greek, ‘though blended with a very different idiom’. Indeed, the Germanic languages are Indo-European, but they differ from their cognates in specific ways, such as the merger of the aorist and the perfect, and the loss of accentual mobility. One of the more conspicuously Germanic features, however, is the abundance of geminates. Since geminates are lacking in Proto-Indo-European phonology, they have been ascribed to substrate influence in Germanic (FBJ Kuiper): a profitable perspective in view of Celto-Germanic localisms such as *dass- ‘haystack’. Yet in other cases geminates are essentially innate. The Neogrammarians of the late 19th century successfully explained the long stops out of regular sound change. One of the most spectacular effects of this process was the rise of extensive allomorphy in the n-stems, where some cases developed a geminate, while other cases preserved the original consonantism. Compare, for instance, the kaleidoscopic kind of root variation of PGm. *tagan-, *taggan-, *takan-, *takkan- ‘prickle, twig’ < PIE *dHgh-. Importantly, the profusion of the n-stems gave rise to a large body of words with non-Indo-Europeanoid consonant gradations, thus reshaping the face of Germanic. This morpho-phonological revolution was not dependent of the influence of substrate languages. In fact, the n-stems turn out to have preserved the old system of PIE vowel gradation remarkably well: e.g. PGm. *tʔgan- ‘twig’ < PIE *deHgh-.

Pragmatic Functions and Competition of Five First Person Pronouns in Classical Chinese

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Zygmunt Frajzyngier, University of Colorado, Boulder

In Classical Chinese, there were five different means to code the first person pronoun: wu2, wo3, yu2, yu3, and zero pronoun. However, in modern Mandarin, only wo3 and zero pronoun are in use. We propose that Classical Chinese requires five different forms, because social status was so important that it was marked with different overt forms. We analyzed Lunyu “Confucius” (BC479). Wu2 (freq.=101) is the default form making reference to oneself. Wu2 also functions as bringing self back to the subject when conversation drifted. Wo3 (freq.=46) is used when the speaker contrasts self with other existing referents. Yu3 (freq.=17) is used when the topics are heaven, kings, and death. Yu2 is used exclusively by kings in Pre-Classical and by higher social status speakers in Classical Chinese. Finally, zero pronoun is used in the second mention, and by lower social status speakers and modest speakers. We propose that the social change motivates the reduction of pronouns in modern Mandarin. Yu3 was lost because taboo topics are no longer avoided. Yu2 was lost because monarchy was lost. However, we found one usage of yu2 by a modern artist. Between the most frequent wu2 and the second frequent wo3, wo3 that contrasts with other potential referents was retained. The zero pronoun are retained. We find here a case that the more marked form replaced the less marked form. The finding implies that the lack of functional motivation for a form leads to the loss or a functional shift of the form.

Les interférences vernaculaires francique-français en Lorraine : preuves du contact entre romanité et germanité

Philippe Leblond, Université de Montréal

La frontière linguistique romano-germanique passe depuis plusieurs siècles en plein cœur du département français de la Moselle (dans la région de la Lorraine). Cette dite frontière coupe ce département en une zone francophone et une zone germanophone. Le francique (dialecte germanique plus ou moins proche du luxembourgeois et de l'allemand) a longtemps côtoyé le patois roman lorrain et côtoie maintenant le français régional de Lorraine (le premier ayant évolué jusqu'au parler contemporain). Depuis plusieurs siècles, mosellans francophones et germanophones sont donc en étroit contact, et qui dit contact, dit échange. Plusieurs dictionnaires dialectologiques et diverses études sur ces parlers ont été publiés depuis déjà plus de deux siècles, toutefois aucune étude scientifique n'a, jusqu'à ce jour, étudié systématiquement les interférences vernaculaires répertoriées en Lorraine. Nous tentons donc de repérer les germanismes (interférences présentes dans le français régional de Lorraine) et les gallicismes (interférences présentes dans le dialecte francique) qui découlent d'un emprunt direct à la source, soit de la population de « l'autre côté » de la dite frontière. Le(s) signifié(s) de ces interférences est également une donnée très importante à prendre en compte, puisqu'elle nous permet de voir s'il y a eu glissement sémantique de la langue source à la langue cible. Grâce à nos résultats préliminaires, nous nous rendons compte que la dialectologie germanique présente certaines lacunes et que le FEW en présente autant, puisqu'il est loin d'avoir enregistré tous les germanismes apparaissant dans les documents anciens émanant de la Lorraine.

Verbs of movement in a diachronic and typological perspective

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Lene Schoesler, University of Copenhagen

The synchronic situation of the expression of movement across European languages is well known and well described today. The difference between a verb-framed versus a satellite-framed way of expressing a movement has been established by Talmy back in 1975. The purpose of our paper is to look at the expression of movement from a diachronic point of view, focusing on Romance languages, among which we will concentrate on French, but including the typological comparison with Germanic languages. Our starting point is Classical Latin, more especially the rather complex situation found with monolexical expression of direction, in verbs like *venire* (to come) which contrasts with monolexical expression of manner in verbs like *natare* (to swim) and direction expressed in prefixed verbal lexemes. We will show how the prefixed structure evolves in Late Latin and in Old French where we find particle-like elements. In Middle French we will show the decrease of the multifunctionality of these particles, the appearance of redundant structures, and the lexicalisation of expressions. In Modern French we will present the expression of the semantic features manner and direction in lexical verbs and in phrasal verbs. From this diachronic basis we will consider the other Romance languages and compare their evolution from Latin and finally compare the Romance languages with the Germanic languages. The diachronic and synchronic survey allows us to establish an overview of the possible ways of expressing movement in Western European languages, which allows us to position the different languages according to each other.

Grammaticalization processes of relative clauses in ancient Indo-European languages

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Two main strategies are found for relative clauses in ancient Indo-European languages – postnominal and correlative clauses. Two pronouns are used as markers of those clauses – *kwi-/kwo- and *yo-, but there is no strict correlation between the two strategies and the two markers. The grammaticalization process of relative clauses introduced by *kwi-/kwo- is not difficult to assess – this pronoun is widely attested in ancient Indo-European languages as an interrogative and indefinite pronoun and the grammaticalization path INTERROGATIVE > RELATIVE is well documented. As opposed to that, the process by which *yo- came to be grammaticalized as a relative pronoun is not so straightforward, but it can be reconstructed if we take into account other uses of *yo, specifically the following ones: • the Hittite enclitic particle -ya, • the thematic genitive in *-os-yo, • the uninflected Gaulish relative particle -io (continued also in Medieval Celtic languages), • the definite inflection of the adjective in Slavic and Baltic languages, • "nominal" relative clauses in Indo-Iranian (and Slavic) languages. The analysis of those uses of *yo thus shows that it must have originally been an uninflected enclitic particle that came to be used as a nominal determiner. It was later inflected and, following a general trend in the evolution of Indo-European syntax, it tended to be preposed, as shown by the "nominal" relative clauses of Indo-Iranian languages. Its use as a relative pronoun must have originated from that value, a process for which there are good typological parallels (Lolo, Basque, etc.).

Celtic and Old English

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In recent publications (Tristram 2004, Vennemann 2002), it has been claimed that whereas later stages of English were strongly affected by Celtic, Old English represented the largely uncelticized sociolect of the Anglo-Saxon rulers. With special reference to Southern Anglo-Saxon England, Schrijver (2002) assumes that there was no direct contact between Celtic and prehistoric Saxon but between a Celticised form of Latin and Saxon.

In my presentation I will show that while it is true that later stages of English exhibit more Celtic influence, Old English is not free from shift-induced changes. After a discussion of the Old English evidence for two syntactic features attributed to Celtic repeatedly, but in recent years with the support of comparative contact linguistics (OE *beon* / *wesan* and the early progressive aspect; cf. Filppula 2003), these substratal influences are made plausible on the basis of the Old English designations for Celts and their legal status (Pelteret 1995). References Filppula, Markku (2003), "More on the English progressive and the Celtic connection", in *The Celtic Englishes III*, ed. Hildegard Tristram, Heidelberg, 150-168. Pelteret, David A. E. (1995), *Slavery in Early Medieval England from the Reign of Alfred until the Twelfth Century*, Woodbridge. Schrijver, Peter (2002), "The rise and fall of British Latin: Evidence from English and Brittonic", in *The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. M. Filppula et al., Joensuu, 87-110. Tristram, Hildegard (2004), "Diglossia in Anglo-Saxon England, or What was spoken Old English like?", *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 40, 87-110. Vennemann, Theo (2002), "On the rise of 'Celtic' syntax in Middle English", in *Middle English from Tongue to Text*, ed. Peter Lucas & Angela Lucas, Frankfurt, 103-234.

Imperative Morphology in Diachrony: evidence from the Romance languages

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Paul O'Neill, University of Oxford

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The morphology of imperatives is a marginal topic in language typology (cf. Van der Auwera and Lejeune 2005:287, in *World Atlas of Language Structures*). For Romance languages we possess scattered observations, but no serious overview has been attempted. This paper exploits data gathered for the Oxford-based project 'Autonomous Morphology in Diachrony: comparative evidence from the Romance languages', to present a comparative-historical synthesis of Romance affirmative morphology. It argues that Romance imperatives deserve greater prominence in historical morphological literature, and explores their implications for our understanding of mechanisms morphological change generally. Imperatives emerge as a recurrent locus of suppletion and defectiveness (notably in Romanian, where some verbs exist only in the imperative, or have suppletive forms in the imperative, often originally loan words or interjections), often uniquely escaping morphological changes affecting other parts of the paradigm, yet frequently providing the basis for analogical remodellings. Moreover, the imperative can be shown to provide the the verb element in Romance compound noun formation. With evidence from the acquisitional literature, we suggest that these facts reflect a scenario in which imperative forms are learned (often initially as interjections) earlier than other word-forms, and may acquire the status of primary exponents of the lexeme to which they belong. As such they may be immune to morphological changes affecting other parts of the paradigm, whilst also serving as an attractor in analogical changes. We shall compare our findings with those made (eg., by L. Veselinova) for imperatives in non-European languages.

Lumpers and splitters: Is a dialogue possible?

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Jean-Marie Hombert, DDL ISH

The classification of to-day's world languages into linguistic families is an important task for historical linguists. Widely different proposals are presented by researchers working on large scale classifications going from about a dozen (macro) families to more than three hundred for the most cautions historical linguists. Such huge differences reflect both different methodologies but also different time depth. Three hundred "families" would correspond to a time depth of about 2000 years, 50 "families" to about 5000 years and a dozen "families" to 10.000 years and more. Obviously, for the oldest periods the linguistic evidence is extremely fragile and most "traditional" historical linguists, using the comparative method would claim that there is a limit around 8000 years above which it is impossible to "prove" linguistic relationships. In this paper I would like - to summarize and evaluate the statistical arguments presented by historical linguists to set a limit on the comparative method - to summarize and evaluate the arguments proposed by historical "lumpers" who claim to be able to go beyond the limits imposed by traditional comparative linguistics - to present a database (BD Proto) regrouping available lexical reconstructions from a wide variety of language "families" and show how this approach can help bridge a gap between Lumpers and Splitters

À propos des propriétés germaniques de l'ancien français

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Cet article a pour but de démontrer qu'au-delà de la contrainte V2, l'ancien français partage avec un sous-ensemble de langues germaniques du nord, telles que l'islandais moderne, un certain nombre de propriétés syntaxiques : (i) la dislocation stylistique ; (ii) les sujets excentriques ; (iii) le déplacement

de l'objet ; et (iv) les constructions transitives explétives. En m'appuyant sur les travaux de Dupuis (1989), Cardinaletti et Roberts (2002), Roberts (1993), et Mathieu (2006a), je démontre d'abord que la dislocation stylistique faisait bel et bien partie de l'inventaire des constructions grammaticales de l'ancien français. D'autre part, en reprenant certains faits présentés dans Mathieu (2006b), je démontre que les sujets excentriques existent dans la langue française d'autrefois. Une corrélation est alors établie : si une langue tolère la dislocation stylistique, il s'ensuit que cette langue autorise également les sujets excentriques (le contraire n'étant pas nécessairement vrai, exemple de l'allemand contemporain). La suite de mon exposé s'appuie sur d'autres corrélations de cette sorte qui ont été proposées pour les langues germaniques. Les langues germaniques permettant la dislocation stylistique permettent les Constructions Transitives Explétives (CTE) et autorisent également le déplacement de l'objet. Puisque la dislocation stylistique fait partie du stock des constructions syntaxiques en ancien français, la prédiction typologique qui s'ensuit est que la langue ancienne devrait également avoir accès aux CTE et au déplacement de l'objet. Le but de mon article est de démontrer que cette prédiction est correcte.

The Historical Development of have/take a look

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I argued the development of have/take a walk in the history of English in Matsumoto (in press). Have/take a look developed differently from have/take a walk. I need to study have/take a look in this paper. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), have a look appeared in the nineteenth century, but have a look was found in Middle English (ME), and in the seventeenth century (Chadwyck-Healey database). In ME, cast eie/look was often used, and cast eie was used more frequently than cast look. According to the Chadwyck-Healey's English Poetry database, cast look was suppressed by cast eye in the seventeenth century (5 vs. 50), but cast look surpassed cast eye in the eighteenth century (29 vs. 21). In this process we can see the change from eye to look, i.d., from concrete to abstract. But in the course of language change cast eye and cast look have existed parallel with each other. The first citation of take a look in the OED is shown in the eighteenth century. In this paper, I will pursue the way of the historical development of expressing 'seeing' by Composite Predicates (CP)(Cattell: 1984) forms. References Cattell, Ray. 1984. *Syntax and Semantics*, Vol.17: *Composite Predicates in English*. Sydney, Australia: Academic Press. Matsumoto, Meiko. In press. "The Historical Development of have/take a walk". In *Of Varying Language and Opposing Creed: New Insights into Late Modern English*, ed. by Javier Pérez-Guerra et Esperanza Rama-Martinez.

Subjectification in grammaticalization: The case of the Recipient passive-like construction in Spanish

Chantal Melis, UNAM

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Subjectification in grammaticalization: The case of the Recipient passive-like construction in Spanish
The prototypical passive may be defined as a construction in which the Agent of a transitive verb is defocused, while the Patient receives the prominent subject role. Similarly, when a passive involves a ditransitive verb, such as give, the Patient of the transferring act tends to be the derived subject. Some languages, however, allow the Recipient to be promoted to subject, as in the English sentence John was given a book (by Mary). Spanish, on the other hand, belongs to the languages of which it is said that they do not form such Recipient passives. The aim of this paper is to show that, upon closer examination, Spanish can be regarded as having the functional equivalent of a Recipient passive, and the paper will center on the historical development of this construction (Se le dio un libro 'He (him) was given a book'). It will be argued that the structure under study begins as an expression of subjective "empathy" with the Recipient, in specific contexts, and, through repeated selections of the same point of view, ends up grammaticalizing into a Recipient-oriented passive. This process of grammaticalization was undoubtedly favored by a more general structural change which in the XIXth century affected all sorts of active sentences (with Experiencer verbs and others), characterized, in a similar way, for combining a cognitively salient human participant and a less prominent inanimate entity.

Patterns of Language Choice in Real Time

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The Køge Project (Jørgensen 2004a) has described the language choice patterns of Turkish-Danish grade school students, both quantitatively and qualitatively. A combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis is produced through so-called code profiles which represent the variation in base language in the course of group conversations (Jørgensen 2004b). The first set of data was collected 1989-1998, and a new set of data has been collected with the core group of speakers in 2006, supplemented with similar group conversation among 8th graders. In this paper we compare the language choice patterns of the old core group, as they were observed in the 1990's, with their patterns in 2006. Furthermore, we compare the patterns of the core group when they were in grade 8, with present-day 8th graders' patterns. Thus we are able to determine which pattern changes constitute changes in real time, and which are age specific. It is evident that language "mixing" (intrasentential code-switching) is there to stay. There are patterns of switching which appear in all types of conversations, and there are varieties which almost invariably appear, such as mainstream Turkish, mainstream Danish, and English. The speakers are languagers (Jørgensen 2004c), and remain so after adolescence. There are other changes in their conversational co-operation, however, such as an increased average turn length.

Contact-induced change: the case of Cimbrian phonology and morphology

Rita Morandi, UW-Madison

In this paper, I discuss major contact-induced changes that have occurred in the phonology and morphology of Cimbrian, a south Bavarian dialect, which arose during the Middle High German period and has been used since the middle Ages in small Alpine speech islands in Italy. Cimbrian currently only survives in a village with a population of 300 and although it is the primary language for 75% of them, some indicators suggest that it is becoming another case of language death. Effects of contact with neighboring Romance varieties have been detected in the lexicon since the 19th century, however I show how changes in the community after the Second World War have sped up language change resulting in phoneme substitution, gemination and changes in the distribution of the allophones of /r/. Moreover, I have found that prepositional phrases in short stories published in 1905 show inconsistencies in the case system suggesting variation in the selection of dative or accusative with certain prepositions. The use of either the accusative or the dative with prepositions that require only one of the two cases indicates loss of distinction between the two cases. Loss of case distinction is also evident in 2003 data. The results of my analysis seem to indicate that the Cimbrian case system might have reached a stable stage through case leveling and generalization. This would confirm the findings of Dorian 1977, Dimmendaal 1992, Broderick 1999 showing morphological generalization and leveling as typical phenomena observed in languages on the verge of extinction.

L'infiltration de [r] à travers une dentale [rt, rd] > [rtr, rdr]

Yves Morin, Université de Montréal

Jean-Paul Chauveau, ATILF-CNRS

Les parlers gallo-romans connaissent un changement phonétique sporadique ayant pour effet de propager un [r] en coda dans l'attaque d'une syllabe suivante lorsqu'elle commence par une dentale [t] ou [d], par ex. PERD?C?M > perdis ~ perdis 'perdrix'. Ce changement est souvent rapproché d'autres changements sporadiques dans lesquels un [r] apparaît après une consonne en attaque à l'initiale, V?T?C?L?M > °veille > vrille, ou encore devant une voyelle posttonique, C?B?T?M > coude, coute, coudre, coudre (cf. E. Bourciez 1937 §178rIII). Ce type de changement n'est pas normalement répertorié parmi les changements phonétiques; on n'en trouve aucune mention dans l'ouvrage de Grammont (1933); Fouché (1966 :756–758) les interprète comme des formes de contamination ou de croisement. Un relevé systématique de telles formes en gallo-roman montre que le procédé, pour être sporadique, est relativement fréquent, et doit avoir une base phonétique, p. ex. chardon ~ chardon, jardin ~ jardrin, ortie ~ ortrie, pertuis ~ pertruis, sardine ~ sardrine. Une évolution phonétique de [rt, rd] à [rtr, rdr] s'explique simplement en termes articulatoires. Nous montrerons qu'elle a pu être déclenchée dans certains parler, mais non tous, par la palatalisation puis l'affrication de la dentale au contact du [r] précédent, rejoignant une autre évolution fréquente dans les parlers de l'ouest de la France où [r?, r?] > [rtr, rdr], comme dans ARG?LL?M > argile ~ ardil(l)e, ardil(l)e. Quel que soit le mécanisme impliqué cependant, ce changement est problématique pour les théories du changement sur la simplification des structures syllabiques (Venneman 1988).

VADERE + infinitive: the reanalysis of a Romance future

Lisa Marie Noetzel, Washington College

Traditional accounts (Lausberg 1966, Vincent 1988) relating the evolution of the Latin future tense state that Romance languages display innovation by developing one or two of the following constructions: i) a synthetic form (e.g. Sp. comeré); or ii) a periphrastic form (e.g. Sard. app' a mandicare). Romance languages display a variety of auxiliary verbs for the future PF, but those that utilize the verb 'to go' (e.g. Fr. je vais manger, Sp. voy a comer) are considered developments of the 15th or 16th century (Fleischman 1982, Berschin 1986, Aaron 2006). Attestations from medieval texts and frequency counts spanning a millennium (400 - 1400 AD) suggest that this idea is wrong. VADERE 'to go' forms appear consistently in two syntactic environments: i) as a solitary, intransitive verb with an adjunct phrase and ii) as an inflected verb juxtaposed with an infinitive. Following (Lightfoot 1991, 1997, 1999), we suggest that the reanalysis of VADERE as an auxiliary VP occurs in a degree zero environment and that the learner's cues are: i) the juxtaposition of an inflected V with respect to non-finite forms ii) the intransitive/transitive status of the inflected V and iii) the category of the non-finite predicate.

The Emergence of Tense in early Bantu

Derek Nurse, Memorial University

This paper examines the expression of aspect and tense in a selection of Bantu and non-Bantu Niger-Congo languages. Both sets of languages share a set of aspects. All Bantu languages also have a set of tenses (of varying size), superimposed on the inherited aspectual base, and the paper concludes that the emergence of tense was an innovation in pre- or Proto-Bantu. Grammaticalization research over the last years has shown that individual aspects become tenses (and not usually vice versa). This paper proposes that a whole aspect-based system has added a tense component.

Du futur simple au futur périphrastique : changement linguistique en temps réel en portugais

Josane Oliveira, UEFS / UNIFACS

Nous analysons la variation dans l'expression du futur en portugais, du point de vue diachronique (depuis le XIII^e siècle). Cette variation présente quatre variantes: a) le futur simple (viajarei amanhã); b) le présent (viajo amanhã); c) la périphrase avec *ir* + infinitif (vou viajar amanhã); et d) la périphrase avec *haver* + *de* + infinitif (hei de viajar amanhã). Le phénomène étudié n'est pas exclusif du portugais; bien au contraire, il est attesté dans plusieurs autres langues, comme en anglais, en français, en espagnol, en italien, en roumain et en sarde. Dans le cadre théorique de la sociolinguistique quantitative labovienne et selon les principes du paradigme de la grammaticalisation, l'analyse des données montre que: a) le futur simple se maintient plus au moins stabilisé dans la langue écrite formelle, où il est encore préféré; b) le présent est plus utilisé dans la langue parlée et se maintient historiquement dans des contextes bien spécifiques; c) la périphrase avec *haver* + infinitif diminue son usage à travers les siècles et n'est plus (au XX^e siècle) la principale concurrente du futur simple; d) la périphrase avec *ir* + infinitif est utilisée chaque fois plus dans la langue écrite et arrive même à dépasser le futur simple à l'oral; e) il y a un processus de grammaticalisation du verbe *ir*, qui passe de plein à auxiliaire dans la composition de la forme périphrastique avec l'infinitif pour exprimer le futur.

Towards a Typology of Relativization Strategies in Old Saxon

Mike Olson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Shannon Dubenion-Smith, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In this paper, we investigate relativization strategies in Old Saxon from an empirical and theoretical point of view. While a typology of relative clauses has been proposed for both modern and some earlier Germanic dialects (e.g. Romaine 1984, Dekeyser 1984, Pittner 1994, Fleischer 2004), to date such a typology for Old Saxon remains outstanding. After presenting the possibilities for relativization in Old Saxon, we discuss these in light of Keenan & Comrie's (1977: 66) Accessibility Hierarchy, an implicational scale that 'expresses the relative accessibility to relativization of NP positions': (1) Accessibility Hierarchy (AH) (Keenan & Comrie 1977:66) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison (Here, '>' means 'is more accessible than') Our preliminary findings show relative clause-forming strategies attested down through the genitive type. We then relate these relativization strategies to two theoretical notions: Filler-Gap Processing (Hawkins 1999) and Case Visibility (Pittner 1995: 201-202). We first demonstrate how placement towards the right side of the Accessibility Hierarchy is associated with greater cognitive load, resulting in the employment of [+case] marking strategies, then we link [+case] relative clauses to case-marking patterns in the relativization of copy pronouns. In linking these together, we show how Case Visibility integrates with Filler-Gap Processing. Using these theoretical approaches to analyze relative clauses in Old Saxon, we bring new data to bear on the discussion of relativization

strategies. Our approach yields new insights into the system of relative clauses in Old Saxon, shedding light on old problems in the literature (Behaghel

The emergence of DP in the history of English: the role of mysterious genitive

Fuyo Osawa, Tokai University

Carstens 2000; Wood 2003; Alexiadou 2004). Later, NPs develop into hierarchical DPs via the emergence of a functional category D. Before this emergence, there are no DPs which have an internal clausal structure. Then, the absence of gerunds and group genitive constructions (the king of England's wife) from OE, which are an instantiation of a D system, will follow. Although the parallelism between nominal phrases and clauses (Ritter 1991) as a hierarchical functional projection is abandoned, the parallelism between the two is maintained in that they share a flat structure without functional categories. Furthermore, against the accepted view that genitive case is an only survival of morphological cases, I claim that genitive case could play an important role in the emergence of a D, because it lost its original function earlier than other morphological cases. This analysis gives supporting evidence to a view that a case system in OE is thematically motivated in that morphological case is assigned (checked) to thematically associated NPs only. Otherwise we cannot explain the derivation of split genitives like *Ælfred-es sweostor cynning-es* 'King Alfred's sister'. OE has no of -insertion for case reasons. There is no separation of case from thematic roles which is the norm in Present-day English, although the relation between case and theta roles is obscured in the GB framework and the Minimalist Program.

Historical processes as explanations of real time changes: The case of Denmark

Inge Lise Pedersen, DGCSS/University of Copenhagen

Frans Gregersen, DGCSS/University of Copenhagen

Historical processes as explanations of real time changes: The case of Denmark In this paper, we want to focus on explanations. We take it as a fact that the Danish speech community has undergone a dialect levelling process during the previous century (Pedersen 2003) resulting in the present day situation where traditional local dialects have vanished while regional differences reside mainly in intonation. In spite of this apparent linguistic uniformity, Danes have no problem in recognizing a regional lect as witnessed by attitude tests from all over the country (Kristiansen 2003). Thus, what we have to explain are the following facts: • dialect levelling has resulted in minuscule differences between lects • attitude tests show a remarkable unity of opinion throughout the Danish speech community with Copenhagen speech rated as the most prestigious lect whenever subconscious attitude are elicited • changes in the speech community have uniformly been towards the spread of Copenhagen features We propose that at least the following historical processes shaping the present Danish society are relevant: • urbanization and the historical dominance of Copenhagen • the special characteristics of industrialization in Denmark • changes in socialization practices The argument will involve two steps. First, we will demonstrate that a possible influence exists from the historical processes to the sociolinguistic facts, both language use and language attitudes. Next, we will evaluate the proposal by way of comparison with the other Nordic countries. If the Danish situation can be shown to be demonstrably different, this is corroborating evidence.

Evolutionary Phonology and Lexical Diffusion

Betty Phillips, Indiana State University

Blevins (2004) states, "Since normal phonological acquisition results in the grouping of similar phonetic tokens into single phonological categories in a regular fashion, sound change should do the same." Within her model, "lexical diffusion (without clear phonetic conditioning) is the diffusion of a completed sound change"; i.e, "regular sound change occurs at the level of the individual, and lexical diffusion at the level of speech communities." Blevins is mistaken, however, in her assumptions and therefore also in her conclusions. First, normal phonological acquisition is replete with lexical diffusion. Children who acquire the adult pronunciation of [b] for /b/ in one word, for instance, do not generalize that phone to other words in /b/ (Ferguson and Farwell 1975; similarly Berg 1993, Beckman and Edwards 2000, Gierut 2001). Second, lexical diffusion has been documented repeatedly as one of the ways that sound changes are implemented, even when there is also clear phonetic conditioning: in [t, d] deletion (Bybee 2000), schwa reduction in English (Hooper 1976) and Dutch (Bergen 1995), vowel nasalization in French (Hansen 2001), etc. And there is ample evidence of lexical diffusion at the level of individual adults. Not only do manuscripts written by individuals reveal lexical diffusion (Phillips 1984, 1997), but living individuals exhibit variation by lexical item in such changes as the reduction of the first vowel in the more frequent words astronomy, mistake, abstain, and thermometer compared to the full vowel in relatively infrequent gastronomy, mistook, abstemious, and tercentenary (Fidelholz 1975).

Word Breaks and Syllable Structure in Gothic Reconsidered

Marc Pierce, University of Michigan

It is clear that the early Germanic languages exhibit a rich variety of syllabically-conditioned phonological phenomena, ranging from Sievers' Law to the West Germanic Consonant Gemination. As the earliest well-attested Germanic language, Gothic plays a crucial role in the analysis of early Germanic syllabification. However, despite an extensive research history, there is considerable debate about Gothic syllabification, especially regarding the best interpretation of the available evidence and what types of evidence should be considered. This paper offers a methodological discussion of this controversial topic. Most analyses of Gothic syllable structure rely on orthographic evidence, specifically word breaks in the Gothic manuscripts; it has traditionally been held that these word breaks are phonologically motivated and correspond to syllable divisions. This view has recently been disputed by some scholars, who argue that a combination of factors, both morphological and phonological, influenced word breaks in the Gothic manuscripts, and also that factors like language typology must also be considered when analyzing Gothic syllabification. While a number of arguments can be mustered in favor of such claims, the traditional view is still preferable for a number of reasons, including the following. First, those who reject the traditional assumption have been unable to explain why certain clusters were treated differently. Second, language-internal evidence must be given precedence over other sources of evidence. Finally, it is inconsistent to accept the traditional view of word breaks in some contexts and reject it in others.

Hypothèses sur le changement dans les comparatives d' « inégalité » de l'espagnol, du français et de l'italien

Mireille Piot, Université Grenoble 3 et LATTICE

A l'origine, deux marqueurs-introducteurs des subordonnées comparatives d' « inégalité » : que et de pour l'espagnol, que et de pour le français, che et di pour l'italien. Leur répartition d'emploi est cependant différente entre ces trois langues dès leur état ancien : - - che y compris pour introduire des syntagmes nominaux, en italien ancien, - - une certaine présence de de face à que en ancien et moyen français, - - une présence plus grande de de face à que en espagnol ancien. A partir des XVème – XVIème siècles, l'état contemporain aboutit à une répartition d'emploi complètement inversée pour l'italien et le français, l'espagnol conservant globalement l'état ancien. Or, le de/de/di comparatif est homonyme dans ces langues du partitif, et l'italien ancien et le français non-ancien ont développé à partir du partitif des indéfinis : de/di (+ article), au contraire marginaux en français ancien comme en italien standard contemporain où elles sont concurrencées par l'absence de détermination indéfinie. L'analyse de dialectes de l'italien ainsi que de la diachronie de l'espagnol (qui n'a jamais développé ces déterminations) vont dans le même sens : le développement vs l'absence de la détermination de même forme auprès des SN pourrait être l'un des principaux facteurs du changement observé entre ces langues dans l'emploi du de/de/di comparatifs, et inversement. D'autres facteurs existent : comme le choix de l'introducteur pour développer la relative spécifique, l'emploi contraint et marginal de di+SN dans l'italien ancien, le rôle et la fréquence d'emploi de la complémentation phrastique en que/que/che par rapport à ceux des relatives spécifiques.

Early Decline of the Negative clitic ‘ne’ in the Middle Dutch dialects in Frisian and Saxon areas.
Gertjan Postma, Meertens Institute, Academy of Sciences

We study the decline of the preverbal negative clitic *ne/en* (cf. Jespersen’s cycle) using corpora of Old Frisian, and of Middle Dutch from the Frisian and Saxon areas (Drenthe). The first finding is that the decline of the negative clitic is earlier in Dutch texts from Frisia and Drenthe compared to Dutch texts from Holland, or Frisian texts from Frisia. The second finding is that drop of the clitic is sensitive to the distinction between lexical verbs and auxiliary verbs: in fronted position, only auxiliary verbs can carry the *ne*-clitic. The effect can be compared to English clitic negator *n’t* that only attaches to auxiliary verbs. These decline data are contrasted with data from studies of Flemish (Vd Horst & Vd Wal 1978), Hollandish and Brabantish (Burridge 1999) and Old Frisian (Bor 1990). We will discuss two interpretations of these data. 1. the auxiliary-effect is not original but a consequence of language contact between Frisian and Franconic. 2. the auxiliary effect is an original feature of a linguistic substrate in the North sea region, but neither of Old-Franconic nor Old-Frisian. An important ingredient in the explanation will be that only in the contact areas of the Frisian and Dutch variants do the auxiliary effects show up: the Frisian cities and Drenthe. We will provide a formal analysis of the grammatical variants and propose a mechanism how two grammars interact.

The Status of Morphological Ellipsis in Earlier Modern German and English

Amanda Pounder, University of Calgary

Morphological ellipsis is a familiar phenomenon in modern Standard English and German word-formation (1). (1) a. E: hat- and bootless b. G: be- und entladen PREF- and PREF-load-INF ‘load and unload’ Constraints on morphological ellipsis appear to have been looser in 17th- and 18th-century German, where a wider range of derivational affixes could be “factored out” of a conjunction structure than today, and it could occur in inflectional morphology (2). (2) Was wart- und zweiffeln wir? what wait- and doubt-1.PL.PRES.INDIC. we ‘what are we waiting and doubting for?’ Similarly, when two or more derived adverbs occur in conjunction structures in earlier Modern English, the first might appear without a category-marking suffix, while the adverb in the final conjunct bears the -ly-suffix (3); this, too, can be interpreted as morphological ellipsis. (3) ... handsome and concisely done The paper establishes constraints on morphological ellipsis in earlier Modern German inflection and English adverb-formation, and also notes difficulty in assessing the status of the phenomenon in relation to register and text-type. It advances the hypothesis, supported in addition to the textual evidence by cross-linguistic patterns of morphological ellipsis in similar domains and by not infrequent parallels in modern informal and formal German and English texts, that while specific constraints can be identified in the word-formation domain and in adjectival concord for earlier Modern German, morphological ellipsis in German noun and verb inflection, as well as in English adverb-formation, makes use of a non-systemic but available strategy.

Latin Imparisyllabics and Morpheme Conversion

Wayne Redenbarger, Ohio State University

In a 1998 article Kiparsky, following an earlier analysis by Redenbarger [1974], analyzes the nominative singular allomorphy of the Latin 3rd declension in several phonological and morphological models, including LPM and OT. There are multiple concerns regarding Kiparsky's OT analysis. First, the regular, surface transparent parisyllabic Latin nouns are treated as exceptional with regard to nominative i-deletion even though imparisyllabic nouns are consistently lost in Romance. Second, there is no attention paid to epenthesis. This process inserts an [i] between consonants across a morpheme boundary; i.e., epenthesis can reinsert an [i] after one has been deleted by the nominative i-deletion process. We suggest that a better solution lies in the kind of morpheme conversion process discussed by Halle & Marantz [1993]. Just as Latin converts the Accusative morpheme to a Nominative morpheme in Neuter Plurals, we suggest that the Imparisyllabic mark on imparisyllabic noun stem is converted to a Non-Epenthesizing mark in Nom Sg forms only. The existence of a Non-Epenthesizing rule feature mark is already motivated in Latin by the *sum* and *ferô* forms. This solution has the irregulars marked and the regular forms unmarked. Best of all, the unconverted Imparisyllabic feature in the other nine forms of the paradigm will flag exactly the nine forms that undergo noun stem weakening, another set of Latin data not considered by Kiparsky; the forms with converted morphemes undergo one process, while the forms with the unconverted rule feature undergo another. This combination of root marking and morpheme conversion explains all of the data: (im)parisyllabics, stem changes, and the reason diachronically that *honô*s > *honor* but *corpus* never changes to *corpor*.

On the Syntax of Subject-Verb Inversion and the Role of Information Structure in the History of French

Esther Rinke, University of Hamburg

Jürgen Meisel, University of Hamburg and University of Calgary

This study compares the syntactic as well as information-structural properties of post-verbal subjects in declarative clauses in Old (OF) and in Modern French (MF). Subject inversion is frequent in OF but highly constrained in MF - a fact that has primarily been regarded as a side-effect of the analysis of OF as a verb-second-language (V2). The loss of V2 alone can, however, not explain why inversion has become so restricted in MF, given the fact that post-verbal subjects are possible in all modern Romance non-V2-languages. Based on a corpus of more than 2000 declarative clauses of two different OF texts from the 13th century, we will show that OF did, in fact, not differ from other Romance languages with respect to the placement and interpretation of post-verbal subjects. We will argue that post-verbal subjects in OF a) occupy a low structural position and b) are interpreted as part of the sentence Focus. The relevant arguments come from the distribution of definite versus indefinite noun phrases, the placement of negation, the existence of subject-verb-agreement in impersonal constructions, and the distribution of different verb-types with post-verbal subjects. In MF, post-verbal subjects are mainly restricted to two contexts: they either show properties of topics, which do not occupy a low structural position (e.g. in the context of stylistic inversion) or they show focus-properties and occupy a vP-internal object-position (in the case of unaccusatives or passives). We interpret our findings as indicating that post-verbal subjects in MF - in contrast to OF - may not occupy the vP-internal subject position at Spell-Out.

Discours rapporté fictif et sous-entendu en ancien français: queinses mon dire

Amalia Rodríguez Somolinos, Universidad Complutense de Madrid

Le marqueur *queinses*, *cainses*, *quenses* (latin *quam sic*), très peu fréquent en ancien français, n'a pas dépassé le XIII^e siècle. Il présente cependant un fonctionnement énonciatif et pragmatique particulièrement intéressant comme introducteur d'un discours rapporté fictif. Notre corpus est composé de textes littéraires ou religieux, *queinses* apparaissant de préférence, mais pas uniquement, dans des traductions du latin. Notre étude se situe dans le cadre de la sémantique discursive et de la pragmatique historique. La description de *queinses* s'appuie sur la théorie de l'énonciation, la théorie de la polyphonie - développée à l'origine par O. Ducrot -, ainsi que sur les études pragmatiques sur l'implicite (présupposés et sous-entendus). Nous laisserons de côté l'emploi conjonctif de *queinses* pour décrire son emploi comme introducteur d'un discours à la première personne qui peut être considéré comme un discours rapporté fictif. Au moyen de *queinses*, un locuteur 1 (L1), généralement le narrateur ou un personnage, attribue à un locuteur 2 (L2) un discours à la première personne (je) que celui-ci n'a pu tenir. Il peut s'agir d'une reformulation, d'un sous-entendu sous-jacent aux propos antérieurs de L2, ou encore d'un discours pseudo-itératif qui vient condenser un certain nombre de discours similaires produits à différentes reprises. Dans la plupart de ses emplois, le discours introduit par *queinses* correspond à un point de vue que le locuteur ne partage pas. *Queinses* marque le secret, le mensonge, l'ironie, la dissimulation, il peut relever par ailleurs du domaine de l'implicite.

Morphological structure of French [VN/Adv] compounds in diachrony

Maria Rosenberg, Stockholm University

This study addresses diachronically the morphological structure of [VN/Adv] compounds, one major French compound type with various agentive meanings, e.g. humans, animals, plants and instruments, but also place, action and result meanings. They are almost exclusively masculine, and their pluralization predominantly external: *garde-fous* 'handrails', but sometimes not overtly exhibited: *porte-parole* 'spokesmen' or *compte-tours* 'revolution counters'. In this study, [VN/Adv] compounds are considered to be morphological lexeme-based constructions, involving a semantic relation between predicate and participant. Their first constituent is assumed to be a verb stem. However, the internal structure of [VN/Adv] compounds has given rise to other morphological and syntactic analyses, containing e.g. null affixes or differing as to the status of the first element. These are all problematic, *inter alia* in stipulating the existence of the non-existent, or in claiming that we face a relation between verb and direct object. Diachronically, three structures merit particularly further study, since they indicate that restrictions governing the formation of [VN/Adv] compounds may have changed over time. In some [VN] compounds, the relation is one between verb and external argument/subject: *gobe-mouton* 'poisoned plant or pill destined to kill animals'. They belong to an unproductive pattern, and cannot be accounted for within syntactic approaches. There is also diachronic evidence of [VN] compounds such as *aime-bal* 'ball lover', involving an experiencer role. In contrast, the [VN/Adv] type in which the second element can be an adjective: *taille-douce* 'engraving', or a noun with adverbial function: *traîne-nuit* 'someone who hangs out at night', still seems to be productive.

The Proof is in the Pronoun: Grammatical and Semantic Gender in Anglo Saxon

John Ryan, Arizona State University

In the literature on gender systems, anaphoric pronouns are commonly given the proverbial backseat to nouns and even nominal modifiers such as adjectives; however, as this paper will point out, in the case of Old English, the pronominal system played a major role in the development of the gender system that we employ today. Referring to research by Curzan (2003) that has been conducted on the Helsinki corpus of Old English texts, this paper will demonstrate how the pronominal gender system in Old English, like its Modern counterpart today, might very well serve as a window to the mind of the Old English speaker and what s/he perceived as “natural” gender. I will show how the pronominal gender system of Old English has in actuality evolved very little into Modern English. I will argue that in Old English for nouns there were two very distinct gender systems: 1) grammatical (e.g., *wif* [neuter] ‘woman’); and 2) semantic (or “natural”) (e.g., *modor* [feminine] ‘mother’), that operated simultaneously. For Old English pronouns, however, I suggest a more complex gender system than for nouns, one that: 1) preferred/selected “natural” gender pronouns for human or human-like referents despite the grammatical gender of the referent; and 2) preferred/selected grammatical gender for non-human or inanimate referents throughout the Old English period, ultimately gravitating toward overall preference for natural, or semantic, gender by the early Middle English period. I will term this system pronominal complexity and show how this has major implications on how natural gender in Modern English evolved.

Modelling and fitting catastrophic rate heterogeneity

(Quantitative approaches to historical linguistics)

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While historical linguists for the most part favour a root age for Indo-European at about 6000 years before the present, quantitative methods using phylogenetic analyses lead to a root age between 8000 and 9500 BP (Gray and Atkinson, 2003). Several model misspecifications have been suggested which could explain the discrepancy; rate heterogeneity is clearly important. The treatment given by Gray and Atkinson and their collaborators (including ourselves) goes some way to measuring rate heterogeneity. However, there are weaknesses in both model veracity and statistical methodology.

We describe and fit a model of ‘catastrophic’ rate heterogeneity. The modeled evolution is a birth-death process of language traits with point-like catastrophic events, involving multiple births and deaths, superposed on a process of otherwise constant rate. At catastrophes many language traits change at the same time. This greatly enlarges the class of rate models under consideration, since the data may provide evidence of many small catastrophes, or a few large ones, or any mixture. The model has several extra parameters, which are estimated from data, simultaneously with phylogeny. Preliminary results obtained by fitting this model to the Indo-European datasets of Ringe et al. (2002) and Dyen et al. (1992) suggest a number of new interpretations.

The lexical structure of a multi-contact language: the case of Romanian

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Due to close and prolonged linguistic contact, Romanian has borrowed extensively from a wide range of source languages, leaving it with an unusually high proportion of loanwords: depending on the number of items considered, up to 95% of the Romanian lexicon is borrowed. Based on research conducted for the currently ongoing 'Loanword Typology Project' (Haspelmath & Tadmor), this paper presents a detailed and differentiated structural analysis of the borrowed element in the Romanian lexicon. It is shown that loanwords have permeated most areas of the lexicon, including numerous items that might be considered 'basic vocabulary'. However, new loanwords do not normally affect the meaning or status of their pre-existing synonyms, which leads to a situation of long-term coexistence of both words, often without a discernable difference in meaning or register. In many cases, this process can be shown to have repeated itself in subsequent contact situations, yielding sets of up to four synonyms from different source languages, all of which are considered equivalent by speakers. On the basis of the data presented, the paper then goes on to discuss a more theoretical issue, namely the feasibility of establishing Swadesh-type word lists to determine the proportion of inherited items in a given language if it is the norm rather than the exception for inherited words to coexist with one or more synonymous, fully integrated loanwords from different source languages. Some potential ways of resolving this difficulty, among them the incorporation of relative usage frequency data, are discussed and critically assessed.

Sound change or analogy? Monosyllabic lengthening in German and some of its consequences
Guido Seiler, University of Konstanz

Middle High German short vowels in monosyllabic words ending on a single consonant correspond to long vowels in Modern Standard German (MHG *glās*, MSG *glās*). Traditionally, these forms have not been explained as an instance of a regular sound change, but as the result of analogical leveling: after open syllable lengthening has created a length alternation in the paradigm (*glās* – *glēsər* ‘glass, glasses’), the alternation has been eliminated in favor of the long vowel. In this paper I will pursue the rather uncanonical hypothesis that the long vowels of the respective forms are due to a real sound change, namely monosyllabic lengthening (MSL). If the MSL hypothesis is correct, a number of interesting consequences for our understanding of High German historical phonology follows, such as the crucial role of prosodic weight or the irrelevance of voicing contrasts. The strongest arguments for the MSL hypothesis come from dialect variation. In many High German dialects monosyllabic forms are lengthened even if this creates new alternations (which, of course, subverts paradigm uniformity). Furthermore, presumed MSL interacts with different word-prosodic environmental conditions found across different dialects in very systematic ways. I will conclude with a remark on the role of Low German influence on the pronunciation of Modern Standard German, an influence that is almost absent from the other High German dialects.

The effect of prominence hierarchies on Modern English long passives (1500-1900): syntactic vs. pragmatic factors

Elena Seoane, University of Santiago

The aim of this paper is to determine the factors that condition the use of the long passive (or passive with an overt by-phrase) as an order-rearranging device in Modern English. With empirical data drawn from the Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER, I will ascertain the effect of the most relevant cross-linguistic prominence hierarchies: (i) familiarity hierarchies, such as given before new or definite before indefinite (cf. Prince 1981; Croft 1990; Birner & Ward 1998; Huddleston & Pullum 2002), (ii) dominance hierarchies, such as the animacy, empathy and semantic role hierarchies (cf. Silverstein 1976; Kuno & Kaburaki 1977; Bock et al. 1992; Siewierska 1994; Kiss 1998) and (iii) formal hierarchies like short before long (cf. Hawkins 1994; Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Wasow 2002). The study will reveal a clear predominance of syntactic and pragmatic factors, namely structural complexity (short before long) and discourse status (given before new), both of which facilitate utterance planning, production and parsing (Hawkins 2004). The apparent correlation between these two factors has led some authors to believe that one is epiphenomenal of the other (Niv 1992; Hawkins 1994). In this paper, however, a close examination of the interplay between them will show that the two are independent in triggering the use of the long passive, and that, when in competition, discourse status is a more powerful factor than syntactic complexity.

From *ni to ye:nka and such like: Can we posit a proto-pre-conjugational Pama-Nyungan?

Margaret Sharpe, University of New England

Most Pama-Nyungan languages (which cover 80% of Australia) have verb conjugations. Most have a conjugation marker (such as -l, -n, -rr, -y, -m) added to most forms of the verb preceding TAM suffixes. Some languages have only traces of these markers (e.g. Lama Lama): this can be explained as a loss of markers. However, some Pama-Nyungan languages lack conjugations but have irregular verbs which end in sounds in the conjugation marker list. Alpher, Evans and Harvey have presented evidence to show a reasonably close relationship between proto-Gunwinyguan (non-Pama-Nyungan) and proto-Pama-Nyungan, and that the former has verb endings from which the hypothesised proto-Pama-Nyungan has probably developed conjugation markers. Work in progress suggests it might be more plausible that some Pama-Nyungan languages or their verb systems developed separately from a pre-conjugation stage.

Infinitive markers in the infinitive construction with COMENZAR and COMINCIARE - a matter of grammaticalization?

Annelise Siverson, University of Copenhagen

In Old Spanish the inchoative verbal periphrasis "comenzar a" with infinitive had an alternating use of infinitive markers. This was also the case with the corresponding construction in Old Italian: Cominciare a + infinitive. It has often been said about this kind of alternating infinitive markers used in the same construction that the choice between them is arbitrary and does not depend on any difference in meaning. From a functional point of view I nevertheless suggest that the basis of their existence could have been a difference in function and meaning. In modern Spanish as well as in modern Italian the alternating use of the infinitive markers in this construction has disappeared and the prepositional infinitive marker "a" remains as the only possibility. Why did the variable infinitive markers cease to exist if they had a function? The theory of grammaticalization (Lehmann 1985) suggests a development pattern in which the disappearance of variation of a sign is due to the loss of semantic meaning and an increase in grammatical function. With this paper I shall demonstrate that this theoretical pattern in the Spanish case is applicable to the disappearance of the alternating infinitive markers while this is not the case with the evolution of the corresponding Italian construction.

Eth - forsake thigh name

Bridget Smith, OSU Dept. of Linguistics

English orthographic *eth* represents two different phonemes: voiced and voiceless dental fricatives, /ð/ and /θ/, although the single grapheme does not provide any hints about which sound it represents. This ambiguity is carried over from Old English, where the orthography was equally unrevealing; the thorn and eth characters interchangeably represented both the voiced and voiceless variant. Is the orthography symptomatic of unresolved variation between /ð/ and /θ/? In this paper, I analyze the status of /f/ and /v/ and /θ/ and /ð/ in natural speech from the Buckeye Corpus (conversational interviews collected by researchers at OSU). The goal of this study is to combine methods from phonetics, phonology, sociolinguistics, and historical linguistics to investigate synchronic and diachronic variation with *eth*. Standard phonetic measurements of duration, voice onset time, and intensity, as well as stress and phonetic environment, serve to distinguish phonemes. The emerging picture points to the effects of stress and surrounding environment as the main distinguishing characteristics of the two primary realizations of *eth*. This study will reveal the instability of the voicing contrast for /θ/ and /ð/, as compared to the somewhat more stable contrast between /f/ and /v/, and ultimately suggests a reanalysis of the phonemic status of /ð/ and /θ/ in American English. To ascertain whether this variation is an innovation of American English or a continuation of some underlying variation, the projected goals and implications of this research include comparisons among related Germanic languages, allowing for the reconstruction of patterns of variation in the proto-language.

Number, gender, and individuality: the refunctionalization of Latin neuter noun morphology in Romance

John Charles Smith, University of Oxford (St Catherine's College)

Latin exhibited neuter/feminine doublets resulting from the reinterpretation of the neuter plural *-A* inflection as a feminine singular: e.g., *ARMENTVM* (neuter singular), *ARMENTA* (originally neuter plural, subsequently feminine singular), both meaning 'herd of cattle'. Following the absorption of neuter singulars by the masculine gender, some of these oppositions were refunctionalized, surviving in one or more Romance languages as distinct lexical items distinguished by masculine vs. feminine gender (compare Latin *FOLIVM* vs. *FOLIA* 'leaf', yielding Italian *foglio*, Old French *feuille* 'leaf (of parchment or paper)' vs. Italian *foglia*, Old French *feuille* '(botanical) leaf'). Smith (2005, 2006) claims that refunctionalization is not random, but conforms to a principle of 'core-to-core mapping', whereby the new opposition retains, however abstractly, some element or feature which is present in the original opposition. A central tenet of this claim is that markedness relationships remain constant. In this paper, I shall show that there is some correlation between the plural > feminine forms and literal meaning, on the one hand, and the singular > neuter > masculine forms and figurative meaning, on the other, as in the Italian and Old French examples cited above. A priori, this development is the opposite of what might be expected under the 'core-to-core' hypothesis, as singular number, masculine gender, and literal meaning are all, in an obvious sense, unmarked. I shall discuss whether and how the 'core-to-core' hypothesis might need to be refined in the light of these phenomena, with particular reference to the notions of metaphor and individuation.

Dialect variation and the Dutch diminutive: Evidence for loss, maintenance and extension of prosodic templates

Laura Catharine Smith, Brigham Young University

The importance of the foot has been demonstrated for phonological and morphological analyses of Germanic. Whereas the moraic trochee (heavy syllable or two light syllables) shaped various word classes and phonological changes historically, the syllabic trochee (stressed-unstressed syllable sequence) accounts for morphological processes in Modern German and Dutch, such as pluralisation, with one notable exception: the Dutch diminutive. This paper argues that drawing on foot-based accounts for i-loss in Old High German *jan*-verbs and Old Saxon *i*-stem nouns can provide a systematic account of diminutives. In Dutch, the diminutive suffix *-je* attaches directly to nouns ending in obstruents, e.g., *bus+je* ‘little bus’. However, when nouns end in sonorants, the suffix appears with or without schwa, e.g., *laan+tje* ‘little avenue’ or *kar* ‘car’ -> *karretje* ‘little car’. I argue that schwa does not belong to the suffix but rather fits the stem to a prosodic template defining the canonical shape of the stem, namely a heavy syllable (VVC or VCC, V=vowel, C=consonant) or disyllable, i.e., a moraic trochee. Thus, stems ending in heavy syllables, e.g., *laan*, or two syllables, e.g., *bakker* ‘baker’, fill the template and the suffix attaches directly to the stem, e.g., *laan+tje*, *bakker+tje*. However, stems ending in single VC syllables, e.g., *bal* ‘ball’, are “lengthened” either by adding schwa, e.g., *balle+tje*, or lengthening the vowel, e.g., *baal+tje* (dialect). I conclude that some dialects have extended the prosodic template to all nouns, e.g., *Nij Beets stof* ‘material’ -> *staafke*, while in other dialects, the prosodic template for diminutives is being lost.

Prosodic Deficiency and Cliticization in Otfrid’s Evangelienbuch

Katerina Somers Wicka, University of Wisconsin-Madison

This paper provides an account of [verb + pronoun] sequences (attested in the Old High German *Evangelienbuch*) that exhibit primary umlaut effecting phonological change across an apparent word boundary. Examples of the [verb + pronoun] sequences include the following: *meg ih*, which occurs alongside the unumlauted form *mag ih* ‘I am able (to)’, *géb imo* alongside *gab imo* ‘gave (to) him’ and *drénk ih* alongside *dránk ih* ‘I drank’. This account argues that the pronouns contained in the unumlauted forms are in fact pronominal clitics that have attached onto the preceding finite verb by means of a postlexical cliticization rule, a process that triggers a postlexical application of phonological umlaut. As opposed to many accounts that assume cliticization must necessarily entail reduction of the clitic, this analysis argues that cliticization in these cases is motivated by the prosodic deficiency of the pronoun and, in many cases, the host. In fact, the clitics in these structures show no signs of pronominal reduction at all and maintain the /i/ that subsequently triggers umlaut. However, even in this unreduced form, the pronoun emerges from the lexicon as an unfooted syllable, unable to dominate its own prosodic word. Cliticization in these cases not only integrates stray syllables into the prosodic structure, but also allows the host to become bimoraic. In this respect, it can be characterized as a process of prosodic organization, through which constituents are formed and reformed in an effort to attain preferred prosodic patterns. This account draws from works such as Hall (1999) and Booij (1996).

On the development of the Romance demonstrative systems

Alexandra Corina Stavinschi, University of Oxford

It is usually assumed, following Lyons (1977), that demonstrative anaphoric uses derive from exophoric ones. I aim to review this hypothesis through a fine-grained analysis of the transformations in the pronominal and adverbial systems, in the passage from Latin to Romance. Just like Latin, many Romance varieties exhibit person-oriented ternary demonstrative systems; however, the term which encodes proximity to the addressee is nowhere a direct continuation (either functional or etymological) of its Latin analogue, or of the other Latin deictic demonstratives. My study encompasses a wide range of texts and contexts, focusing on medieval Italo- and Ibero-Romance. I adopted two complementary approaches: 1) “internal” (examining the detail of text-internal phenomena); 2) “external” (highlighting striking cross-linguistic similarities). The analysis reveals a systematic connection between anaphorics and second person deictics. In the adnominal/pronominal Romance systems, second person demonstratives usually derive from the purely anaphoric IPSE (southern Italian *quesso*, Ibero-Romance *ese*). Much later, the adverbial demonstrative systems developed along a very similar pathway; the terms linked to the addressee (southern Italian *locu*, central Italian *esso*, Ibero-Romance *ahi*) are all derived from anaphorics. It is highly significant to identify such changes occurring simultaneously in totally disconnected areas, at a time (15thc) when Latin influence had ceased. Research on grammaticalization, subjectification and intersubjectification (Hopper & Traugott 1993, Traugott & Dasher 2002) helps to identify the mechanism underlying this transformation and to challenge Lyon’s theory, showing that the apparently counterintuitive opposite pathway, from anaphorics to exophorics, can also prove productive.

Être ou avoir? L’auxiliation libre des verbes intransitifs en français des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.

Sandrine Tailleur, Université d’Ottawa

La concurrence entre les auxiliaires être et avoir utilisés avec des verbes intransitifs est encore aujourd’hui observable dans la plupart des dialectes du français; cela correspond à la norme attestée de certains verbes (selon le Petit Robert : monter, descendre, etc.). En français classique, cette concurrence était étendue à beaucoup plus de verbes, et il était généralement accepté que l’emploi de l’un ou l’autre auxiliaire indiquait une différenciation sémantique; être avait un aspect plus « terminatif », alors que avoir était plutôt « sommatif » (Fournier 1998) : 1) L’armée est passée par ici. 2) L’armée a passé un bon bout de temps en terre canadienne. Par l’étude de textes littéraires et non littéraires des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (base FRANTEXT en ligne ainsi que le corpus GTRC/CRSH Les voies du français, gracieusement mis à ma disposition par Mme France Martineau), je souhaite définir si cette variation est un indice de changement en cours. Est-ce que l’opposition sémantique est toujours explicite, c’est-à-dire que les deux auxiliaires sont retrouvés, avec un même verbe, en distribution complémentaire selon le contexte sémantique? Est-ce que ce changement est plutôt lié à un changement morphosyntaxique? Certains grammairiens (Vaugelas, entre autres), condamnaient l’emploi de l’auxiliaire avoir avec les verbes dits « de mouvement » (monter, descendre, entrer, etc.). Cette stigmatisation était-elle observable dans l’usage des scripteurs? J’utiliserai les résultats d’études récentes (Willis 2000, Thibault & Sankoff 1977) afin de faire un parallèle entre le comportement de cette variable en français contemporain par rapport à son comportement en français classique.

A corpus-based study on split patterns of modal concepts in Thai

Kiyoko Takahashi, Kanda University of International Studies

The Thai language has a morpheme indicating the irrealis status of a situation represented by a verb phrase following it, or irrealis marker. Languages with the irrealis-marking system may differ in the range of semantic contexts in which the irrealis marker takes place, in other words, types of irrealis situation may cross-linguistically differ (Mithun 1995, Elliott 2000). Irrealis situations (permission, obligation, appropriateness, ability, volition, desire, conclusion, prediction, inevitability, possibility, conditionals, apparent imminence, etc.) can be classified in terms of the volitivity and subjectivity dimensions (Narrog 2005). This study investigates historical changes in semantic contexts compatible with the Thai irrealis marker by analyzing actual discourses in Thai inscriptions from the end of the 13th century through the present time. I have found that the number of specific types of irrealis situation has gradually increased. This means that specific modal concepts with clear boundaries in the present have gradually emerged from inclusive and ambiguous modal concepts with fuzzy boundaries in the past. The generalization of the changes is as follows: (a) the directionality of change in subjectivity is 'less subjective > more subjective' which is consistent with the hypothesis 'unidirectionality of semantic change' or 'subjectification' (Traugott 1982, 1989); (b) the directionality of change in volitivity is 'non-volitive > volitive' which is opposed to the directionality posited by many previous studies (Bybee et al. 1994, van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, Traugott & Dasher 2002, inter alia). This study hopefully contributes to the development of typological studies on split patterns of modal concepts.

St. Augustine's Transformation of Rhythmic: Evolution of Language or Revolution of Mind?

Andrey Tashchian, Kuban State University

Augustine's rhythmic is extant in two forms – the treatise *De Musica* (387-389) and the poem *Psalmus contra partem Donati* (393-394). One might expect Augustine's verse to be a realization consistent with the principles prescribed by his learned doctrine. But a proper consideration of the both forms shows that they belong to different worlds: the first – to the world of antique rhythmic, perfect and complete, the second – to the world of modern rhythmic, just coming into being and not yet developed. Augustine's science of rhythmic is a reflection of quantitative rhythmic, based on the opposition of shorts and longs, while his art of rhythmic is a sample of qualitative rhythmic, based on the correspondence between lines in articulate sound (dynamic stress and rhyme). This transformation has always been explained through the natural evolution of the classical languages (those phonological changes resulting into the loss of the mentioned opposition). But such an immediate explanation fails to account for the lingual shift itself. To make up for that one should remember that language as such is mind's manifestation, and that the outer changes concerned are preconditioned by an inner metamorphosis. That is the revolution within mind, the conversion from corporality to mentality, from paganism to Christianity that makes one count not the natural duration of sensual sound, inarticulate in itself, but, on the contrary, its articulate distinctness through which sound becomes a meaning, a sign of the spiritual.

Les formes d'introduction des noms attributs en français. Etude diachronique

André Valli, Université de Provence

Je m'intéresse aux conditions de l'emploi d'un déterminant zéro devant les noms attributs. Je m'interroge sur le point de savoir si la situation telle qu'on peut l'observer pour le français contemporain apparaît comme le résultat d'un changement linguistique comparable à celui qu'on a pu observer dans les formes d'introduction des noms régimes directs (Valli 1997, 2000, 2002). Le bilan que j'ai pu établir grâce à une étude distributionnelle du corpus de textes de moyen français de la Base de français médiéval établie par C. Marchello-Nizia se présente ainsi. - Les noms concrets sont régulièrement articulés. Les noms abstraits le sont également et cette tendance est sensible dès avant 1600. Comme dans le cas des noms abstraits régimes directs, l'emploi de zéro ne s'est maintenu que de façon marginale. - Pour les noms "humains de fonction" on observe les mêmes tendances dans l'usage contemporain comme dans l'usage médiéval, hormis le changement de statut des constructions de être avec sujet pronom démonstratif: globalement, on retient un usage régulier et massif de zéro devant les noms attributs "nus" ou modifiés par un adjectif "qualifiant". Au contraire, quand le modifieur est un adjectif "typant", c'est l'emploi de l'indéfini qui s'impose. - L'emploi de l'indéfini devant les noms "nus" est peu fréquent et ne paraît pas lié à une interprétation "identificationnelle" de l'attribut (propriété de classe). Il semble, dans ce cas que l'alternance zéro/indéfini s'analyse simplement comme une différence de registre.

The emergence of peripheral modifiers in Dutch

Freek Van de Velde, University of Leuven

This talk is concerned with what Payne & Huddleston (2002:436-439) call "peripheral modifiers", as in the following Dutch example: MOGELIJK de beste actrice ter wereld ('POSSIBLY the best actress in the world'). These modifiers often go unnoticed in grammatical descriptions of the noun phrase (NP/DP), probably due to their elusive syntax hovering between the level of the noun phrase and the level of the clause. Some of the problems surrounding this puzzling type of modification, may however be made clear by taking a diachronic perspective. On the basis of quantified corpus inquiry, I argue that the emergence of peripheral modifiers in the noun phrase is of relatively recent date, and that this new noun phrase slot is still 'under construction', steadily recruiting more and more clause-level material with interpersonal semantics. Over the centuries, the slot is filled with elements of increasing complexity, starting off with focus particles, going on with all sorts of adverbials, to end up with clausal chunks containing a finite verb. It is shown that this development, which can be modelled by the theoretical notion of extension (Harris & Campbell 1995) or intraference (Croft 2000:148-156), fits in with the overall changes in the noun phrase in Germanic. CROFT, W. (2000). Explaining language change. An evolutionary approach. Harlow: Longman. HARRIS, A.C. & L. CAMPBELL (1995). Historical syntax in cross-linguistic perspective. Cambridge: CUP. PAYNE, J. & R. HUDDLESTON (2002). "Nouns and noun phrases". In: R. Huddleston & G.K. Pullum. The Cambridge grammar of the English language. Cambridge: CUP. 423-523.

Two steps in the Evolution of Language

Elly van Gelderen, Arizona State University

Recurrent processes in language change provide us insight into the original state. Grammaticalization is such an easily observable process in the history of languages and can therefore be seen as involved in the evolution of language from its earliest stage to the present. Assuming the syntactic operation Merge, linking two elements, was the "Great Leap Forward" in the evolution of humans" (Chomsky 2005: 11). In addition, I argue that a second development was due to Principles of Computational Economy. From language change and acquisition, we know that heads are preferred over specifiers. For instance, emphatic (XP) pronouns are reanalyzed as clitic and agreement heads. Computational economy dictates that a (smaller) head is selected over a (larger) specifier. I formulate this grammaticalization in terms of features: the computational load is less when semantic or interpretable features are included in the derivation. What does this tell us about the shape of the original language? The emergence of syntax followed the path that current change also follows. Chomsky (2002: 113) sees the semantic component as expressing thematic as well as discourse information. If thematic structure was already present in proto-language (Bickerton 1990), the evolutionary change of Merge made them linguistic. What was added through grammaticalization is the morphology, the second layer of semantic information.

Towards a unified theory of language change : speakers vs hearers in linguistic evolution

Stijn Verleyen, K.U. Leuven

Theorization about the principles of language change is often restricted to, or inspired on one particular level of language structure. On the other hand, Lüdtkke (1999) expresses the need to elaborate what he calls a 'unified theory of language change', i.e., a set of principles that transcends particular levels of structure, and hold true for language as a whole. In this paper, we propose to have a closer look at one principle that seems particularly fit to function as a universal principle of linguistic change, namely the structural gap between speakers and hearers in language use. The distinction between speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented aspects of linguistic change has been made (implicitly or explicitly) by many theoreticians of linguistics change since the late nineteenth century (Gabelentz 1880 [1901²], Passy 1890, Martinet 1955), but mostly in view of distinguishing different types of change produced by speakers themselves: changes that economize effort for the speaker (e.g. lenition) are opposed to those oriented towards the hearer, i.e. towards more efficient communication (e.g. fortition). In our paper, we will argue, rather, that the fundamental premise for linguistic change is the perception of the speaker's linguistic production by the hearer. This would allow a theoretical unification of explanatory mechanisms invoked at different structural levels: - Morpho(n)ology: abduction (Andersen 1973), the listener as a source of sound change (Ohala 1981) - Syntax: syntactic reanalysis (Langacker 1977), pragmatical inferencing (Hopper – Traugott 2003², cf. Itkonen 2002) - Semantics: 'fausse perception' (Bréal 1897), misinterpretation (Meillet 1906) We will illustrate this principle with some examples from French.

Wild variation, random patterns, and uncertain data: Span. ‘no le dar’ and ‘no darle’

Dieter Wanner, Ohio State University

The sequencing between an infinitive and clitics is difficult in pre-modern Spanish; it undulates from no principle in Latin, to variable proclisis (XIII), to prevalent proclisis (XV), to categorical enclisis (XVII). Individual texts from XIV to XVI show increasing proclisis randomly in the same syntactic contexts, yielding a complex, nearly chaotic picture (Eberenz 2000), driven by interacting analytical vectors (clausal left-edge condition, ambiguous structures, clitic climbing), favoring proclisis (to XV) first and enclisis later (XVI). Since standard analyses are not adequate here, two alternative scenarios will be compared: systematic analogy vs. unreliable written documentation. Analogy (Skousen 2002, Anttila 2003) is responsible for categorization and assimilation by similarity and extension in strict contiguity (Culicover & Nowak 2003). Speakers’ naturally acquired frequency guesstimates produce intersubjective inconsistency. A computational implementation of social contact assimilation (Latane & Nowak 1993) invariably reduces variants and may also invert a trend. Analogy thus produces different outcomes from similar inputs. Various Romance languages document the indeterminacy of this linearization (Spanish vs. Portuguese vs. French). Alternatively, the texts may represent tendencies that only belong to scribal traditions (imperfectly transmitted, secondarily manipulated, linguistically inconsistent discourse), removed from internalized L1 grammars. Generalizing enclisis (after XIII) and eventual categorical enclisis (XVII), developing according to the same analogy, are organically connected at all times, but documented only late. Postulating massively unreliable documentation leads to linguistic nihilism, while the analogical modeling of unruly data implies a diminished role for regularity, but a better fit with the data, making it the preferred solution by far.

Current change in Japanese pronoun

Kazuha Watanabe, Cornell University/CSUF

In this paper, I investigate the current development of a new pronoun in Japanese. The postposition –wa, which usually indicates the topic of the sentence, seems to be ‘degrammaticalized’ into the pronoun ‘it’. The change of the topic marker into pronoun is typologically uncommon, since the previous research indicates that the source of pronouns is usually a common noun. There is no previous example where a postposition, which is not free-standing in Japanese, develops into a pronoun. The following conversations show the typical usage of –wa as a pronoun. Example 1 A: Ashita(-wa), hima-desu-ka? Tomorrow free-copula-Q ‘As for tomorrow, are you free?’ B: Wa hima-de-wa ari-mas-en wa free-copula-TOP exist-copula-NEG ‘that, I’m not free.’ Example 2 A: okaasan(-wa) iru? Mother exist ‘Is your mother there?’ B: wa i-mas-en wa exist-copula-NEG ‘She isn’t.’ In these examples, wa indicates ‘that’ or ‘she’. Notice that both of the antecedents of the pronoun wa (i.e., tomorrow and mother) could be marked with the topic marker –wa, although the usage of the marker is not mandatory. This suggests that wa could originally be used without a preceding noun only in an answer to a question in which a potential antecedent co-occurs with the topic marker. Later in the development, the pronoun wa became usable whether or not the antecedent occurs with the topic marker.

Compound pronouns and adverbs: Somewhat more than they seem

Johanna L. Wood, University of Aarhus

The syntactic analysis of compounds of the type determiner +noun (something, someplace) and determiner + wh-word (somewhat, somewhere) raises a number of questions. First, as Kayne (2005:5) points out, the paradigm appears incomplete as English, for example, does not generalize anywhere to *anywhat or *somewhen. Secondly, despite someplace, and its wh- counterpart somewhere being apparently synonymous in English, Leu (2005) suggests that something and its wh- counterpart somewhat are not. However, historical data reveals that the paradigm is more complete than it appears. First, compounds that are no longer common in modern English as in (1) are found but with parallels in other language as in (2). (1) I shall write out my thoughts more at length somewhere, and somewhen, probably soon (1833 J. S. MILL *Let. 5 July in Wks.* (1963) XII. 163.). (2) Wird auch das Weltall irgendwann einmal sterben? ‘Will the universe die somewhen?’ Second, although something may be an argument in modern English and somewhat may not, historically somewhat is found in argument position: (3) Give me something/*somewhat to eat (4) I deye for honger; gyue me somwhat to ete. (1484 CAXTON *Æsop III. xvi.*) ‘I am dying of hunger, give me something to eat The full paradigm of compounds, a typical example of grammaticalization, will be discussed from a diachronic perspective. The competing claims of Kishimoto (2000) and Larson and Marušič (2004) regarding derivation via noun movement will be considered. A unified analysis of the wh- and noun forms will be attempted in terms of Kayne’s “unpronounced” categories.

Markedness & contact influence on grammar change in northeastern indigenous languages; markedness et l’influence du contact des langues sur changement grammatical dans les langues autochtones du nord-est

Roy Wright-Tekastiaks

Moving from lexical to grammatical change (phonology & morphosyntax), we examine diacritic case studies in the history of various Algonquian and Iroquoian languages, to weigh the relative effects of markedness and of language contact. For example, an indefinite pronoun is used for a (more marked?) first person plural in Québécois (on for nous) and in Wendakeha (Huron) (esa- for ,8a-), but in no other Iroquoian language; pharyngeal fricatives, both voiced and voiceless, replace their less marked hushing sibilant counterparts, both in the French of Lac-St-Jean and in nearby Innu (Montagnais) dialects; a Stadaconan (Saint Lawrence Iroquoian) substratum most likely contributed not only to lexical change in superstrate Mi’kmaq (Micmac), e.g. S onozī ‘head’, M -nuji, but also in the replacement of the formerly unmarked indicative by the conjunct mode, arguably from the fact that those same two Iroquoian punctual forms are of equal markedness, in contrast with the more marked habitual and the (perhaps less marked?) stative. These and still more examples will be analyzed in detail to show that marked forms are sometimes adopted in response to a different markedness relationship obtaining in the influencing (source) language, whether European or indigenous, according to the sociolinguistic relation between the two languages in a contact hierarchy.

WORKSHOPS / ATELIERS

ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE HISTORIES FROM THE MID 18TH CENTURY, A VIEW ‘FROM BELOW’

France Martineau, Université d’Ottawa

Mind the gap : non standard use in French documents of the 18th and 19th centuries

France Martineau, Université d’Ottawa

Studying the usage of writers allows us to discover more about the state of a language at a certain period in time. However, since these documents are based on written language, they must be studied in regard to the difference between oral and written tradition. These writers reveal, through their use of the written language, some lexical, grammatical and phonetic features as well as their spelling strategies and the relation they have with the norm. I will be concerned in this talk on the relation between the existing norm as we know it from prescriptive works, and the usage of writers from different social classes over two centuries, from the beginning of the 18th century to the end of the 19th century. I will first present the corpus on which this work was based, le Corpus de français familier ancien, which includes documents from lower class writers as well as higher class writers, from France and from French America. Then, I will examine variation in the norm and compare French Canadian writers use of conservative and of innovative features in the 18th and 19th centuries (spelling and morphosyntactic features). Finally, I will examine how non standard spelling use could be paralleled with vernacular use of morphosyntactic features.

‘The Common People’, Writing, and the Process of Literary Attainment in Nineteenth-Century Finland

Taru Nordlund, University of Helsinki, Department of Finnish

The nineteenth century was the era of modernisation and nationalism. During this era, Finland began its transformation from one of Europe’s most underdeveloped to one of Europe’s most innovative societies. The process of the literary attainment was an essential part of the development. However, it has mostly been studied from the viewpoint of the elite, whereas ‘the common people’ who also reacted to new social and cultural challenges and opportunities, have largely been neglected. The research project ‘The Common People’, Writing, and the Process of Literary Attainment in Nineteenth-Century Finland seeks to understand how the great majority of the Finnish people took hold of the literary attainment and used it to react to the modernisation and the national reshaping of their traditional society. In the first part of the presentation, I will introduce the project and its multidisciplinary background. I will discuss its objectives and research methods, and introduce the preliminary hypothesis proposed by the research project. Secondly, I will concentrate on the linguistic analysis of the 19th-century texts. I will look at different types of letters that reveal different strategies of constructing a text. They also show that a group of writers who have previously been thought of as outsiders in the literary culture were able to produce written texts that represent different levels of formality.

Back-waters of standardisation: Letter writing as a channel of language contact and change in Ireland

Lukas Pietsch, University of Hamburg

A newly compiled corpus of subliterate historical Irish English, mostly from private letters written in the 18th and 19th centuries, allows a study of the spectrum of varieties and registers used by Irish people ranging from barely literate to moderately educated. It allows an insight into how the social practice of letter-writing shaped dialect speakers' access to Standard English. Letters especially of the less educated often display features of grammatical and stylistic conservatism that appear to have been transmitted in this medium, through imitating written models. Since some of the writers can be assumed to have been Irish-English bilinguals or even primarily Irish-speakers, it may well be the case that for them the medium of the written letter was a prominent channel of exposure to the socially dominant language, possibly on a par with exposure to spoken English. The hypothesis needs to be explored that linguistic features transmitted from conservative Standard English through the written rather than through the spoken medium may have been among the formative factors in the genesis of certain grammatical peculiarities of the substandard contact variety of English that was being formed in Ireland.

Lower Class Language from 19th Century Flanders

Wim Vandebussche, Vrije Universiteit Brussel

This paper discusses the written language of lower class writers from 19th century Bruges. On the basis of original archive documents (meeting minutes) pertaining to trade servant organisations (tailors, wool-weavers, shoemakers) I will try and illustrate how these texts are characterised by a number of recurring features on the level of orthography and style. As far as spelling is concerned, we will show that none of the writers in our corpus followed any of the dominant spelling systems for Dutch at the time. They seem to have used a 'variable' spelling system instead that is not to be understood as chaotic: the 'borders' of their tolerance for variation can actually be defined quite precisely. On the stylistic level, we will highlight the highly frequent instances of 'stylistic breakdown' in the lower class texts. Next, it will be shown that these linguistic features also occurred in comparable texts from the middle classes (up until 1850) and the elite (up until 1800) in Bruges. We will argue that the features assumed to be typical of 'Arbeidersprache' should not be interpreted as class markers, but as indexical for a specific level of writing education and for the importance of literacy for one's social identity. Finally, we will interpret these data in the international context of the other contributions in this workshop.

CONSTRUCTIONS GRAMMATICALES ET ORDRE DES MOTS : ÉVOLUTION EN FRANÇAIS

Sophie Prévost, LATTICE/CNRS École Normale Supérieure

Typologie de l'ordre des constituants et spécialisation des catégories grammaticales

Bernard Combettes, Université de Nancy- II

L'histoire du français pourrait sembler un contre exemple à l'hypothèse, couramment admise, qu'un ordre des mots « libre » va de pair avec un marquage précis des catégories, alors qu'un ordre « rigide » permettrait une moindre spécialisation morphosyntaxique des parties du discours. On présentera, dans cette problématique, la relation entre la disparition de l'ordre V2 et les distinctions qui délimitent progressivement les couples : déterminants / pronoms, adverbes / prépositions, en essayant de montrer comment ces catégories mineures ne sont pas affectées de la même manière que les catégories majeures par la fixation de l'ordre des constituants.

Compléments circonstanciels et ordre des mots

Benjamin Fagard, Université Paris 7 - CNRS (Lattice)

On trouve en latin un certain nombre de compléments circonstanciels marqués par le seul cas, sans préposition (e.g. l' « accusatif de durée »). En ancien français subsistent quelques emplois de ce type, où un circonstant peut prendre un sens spatial, temporel ou de manière : Tant chevauchent le droit chemin qu'a Thebes vindrent le matin « ils avancent si vite qu'ils arrivèrent le matin à Thèbes » ; Il nos en menast ja grant oire « qu'il nous emmène bien vite ». Dans le cadre d'une réflexion sur le changement de l'ordre des mots entre ancien et moyen français, et plus précisément l'impact de ce changement sur la place des circonstants, nous envisagerons l'hypothèse suivante : bien que ces constructions soient toujours au cas régime, elles ne sont pas marquées (uniquement) par le cas, mais plutôt contraintes sémantiquement, pragmatiquement et syntaxiquement. Sémantiquement, parce qu'on ne trouve ce genre de construction qu'avec certains substantifs ; pragmatiquement, parce que leur emploi est souvent lié à la présence de certaines spécifications (voir la présence de grant, droit ci-dessus). Nous étudierons en particulier la liberté de placement de certains circonstants non prépositionnels, comparant d'une part l'ancien et le moyen français (12ème-13ème / 14ème-15ème siècles), d'autre part le français médiéval et le français moderne. Nous effectuerons à cet effet une étude sur corpus pour déterminer si l'ordre des mots constitue ou non une contrainte pour l'apparition de ces constructions, à partir de la base de données BFM et de Frantext.

L'évolution de l'ordre des constituants dans la comparaison adjectivale d'égalité en français

Catherine Fuchs, CNRS

La séquence 'autant adj. que' (alternant avec 'aussi adj. que'), attestée jusqu'à l'époque préclassique, a été abandonnée au 18^e s., au profit de la construction moderne 'adj autant que'. Je m'intéresserai aux conditions linguistiques de cette évolution. J'étudierai en particulier la concurrence entre 'autant adj. que' et 'adj. autant que' à l'époque classique (Elle est autant belle que ... / Elle est belle autant que ...). Je montrerai que le déplacement de l'adverbe à droite de l'adjectif opère dans des configurations comparatives très particulières qui signent un changement de portée de la subordonnée par rapport à la matrice, ce qui me conduira à récuser la prétendue équivalence entre 'aussi adj. que' et 'adj. autant que' en français moderne.

Ordre des mots et anaphore en français : le cas des reprises démonstratives en français médiéval

Céline Guillot, ENS-LSH Lyon

On sait qu'en ancien français l'ordre des mots est principalement régi par des contraintes de type informationnel et non syntaxique (Combettes 1988, Prévost 2001, Marchello-Nizia 1995, etc.). L'idée a par ailleurs été avancée, à partir de l'étude de quelques textes, que la richesse désignationnelle des reprises nominales est bien moindre en français médiéval que dans le français (écrit) de la période contemporaine (Perret 2000). Dans le but de vérifier s'il est possible d'établir une corrélation entre ces deux phénomènes, nous tenterons de dégager différents types de reprises démonstratives dans les textes de la période médiévale, et, si cela est possible, de mettre en évidence une évolution de ces types et de leur fréquence dans le temps. Références COMBETTES, B. (1988). Recherches sur l'ordre des éléments de la phrase en moyen français, Thèse de doctorat d'Etat, Nancy II. PRÉVOST, S. (2001). La postposition du sujet en français aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Analyse sémantico pragmatique, CNRS Editions. MARCHELLO NIZIA, C. (1995). L'évolution du français, Paris, Armand Colin. PERRET, M. (2000). « Quelques remarques sur l'anaphore nominale aux XIVe et XVe siècles », in : L'Information grammaticale, n°87, p. 17 23.

Remarques sur la position du participe passé en français

Pierre Le Goffic, Université Paris 3 / CNRS

Le participe passé entrant dans la formation d'un temps composé s'est fixé à droite de l'auxiliaire et avant le Cod. La question est souvent posée de savoir ce qu'on peut insérer entre l'auxiliaire et lui. L'exposé s'efforcera de montrer que cette formulation de la question est inadéquate. L'idée centrale est que le participe vient occuper une position supplémentaire dans la zone (par ailleurs délicate à structurer) entre le verbe (éventuellement auxiliaire) et le Cod : les ajouts et compléments les plus étroitement reliés au verbe (à sa droite) y restent à l'identique quand le verbe est un auxiliaire, et se trouvent donc de fait entre l'auxiliaire et le participe, mais sans qu'il y ait lieu de définir une position fonctionnelle 'enclavée'. Par ailleurs on relèvera des éléments d'une possible évolution du français, qui tendrait à recréer, au moins dans une certaine mesure, une unité verbale (forme composée), et constituerait de ce fait un autre schéma, alternatif, des positions post-verbales.

Constructions détachées et marqueurs de topicalisation : évolution en français

Sophie Prévost, Lattice/CNRS École Normale Supérieure

L'émergence des marqueurs de topicalisation en moyen français correspond à l'autonomisation progressive envers le reste de l'énoncé d'expressions existantes. On passe d'une position postverbale régie à une position initiale où toute relation de dépendance a disparu. Ce n'est qu'assez tardivement qu'apparaissent les cas de reprise anaphorique dans la proposition qui suit (a fortiori sans la médiation d'un verbe de parole comme en 2), c'est-à-dire des constructions plus liées référentiellement et syntaxiquement. On aurait donc : 1) "a ce propos de desobeissance et dont il vient bien a la femme qui est obeissant a son mary, puis je traire ung exemple..." (Menagier de Paris, 1394) puis : 2) "Et pour ce, à propos de telz gens dit trop bien Orace que ilz sont aucuns qui se cuident avoir les yeulx plus fors que le spere du souleil, ..." (C. de Pizan, 1412) puis : 3) "A propos de Corbinelli, il m'écrivit l'autre jour un fort joli billet." (Mme de Sévigné, 1696) Cette évolution s'oppose au mouvement initial d'autonomisation. A l'inverse, les détachements à gauche sans introducteur de topique impliquent toujours une reprise de l'élément détaché. Les constructions plus lâches syntaxiquement sont beaucoup plus tardives, et semblent réservées à l'oral : 4) "Montreuil, le carnaval a été un vrai succès cette année." Les effets de sens entre : "Paul, il ..." et "à propos de Paul, il..." n'étant pas les mêmes, on envisagera l'évolution de leur relation, du point de vue des constructions et de leur valeur sémantico-pragmatique.

CORPORA AND TOOLS

Fernande Dupuis, Université de Montréal

UNIDIA, a database for diachronic universals

Mahé Ben Hamed, Laboratoire Dynamique du Langage

In this paper, we present UNIDIA, an online database on sound change (<http://www.diadm.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr>). UNIDIA, which is still under construction, aims at compiling, in one single location, the sound changes reconstructed to account for the history of the world's languages. Its final goal is to derive universals, tendencies and sound change distributions. In fact, although many a historical linguist is able to define which changes are more likely or better represented in a specific linguistic or geographic domain, any synthesis is hindered by the fact that this data is scattered in multiple and multilingual sources. UNIDIA was designed in a way that does not presuppose having a typology of sound change defined beforehand, and should ultimately lead to deriving a data-based typology. It now contains more than 3500 sound changes for about 150 languages belonging to 3 languages groups (Bantu, Sino-Tibetan, Daic). It allows to explore the changes based on various phonetic criteria, specifying either the change itself or the context conditioning it, as well as to visualize the distribution of a change or type of change on a map or on the phylogeny of a language group. At completion, UNIDIA should be representative of the sound changes that have been reconstructed for the languages of the world, through both space and time.

Enrichissement linguistique et développement « durable » de la Base de Français Médiéval Céline Guillot, ENS-LSH LYON (et CNRS/UMR 5191)

La Base de Français Médiéval comporte environ 80 textes d'ancien et de moyen français, écrits entre le IXe et la fin du XVe siècle. Par sa taille (plus de 3 millions d'occurrences-mots) et sa représentativité (diversité géographique, variété des domaines et genres textuels, textes en vers et textes en prose), cette base rend possible des recherches sur le français et son histoire pendant toute la période médiévale. L'enrichissement linguistique des textes de la base, qui est mené à différents niveaux, permet une exploitation plus fine et plus complexe de la base. En outre, la méthodologie et les outils utilisés peuvent contribuer à enrichir notre connaissance sur les différents états de langue qui couvrent cette période. Notre exposé abordera ces différents points.

Références Guillot, C., Heiden, S., Lavrentiev, A. (à paraître), « Typologie des textes et des phénomènes linguistiques pour l'analyse du changement linguistique avec la Base de Français Médiéval », à paraître dans la revue LINX, actes du colloque international Corpus et questionnements du littéraire, (Université de Paris X, novembre 2005). Heiden, S., Lavrentiev, A. (2004), « Ressources électroniques pour l'étude des textes médiévaux : approches et outils », Revue Française de Linguistique Appliquée, IX(1), 99-118. Prévost, S. (2005), « Exploitation d'un corpus de français médiéval : enjeux, spécificités et apports », in : A. Condamines (éd.), Sémantique et corpus, Paris, Hermès/Lavoisier (Série « Traité IC2 » ; Cognition et traitement de l'information), 147-176. Stein, A. (2003), « Etiquetage morphologique et lemmatisation de textes d'ancien français », in : P. Kunstmann, F. Martineau and D. Forget (éd.), Ancien et moyen français sur le Web. Enjeux méthodologiques et analyse du discours, Ottawa, Les éditions David, 273-284

Premhis : une plate-forme pour l'analyse morphologique du français médiéval¹

Robert Kapitan, François Daoust et Fernande Dupuis, Université du Québec à Montréal

La plateforme logicielle Premhis est une base de travail informatique permettant de rassembler des logiciels destinés à des tâches d'analyse morphologique. Elle utilise l'interface WEB du logiciel SATO qui permet la gestion de fichiers, la constitution de corpus, de dictionnaires, la définition de systèmes d'annotation de même qu'un ensemble d'opérations : catégorisation, repérage de formes et de contextes, segmentation, comptage. L'interface permet des traitements faisant appel à des programmes autonomes dont les résultats seront ajoutés au corpus. La plateforme permet donc de cumuler les annotations, de les décrire, de les comparer et de les évaluer. Des formats d'import-export en XML, utilisant des balises TEI, accentuent encore les possibilités d'interopérabilité entre systèmes et plateformes.

Nous avons bâti une chaîne de traitement faisant appel à deux analyseurs : TreeTagger et Flemm. TreeTagger est un outil permettant d'identifier les parties du discours ainsi que de lemmatiser. Flemm est un ensemble de modules Perl permettant d'analyser la flexion du français moderne dans des corpus préalablement étiquetés.

Afin d'utiliser Flemm sur un corpus de moyen français, il a fallu développer une passerelle en Perl pour corriger l'output du TreeTagger entraînée sur l'ancien français. Notre outil permet non seulement de vérifier les catégories du TreeTagger, d'en ajouter de nouvelles, mais aussi [de désambiguïser les entrées identiques ainsi que?] d'attribuer des informations absentes. Nous illustrerons le fonctionnement de la passerelle et suggérerons des pistes pour l'améliorer. L'évaluation de la première version permet de constater un gain d'environ 30% en précision et en rappel par rapport à la catégorisation brute du TreeTagger.

¹ Ce travail a été réalisé dans le cadre de la subvention GTRC Modéliser le changement : Les voies du français, Université d'Ottawa.

LGeRM : un outil d'aide à la lemmatisation du Moyen Français

Gilles Souvay, ATILF CNRS Nancy-Université

Une des grandes difficultés dans le traitement automatique du Moyen Français est le nombre important de variantes graphiques présentes dans les textes pour un même mot. L'identification de ce mot est une chose délicate, que le cerveau humain arrive relativement bien à faire en appliquant un ensemble de règles. L'algorithme que nous avons développé s'appuie sur les listes des formes lemmatisées établies pour la réalisation du DMF (Dictionnaire du Moyen Français sous la direction de Robert Martin), sur un ensemble de règles morphologiques, et sur une stratégie d'utilisation de ces connaissances pour ramener la graphie initiale à une forme connue et en déduire ainsi le ou les lemmes associés. LGeRM (Lemmes, Graphies et Règles Morphologiques) est l'outil né de cette réflexion. Malgré quelques limites (analyse hors contexte par exemple) et quelques erreurs du fait des homographies et des manques dans la nomenclature actuelle du DMF, il semble être particulièrement efficace pour proposer un lemme à une forme inconnue rencontrée dans un texte.

Yif thow haue trewely compased thy cercles: Quantitative socio-historical evidence for the growth of the present perfect in Middle English

Joseph Roy, University of Ottawa

Bridget Drinka, University of Texas at San Antonio

Our previous work on temporal-aspectual systems of Early English (Drinka and Roy 2006) established a correlation between a number of socio-historical variables and the use of the present perfect. The impact of Latin and French on the frequency of present perfect use was found to be significant. In this paper, we carry out a more extensive quantitative analysis of this relationship, using the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, testing the extent to which the conditioning of external and internal factors could have been responsible for the sharp rise in frequency of present perfect use in Late Middle English (Elsness 1997). Among the formal features examined are the effect of person-marking, subordination, passivity, and surrounding tense use, along with the presence of adverbs or other temporal marking in the environment of each token. We have found a higher frequency of present perfect use in the Northern dialects of Middle English, a fact which has several possible explanations, among them those based on demographic analysis, urban dialectology, and geolinguistic studies (Trudgill 1983, Keene 2000, Wright 2000, Goss & Howell 2005). One practical application of our statistical approach is to provide new tools of analysis for assessing authorship, such as that of the "Equatorie of the Planets". From a theoretical perspective, our study contributes to a refinement of the Constant Rate Effect (Kroch 1989, 1994) by demonstrating that while the CRE may not hold in its stronger form with regard to the present perfects of English, a weaker form may apply.

DIACHRONIC SEMANTICS AND PRAGMATICS

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, University of Copenhagen/University of Manchester and Jacqueline Visconti, University of Genoa

Back to Space: a Roots Journey of Two French Prepositions

Silvia Adler, University of Haifa

Maria Asnes, Bar Ilan University

This contribution traces the development of two French prepositions *jusqu'à* and *au-delà de*. Synchronically, these prepositions have four major usages: 1. Spatial 2. Temporal 3. Scalar 4. Quantificational *Au-delà de* has evolved further than *jusqu'à* and acquired a fifth value: 5. Additive (CP modifier) Our goal is to investigate the historical evolution of these usages. We will show that all the four currently co-existing meanings gradually emerged from one basic spatio-temporal source. For instance, whereas the spatio-temporal value of *jusqu'à* can be traced back to the second half of the 10th century (Passion, éd. D'Arco S. Avalle, 328), the scalar value is first attested in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. (Lancelot del Lac, éd. O. Sommer, t. 1, p. 234). We would like to underline the fact that evolution of these prepositions resulted in the semantic "layering" (Hopper 1991:22): all the four meanings that were accumulated over time coexist in the Modern French. We intend to show that even though the spatio-temporal usages are prior to scalar and quantificational ones, what renders possible these additional values is the fact that the concepts of space and time already contain the idea of a scalar axis. Our contribution will thus develop in 3 stages: 1. Lexico-semantic study of *jusqu'à/au-delà de* through a comprehensive analysis of empirical data from ancient up to Modern French. 2. Syntactic evolution and possible correlations with semantic shift. 3. Analysis of the semantic shift of these prepositions in relation to the grammaticalization theory.

Central/peripheral functions of *allora* and 'overall pragmatic configuration'

Carla Bazzanella, University of Turin (Italy)

Johanna Miecznikowski, SNF / University of Turin (Italy)

Italian '*allora*' is a polyfunctional connective and discourse marker. Previous corpus-based research (e.g. Bosco, C. & Bazzanella, C. 2005 in Pusch, C. D., Raible, W. (eds.), *Corpora and historical linguistics*, Gunter Narr) has contrasted recent uses of '*allora*' in spoken and written Italian with uses in ancient Italian. It has been found that in present-day Italian, '*allora*' has often speaker-related cognitive functions as well as textual and interactional functions, whereas the originally central temporal meaning has become peripheral. The changes found in the evolution of '*allora*' as to deictic reference, modal values and scope are similar to those observed with regard to the diachronic development of other discourse markers. The present paper looks in more detail at the inferencing and reinterpretation processes that might explain the occurred changes. Given the strong contextual dependence of discourse markers in general and the functions of '*allora*' in particular, special attention will be paid to the complex 'pragmatic configuration' (cf. Bazzanella, C. 2006 in Fischer, F. (ed.), *Approaches to Discourse Particles*, Elsevier) of the marker's uses, i.e. to co- and contextual parameters (e.g. prosody, genre, textual/sequential environment, participation framework). For Old Italian, we refer to the Padua Corpus and to OVI (Opera del vocabolario italiano, cf. <http://www.csovi.fi.cnr.it/>). For present-day Italian, we refer to the CORIS corpus of written texts and to several published corpora of spoken Italian (e.g. CHILDES, C-Oral-Rom, LIP).

Procatleipsis and the etymology of hedging and boosting particles

Kate Beeching, University of the West of England, Bristol, U.K.

The role of metaphor and metonymy in language change is well-documented (Sweetser, 1990; Heine et al., 1991; Geeraerts, 1997; Traugott and Dasher, 2002; Panther and Thornburg, 2003). Other classical ‘figures’ such as synecdoche and procatalepsis and the relationship between these, cognition and semantico-pragmatic change have, however, been less thoroughly investigated. This paper sets out to explore a cognitive basis for procatalepsis, ‘a figure by which an opponent’s objections are anticipated and answered’ (Shorter Oxford), and to argue that the etymology of hedging/boosting expressions in a number of languages may be explained by reference to it. The canonical sense of French “quand même” is an adversative or concessive one : a more recently attested sense (Beeching, 2005) is described by Moeschler and de Spengler (1981: 110) as ‘la mise en acceptabilité d’une contradiction’, while Grieve (1996: 417) claims that ‘it offers a justification for the statement it accompanies, even a sort of excuse or apology for it. But thereby it too has an adversative quality, faint and implicit, in that it hints at contradicting an assumed objection’. The development of this relational sense of *quand même* provides some credence for the argument that hedging/boosting particles may derive from canonically adversative or concessive linguistic items via procatalepsis. The paper will argue that a similar process of anticipatory concession and counter-argumentation is involved in speech-act uses of clause-final ‘though’, Glasgow ‘but’ and German ‘aber’.

Grammaticalization at the level of the paradigm: from pragmatics to semantics

Anne Carlier, Université de Valenciennes

Grammaticalization has often been characterized in terms of semantic loss or ‘bleaching’. Taking up Meillet’s original hypothesis, Traugott highlights the fact that early stages of grammaticalization involve on the contrary often strengthening, revealing the pragmatic motivations that trigger the process, rather than its final result. In the light of this hypothesis, I examined the creation of a new grammatical paradigm in the evolution from Latin to ModFr, the articles. The definite article emerges during the transition between Latin and OFr, the indefinite singular article comes into existence in OFr; the indefinite non singular article or so-called ‘partitive’ article develops during MFr. Pragmatic strengthening precedes semantic change in the case of the two first articles: (i) the incipient articles acquire a conventionalized pragmatic function of highlighting an important referent and/or making explicit its discursive status; (ii) there is no significant weakening of their original meaning at that stage; (iii) the frequency increase is modest. For the last of the three articles, this pragmatic stage is not attested: (i) the motivation for the development of the ‘partitive’ article is morpho-syntactical and not pragmatic. (ii) meaning shift is rather abrupt; (iii) there is a dramatic frequency increase. I put forward the hypothesis that the sequence of a pragmatic and a semantic stage is to be conceived at the level of the paradigm rather than of the individual expressions: the pragmatic stage is long-lasting for the first elements of the newly created paradigm, but semanticization is more immediate for elements entering in an already tightly structured paradigm.

Different functions, different histories. Modal particles and discourse markers from a diachronic point of view

Ulrich Detges, LMU Munich, Institute of Romance Philology

Richard Waltereit, University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, School of Moder

A major concern of research on pragmatic markers has been the problem of a neat delimitation between the various classes involved. Our paper addresses this question from a new angle. Specifically, we ask if the synchronic difference between discourse markers and modal particles can be accounted for in diachronic terms: do discourse markers and modal particles arise from different mechanisms of change? Our cases in point are French *bien* and Spanish *bien*, two particles which diachronically both go back to adverbs meaning ‘well’. French *bien* functions as a modal particle, as in *Vous avez bien reçu mon message?* ‘You DID receive my message (didn’t you)?’. By contrast, Spanish *bien* is a discourse marker, e.g. in *Bien – ¡dejemos estas lisonjas!* ‘Well, let’s stop these flatteries!’. Discourse markers serve the purpose of coordinating the joint construal of discourse. As we will show, this is directly reflected in their diachronic evolution: as a discourse marker, Spanish *bien* is the routinized residue of negotiations about the next move in conversation. Moreover, we show that discourse markers are a subset of the much larger range of routines which humans have at their disposal for the coordination of their joint activities. By contrast, modal particles function at speech-act level and typically are polyphonous (Ducrot 1984) in that they serve speakers to systematically make reference to the attitude/”voice” of the hearer. We show that the polyphonous French modal particle *bien* is the residue of dialogical negotiation concerning the validity of assertive speech acts.

The Avoid Pragmatic Overload Principle

Regine Eckardt, University Goettingen

Semantic reanalysis has recently been isolated as an independent process in language change. Since the groundbreaking work of Traugott, it has become clear that implicatures can offer the basis for semantic enrichment, like for instance in the grammaticalization of the going-to future where information about a movement is lost, but information about future events and states is gained in exchange. It is less clear, however, what factors are necessary in order to set the development in motion. I will propose that semantic reanalysis can be started by the Avoid Pragmatic Overload principle; specifically I will discuss several scalar particles, proximal adverbs, and the quasi-determiner *Lauter* (many/only) in German. In all these cases, pragmatic overload is the crucial factor that invites the hearer to rethink the sentence's structure. Hearers will hypothesize a second - new - semantic evaluation for the sentence if the first - old - interpretation would have forced them into implausible assumptions. i.e. creates a pragmatic overload. This model can explain how an utterance can be part of the old language stage (the speaker's) and a new language stage (the hearer's) without resorting to the categories of "creative innovation" or "error".

The importance of paradigms in grammaticalisation. The case of Spanish digressive markers

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The present study attempts to highlight the importance of paradigms in grammaticalisation processes. Routinisation (Hopper, 1987) and context (Hopper and Traugott, 1993 [2003]) have traditionally been regarded as factors playing a major role in grammaticalisation. However, other factors such as discourse traditions (Kabatek, 2001; Koch and Österreicher, 1990) have been proven to influence and even provoke the process of grammaticalisation (Pons Bordería, 2006). This paper focuses on another factor worth taking into account: paradigms. Grammaticalisation causes formerly non-related elements to become members of the same paradigm, possibly created anew. Afterwards, keeping within the boundaries of a particular paradigm causes its components to inherit some of the syntactic and pragmatic characteristics of the rest, and to share their own peculiarities with them. This fact will be illustrated by tracing back the history of the most common and prototypical markers of digression in Spanish, namely *por cierto*, *a propósito*, *a todo esto / a todas estas* and *dicho sea de paso* (Casado Velarde, 1998; Martín Zorraquino and Portolés Lázaro, 1999 ; Portolés Lázaro, 1998). These particles, with rather different origins (epistemic, anaphoric, etc.) and evolutions, seem to converge in the 19th century, giving rise to a new paradigm of digression which had never existed in Spanish until then. *Por cierto*, formerly restricted to the intra-sentential level, acquires a new meaning of ‘change of topic’ already reached by a *propósito*. In turn, from that moment on, a *propósito* features in appositions (previously privative of *por cierto*).

The Grammaticalization of ‘Privative’ Adjectives

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Adjectives can grammaticalize into ‘pragmatic markers’ or ‘function words’, such as focus particles, modal particles, or determiners (cf. König 1991; Diewald 1997; Paradis 2000; Breban 2006; Eckardt 2006). When looking at the grammaticalization of adjectives from a cross-linguistic perspective, it can be noted that it is often adjectives with a ‘privative’ semantics, i.e. adjectives denoting the absence of a certain quality or attribute that undergo grammaticalization and also subjectification. Examples are English "mere", "sheer", and "pure", German "lauter" and "rein" (originally all meaning ‘undiluted’), or English "bare", German "bloß", Swedish "bara" and "blott" (originally all meaning ‘uncovered’). We give an overview of the different grammaticalization paths of privative adjectives and attempt to explain why they come to be grammaticalized so frequently. We then present a corpus-based study of adjectives that have grammaticalized from the same source meaning, but synchronically have a different status within the grammaticalization process. Both German "lauter" and English "mere", for example, originate from adjectives with the meaning ‘undiluted’. Both have grammaticalized into ‘intensifiers’ with the negative-subjective meaning ‘nothing more than’ (the present-day meaning of "mere"). But whereas the grammaticalization of "mere" has not proceeded any further, "lauter" has grammaticalized into a determiner (meaning ‘many, only’) in Early New High German, i.e. it is now positioned further left in the premodifying string (cf. Adamson 2000; Quirk et al. 1985). It will be shown that its formerly overt negative-subjective meaning is now only reflected by a negative semantic prosody (cf. Sinclair 1991), i.e. it has lost subjective meaning.

Demotic Dispersion of Borrowings in English

Eugene Green, Boston University

From the thirteenth century on, borrowings, especially from French and Latin, have enriched the vocabulary of the English language. Many of these borrowings appear early with derivational endings, such as affection (13th c.) and addition (14th c.), yet by far most enter the language as stems only. For this large, second group, derivational endings become affixed, often after more than one century. Yet the patterns of affixing vary considerably as well. For example, the native English -ly is among the first found to join a borrowing, as in apparently and casually. In contrast, the native -ful and -ship, as in purposeful (1853) and championship (1825), often combine with borrowings in relatively recent times. Clearly this process of affixing derivational endings (whether or not from native English) to borrowings affect the semantic ranges of words. What my paper offers is a statistical analysis, to begin, of five hundred borrowings, found in the vocabulary of high school seniors, that have derivational endings attached. This analysis will include a count of the sundry endings, the recorded instance of their earliest use (whether or not the initial meaning is obsolete), and a statistical test on their distribution throughout the centuries. The second purpose of this essay is to discuss just why these five hundred words have currency among high school seniors. A study of these words in context suggests that many first occur in English texts concerned with religious and secular institutions. The word affection, for example, appears in *The Ancrene Riwe*, as does the word champion. The word addition occurs initially in *Promptorium Parvulorum*. Yet through the effects, particularly of increased opportunities for reading and schooling, these words have entered the speech of everyday conversation. Thus championship is a word common to athletic competition; affection as in the phrase in my affections finds common currency in the sixteenth century. One pragmatic element in this dispersion of borrowings is demotic, a movement from contexts associated with power to those of personal and everyday experiences. Clearly, not all such borrowings take this direction, especially words associated in the public mind with scientific endeavors, such as chemical or algebraic. Here the words retain for the most part their identification with texts and the disciplines of science; their occurrence in conversation, even informally, indicates that for the most part their semantic values have changed but little. One reason for focusing on the use of these words among high school seniors is that studies of vocabulary growth suggest that for most speakers the asymptote of how many lexemes an individual has generally reaches its limit in the years eighteen and twenty. Thus statistically, historically, and pragmatically, the study of borrowings and their derivational endings offers a convergence of semantics and use across generations of speakers.

On the diachrony of reinforced negation in Italian and French

Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen, SLLC, University of Manchester

Jacqueline Visconti, DIRAS, Università di Genova

We discuss the diachrony of “reinforced” negation, focusing on the Italian negative particle *mica* (“crumb”), the cognate Old French particle *mie*, and Old/Middle French *pas* (“step”). As is well-known, the form *ne...pas* eventually evolved into the canonical marker of negation in French. (Non)...*mica*, on the other hand, remains a marked form in contemporary Italian, although it shows signs of being in the process of turning into a standard form. Based on quantitative and qualitative analysis of data from the *Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli*, the *Tesoro della Lingua Italiana*, and the *Base de Français Médiéval*, and starting from Schwenter’s (fc) analysis of the contemporary use of non-canonical forms of negation in various Romance languages as involving information-structural constraints, our paper considers the diachronic evolution of the negative markers mentioned as a key to capturing their synchronic properties. We argue that the evolution of reinforced forms from non-canonical to canonical markers of negation is triggered by their occurrence in a specific type of context, in which the negative proposition simultaneously stands in contrast both to a proposition expressed in prior text (and hence given), and to a new proposition expressed in the immediately following text. Our results bear on four main issues: (i) the synchronic and diachronic properties of negation in a wider context; (ii) concepts such as ‘given’, ‘new’, ‘inferrable’, and ‘accessible’ information; (iii) the contribution of the lexicon to information structure; and (iv) the pragmatic/textual conditions that allow marked forms of negation to gradually become unmarked.

Context sensitive changes - on the development of GODT (GOOD) and VEL (WELL), from adjective and adverb to marker of affirmation in Danish

Eva Skafté Jensen, Roskilde University

In Danish the adverbial *godt* ‘good’ (from the adj. *god* ‘good’) has a certain function as a marker of affirmation. In any utterance with the potentiality of uncertainty, *godt* ‘good’ may be used to affirm that the SoA is indeed the case. *Godt* ‘good’ is often seen in the company of modal verbs signifying possibility (never in the company of modal verbs signifying necessity). The use of *godt* ‘good’, however, can also be seen in utterances without modal verbs: *jeg har godt hørt det* ‘indeed, I did hear it’ (lit.: I have good heard it). Now, how did this function develop? Looking through the earliest manuscripts of Old Danish (14th and 15th centuries), the word *godt* ‘good’ does not have this function - but instead one finds quite a few examples of modal verbs within the possibility domain in the company of the adverb *vel* ‘well’. Thus *vel* ‘well’ seems to have been a forerunner to *godt* ‘good’. In Danish then, to have a word functioning as the opposite of negation, apparently is very old. In my paper I will present examples from Old Danish with the affirmation marker *vel* ‘well’ and examples from Modern Danish with the affirmation marker *godt* ‘good’, and I will try to explain how it came about that Danish developed this function at all.

La mouvance sémantique du verbe

Sophie Piron, UQAM

Entendre est un verbe qui, en français contemporain, présente une polysémie non seulement vaste, mais aussi profonde. En effet, à l'heure actuelle, les notices lexicographiques proposent de nombreux sens au verbe (7 sens et une cinquantaine de sous-sens selon le Trésor de la langue française). Une analyse sémantique nous a permis de conclure à l'existence d'un espace sémantique de vingt sens (Piron 2006). Cela fait sans aucun doute de entendre un verbe très polysémique. De plus, les sens qu'il peut prendre relèvent de domaines très éloignés, tels que les domaines sensoriel et mental. Au cours de son évolution, ce verbe a même pu s'inscrire dans le domaine physique. Il faut souligner par ailleurs que les emplois du verbe relevant du domaine mental sont particuliers au français, par opposition à d'autres langues romanes (ainsi, l'espagnol). Nous proposons d'expliquer l'émergence de ce foisonnement et de cet éclatement sémantique en traçant l'évolution sémantique du verbe. Pour ce faire, nous présenterons une analyse des notices de dictionnaires (le dictionnaire de Godefroy, les éditions du Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, etc.). Nous tracerons ainsi l'évolution de la sémantique du verbe depuis l'ancien français jusqu'au français contemporain. L'analyse diachronique des emplois de entendre nous permettra d'établir la différence entre changements onomasiologiques et sémasiologiques. Nous constaterons entre autres que l'éclatement des sens du verbe entre des domaines très distincts a été renforcé par un changement onomasiologique avec le verbe ouïr. Nous verrons également quelles notions sémantiques permettent d'expliquer la génération d'une diversité polysémique et son unification. Piron S. (2006)

'Faut dire' in the history of French: from lexical to deontic to epistemic meaning

Claus Dieter Pusch, Université de Fribourg (Allemagne)

The Old French verb 'falir' was originally used with the meanings 'to lack, to miss, be missing'. Considerable reorganization on the syntactic level affecting this verb's valency frame lead to its subject-less use with the deontic meaning of 'being necessary'. From the Early Modern French period on, '(il) faut' appears with rather high frequency followed by 'dire' 'say'. Whereas the earliest examples of '(il) faut dire' are predominantly deontic, very soon there appear occurrences where the expression takes on a more discourse-dependent pragmatic meaning oscillating between explicativity and adversativity. In Contemporary French, this non-deontic meaning, which is related to textual connectivity, has been supplemented by more epistemic usages where the expression of the speaker's subjective point of view or attitude determine the use of '(il) faut dire'. In present-day and, specifically, in spoken language, these uses of '(il) faut dire' as pragmatic marker of subjectivity and intersubjectivity clearly outnumber the deontic occurrences, and the degree of pragmaticalization of '(il) faut dire' becomes salient through the loss of inflectional and syntactic features (such as the elision of the dummy subject pronoun 'il' or the complementizer), or through increase of scope and positional freedom. However, such features were already attested in older stages of the language. I will illustrate the trajectory of pragmaticalization that '(il) faut dire' has gone through in the history of French, and I will try to give a comparative outlook at similar, but generally less pragmaticalized constructions, through the analysis of data drawn from diachronic and synchronic corpora.

The multiple origin of "es que" in Modern Spanish. Diachronic evidence.

Magdalena Romera, Universitat Illes Balears

Synchronically *es que* is analyzed as a Discourse Unit that expresses explanation-type relations: cause, interpretation, justification (Fuentes Rodríguez 1997, Delahunty and Gatzkiewicz 2000, Romera 2004). Diachronic analyses propose that *es que* is part of *porque es que* (Cortés Rodríguez 1991), or that it derives from *esto es que*, *la cosa es que*, *así es que/como* (Dufter in press). However, there is no evidence of the appearance of *porque es que* until the XX century. Also, other expressions with *es que* besides the ones proposed by Dufter also express explanation-type relations. An analysis performed over the Corpus del Español, a 100-million-word corpus of Spanish texts from 1200 to 1999, compiled by Mark Davis, shows that *es que* appears in several constructions: a focalized construction with a cleft sentence as the subject (*lo que+verb+es que*); clauses with an indefinite subject (*cosa/caso/ello, esto/aquesto, eso/esso*) or a definite subject of the type *motivo, causa, razón*; finally, conditional structures such as *si es que faltó, castigádle* and structures such as *una cosa es necesaria: y es que ...*, with no need of a subject. These structures initially transmit a purely existential meaning: the existence of an event, which is also presented as the cause of a previous event. Since *es que* could already appear without a subject, an inferential process allowed structures introduced by *es que* to express explanation value on their own (Traugott 1995). This use starts in the XV century, and generalizes in the XVI.

The diachronic evolution of some Italian epistemic-evidential forms: A case of convergence of lexicon and grammar?

Mario Squartini, Università di Torino

Even if lacking dedicated evidential morphemes Romance languages do admit evidential extensions of epistemic forms ('evidentiality strategies' in Aikhenvald 2004). More radically, some of these forms have also been interpreted as genuine epistemic-evidential grammatical markers rather than pragmatic or contextual extensions (Pietrandrea 2005), thus postulating an intermediate functional domain intermingling evidentiality and epistemic modality. In this paper Old Italian data extracted from electronic corpora will be presented as supportive evidence for an intermediate epistemic-evidential functional domain demonstrating its diachronic significance. The most intriguing result that can be derived from Old Italian data is that grammatical and lexical items tend to converge to the same intermediate stages of the evidential-epistemic scale, even if they originally move from opposite poles. Thus, the inflectional Future dismisses non-inferential functions (e.g. reference to non-factual possible worlds), while the lexical item *PARE* 'seem' gradually excludes purely evidential functions (e.g. neutral quotative contexts) while maintaining evidential uses with epistemic overtones (e.g. when the speaker reports hearsay information without vouching for it). Different interpretations of such a functional convergence will be comparatively discussed focussing on the interplay of general semantic principles (subjectification?) with a more specific typological epistemic-evidential bias in Romance modal systems, which apparently affects the grammar and the lexicon at the same time. References Aikhenvald, Alexandra (2004), *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pietrandrea, Paola (2005), *Epistemic modality. Functional properties and the Italian system*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Meaning change and register-dependent persistence

Katerina Stathi, Free University Berlin

In this paper we describe a type of persistence in meaning change that differs from Hopper's (1991) original conception and discuss its implications for semantic and pragmatic change. It is illustrated by the semantic development of the German verb "gehören" 'belong to', which has grammaticalized to a modal (deontic) auxiliary in contexts like: (1) Das Gesetz gehoert abgeschafft. "The law belongs abolished." (literally) 'The law should be abolished.' In the fourteenth century the verb acquired a meaning of obligation (deontic meaning) in judicial and administrative contexts, via pragmatic inference: Somebody belongs to prison > Somebody must go to prison (apparently because of the inescapable nature of court decisions). Later deontic "gehören" came to be used with a past participle and was reanalysed as an auxiliary in this construction. The semantic development of this verb as well as its use in present-day German, illustrate a special case of semantic change: The source of the deontic meaning is still persistent in the semantic class of the past participles with which "gehören" co-occurs with high statistical significance. The participles refer to actions that are typically performed by an authority, e.g. "abolish, forbid, prosecute, shoot, imprison, deport". This type of persistence does not derive from the original meaning of the verb, but from the register where the deontic meaning originally developed. Reference Hopper, P. (1991): "On some principles of grammaticalization." In: Traugott, E. C.; Heine, B. (eds.): *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia. Benjamins, 18–35.

The evolution of epistemic adverbs: the example of Italian veramente

Jacqueline Visconti, DIRAS, Università di Genova

Anna-Maria De Cesare, Université de Lausanne

In Present Day Italian, the adverb *veramente* has different usages (cfr De Cesare 2002 and 2003), the common denominator of which is the intensification/mitigation of a linguistic string (typically of a semantic property or a propositional content). Depending on several factors, in particular on its position in the sentence, the intonation associated with it and the extension and semantic value of its scope (cf. König 1991), *veramente* has been described either as a predicate adverb or as a sentence adverb. More specifically, in its first usage, *veramente* can function either as an intensifier (1) or an emphasizer (2); on the other hand, when it is associated with wide scope (i.e. when it modifies an entire sentence), it can have two opposite functions: the reinforcement of the epistemic value associated to the propositional content of the sentence, as shown in (3), or its mitigation (4) (cf. Held 1988). (1) La tua maglia è veramente bella. (2) La tua maglia è veramente molto bella. (3) Veramente! Non ho mai incontrato tua sorella. (4) Io, veramente, non ho mai incontrato tua sorella. In this paper we take a diachronic perspective to outline the interplay of syntactic and lexical parameters in the rise of the sentence adverb use from a predicate adverb origin. The results are evaluated against the background of current theories of semantic change and are shown to offer new insights into the synchronic description of the adverb.

Evolving roles for metonymic praxis in Older Germanic poetics

Bryan Weston Wyly, Université de la Vallée d'Aoste

In this paper, a historical development is posited for the structural use of metonymy within traditions of alliterative poesis, particularly those in Old Norse and Old English. Prototypical instances of the metonymic praxis in question have traditionally gone under the rhetorical heading 'kenning'. Through a rigorously diachronic analysis of the best documented of these traditions, Old Norse dróttkvætt, metonymic praxis can be shown to evolve out of a conceptualizing stratagem into a qualifier of interpersonal stance. In cognitive terms, competencies in extemporaneous meaning construction within dynamic conceptual systems shift towards those in morphosyntactic parsing within conventionalized paradigms of lexical combinations. Thus, metonymy evolves from an interpretative vehicle requiring a high degree of on-line access to an encyclopaedic range of cognitive schemata, yet with a low mnemonic overhead in terms of stored processing routines, to one whereby a cognitive premium goes to the systemic elaboration of closed sets of categorical parameters. Concomitant to cognitive developments in metonymic praxis arise implicational changes for its employment. Metonymy functions less to expand the applicability of linguistic resources towards the enrichment of conceptual scope and more to qualify access to participation within discursive theatres. While both the cognitive and sociolinguistic aspects of this development are best attested within Old Norse linguistic communities, this paradigm further accords with the evidence available for participation in Old English poetic discourse. The aim of this paper is thus to validate the historical evolution outlined above through the presentation of some particularly diagnostic instances from among its various chronological stages.

GENESIS OF CREOLE LANGUAGES

Claire Lefebvre, Université du Québec à Montréal

Frequency of use and the passives in Singapore English

Zhiming Bao, National University of Singapore

Singapore English, the vernacular variety spoken in Singapore, emerges from intense contact with the local languages, mainly Chinese and Malay, and with standard English, which plays an important role in formal domains. Due to this contact, it has acquired two passive forms from the local languages, in addition to the English passives (be V-en and get V-en). In this paper, I study the usage patterns of the four passives in the Singaporean component of the International Corpus of English, and show that the locally-derived passives are ad-versative, and the English-derived passives exhibit clear adversity bias, compared with their counterparts in British English. The quantitative analysis supports two distinct mechanisms of substratum influence: the abrupt substratum transfer (the locally-derived passives) and the gradual convergence-to-substratum (the English-derived passives).

One substrate, two Creoles: the development of segmental inventories in St. Lucian and Haitian

Anne-Marie Brousseau, University of Toronto

In this paper, I compare the segmental inventories of Haitian and St. Lucian with those of their contributing languages, in order to evaluate the impact of the substrate languages on the development of these systems. In a nutshell, the phonological systems of Haitian and St. Lucian appear as a

compromise between those of their contributing languages, Fongbe and other Gbe languages (the substrate), and French (the superstrate). While both creoles have essentially the same vowel inventory as Fongbe, they have a consonantal inventory that is very similar to French. This hybrid character of the creoles is similar to what is typically found in an interlanguage, in the more canonical cases of second language acquisition, especially (e.g., Archibald 1988a,b; Broselow 1983; Broselow & Finer 1991). I propose scenarios where the differences between the two creoles and their superstrate result from phonological and phonetic processes that are typical of interlanguages emerging in more canonical cases of second language acquisition (e.g. segmental substitution under phonological equivalence, transfer of L1 allophonic rules). The scenarios assume that the emergence of a creole is a particular case of second language acquisition (Anderson 1983) and that creolization is the “crystallization and subsequent elaboration of an autonomous interlanguage system” (Valdman 1983:214). They also assume the Full Transfer/Full Access model of Second language acquisition (Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; White 2000), according to which second language learners assume the grammar of L1 as a starting point (Full Transfer) and progressively restructure this initial grammar using principles and parameters of UG.

A Theory of Creole Genesis

Claire Lefebvre, Université du Québec à Montréal

The most intriguing question about creole languages is no doubt that of how they come about. Since creole languages are natural languages, it must be possible to formulate a theory of their origin within the framework of the processes that play a role in language creation and language change in general. This is the assumption that I had in mind when I first started working on the problem of creole genesis in the early eighties. The first part of my talk will outline the theory that we developed within the aforementioned framework. This theory involves the process of relexification or relabelling, as well as the processes of leveling, grammaticalisation, reanalysis, lexical diffusion and innovation. The second part of the talk will summarize the various dimensions of a valid test of this theory. On the basis of data drawn from various creole languages, the third part of the talk will illustrate how the various processes interact in creole genesis and development. The fourth part will show that the proposed theory can account for all the features that characterize the emergence and early development of a creole language, and it will discuss the consequences of the findings for historical linguistics.

Bilingual first language acquisition and substrate influence

Stephen Matthews, University of Hong Kong

Virginia Yip, Chinese University of Hong Kong

Approaches to creole formation differ with regard to whether children or adults are seen as primarily responsible (DeGraff 1999). Work recognizing substrate influence has typically assumed adult second language acquisition as the route by which substrate features enter a contact language, although the role of bilingual or multilingual children as agents of change is considered by Thomason (2000) and Satterfield (2005). We argue that bilingual acquisition provides a potential mechanism for substrate influence, subject to two conditions: (a) the presence of a population of children exposed to two or more languages; (b) interactive development in these children. The first question involves whether there is evidence that children grew up bilingual in the societies in which particular contact languages have evolved. While it may be that too few children were present when Haitian Creole was developing (Lefebvre 1998), in the case of Hawaiian Creole grammatical features used exclusively by locally-born speakers implicate bilingual and/or child second language acquisition (Roberts 2000). The second question concerns whether there is interaction between the bilingual child's developing grammars. Bilingual L1 acquisition can lead to contact-induced change only if the developmental pattern shows divergence from adult norms (Thomason 2003). While some studies have found separate development without interaction, evidence from children acquiring Cantonese and English from birth shows bidirectional transfer, resulting in structures resembling those in contact languages including Singapore Colloquial English. We conclude that BFLA is a factor in substrate influence in general, and specifically in creole formation, subject to the above conditions.

Assessing Substrate Influence in the Formation and Development of the TMA System of the Creoles of Suriname

Bettina Migge, University College Dublin

The aim of the paper is to discuss the nature of substrate influence in the formation of creole languages. Specifically, I show that the first languages of the creators of creoles influenced creole grammars in various ways. The differences can be explained as the result of the interaction of different sources and processes. The data for the discussion come from the TMA system of the creoles of Suriname and their main input languages, the Gbe languages & English.

Roper River Aboriginal Language Features in Australian Kriol: Considering Semantic Categories

Jennifer Munro, NSW Office of the Board of Studies

Kriol, an English lexified creole language of northern Australia, is the primary language of the Roper River region in the Northern Territory. This paper describes findings from research that examined Roper Kriol for evidence of influence from the Indigenous substrate languages of that region, namely Alawa, Marra, Ngalakgan, Nunggbuyu, Ngandi and Warndarrang. The Transfer Constraints approach was used in this research, which calls for a comparison of these languages to find shared core features. Predictions could then be made based on the Reinforcement Principle of frequency as to the features that could be expected to have been retained during levelling of the stabilising pidgin. A description of any corresponding Kriol features plus examination of the availability constraints of perceptual salience and congruence in English is used to determine whether transfer to the preceding pidgin was constrained or not. Both verb and nominal morphology was examined, along with nominal modification but the most comprehensive findings came from the investigation into the semantic category transfer, which is the topic of this paper. There was evidence to suggest that the shared range of semantic categories in the pronominal, TMA and case marking systems was transferred to the preceding pidgin on lexemes derived from English and retained during levelling to ultimately be found in Kriol.

Substratal Inheritance in Hawaiian Creole: Evidence from the Copula

Sarah Roberts, Stanford University

This paper will investigate the role of the substrate in the formation of HCE through a focus on the copula system of Hawaii Creole English. The study begins with a synchronic assessment of the forms, syntactic pattern, and functions of the copula. These include copulas derived from the superstrate (IZ, WAZ) as well as forms derived from the antecedent pidgin (STEI, GET). The same form is used for location and attribution of non-permanent states, as well as for possession and existence. The subject follows the verb when GET is used for existence and distinct negators are used for the different copula forms (NAT for IZ/WAZ, NO for STEI, and NOMO for GET). The study will then examine the diachronic history of the copula in Hawaii Pidgin English and in HCE and will find that superstratal forms, STEI for locative, and GET for possessive/existential were rare or nonexistent in HPE, in which STAP prevailed for locative, GAT for possessive, and zero for existential. The creole has also innovated a use of STEI as an aspect marker and the tensing of the STEI and GET with past marker BIN. Then the study will consider substratal models for these patterns. Hawaiian, Cantonese, and Portuguese stand out as congruent in the use of a verb of possession for existence, and Cantonese and Portuguese offer parallels in the forms and patterns of the locative and attributive. These findings will be interpreted in Siegel's model of substrate reinforcement.

GRAMMATICAL CHANGES IN INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Vit Bubenik, Memorial University of Newfoundland, John Hewson, Memorial University of Newfoundland, and Sarah Rose, Memorial University of Newfoundland

A comparative perspective on early Slavic periphrastic futures

Henning Andersen, UCLA

A comparative perspective on early Slavic periphrastic futures In a recent phase of its prehistory Common Slavic developed a number of aspectual categories, mentioned here in an order that is noncommittal regarding the chronological development: 1. Imperfect/aorist (in the preterite), through the grammaticalization of a new imperfect; 2. Perfective/imperfective, through the regrammation of certain procedural categories ; 3. Determinative/indeterminative (for verbs of locomotion), created like the Perfective/imperfective aspect; 4. Retrospective/absolute, through the regrammation of constructions with the resultative participle; and 5. Prospective/actual (the prospective traditionally referred to as the future). In this paper I intend to reexamine the numerous regional expressions of the Prospective category that were formed apparently on the eve of the earliest attestation of Slavic: East Slavic “begin” + inf. and “take” + inf., South Slavic de-modal “want” + inf. and “have + inf., West Slavic “become; be.FUT” + inf. and “become; be.fut.” + resultative ptcl. I hope to show that these diverse periphrastic futures can yield information about the relative chronology of the development of aspects in different Slavic regions, in part simply by their diversity, in part by highlighting the different utilization of grammatical means (eg “become; be.fut.” + resultative ptcl. for Prospective in some regions, for Future Perfect in others), in part by the overlapping geographical distribution of some of these variants.

The prehistory of oblique subjects: An Indo-European comparison

Jóhanna Barðdal, University of Bergen

Thórhallur Eythórsson, University of Iceland

In an earlier paper we argue that subject-like obliques of impersonal predicates behaved syntactically as subjects in Old Germanic (Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005). This raises the question whether these arguments may have been objects at some earlier stage, either in Proto-Germanic or in Proto-Indo-European, or whether they were syntactic subjects all along. A further question that arises has to do with the origin of the argument structure of impersonal predicates (i.e. argument structures where the logical subject is not in the nominative case). We set out to investigate how far back such argument structures can be traced and whether the etymology of individual lexical items can reveal anything about this development, as a comparison between the lexical predicates occurring in the impersonal construction across the Indo-European languages should shed light on the original state of affairs in Proto-Indo-European. Obviously, the more cognates found across the Indo-European languages, the more recent the category should be, given a gradual renewal of the vocabulary over time. The reverse should also hold: the fewer cognates and the more synonymous predicates found in these languages, the more ancient the category should be. Moreover, if the argument structure of impersonal predicates can be shown to have existed in several of the earliest Indo-European languages, the likelihood of this being an inherited feature from Proto-Indo-European increases significantly.

Strategies of Definiteness in Early Indo-European

Brigitte L.M. Bauer, The University of Texas at Austin

In this talk I will discuss various strategies of “definiteness” in early Indo-European other than that of definite articles and evaluate their importance and repercussions from a diachronic perspective. While many Indo-European languages developed definite articles, these elements do not necessarily mark the emergence of a new grammatical category. Research involving various Indo-European branches (e.g. Prokosch 1939; Bader 1993; Abraham 1997; Philippi 1997) has shown (1) that languages without definite articles may have two types of adjectival inflection as in Balto-Slavic or Germanic (cf. Gmc weak [with -n-, definite] vs. strong [indefinite] adjectives); (2) that languages without definite articles, such as Russian, may distinguish between perfective constructions with an accusative direct object (definite) and those with a genitive direct object (indefinite); and (3) that yet other Indo-European languages include derivational processes whereby a suffix (e.g. -n-) is added to an adjectival base creating a derived noun with definite characteristics (cf. Gk. ouranioV ‘heavenly’ > ouraniwneV ‘the gods above’ ; La. catus ‘sly’> Catonem [Cato-Acc.] ‘the sly one’). Similar analyses do not exist for Latin/Romance. Despite the long tradition in analysis of the development of definite articles in Latin/Romance, no one—to my knowledge—has asked the question whether the emergence of definite articles in the Italo-Romance branch of Indo-European truly was a grammatical innovation. I will therefore evaluate to what extent the strategies mentioned above and others played a role in any of the stages of Latin, which had case, aspect, certain adjectival constructions, but no definite articles. The analysis will allow us to evaluate the devices found in other early Indo-European languages and their formal and conceptual importance for the (re)shaping of a grammatical category.

The Rise and Development of the Possessive Construction in Middle Iranian

Vit Bubenik, Memorial University of Newfoundland

The major morphosyntactic innovation in Early Middle Iranian was the emergence of the possessive construction based on the genitival preposition e:/i: "of" (= ezafe). The present paper will address its development from the Old Iranian synthetic genitival construction of the type aspo: marEtahya: "the horse of the man". The same construction could also be realized analytically by means of the pronominal relative construction yE/yo: "who": aspo: yE marEtahya: "[that] horse who[is] of the man". With the progressive erosion of the case morphology during the Middle Iranian period the relative construction was recategorized as the ezafe-construction with e:/i: cliticized to the first noun in the nominal phrase. This innovation will be analyzed in the overall context of the loss of the morphological case distinctions in Western Iranian and the establishment of the analytic typology of phrasal case. Theoretically, this significant typological shift will be examined along the lines of the recently published monograph on the development of configurational syntax in Indo-European languages by Hewson & Bubenik (2006). Hewson, John & Bubenik, Vit. 2006. *From Case to Adposition: the development of configurational syntax in Indo-European languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

The *-to/no construction in Indo-European: evidence for early periphrastic structures?

Bridget Drinka, University of Texas at San Antonio

While the verb morphology of Proto-Indo-European has always been reconstructed as uniformly synthetic in nature, an array of analytic structures, such as the periphrastic perfects and passives, has grown up alongside the synthetic forms in most IE languages. One can, in fact, wonder, with Balles (2004), whether the proto-language might have already contained the seeds of analyticity, the preliminary stages pointing to later analytic developments. One structure emerges as a likely candidate for such a role, the widely-attested verbal adjectives in *-to/no-: -to-: Skt. gata-, Gk. – βατός, Lat. –ventus -no-: Skt. anna- ‘food’ (ad- ‘eat), Gm. geboren, Russ. почтён ‘honored’ The predominance of this verbal adjective in predicative rather than attributive function suggests its early use, even in PIE, as a periphrastic verbal construction. Its multi-faceted meaning, encompassing both perfectivity and passiveness (cf. the notion of ‘subie’, Benveniste 1948), must have come about when the structure was still resident in the noun system. Much of what the periphrastic structures in the daughter languages came to represent—resultativity inherent in the form, passiveness as a more grammaticalized, more verbalized expression of a resultative state, anteriority focusing on the persistence of that state from the past into the present—all of these can be regarded as alternative perspectives, as more precise articulations of the potentialities that the earlier form already contained. This paper, then, presents data from across the IE languages, and assesses the validity of the claim (Flobert 1975; Meiser 1999) that periphrastic formations can be reconstructed for PIE.

The Emergence of Izafet construction in Persian

Azam Estaji, Ferdowsi University of Mashhad

The Emergence of Izafet Construction in Persian The present paper deals with the origin of Izafet construction in Persian. It shows how in Old Persian a relative pronoun (hya-)[example 1] in sentences with omitted copula has been interpreted as a connector (Izafet marker) coming between a noun and another noun or adjective [example 2]: Rel.: 1. бага vazrka Ahuramazdā hya imām būmīm adā (Ahuramazda is a great God who created this land.) Con.: 2. Gaumāta hya maguš adīnā kambujiyam (Gaumata the magian deprived Camyses) The relative pronoun “hya-” in Old Persian has changed to /ī / in Middle Persian, used both as relative conjunction and as Izafet marker: 3. ātaxš ī pad ān xānag andar barēnd (N REL. Clause) Fire that to that house in take.3rd pl. (the fire that [they] take to that house) 4. kanīg ī hučihhr (N iz. ADJ.) maiden iz. beautiful (beautiful maiden) This form has changed to /-e/ (Izafet marker: Kasre-y-e Ezafe) in New Persian, now a clitic functioning only as Izafet marker. On the one hand, this change is reminiscent of Givon’s famous slogan that “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax.” On the other hand, this change shows that loss of agreement and case marking (which were present in OP) has affected the syntax of noun phrase in MP and NP. The emergence of izafet construction to mark genitive and attributive constructions (which were formerly displayed by agreement and genitive case) compensates this loss. Key words: Persian, relative pronoun, reanalysis, Izafet construction.

The development of gender: Hispanic mass neuters compared to English dialects mass / count distinction emergence, Scandinavian neuter agreement and South Italian mass neuters

Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Although there are just two lexical genders in Spanish (masculine / feminine), Spanish has masculine, feminine and neuter pronouns, both personal and demonstrative. Some Hispanic dialects offer an interesting gender agreement traditionally known as mass neuter agreement. In these dialects neuter pronoun agreement is shown not only with non-lexical antecedents (which is the norm in Spanish), but with lexical antecedents when the masculine or feminine noun (singular or plural) has a mass interpretation. This agreement is not limited to pronouns but it extends to adjectives: postnominal modifier, predicative and depictive. Nevertheless, the mass neuter agreement is never shown by prenominal elements, such as articles or adjectives, or rarely by the noun itself. The geographic distribution of this agreement proves that it arose in the pronouns and gradually extended to depictives, predicatives and postnominal modifiers. This diffusion coincides with the Semantic Agreement Hierarchy (Corbett 1991, 2000) and it has a remarkable similarity with the behaviour of other languages or dialects with an emerging pronoun mass / count distinction (South-West dialects of England, Newfoundland dialects- incipient stage) or that have spread it to other elements in the predicate (Scandinavian languages – advanced stage). The English data show the very emergence of gender through a new use of old pronouns. The Hispanic and Scandinavian data are accounted for by the Semantic Agreement Hierarchy as a later development from the pronouns. This pathway of diffusion (from the predicate to the DP, usually a subject) doesn't lead necessarily to the emergence of new lexical genders. On the contrary, it seems that a new lexical gender can only arise if the already existing neuter pronoun is used as an article or demonstrative with the noun (South Italian dialects). Once the determiner has changed the noun's gender, the new agreement would gradually spread to modifiers and predicatives.

Prepositional Phrases in Indo-European

Dag Trygve Truslew Haug, University of Oslo

According to the *communis opinio*, Proto-Indo-European had no prepositions, only unbound particles. Their position in the sentence was free, but gradually 'froze': this process gave rise to preverbs when the particles appeared in the position before a verb and to prepositions when they appeared before a noun. As Nigel Vincent observed, such a change is special in that it involves "the 'capture' of an argument by an item that previously had no argument structure". I will argue that the traditional view of the change is false and challenge the view that PPs originate in structures where the P is a modifier of the head noun or where the P and the noun stand in apposition. I will survey such structures in Hittite, Vedic and Greek and argue that they are rarely found and when they are found, they do not further develop into prepositional phrases. There is no evidence for a stage where there is dependency between P and N without phrasal syntax even in the earliest stages of IE languages. This suggests that PPs existed already in Proto-Indo-European. What appears from this close study of the evolution of P is that dependency does not change in grammaticalization - in a sense it is 'always already' there. Contrary to some claims, dependency is not determined by grammaticalization, but itself constrains grammaticalization. Vit Bubenik & John Hewson (2006) *From Case to Adposition*, Amsterdam. Nigel Vincent (1999) "The evolution of c-structure", *Linguistics* 37:1111-1153.

Grammaticalization of the Verbal Diathesis in Germanic

John Hewson, Memorial University

The syntax of early PIE was active: there was no grammatical DO, but simply S + V and a variety of adverbial complements of the verb that exploited all the different case forms of the noun. The role of the subject was complex: as well as animate and inanimate subjects, impersonal subjects were extensively used to replace topical animates that did not play an active role. The remnants of these can be seen in German *Mir ist kalt* "I am cold", and in Shakespeare's *Methinks, Meseems*. Much of the original active syntax, however, is largely preserved in the syntax of Modern Icelandic, as documented, for example, in Eyrthorson and Barðdal 2005. Where there is syntactic grammaticalization as in the NP (Det + N), VP (Aux + V), and Prepositional Phrase, as traced throughout the IE languages in Hewson & Bubenik 2006, it is normal to form such new combinations of Grammatical Element + Lexical Element by lexical bleaching of the grammatical element and by grammatical bleaching of the lexical element (H & B 2006:15-16). This paper will examine the role of bleaching in the development of the Direct Object and the in the grammaticalization of the verbal diathesis in IE languages.

Default, Animacy, Avoidance: Diachronic and synchronic agreement variations with mixed-gender antecedents

Hans Henrich Hock, University of Illinois

Mixed-gender antecedents pose challenges for agreement in predicative adjectives. Three strategies to deal with these are observed: • Default gender marking: Neuter (Latin, Gothic, Old Norse) or masculine (Romance, Lithuanian) • Marking by animacy: Personal or animate masculine vs. other (Czech, Polish). A combination in Sanskrit: Masculine for human, Default Neuter elsewhere • Avoidance: Gender neutralization in plural (East and Southeast Slavic). Note also total neutralization in German. This paper focuses on historical developments in German. Old High German predicative adjectives with mixed-gender antecedents are either neuter (cf. Gothic and Old Norse) or "uninflected". Lack of inflection is an option for all predicative adjectives, whether singular or plural, and eventually wins out, yielding the modern gender and number neutralization in predicative adjectives. While the development is parallel to the deflection of participles in synthetic tenses and could be explained as an extension of this deflection, the chronology is different, and the "uninflected" forms can in most cases be explained as inherited archaisms. Significantly, Old Saxon likewise neutralizes gender distinctions, but only in the plural and in favor of the masculine/feminine suffix -a, not deflection. Further, as Rothstein (1993) observes, Modern Polish offers synchronic evidence that agreement with mixed-gender antecedents creates problems, which some speakers try to avoid by recasting the sentence. Based on this evidence I argue that the major motivation for the German developments is the synchronically widely observed principle of Avoidance. This adds to arguments that Grammaticalization is only one of several factors that drive morphological change.

Possessive Subject, Nominalization, and Ergativity in North Russian

Hakyung Jung, Harvard University

This paper investigates the evolution of the morphosyntactic structure of the possessive perfect construction in North Russian and its cross-linguistic implications in the context of ergativity. In the construction in question, the agent appears in a possessive prepositional phrase (u ‘at’ + Genitive) whereas the patient noun is marked nominative. The past passive participle predicate invariably appears in a neuter (-no/-to) or masculine (-n/-t) singular form. The copula is covert in the present tense but appears in agreement with the participle or with the nominative phrase in gender and number in other tenses. I offer a developmental scenario, in which the originally passive construction is reanalyzed as a nominative object construction in North Russian (Timberlake 1975; Jung, forthcoming). The adjunct u+Gen agent phrase is reanalyzed as a vP-internally base-generated external argument. Given that participle forms trigger copula agreement and genitive/possessive marking on the subject, the loss of inflection in participles is construed as a verbal nominalization. In the nominalized verb structure, the DP-internal genitive assignment to the subject makes the nominative case available for the object. Dialectal variation of copula agreement reflects different developmental stages of the de-passivization of the construction. The nominalized verb structure, which contains a possessive subject and a nominative object and is specified for the perfect, is further proposed as one of the general patterns of ergative constructions across languages. It links the North Russian perfect construction to ergative constructions in Hindi, Scots-Irish, Eskimo Caribou dialect, and so forth.

Nominative Singular masculine o-stem ending –e in Old Novgorod dialect

Kyongjoon Kwon, Harvard University

Old Novgorod dialect, mainly reflected in birchbark documents, shows various dialect-specific developments, among which stands out the NSg masculine o-stem ending –e, distinct from –ŭ in other Slavic areas. This study projects the ending in a much broader context, the development of animacy, than has been approached so far. The nominative ending is proposed to have the source in vocative, which is the only case ending in –e in the paradigm. From this it follows that the locus of innovation is proper names. This is well in accordance with the following facts: a) the ending appears most often with proper names, b) proper names are the last category to retain the ending, and c) genitive-accusative syncretism for animate objects started out from proper names. The ending is further assumed to be a definiteness/animacy marker, hence the tripartite division. Then the ending is presumably grammaticalized, spreading to inanimate nouns and then through agreement to predicates and lastly pronouns. Old Novgorod reflexes of PIE o-stem masculine nouns Anthroponym -e Toponym -o Others -ŭ The subject animacy marking strategy, coupled with the early development of animacy, is supported by the following facts; a) genitive-accusative syncretism developed in this dialect much later than in other areas, b) DSg for masculine o-stem nouns, –ovi, is restricted to personal proper nouns plus mužī, otičī, popŭ, all of which is inherently animate, c) word order (adjective + noun or the reverse) marks animacy of referent.

The origin of the feminine gender in PIE

Silvia Luraghi, Università di Pavia, Dipartimento di Linguistica T

As well known, the PIE gender system consisted of two genders, most likely animate and neuter; the earliest manifestations of a feminine gender were derivational and involved the suffix *h₂. This suffix also gave origin to the neuter nominative-accusative plural, formerly a collective rather than a count plural. The relation between these twofold developments of the suffix has been the matter of debate ever since Brugmann reconstructed the original value of the suffix as a means for deriving abstract nouns. Since then, scholars have speculated about the semantic relation between abstract, collective, and feminine, viewing two possible chronological developments: abstract > feminine > collective, or abstract > collective > feminine. The semantic development is also accompanied by morphological change: in the case of the neuter nominative-accusative plural, a once derivational suffix became an inflectional ending, while in the case of feminine gender, a derivational suffix became the marker of an inflectional class. The two morphological developments are clearly different, and there is no reason for assuming that one of them implied the other. However, when discussing the semantic aspect of the change, crucial to most current (and earlier) theories on the origin of the feminine gender is the idea that either collective has preceded feminine or the other way around. Each option is at odds with the data of some Indo-European language. In my paper I will address these questions and try to shed new light on an old problem, by considering that the two developments must be kept

THE ANIMACY FALLACY. Culture and Gender in the History of Latin and Romance.

Maria Manoliu, University of California

The present contribution aims at revealing the ways in which the evolution of the grammatical category of gender from Latin to Romance reflects the dramatic changes undergone by its semantic domains. Arguments for the hypothesis that Latin gender oppositions were determined by the important role played by activeness (and not animacy) in the interpretation of the state of affairs are brought into the picture in order to explain both the distribution of nouns into three major classes in Latin and their redistribution in Romance. The term activeness is to be understood as a reflection of the ‘capacity of referents for influencing human life in positive or negative ways’ (see Aristotle, Meillet, 1937, Lakoff 1990, Manoliu 1999). The changes undergone by the grammatical gender in Romance languages were triggered not only by a linguistic reorganization of case and number, but also by social and pragmatic factors. Once an inherent semantic feature such as [±Capable of action] had lost its privileged status in gender agreement, the neuter gender lost its phatic function and was redefined especially in the pronominal domain as a marker of indifference to ‘natural gender’ and/or ‘individuation’(see Ojeda, 1995, Manoliu, 1999). The distinction between masculine and feminine had steadily won the most important role in the grammar of Romance gender. Besides preserving its phatic function, it expanded in order to remotivate the differences between ‘men’ and ‘women’ with the aim of encoding ‘social equality’, characteristic of a partnership society.

The source of the consonantal inflectional endings

Sarah Rose, Memorial University of Newfoundland

The discovery of Hittite in the last century raised questions about the evolution of Indo-European inflectional categories. Few issues have provoked as much controversy as the nature and origin of the -hi/-mi conjugations of Hittite. In this paper I argue that the consonantal markers of this opposition are grammaticalized remnants of two once-independent pronouns, identical in all respects but case. This differential case marking originally had voice value. In this respect, the Hittite system is a direct parallel to Vedic Sanskrit where the marked member of the binary opposition represented “voice for self” – more direct and personal involvement in the verbal activity. The idea that inflectional elements arise from what were originally independent words – grammaticalization theory – was first put forward in the 18th century by Condillac (1746), reiterated by Whitney in 1889, and by Meillet in 1912. In recent times, the most prolific proponent of the grammaticalization process has been Talmy Givón: “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax”. Working within this framework, I argue that the -m marker in Hittite is a cliticised form of a post-posed oblique case first person singular pronoun, and the unmarked (default) member of an early voice opposition. The other, marked, member (-h[x]), is a cliticised form of the direct case pronoun. Bybee (1985:20) points out that voice alone of all verbal categories can be coded on elements external to the verb. In early inflectional stages of IE, voice distinctions were thus indicated by two different cases of post-posed pronouns, still visible in Hittite.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR AND SPANISH DIALECTOLOGY

David Heap, University of Western Ontario and
Enrique Pato Maldonado, Université de Montréal

The future behind us: Competition in Spanish future expression since 1600

Jessi Elana Aaron, University of Florida

In Modern Spanish, there are two constructions that are most commonly associated with future meaning. The older of these two forms is the Synthetic Future (SF), in (1). The second of these is the Periphrastic Future (PF), in (2). (1) *Luego, sobre las nueve y media estaré en la reunión.* (COREC, 20s) ‘Later, around nine-thirty I’ll be (SF) at the meeting.’ (2) *Yo voy a confesar aquí un secreto* (COREC, 20s) ‘I am going to confess (PF) a secret here’ Future temporal reference in Spanish has undergone a dramatic shift, in which the territory of the SF has been slowly encroached upon by the PF. Drawing upon quantitative evidence from a 935,000-word corpus of Iberian Spanish, this paper examines this diachronic process from a variationist perspective. The competition between these constructions began to gain momentum in the 17th century, with the PF reaching 4% relative frequency. This figure is dwarfed by the relative frequency of 66% PF in the 20th-century in spoken data (27% in written). Based on four independent multivariate analyses of 3,274 occurrences of PF and SF, it is shown that the contextual constraints on SF-PF variation, such as verb class, temporal adverbials, and sentence type, have remained relatively stable even in the face of drastic changes in frequency. It is further shown that competition within the realm of future temporal expression may have led to semantic change in the SF, yielding the non-future epistemic uses that make up 24% of SF use in Iberia today.

Clitic Placement in the History of Spanish

Miriam Bouzouita, King's College London

This study tries to contribute to a better understanding of the diachronic development of clitic placement throughout the history of Spanish (12th – 20th c.). This study has been carried out in Dynamic Syntax, a grammar formalism that reflects the left-to-right order of parsing/producing (Kempson et al. 2001, Cann et al. 2005). The aim of this paper is to show that the current clitic positioning results from various reanalyses caused by the routinization of processing strategies i.e. different ways of building up semantic content. Processing factors will be shown to contribute to both syntactic intra-speaker variation and syntactic change. Firstly, I will give synchronic accounts for 12th, 14th, 16th, 18th and 20th century clitic placement with respect to the finite verb. Secondly, I will model the diachronic changes in order to outline the progressive shift from a clitic system with a pure pragmatic basis to one in which the clitic position is determined by the verb form. Processing strategies will be shown to govern Medieval Spanish clitic placement, whereby the choice of strategy was determined by pragmatic considerations. However, the pragmatic basis atrophies due to routinization, resulting in the reanalysis of clitic whose preverbal placement becomes interpreted as not having any restrictions, as seen in Renaissance Spanish. Another reanalysis takes place as enclitics become increasingly associated with imperatives, resulting in a system in which the clitic position is determined by the verb form. Cann, Ronnie et al. (2005) *The Dynamics of Language*. Elsevier. Kempson, Ruth et al. (2001) *Dynamic Syntax*. Blackwell.

Directionality of grammaticalization in Spanish

Concepción Company Company

A major and controversial topic in historical linguistics has been the (uni)directionality of grammaticalization. Spanish historical syntax sheds interesting light on this topic. Using the general cline Discourse (D) > Core Grammar (CG), Spanish shows three types of diachronic grammaticalization, going in three different, but complementary, directions: 1) CG > CG; 2) CG > D; 3) CG > D > and again CG. The paper analyzes three types of syntactic-semantic changes in Spanish corresponding to the three directionalities above, and shows that grammaticalization may be bi/multi-directional: 1) CG > CG: The item undergoing the change continues to function in the Core Grammar (CG) but with different syntactic-semantic properties. Examples: Temporal subordination > Subjective conditional subordination: *mientras María escribe, Juan ve televisión* 'while Mary writes, John is watching the TV' > *mientras no te tomes la sopa, no sales a jugar* 'you can't go out to play until you finish your soup [lit. while you don't finish your soup, you can't go out to play]'. Deontic-external modality > Epistemic-internal modality: *puede escribir* 'she can write (has the physical or intellectual capacity)' > *puede escribir* 'she may write (permission)' > *puede que esté enferma* 'it may be that she is sick'. 2) CG > D: The item cancels the morpho-syntactic capacities of the etymon, resulting in syntactic isolation, scope widening and the creation of autonomous-discursive forms working at the Discourse level. Examples: Movement verb > Deverbal discourse markers: *anda a la biblioteca* 'go to the library' > *¡ándale!*, 'come on, hurry up'.

A Diachronic Study of the Spanish Perfect(ive): Frequency of Use and Language Change

Mary Theresa Copple, University of New Mexico

Peninsular Spanish shows increasing innovative use of the Present Perfect as a perfective in certain contexts, thereby assuming functions traditionally encoded by the Preterit. Much research has focused on the grammaticalization of the PP in Romance languages (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994,

Fleischman 1983, Harris 1982, Squartini and Bertinetto 1995) and on current use of the Peninsular PP (Company 2002, Schwenter 1994a, 1994b, Serrano 1994). The former group of studies examined the evolution of the PP from anterior to perfective across different Romance languages, suggesting stages that the PP may or may not have followed in its distinct evolutions. The latter studies suggested the emergence of a hodiernal/prehodiernal distinction (as in Dahl 1984), hypothesizing that the PP could expand into more contexts of use by spreading to more remote past contexts. Schwenter and Torres Cocoullós (2005) more recently suggested that the PP is expanding through increased use in “temporally indeterminate” contexts. Innovative use of the PP and its grammaticalization path can perhaps be best studied diachronically. This study examines the diachronic development of the Peninsular Spanish PP from a variationist perspective. Based on data from 15th, 17th, 19th, and 20th Century dramatic texts and 20th Century conversation, independent quantitative analyses will be performed in order to compare use of the PP and the Preterit in each century and draw conclusions about the changing factors that conditioned the use of the PP over time. Preliminary results for the 15th Century indicate that, while the

Information structure and syntactic change: the survival of the correlative dyptich in Old Spanish

Javier Elvira, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

The correlative dyptich is nowadays viewed as a precursor of some subordinating structures in Indo-European languages, which arose from a well known process of inversion of the two members of the correlation. This dyptich was frequently used in times when the underlying principles of information structure (such as theme-rheme or presupposition-focus) had little prominence in grammar. Grammatical evolution soon led to include all these notions and distinctions within the syntactic structure and it also expressed in terms of syntactic hierarchy what in ancient times was simply a matter of pragmatic relevance. According to the same trend, Latin subordinate sentences reached a significant development and continued to exist in Romance languages. Although the consolidation of these syntactic structures was strong in Latin times, Old Spanish did not give up organizing utterances in pragmatic terms. On the contrary, Old Spanish texts allow us to perceive the revival of the correlative diptych in the arrangement of some new relative structures, such as those introduced by the new complex relative pronoun *el que*, or those with a relative adverb. Using corpus data from Old Spanish texts, the work aims at determining the contexts where this correlative arrangement was possible and argues that some of the positional patterns adopted by the correlation are caused by pragmatic forces. It also suggests an understanding of these facts according to the concepts of the information structure theory.

Motives for change in the paradigm of Spanish object clitics

Andrés Enrique-Arias, Universitat de les Illes Balears

A little studied aspect of Spanish morphosyntax is the remarkable dialectal variation exhibited in the paradigm of object clitics in non-standard rural varieties. Standard second person plural object pronoun *os* is realized /bos/~bus/, /sos/~sus/, /us/, /los/, /tos/ and /se/ in rural varieties of Peninsular Spanish while standard first person plural object marker *nos* is realized /mos/~mus/ and /los/. To date no functional explanation has been provided to account for why in non-standard rural varieties *os* and, to a lesser degree, *nos* are subjected to such frequent substitutions. In order to investigate the realizations of *os* and *nos* in rural Spanish this study uses data from the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula which contains information on these forms gathered in approximately 280 Spanish speaking localities. The interviews were done in the 1930's thus allowing us to appreciate clearly the original geographical extension of the different realizations before the reduction in use that rural varieties have experienced during the second half of the 20th century. The data illustrates well-documented universal tendencies regarding the evolution of grammatical forms in inflectional paradigms: these include not only analogical changes but also paradigm levelling, phonetic erosion, and preference for universally unmarked coronal sounds. Likewise, the changes undergone by some of these forms result in homonymy with previously existing ones. The direction of these merges seems to be dictated by universal tendencies according to which marked elements in inflectional paradigms are relatively more vulnerable to undergo coalescence with other forms.

Round table: The Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española

Rosa María Espinosa Elorza, Universidad de Valladolid

Si el final del siglo XX nos deparó una utilísima herramienta: la Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española, dirigida por Ignacio Bosque y Violeta Demonte, el comienzo del XXI pone a nuestra disposición los dos volúmenes iniciales de la primera Sintaxis histórica de la lengua española. Ambas se autocalifican de obras “descriptivas”, pero van más allá y rompen con un pasado de aislamiento entre lingüística y filología y de incomunicación entre investigadores, por lo que podemos jugar con la definición de gramático que recoge Juan Huarte de San Juan (Examen de ingenios para las ciencias, ed. de Esteban Torre, Barcelona, PPU, 1988, pág. 174): *grammaticus ipsa arrogantia est*, y aplicársela a los promotores de estos proyectos, no con el significado básico de ‘altanería’ o ‘soberbia’, sino en su segunda acepción, como sinónimo de valentía, esencial para emprender la ardua tarea de coordinar equipos tan complejos. Sus respectivas trayectorias parecían encaminadas a lograr estos objetivos, ya que se necesita una sólida preparación interdisciplinaria, la asimilación de modelos teóricos tradicionales y renovadores, una visión amplia de los problemas pendientes de análisis y la generosidad –amén de la inteligencia- de reconocer que ya no se puede trabajar de forma aislada. Con anterioridad, tanto Bosque como Company plantearon las bases en *Las categorías gramaticales* (Madrid, Síntesis, 1989) y *La frase sustantiva en español medieval. Cuatro cambios sintácticos* (México, UNAM, 1991), respectivamente. El estudio de categorías -más que de unidades aisladas- y la visión de un continuum entre ellas y dentro de ellas han sido sus pilares fundamentales.

Disagreement in the Andes: Neutralization of gender and number distinctions in Andean Spanish (16th/17th and 20th/21st Centuries)

Juan C. Godenzzi, Université de Montréal

The European eruption in the Andes, in the 16th century, inaugurated a process of linguistic contact between Spanish and Indigenous languages. This contact is prolonged to our times and constitutes the milieu in which features characterizing new speech modalities arise. One of these features is that of gender and number neutralization in Andean Spanish. This paper brings together information obtained from 16th and 17th century texts as well as from texts and oral testimonies of contemporary Spanish. Some examples illustrate these neutralization phenomena: “*los notificaciones*”, “*este notificaciones*” (16th century); “*todo su hazienda no era suyo*”, “*su tierra es pobricimo*”, “*porque son ferós animales que come gente*” (17th century); “*un achacoso zorra*”, “*entonces llega los castigos*” (20th century). Disagreement is usually considered to be a lack of grammatical “equality” or “agreement”, a product of the lack of skill or little care taken by the speaker. This interpretation however is framed within the perspective of a *universalized* (standard) Spanish. Rather, if one adopts a perspective of a *vernacularized* or *emergent* Spanish, one which is more pertinent to the case of Andean Spanish, another interpretation is possible: “disagreement” in Andean Spanish is not necessarily a “failure to fulfil” the rules of grammatical agreement, but the form by which Andean modalities dispense with such rules or by which they question them. Consequently, we are not facing carelessness or incompetence on the part of the speakers. Instead, we are facing new competencies, which serve expressive needs that are also new and original.

A reanalysis of paradigmatic variation in the Old Spanish imperfect

Nicholas Henriksen, Indiana University

Previous studies on the Old Spanish imperfect in *-ié* attribute the paradigm's appearance to analogy with the Old Spanish preterit in *-ié* (Malkiel, 1959). While early researchers agree that the imperfect paradigm in *-ié* quickly fell from existence by the turn of fourteenth century (Hannsen, 1894; Malkiel, 1959; Menéndez Pidal, 1964), more recent accounts extend the *-ié* paradigm's existence well beyond the fourteenth century (Imhoff (1998); Penny (2001)). Knowing that that considerable variation did occur between *-ié* and the etymological paradigm in *-ía* during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the present investigation is dedicated to understanding the specific variables that contributed to the paradigmatic variation during that time. An analysis of four Old Spanish chivalry and chronicle texts written between 1295 and 1410 is carried out, coding each imperfect form for its ending (*-ié* vs. *-ía*) as well as for a series of independent variables related to Old Spanish verb morphology: root vowel height, root vowel backness, conjugation, grammatical person, and root-final segment. The data analysis takes as its point of departure the results of a series of logistic regression analyses. A total of 6093 tokens are extracted, and a separate logistic regression is carried out for each text so that trends can be traced over time. Results show that certain combinations of variables are responsible for variation in each text, indicating that our account of the Old Spanish imperfect should be reevaluated and integrated within more global accounts of Spanish diachrony.

Typological motivations for dialectal variations of the Spanish perfect

Lewis Howe, University of Georgia

As is well-known, the general tendency for perfects to develop into perfectives in Romance (i.e. the "aoristic drift" according to Squartini and Bertinetto 2000) has occurred in a number of Romance languages (see also Harris 1982). This paper explores the situation of the perfect across Spanish dialects, arguing that its distribution is parallel to that displayed more generally by perfect constructions in Romance. Most notably, the perfect in Peninsular Spanish has developed functions overlapping with those of the simple, perfective past (see Schwenter 1994 and more recently Kempas 2006). Similar developments have been claimed for perfects in the Spanish spoken in the Andean region of South American. Here it is argued that the purported perfectivity displayed by this latter set of cases does not in fact arise via the same mechanism of semantic change as that driving the shift from perfect to perfective in Peninsular Spanish. The analysis presented here distinguishes among dialectal groupings of perfects in Spanish following a set of typological features associated cross-linguistically with these constructions (e.g. use in sequenced narratives, compatibility with definite past adverbials, and availability of a stative or "continuative" interpretation). The results indicate that only the Peninsular dialects can be described as adhering to the expected pattern commonly associated with the development of perfectives from perfects in Romance. Other cases, such as those in Andean Spanish, arise as the result of external pressures (e.g. extended language contact) and do not display the same patterns with respect to the aforementioned typological features.

Pattern generalization across paradigms: analogical extension in the historical development of Galician-Portuguese second conjugation verbs

Fernando Martinez-Gil, The Ohio State University

In Galician (Romance, northwestern Spain) and Portuguese, the rhotonic forms of the present indicative of 2nd conjugation (-er) verbs, a root-final mid exhibits a systematic alternation pattern unique in (Ibero-)Romance: tense [e, o] in the 1SG (beber ‘to drink’- b[‘e]bo) vs. [E, O] in the 2SG and 3SG & PL. (b[‘E]bes, b[‘E]be, b[‘E]ben). While most Galician/Portuguese synchronic studies abundantly report this pattern, the available literature on the historical development of Galician-Portuguese offers no account on how it came about, quite surprisingly, since no set of regular sound changes can possibly account for such an outcome. This paper shows that alternating pattern was borrowed at some historical point in Old Galician-Portuguese through analogical extension from 3rd conjugation (-ir) verbs, derived historically from Classical Latin 4th (-īre; sēntīre ‘to feel’), and those from the 3rd (-ēre, fūgēre ‘to flee’) with a (T)heme (V)owel ĩ in the 1SG (fūgĭō ‘I flee’). Metaphony (triggered by the TV) raised lax vowels to tense in the 1SG form of in (V)ulgar (L)atin in 3rd conjugation verbs, yielding the tense/lax alternating pattern found in the oldest Galician-Portuguese documents: s[‘e]nto (> s[‘i]nto, by subsequent raising) vs. s[‘E]ntes), s[‘E]nte, s[‘E]nten, precisely the pattern found in modern Galician 2nd conjugation. Significantly, such interparadigmatic analogy (from the 3rd to the 2nd conjugation) constitutes the opposite of leveling, because it involves the spreading of a certain pattern of morphophonological alternation to a whole class of forms which previously did not undergo alternations, thus effectively wiping it out from the grammar.

Patrones de variación pronominal en la

Cristina Matute, Saint Louis University (Madrid Campus)

La Estoria de Espanna de Alfonso X es una de las fuentes historiográficas más utilizadas para conocer el castellano del siglo XIII. A partir del análisis de su variación lingüística, se acepta generalmente que fue elaborada por diversos colaboradores. Sin embargo, poco se sabe sobre los de la General Estoria (GE), la segunda gran empresa historiográfica alfonsí. Esta contribución pretende ahondar en su conocimiento, en el marco del proyecto de investigación “Corpus digitalizado de textos bíblicos en español antiguo”. Estudios realizados en la última década apuntan a una diversa procedencia dialectal, dentro del territorio castellano, de los miembros del taller alfonsí que compusieron el texto. Los datos investigados son orden principalmente gráfico y fonético-fonológico, y este estudio contribuye con nuevas evidencias de tipo morfosintáctico, procedentes de las partes primera y cuarta de la GE (en códices originales). Al parecer, el uso pronominal se mantiene homogéneo en lo que atañe al orden sintáctico o a la incidencia de parámetros referenciales para empleos como la apócope del pronombre masculino o el leísmo. Sin embargo, se encuentran divergencias en los regímenes verbales de predicados con variación, el neutro de materia determina en distinta medida el uso de lo con referentes femeninos, y el loísmo o el laísmo no se documentan de manera homogénea. Asimismo, pueden hallarse divergencias de uso gráfico y fonético en los pronombres agrupados, la apócope, la proclisis, así como en la asimilación consonántica entre infinitivos y pronombres. En este sentido, el estudio realizado permite conocer nuevos aspectos sobre la variación interna del castellano medieval tal como aparece en la GE.

Tuteo/voseo Replacement in Río de la Plata Spanish: Left Periphery Effects on Morphological Paradigms

María Irene Moyna, Texas A & M University

A characteristic morphological feature of Río de la Plata Spanish is voseo, the use of etymologically plural second person pronouns/verbs to address a singular interlocutor: vos tenés ‘you have’ vs. tú tienes ‘id.’ The pronominal and verbal paradigms are mixed, however. Subject vos patterns unexpectedly with te as object and tu/tuyo as clitic and tonic possessives, with alternation possible after prepositions (a ti ‘to you’ ~ a vos ‘id.’). For verbs, imperative and present indicative opt for voseo (cantá ‘sing!’; cantás ‘sing-2s.pres.’ vs. *canta,*cantas). Subjunctive favors tuteo (cantes ‘sing-2s.subj.’) in subordinate clauses, while in negative imperatives both tuteo and voseo are possible but the latter is pragmatically marked (no cantes ~ no cantés ‘don’t sing’). This paper addresses the language-internal forces that consolidated the mixed paradigm, by considering qualitative and quantitative data between the 17th and 20th centuries. It shows replacement of tuteo by voseo occurred in a specific order, starting in subject pronouns and imperative verbs, and spreading to other pronominal forms, indicative, and eventually subjunctive. It demonstrates that the different rates in voseo adoption follow from association of different verb moods and pronominal forms with specific levels of embedding. Innovative voseo generalized first on the left periphery of the clause, where it was more salient to children acquiring the dialect (Lightfoot 1999). In more deeply embedded positions, it appeared later and/or incompletely. Thus, the morphological change proceeded not by piecemeal selection according to analogical suitability of forms to paradigms, but by application of universal learnability principles. (248 w.)

The definite article and its expressive meaning in the history of Spanish language

Rosa María Ortiz Ciscomani, Universidad de Sonora

The broad outline of definite article in Spanish is well-known (Company 1991). In this paper, dealing with Spanish data from 12th to 15th centuries, I point out a not very studied angle of its origin and development, the so-called expressive function (Epstein 1996). The aim of the paper is to show the usefulness of taking expressive meaning into account to get a whole explanation especially concerning the spreading of its use from concrete to abstract nouns. I will discuss the indexes of that subjective meaning on coding, taking into account morpho-syntactic, semantic and pragmatics factors. I will illustrate show: i) that expressive meaning was present both in the first tokens and through the history of Spanish language, and ii) that the definite article was used with abstract names earlier than 15th century, opposite as it has been said. The claim has interesting implications for some issues in grammaticalization theory. References: Company, Concepción. 1991. “La generalización del artículo”. *La frase sustantiva en el español medieval. Cuatro cambios sintácticos*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 83-104. Epstein, Richard. 1996. “Viewpoint and the definite article”, in Adele Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual structure, discourse and language*, Stanford, California: CSLI Publications. Kirsner, Robert S. 1985. “Iconicity and grammatical meaning”, in *Iconicity in syntax*, John Haiman, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 249-270.

Competence, Homophony and Loss of Grammar: Spanish Prepositions *cabe* and *so*
Enrique Pato, Université de Montréal

There is still no work that attempts to study and explain the historical evolution of the prepositions *cabe* and *so* and their loss from the prepositional paradigm in Spanish. As we will see, their fluctuation during medieval times, along with the competition they suffered from other prepositions, prepositional phrases and homophonous words, limited their employment and their frequency of use. This ultimately provoked syntactic restrictions, leading to their definitive loss in contemporary Spanish and consequently their disappearance from Spanish grammar. In this work I will present, with the help of statistics, the historical evolution of the prepositions *cabe* and *so*, their fluctuation throughout the history of the language and the semantic competition that, from ancient times, they endured from other prepositions and prepositional phrases (*junto a* ‘close to’ and *debajo de* ‘under’, respectively). These two circumstances, in addition to *cabe* and *so*’s homophonous likeness to other types of commonly employed words (verb *caber*, *cavar* and *ser*, possessive pronoun *so*, preposition *sobre* and diverse interjections), provoked a readjustment of the Spanish prepositional paradigm and their progressive elimination, as shown by the frequency and percentage of their appearance as well as the use of these forms in the analysed corpus. The formal similarity of two or more expressions, with or without affinity of meaning, is sufficient to provoke confusion (formal analogy). The studied phenomenon, therefore, is one more example of how the Principle of economy and efficiency in language use has been performed on the Spanish language. This trend eliminated situations of syntactic competition between prepositions that presented, and that could present, semantically similar meanings (*cabe* ~ *cerca de* / *junto a*; *so* ~ *bajo*). It also demonstrates how prepositions offering a less confused form, that is, which presented fewer cases of homophony with other words, were those that finally triumphed, with the consequent loss and elimination of more homophonous prepositions, all of which produced a loss of grammar in the language. Only one term is required to locate objects or people in space which are ‘close to’ or ‘under’ other elements. As a consequence of the restriction of elements that can be used in the communication of the smallest possible quantity, *cabe* and *so* remain relegated to a few archaic uses and idiomatic expressions, strongly grammaticalized phrases, wherefrom they are not easily recovered as prepositions of daily use. Therefore, as has been indicated by several works on the theory of linguistic change, the channel towards the loss of grammar is unidirectional, flowing from discursive elements towards morphologic and phonetic features.

Historical and dialectological aspects in Gramática de la lengua catalana (1881-1915) by Tomàs Forteza

Maria Pilar Perea Sabater, Universitat de Barcelona

The Grammar of the Catalan Language (*Gramática de la lengua catalana*. Palma de Mallorca: Escuela Tipográfica Provincial, 1915) is an almost unknown work by the poet and erudite Tomàs Forteza Cortés (Palma de Mallorca 1838-1898) who was winning in 1881 in the “Certamen de Fires i Festes” of the City Hall of Palma, but the work was not published until 1915, and in an incomplete way. This grammar constitutes the first grammatical work about the Catalan language which has its references in the new orientations of the European Romanist School, concretely in the French version of *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (1836-1844) by Friedrich Diez. For this motive it separates methodologically of the other contemporary Catalan grammars. Structurally, the *Gramática* is divided in four sections: phonology, morphology, syntax and orthography. The principal aims of this communication are to study the following aspects: 1. The influence by Friedrich Diez in the *Gramática* by Tomàs Forteza. 2. The elements of compared linguistic (Catalan – Castilian; Catalan – Latin, etc.) who appear in this work. 3. The more relevant contributions in the areas of historical grammar and history of the language. 4. The references to the Catalan dialectology. 5. The parallelism with other contemporary grammars, as the *Gramática de la lengua castellana* by Andrés Bello with *Notas* by Rufino José Cuervo.

The proper name syntax evolution: A Linguistic change?

Jeanett Reynoso Noverón, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

A linguistic change theory focuses its efforts to explain the routes of a language evolution and the most susceptible zones to change. Nevertheless, it is well known that in languages the resistant to change is inherent. The aim at this work is to analyze the proper name as a lexical category that seems not to change throughout the Spanish language history. The diachronic of the study of the syntax of the noun phrase have been traditionally aimed at the study of the common noun's structure. The contributions to this area have left important improvements within the study of the Spanish language general syntax. As a result common name clusters have been defined as well as a detailed descriptions of the type of syntactic-semantic structures that are developed around it. Compare this study with others that have limited its scope to the lexicon-semantics perspective on the subject, included the grammar point of view and the philosophical one. Due to the peculiar semantic differences that show towards the common name, the proper name has not been studied under strictly grammar criteria. In fact, the Royal Spanish Language Academy recognizes the difficulty to use grammar criteria in this task and suggests that "probably [...] nothing has to do with the grammars" (RAE 1973: 172. n. 5). The proper name is a category barely studied synchronically and diachronically. This text deals with proper name from a diachronic perspective, placing emphasis on the relation to determiners and modifiers. The proper name category represents a marginal category not exclusively linguistic.

Features of Andalusian through the works of Arturo Reyes

Engracia Rubio Perea, University of Málaga

Andalusian Spanish presents an innovative linguistic norm as opposed to Castilian Spanish, with merged results (seseo, ceceo, yeísmo) that advance on the trends of changes in Spanish as spoken today. Many of these features have their origin in areas of Andalusia, and from here they have spread to Canarian and American Spanish; others have been acquired in the expansion process of northern Spanish towards southern regions. In this paper we try to describe some of these southern features taking as reference the works of Arturo Reyes, a famous writer born in Malaga in later XIX century, who stands out because of his strong slant on traditions. His work captures Malaga in the late XIX century and the turn of the XX century, its environment, its relevant figures and, above all, its customs. To carry out this investigation, we will analyze some of the most famous works of this writer, and we will establish some of the linguistic features of Andalusian Spanish, like the seseo and the yeísmo, the maintenance and loss of /h/, the weakening of /-s/ or the merger of /-r/ and /-l/. We will point out the most relevant features of nominal and verbal morphology, as well as some syntactic problems and, above all, we will deal with lexical variety, specially those voices considered as andalucismos léxicos.

Regarding the Double Temporal Reorganization in the Diachronia of the Spanish Verbal System

Alexandre Veiga, Universidade de Santiago de Compostela

The temporal evolution of the Spanish verbal system – as well as that of other Romance systems, although not all – requires the recognition of two important reorganizations as an adequate point of departure for its understanding and explanation. In each instance the system assisted with the grammaticalization of some new temporal opposition by way of the full temporalization of primitive periphrases. The first of these reorganizations encompasses the well known “restructuring of the futures”. This involved the transformation of the post-auxiliary verb periphrases, *cantare habeo* and *cantare habebam*, into romance forms such as *cantaré* and *cantaría*. The temporalization of *cantaría*, apart from determined repercussions in the system of modal oppositions, implied the grammaticalization of a new functional unit of /post-preterit/ temporal content. The second reorganization consisted fundamentally in the full temporalization of certain pre-auxiliary verb periphrases. The integration of constitutive elements of the temporal system of meaning, expressed by so called “compound forms”, is a later integration than some Romance scholars had believed. During the first period we must also return to certain temporal reorganizations operating in the subjunctive, whose formal manifestations were the disappearance of the Latin forms of the “past perfect” and the “past imperfect” subjunctive as well as the temporal-mode re-grammaticalization of the *futurum exactum*, origin of the “subjunctive futures”. We have discussed these changes on previous occasions. We demonstrated that the Romance verbal system, specifically the Galician system, exclusively experienced changes during the first epoch. This system constitutes real living proof of a temporal configuration that had to be common to other Romance linguistic dominions. The recent publication of the first part of the *Sintaxis histórica del español*, coordinated by the Concepción Company Company, offers us a new reflection on the subject in all its dimensions.

HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF AMERINDIAN LANGUAGES

Marie-Lucie Tarpent, Mount Saint Vincent University

Preverbs and aspectual verb classes - a comparative investigation into Athapaskan morphology

Dagmar Jung, University of Cologne, Department of Linguistics

Keren Rice, University of Toronto, Department of Linguistics

Athapaskan languages have rich systems of preverbs, verbal morphemes which encompass a wide range of locative and manner notions. In this paper we study preverbs in Beaver and Slave, as the beginning of a study of comparative preverb constructions. Examples of preverbs that combine with motion verbs are given below. (1) *datsixwil dah-sa-’oN* Beaver box up-s.PFV-put *dechiN dah-we-’on* Slave box up-s.PFV-put ‘he put the box up’ (2) *ghúNli xaizís t’-í-’oN* Beaver sth. sack into-gh.PFV-put ‘eyi *tehmính t’áh-yiN-’oN* Slave thing pack into-gh.PFV-put ‘he put sth. into a sack’ Rice 2000 studied properties of Slave preverbs, arguing that they enter into the aspectual verb class system. This can be seen through the way that preverbs interact with conjugation classes (cf. ex. (1) vs. (2)). A cursory study of preverbs across the family indicates many similarities in aspectual properties, but differences also, and these remain poorly understood. We examine the range of preverbs in the languages and arguments for whether they interact with the aspect system, and, if so, how they exhibit the same pattern and how they developed differently. According to previous classifications (Krauss and Leer 1981, Goddard 1999), Beaver and Slave belong to different subgroupings of northern Athapaskan, but certain dialects of the languages are in close contact. Our study allows us to study more closely the diachronic as well as areal relationship between these dialects and the two languages in general under grammatical aspects. This study represents also a new approach in that it starts to disentangle the previously diagnosed dialect continuum of Athapaskan by taking into account morphological and constructional data for historical-comparative purposes.

Historical Sound Changes in Trique Languages

Kosuke Matsukawa, State University of New York at Albany

Trique languages (Chichahuaxtla Trique, Copala Trique and Itunyoso Trique) are spoken in Oaxaca, Mexico and belong to the Mixtecan family of the Otomanguean stock. In Proto-Trique, thirteen obstruents (*/*t/, /*d/, /*k/, /*g/, /*kw/, /*gw/, /*ʔ/, /*β/, /*s/, /*š/, /*ts/, /*ʔ/, /*ʔr/*), five resonants (*/*m, /*n/, /*l/, /*r/, /*y/*) and eleven vowels (*/*i/, /*e/, /*ĩ/, /*ë/, /*a/, /*o/, /*u/, /*in/, /*ĩn/, /*an/, /*un/*) are reconstructible. In this paper, I will analyze how these Proto-Trique phonemes have undergone historical sound changes in its three daughter languages: e.g. (1) all obstruent sounds became voiced in non-final syllables in Chichahuaxtla Trique. (2) all obstruent sounds became voiceless in any syllables in Itunyoso Trique. (3) **ʔ > š* before a non-front vowel or in non-final syllables in Chichahuaxtla Trique. (4) **š > ʔ* in almost all environments except for a few words in Itunyoso Trique. (5) **V > ø / *s, *š or *r _ *t, *k, *kw, *m, *n or *l* in Copala Trique. In the case of **r*, **r* was also spirantized and became a voiceless retroflex fricative *šr*. (6) **ĩ & *ë > i*, and **ĩn > un ~ on* in Copala Trique. (7) **ĩ > i*, **ĩn > in*, and **ë > e* in Itunyoso Trique. (8) high short vowels became mid in a final syllable in Copala Trique. In addition to these historical sound changes, I will present all of the identified historical sound changes happened in Trique languages.

Shifty Vowels, Deviant Consequences: Systemic Markedness and Diachronic Change

Patricia A. Shaw, UBC

There is a fundamental puzzle posed by a diachronic vowel shift in Central Coast Salish languages, exemplified here by *hən'q'əmin'əm'*. From a phonetic and phonological perspective, the Proto-Salish vowel system /i a u/ (plus schwa) is a model of canonical perfection: the basic phonemic distribution is triangulated to the extremes of the vowel space, thereby (i) phonetically maximizing both perceptual and articulatory cues, and (ii) phonologically optimizing distinctive oppositions. In contrast to this optimally unmarked Proto system, the synchronic system of *hən'q'əmin'əm'* has shifted to what is generally classified, *prima facie*, as a highly marked distribution: /i ε a/ (plus schwa). Drawing on vestigial morphophonemic complexity which persists in *hən'q'əmin'əm'* as the synchronic residue of these shifts, a plausible diachronic progression is proposed, where each stage is motivated by the interaction of universal constraints governing Markedness (e.g. if Round, then Back) with Faithfulness constraints to maintain phonemic contrast within the system. It is argued that the phonological V system has changed from being a Round/Lo system in Proto-Salish to being a Hi/Lo system in *hən'q'əmin'əm'*. It is further proposed that although Round no longer functions distinctively in the short V system, it has sustained a marginal vestigial function for the few lexical items with a long /u:/ and in loan word phonology. Interestingly, Round is retained in the C system, a hypothesis that offers a principled account of certain ablaut changes in the context of labialized Cs.

Unusual phonological correspondences as clues to Penutian relationship

Marie-Lucie Tarpent, Mount Saint Vincent University

At the beginning of the 20th century, Sapir undertook to regroup the 60-odd Native North American languages into six "phyla", based on very general features and considered "beyond the reach of the comparative method." Some of the phyla have now been discarded, but the Penutian phylum, a group of about 15 families found mostly along the Pacific Coast, continues to have some adherents in spite of mainstream opinion (e.g. Campbell 1997, Goddard 1997) that it should be broken up into isolates and smaller groups. Work during the past ten years, concentrating on morphological comparison, has tended to support the overall validity of Sapir's grouping, although differing on many of the details (Tarpent 1997, 2002, 2003). However, a major objection to considering the phylum a promising genetic entity has always been a perceived lack of regular phonological correspondences between vocabulary items. Although earlier comparisons focused mostly on vocabulary have often been disappointing or inconclusive, some regular though sometimes unexpected phonological correspondences have emerged in the course of investigating morphological similarities and distinctive morphophonological alternations among several of the component families, most of them not geographically adjacent to each other (Tarpent 2005, 2007). As opposed to comparisons of vocabulary, such correspondences are unlikely to result from intrusive or coincidental factors. The preliminary results are promising in showing what can be accomplished when phonological comparison rests on a secure foundation of morphological similarity, in the tradition of the original comparative method.

LANGUAGE AND CHANGE

Monique Dufresne, Université Queen's / UQAM

Focus in Old French : the Development of Cleft structures

Jacynthe Bouchard

Fernande Dupuis, Université du Québec à Montréal

Monique Dufresne, Queen's University

Nous traiterons de l'évolution des constructions clivées en c'est...qui/que en ancien français (dorénavant afr) et de sa conséquence sur la grammaire de la langue. Nous montrerons que les clivées sont présentes dès le début de l'afr et nous tenterons de répondre aux questions suivantes : (1) quel est le rapport entre le figement de l'ordre des mots et le développement des clivées ? (2) quel est le rôle de la prosodie dans l'évolution de celles-ci ? Problème : Selon Marchello-Nizia (1999), les clivées avec être comme en (1) apparaissent vers la fin du 13e s. et ne connaissent leur plein développement qu'à partir du 14e s. Or en afr, langue de type V2, les dislocations comme en (2) peuvent avoir valeur de focalisation (Marchello-Nizia, 1998a, b ; Prévost, 2003). La perte de V2 favorisera donc l'apparition des clivées pour marquer la focalisation (Combettes, 1999 ; Marchello-Nizia, 1999). (1) Ce fu mes filz qui a vos s'acointa. (Guillaume de Dole, fin 13e s.) (2) Li nies Marsilie, il est venuz avant sur un mulet. (Chanson de Roland, fin 11e s.) Marchello-Nizia (1998b) et Prévost (2003) précisent que l'élément détaché en (2) n'a pas de valeur topicale quoi qu'il corresponde à un référent activable. Une structure comme (2) est donc inattendue : le SN disloqué est un Focus et il se retrouve dans une position de Topique comme en (3) (Adams, 1988 ; Dupuis, 1988, entre autres pour l'analyse V2 en afr.) (3)

Particle Verbs in the History of French and Universals of Semantic Composition

Heather Burnett, McGill University

Mireille Tremblay, Queen's University

In this paper, we examine a change in a strategy for semantic composition: the case of the loss of particle verbs from the Old French period to Middle French. Our data comes from the Base du français médiéval (C. Marchello-Nizia, ENS Lyon). As noted in Buridant(2000) and Dufresne, Dupuis & Tremblay(2003), a number of Old French locative prepositions such as ariere 'back', avant 'before', contremont 'upwards', and sus 'up' could also be used as intransitive particles. In addition, some particles in OF, notably avant and ariere, had not only a locative interpretation, but also an aspectual one. Burnett, Petrik & Tremblay(2005) have noticed that this semantic variation is not random, but exhibits the following robust asymmetry: whenever the particle is paired with a movement verb it has a locative interpretation; whereas, when it appears with a non-movement verb, it has an aspectual interpretation. To account for this observation, we assume, following Jackendoff(1990) and Tenny(1994), that both movement verbs and particles encode PATH functions. We propose that the semantics of the particle verb construction of Old French can be given in a straightforward, compositional manner by assuming the rule of function application and proposing a simple semantic rule of function composition. The particle verb construction was lost in the 15th century. Tremblay, Dupuis & Dufresne(2004) tie this loss to the lexicalization of aspectual verbal prefixes, which occurred around the same time. We propose after this lexicalization, the composition rule had no input, and therefore could not be acquired by future generations.

Genitives and adjectives in the history of Greek and Latin

Chiara Gianollo, Università di Trieste

Cristina Guardiano, Università di Modena e Reggio Emilia

We propose a compared analysis of the internal syntax of the nominal phrase in Greek and Latin within a Principles&Parameters framework. Following a highly restrictive theory of syntactic change, we put forward an explanation of some changes affecting, at different times in history, such domain in both languages in terms of a few, discrete parameter-resetting operations, crucially independent of changes in Case morphology. We focus on the distribution of genitive phrases and adjectival modifiers across a number of texts. In Classical Greek (represented here by a sample of Plato's writings, IV b.C), and Classical Latin (texts by Cicero, I b.C. and Petronius, I century A.D.), these elements show a substantially parallel syntactic behavior: genitives and adjectives occur both pre- and post-nominally, but their positioning is governed by constraints which can be traced back to combinations of parameter values attested also by modern languages. In particular, the syntactic configurations found in the pre-nominal field are shown to radically differ from those in the post-nominal field. A deep, parallel change in genitival syntax affects New Testament Greek (I century A.D.) and Late Latin (at least since the IV century A.D.): pre-nominal genitives progressively disappear and post-nominal ones acquire properties previously typical of the pre-nominal field by means of a reanalysis process, affecting noun movement. Such a variation has no effect on Greek adjectival syntax, which remains essentially the same throughout the history of the language. In Latin, instead, it triggers important changes in the syntax of adjectives, which prelude to future pan-Romance developments.

Opacity, reduplicative identity and the time variable: The over- and under-application cases in Korean reduplication

Hyung-Soo Kim, Jeonju University / Simon Fraser University

The full vs. partial reduplication of the type occurring in Kor. *salsal* and *salulu* ‘softly’ has received diverse analyses because the underlying input appears to be *sal in the former but *salu in latter. (cf. Y-S. Kim 1985; O-M. Kang 1998). In this paper, I propose a new analysis of these examples under the concept of reduplicative identity (Wilbur 1973 and McCarthy and Prince 1995) and then examine its ramifications for phonological theory in general. Crucial in this endeavor (but previously overlooked) is the vowel length alteration, i.e. sa:l₁sal but salulu, which argues for underlying *salu. Apocope of the final vowel (with subsequent compensatory lengthening) provides the base *sa:l for the fully reduplicated form. The same apocope, however, fails in the partially reduplicated *salulu*, not incorrect *salul, exhibiting the classic rule underapplication, while in the fully reduplicated form derived from *salusalu, the apocope overapplies, eventually giving sa:l₁sal. These examples thus appear to support the Base-Reduplicant identity proposed by M&P 1995. But there remain many theoretical issues, the most recalcitrant of which is opacity. Attempts made to resolve the under various synchronically oriented OT frameworks (cf. McCarthy 1999,2007; Kiparsky 2000; Ito & Mester 2001) come to no avail. The paper proposes an alternative rule-based historical analysis in which the concepts such as rule productivity and persistency (cf. Chafe 1968, Myers 1991) and time-dimension (cf. Wang 1969, Chen 1972) are utilized. Incorporation of these concepts makes for better explanation, raising questions on the current practice of reduplication analysis based on strict synchronic/diachronic distinction.

A change from a temporal distinction into an aspectual distinction in the paradigm of the French subjunctive – a process of grammaticalization

Kirsten Kragh, University of Copenhagen

In modern French, an evolution is taking place in the subjunctive system, where the present subjunctive to a great extent is replacing the imperfect subjunctive. The empirical analyses of my PhD-dissertation indicate that the imperfect subjunctive is still to be found in narrative contexts in the literary language written by authors advocating conservative French linguistic norms, whereas in written direct speech, as well as in oral French, the imperfect subjunctive is gradually replaced by the present subjunctive. A number of syntactic and lexical parameters appearing to affect the choice between the two forms have been included in my investigation. An overview of these parameters reveal the importance of the lexical value of the verb itself, the simple or composed form, grammatical person, frequency of the verb, and circumstances triggering the use of the subjunctive. Is it possible to consider this development a process of grammaticalization? One could make the hypothesis that, due to a number of reanalyses, the temporal distinction in the subjunctive paradigm is abolished and replaced by a distinction between “unaccomplished” and “accomplished”. The result would be the establishment of a new paradigm containing fewer forms, however implying a more complex system, the old forms of the present and passé composé subjunctive now describing “unaccomplished” and “accomplished” situations, respectively. Like the present subjunctive, the old imperfect subjunctive will then have lost its temporal value, preserving only a stylistic value marking an elevated register.

The structure and development of nominal phrases in Norwegian

Terje Lohndal, University of Oslo

The definite article in Modern Norwegian (MN) developed from a clitic in Old Norse (ON) and into a suffix: (1) a. *sá inn gamli hestr* [ON] that the old horse ‘the old horse’ b. *den gamle hasten* [MN] that old horse. DEF ‘the old horse’ This creates interesting theoretical questions with respect to how we can account for this difference in phrase structural terms. In this paper I will suggest that functional categories, like the definiteness category, only arise when the child discovers them in the input. Within such a perspective we can account for the change from ON to MN as an instance of grammaticalization “down the tree”. Thus this is an apparent counter-example to van Gelderen’s (2004) theory where grammaticalizations always go “up the tree”. Specifically, I will suggest that the nP is missing in (early) ON, and that the grammaticalization brings it about. Hence, using Julien’s (2005) comprehensive study of Scandinavian DPs, ON has the phrase structure in (2) and MN has the phrase structure in (3): (2) [DP D [PossP Poss [CardP Card [α P α [NumP Num [NP N]]]]]] (3) [DP D [nP n [PossP Poss [CardP Card [α P α [NumP Num [NP N]]]]]]] Finally I will offer some brief thoughts on what this change may tell us about the innateness of functional categories. I will argue against Cinque (1999) and instead I will propose something similar to Thráinsson’s (1996) Real Minimalist Principle, saying that the child only assumes those functional categories that it has evidence for.

Deconstructing Degrammaticalization

Ferdinand von Mengden, Univ. of Hamburg / Department of English

A number of types of linguistic changes have been subsumed under the label ‘degrammaticalization’. However, as has been acknowledged, each of these processes can be categorised individually as one of several well-known phenomena from various linguistic domains. Among these are wordformation processes like conversion (to up ‘increase’ < to raise/lift up) or clipping (ism ‘ideology’) and semantic phenomena like euphemism (French *derrière* ‘buttocks’). Also, a more general reorganisation of the linguistic system can be responsible for a shift in the status of a grammatical morpheme. E.g., the English possessive marker ‘s is often described as a case suffix which became a clitic and thus as an instance of a change from a syntactically less autonomous to a more autonomous element. Besides the fact that all instances of what is called “degrammaticalization” run in the opposite direction of grammaticalization – by rendering a functional element less functional – there is hardly anything these different upgrading processes have in common. Yet, by subsuming these processes under one label we imply that they represent the same phenomenon. Furthermore, if we nevertheless wished to describe these processes under one notion, because of their directionality on the lexical–functional continuum, there is no reason to do so by referring to ‘grammaticalization’ (which the label ‘degrammaticalization’ does). Though counter-directional, upgrading changes are triggered by circumstances completely different from those that render an element more functional. For these reasons, I would dispute the value of postulating a process called ‘degrammaticalization’.

Particle Verbs in the History of French and Universals of Semantic Composition

Erling Strudsholm, Københavns Universitet

The Italian verb system has a number of analytic forms composed of an auxiliary and an infinite verb form. *Avere* and *essere* have an unequivocal status as auxiliaries, but other verbs are similar to these two verbs when they are used in combination with infinite verb forms. Among these are the verbs of motion *andare* and *venire*, which function as auxiliaries in more or less periphrastic constructions in combination with gerund (ex. 1-2), past participle (ex. 3-4) and infinitive (ex. 5-6): 1. *La situazione va migliorando* [lit. goes improving ~ “is improving”] 2. *La questione – come si viene dicendo* [literal: one comes saying ~ “one is saying”] – è di ordine generale 3. *La bolletta andava pagata* [lit. went payed ~ “was to be payed”] ieri 4. *La partita verrà trasmessa* [lit. will-go transmitted ~ “will be transmitted”] in diretta 5. *C’è spazio per un saluto e si va a cominciare* [literal: one goes to begin ~ “we will begin”] 6. *Quanto viene a costare* [lit. how much comes to cost ~ “what is the price”]? While the combinations with gerund and past participle are well established as periphrases in Italian, the status of the constructions with infinitive is more controversial, and comparison of the three kinds of combinations point to different degrees of grammaticalization. The aim of my research is a diachronic study of the two verbs of motion, and in my paper I want to analyze and discuss the use of the different periphrases with *andare* and *venire* with regard to both frequency and degree of grammaticalization. My presentation will principally be based on different electronic corpora containing texts from 12th to the 20th century.

Switchover of pronominal relativizers in the history of English

Cristina Suarez-Gomez, Universitat de les Illes Balears

Two different sets of relative pronouns have been in use throughout the history of English, namely the demonstrative *se/seþe* (in Old and early Middle English) and *wh-* words (from Middle English onwards). The aim of this paper is to track the switchover of pronominal relativizers in order to provide an answer to the following still unanswered question: is the introduction of *wh-* relativizers in late Middle English a consequence of the disappearance of the Old English *se/seþe* relative pronouns or is it instead one of the factors determining their disappearance? For this purpose I will analyze the distribution of pronominal relativizers in the relevant periods of the English language (from Old English to late Middle English) as represented in *The Helsinki Corpus of English Texts: Diachronic and Dialectal*. The following variables will be examined: (i) the syntactic function of the relativizer, which determines the progression and recession of relativization strategies, following the Accessibility Hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) and subsequently adapted and applied as a diachronic tool by Maxwell (1982); and (ii) the type of relative clause (whether restrictive or non-restrictive), which conditions the distribution of relativization strategies in particular. The overall findings are indicative of a pull-chain effect according to which *wh-* pronouns come to replace *se/seþe* as the predominant relative strategy in early Middle English.

Core Vocabulary: Spring and/or Anchor

Valentyna Skybina, Zaporizhe Medical University

Iryna Galutskikh, Zaporozhe National University

Investigation of the evolutionary mechanisms functioning in lexicon suggests that they are determined by lexical items' immanent properties (C. Hutterer, Ch. Bailey), by genetic properties (M. Makovsky), or are stipulated by language typological characteristics (R. Lass). However the invisible means and effectrix of the lexical system development remain indeterminate. This study revolves around the idea they are encoded in the lexicon's historical core, shaped by the combination of the core components' characteristics and stimulated by the processes taking place in it. Accordingly the aim of this research is to elucidate the nature of the correlation among the characteristics of the historical core vocabulary, specificity of its development, and the principles of interaction with the entire lexical system. Evolution of the lexicons of two cognate languages – English and German – was studied. It was established that since Old English and Old High Germanic periods respectively the two languages have accumulated lexical items characterized by simple morphological structure, stylistic neutrality, polysemy, high derivational potential, and high frequency. It was enucleated that the combination of such properties provides the core vocabulary historical, structural, semantic, and communicative centrality and consequently makes it the pivot of evolutionary processes. It was demonstrated that evolutionary centrality of the core vocabulary rests on the extremity of its developmental dualism – interdependence of changeability and stability. The mechanisms of the core vocabulary stabilizing and dynamic functions interaction and the course of the lexical system evolution were represented in a schematic form.

LANGUAGE CHANGE IN REAL TIME

Frans Gregersen, University of Copenhagen, Anita Berit Hansen, University of Copenhagen, and H el ene Blondeau, University of Florida

Le changement linguistique dans la langue orale selon deux recherches sur le terrain s epar ees d'un si ecle

Montserrat Adam-Aulinas, Universit e de Barcelone

La communication compare le changement linguistique apparu d es le d ebut du XX eme si ecle jusqu'au pr esent pour dix caract eristiques de morphologie verbale d'une r egion du catalan. Les donn ees du d ebut du XX eme si ecle proviennent d'une recherche sur le terrain r ealis ee pendant la p eriod 1906-1928 par Antoni Alcover, qui a fait conjuguer des verbes  a des groupes d'adolescents pour la plupart. Les donn ees actuelles ont  et e obtenues d'une recherche sur le terrain r ealis ee par moi-m eme pendant la p eriod 1999-2000 dans une r egion du catalan et, plus sp ecifiquement, dans les m emes localit es o u Alcover avait r ealis e son enqu ete ainsi que quelques autres de la m eme r egion jusqu'au nombre de trente et une. Les informateurs ont  et e des personnes  ag ees de 50  a 60 ans. La comparaison des r ealisations des caract eristiques au d ebut et  a la fin du XX eme si ecle permet de remarquer que, tandis que quelques unes ont diminu e, d'autres se sont maintenues ou peuvent m eme avoir augment e. Nous nous interrogeons aussi sur les causes du comportement diff erent que nous venons de souligner et nous examinons trois possibilit es explicatives : a) l'existence de raisons strictement linguistiques ; b) l'incidence du niveau initial de r ealisation de la caract eristique (haut, moyen ou bas)- Nous confrontons  a cet  egard les donn ees avec le mod ele en S-courbe de la vitesse du changement linguistique (Chen 1972)) ; et c) ce que nous avons appel e « typologie spatiale » des caract eristiques, c'est- a-dire leur distribution dans l'espace g eographique et, par cons equent, le support qu'elles peuvent recevoir des r eseaux humains qui relie cet espace.

Imperfect or conditional? Longitudinal assessment of the variation in Montreal French

H el ene Blondeau, University of Florida

Despite the opprobrium attached to the use of the conditional (1) in the protasis of hypothetical -si complexes, this variant is commonly used in alternation with the imperfect (2) in Montreal French. (1) Si tu me conna ıtrais plus l a, t'aurais peur, t'aurais peur de moi des fois. (2'95) If you would know me better, you would be scared, you would be scare of me sometimes. (2) Pauvre toi si j' et ais instruit, j'aurais un autre vocabulaire que j'ai, tu l'as vu mon vocabulaire. (2'95) Poor you if I were educated, I would have another vocabulary than I have, you've seen my vocabulary. Since a previous analysis in apparent time pointed to a change in progress in Ottawa-Hull French (Leblanc, 1999), this case of variation is an ideal candidate for a real-time study. Therefore, this paper provides a longitudinal assessment of the variation in Montreal French over a 24-year period. The speakers under analysis were initially part of the 1971 Sankoff-Cedergren corpus, and sub-samples of speakers were re-interviewed in 1984 and in 1995 (Sankoff 2005). The analysis traces and compares the linguistic and extra-linguistic constraints involved in the variation in 1971, 1984 and 1995. In particular we take a closer look at the hypothesis of a semantic distinction between the two variants (Poplack 2001). As the analysis demonstrates, real time studies are crucial to confirm a change in progress, or trace its path at the level of the community, and at the individual level.

Confronting synchrony with diachrony in the study of linguistic change

Nathalie Dion, University of Ottawa

Shana Poplack, University of Ottawa

This paper confronts the evolution of the expression of future temporal reference over 450 years of French grammatical tradition with Canadian French speech data spanning a century and a half. With three competing variants, this grammatical sector has long been a major site of inherent variability. The received wisdom is that the periphrastic form is selected to convey proximity in the future, but in actual usage, it has ousted its synthetic counterpart from virtually all contexts but one. Is this an innovation and if so, when did it come about? To address this question, we analyze two complementary historical benchmarks against which contemporary usage may be assessed. One is an audio corpus of 19th-century spoken Quebec French, the other is a meta-analysis of normative grammatical tradition, as instantiated by a corpus of grammars published from 1530-1998. Our analysis revealed virtually no correspondence between the motivations offered in the literature and those constraining actual variant choice. For well over four centuries, proximity of the future eventuality was the predominant explanation; this factor is no longer operative in speech. Instead, polarity, a factor that had not been previously acknowledged, emerged as the major determinant of variant choice. Contrary to assumptions based on either the synchronic facts or the prescribed norms alone, our method shows that any change that has taken place in the future temporal reference sector involves loss of the proximity effect, and not innovation of the polarity effect, which turns out to be long-established.

Stepping into the same river twice. On the comparability of sociolinguistic interviews used in real time studies

Frans Gregersen, University of Copenhagen, the LANCHART Centre

You cannot step into the same river twice Heraclitus A study of change in real time involves (at least) two studies, an earlier study (S1) and a recent one (S2). But how can we be sure that the studies are comparable? If the answer is a simple: “Because we use the sociolinguistic interview as the central means of data collection”, we are begging the question: How can we be sure that the sociolinguistic interview is the same speech event, then and now? The empirical question is this: Given S1 and S2, both of them involving sociolinguistic interviews, can we find any differences in their internal structure that can be significantly related to the time of recording? In the LANCHART project, one of our S1s is the Copenhagen Urban Sociolinguistics study (Gregersen and Pedersen eds. 1991, cf Wolfram 1995). In the S2, we conducted a panel study of a total of 46 informants clearly contrasted as to age, gender and social class. In the paper, we present the results of a study of the 92 sociolinguistic interviews. We have analyzed the interviews using a coding scheme which categorizes the discourse according to six activity types, eight types of interaction structure, eight speech genres and five macro speech act types. We report the major differences between the S1 and S2 interviews in terms of the speech event characteristics and on the basis of these results discuss the problem of comparability.

Parisian French vowel changes in real time

Anita Berit Hansen, University of Copenhagen

Caroline Juillard, Université de Paris V

A possible break-down of the following oppositions in Parisian French phonology was announced in 1969 by Martinet: /ɔ̃/-/a/ (*pâte-patte*), /e/-/ɛ/ (*piqué-piquait*), /o/-/ɔ/ (*saule-sole*), and /ø/-/œ/ (*jeûne-jeune*). A first step in our real time analysis that opposes a Parisian corpus from 1972-74 (Péretz-Juillard 1977) with a comparable corpus from 2001-2004 (Hansen & Juillard), confirms that in the reading of sentences with hidden minimal pairs, these oppositions are realized in significantly fewer of the tested word pairs in the new data set. The social embedding of these merging processes comes out ambiguous, however.

When an analysis of the realization of all instances of the relevant vowels throughout the reading of sentences is added, one consistent sociolinguistic pattern does seem to emerge: In the 2001-2004 corpus, the least formally educated informants use more closed phonetic variants for /e/-/ɛ/, /o/-/ɔ/, and /ø/-/œ/ – and for /e/-/ɛ/ and /ø/-/œ/ also more intermediate variants, than the well-educated informants. Since the analysis also shows that the frequency of the intermediate realizations is increasing and that of open variants is decreasing in real time between socially comparable informants (1972-74 vs. 2001-2004), this ongoing phonetic change seems accelerated “from below”. But for /a/-/a/, where the field of phonetic variation has been dramatically reduced in the period under study, the change seems, on the contrary, led by the well-educated. Our further study of the linguistic and stylistic conditioning involved might teach us more about change in vocalic subsystems over time in a society where linguistic norms are traditionally very conservative.

Generic Use of the Second Person Pronoun in Danish - the spreading of a linguistic innovation

Torben Juel Jensen, Univ. of Copenhagen, The LANCHART Centre

In modern Danish, a handful of pronouns can be used to refer to a generic referent, i.e. to a group of persons not further defined, in some cases mankind in general. In Standard Danish, the most frequently used pronoun with generic reference is *man*, developed from the noun *man(d)* (≈ English *man*). In recent decades, though, the second person singular pronoun *du* has gained ground, arguably under the influence from English, and in parallel to similar recent developments in other languages. This paper presents the results of an ongoing study of the developments in the use of generic pronouns in contemporary spoken Danish. The study is based on recordings from four different geographical locations (including the capital Copenhagen) of the same speakers recorded twice, in the 1970ies or 1980ies and again in 2005/06, as part of the LANCHART-project. In order to uncover possible functional differences between *du* and the pronouns traditionally used for generic reference, the use of generic pronouns is analysed according to syntactic contexts and referential inclusion. In addition, the influence of geographical origin, gender and social class is studied, as well as the possible interaction of functional and sociolinguistic factors. This mapping of the distribution of generic *du* in linguistic and social contexts will allow us to formulate and test hypotheses about the spreading of linguistic innovations in late 20th century Danish.

Language attitudes in real time

Tore Kristiansen, DGCSS

Language attitudes in real time A major aim of the Danish LANCHART project (Language Change in real Time) is to shed light on the role of language attitudes in the processes that radically reversed, in the course of a few decades, the proportions of Danes speaking regional dialects and Copenhagen standard, respectively. In our studies, we make an effort to establish the possible existence of two different levels of language ideology in the speech community and its members. Because we assume their role to be quite different in the processes of linguistic change, we “measure” both consciously and subconsciously held attitudes towards the locally relevant linguistic variation. In the middle-sized Danish town of Naestved, situated 50 miles south of Copenhagen, varied attitudinal data have been gathered with regular intervals since the 1980’s. We are thus in a position that allows us to follow how the attitudinal situation in a particular local community has developed during the last two decades, not only at the conscious level of language ideology but also when attitudes are offered subconsciously. In drawing the picture of this development, the talk will focus on the younger members of the Naestved speech community.

Null subjects through time

Martine Leroux, Université d’Ottawa

The apparent-time model is known to efficiently detect change (Sankoff, 2006), but it has limitations. In this paper, I use the variable expression of French grammatical subjects to test the assumptions of apparent time against real time data. Although French is traditionally classified as a “non-pro-drop” language, speakers can omit the subject, as in (1). A multivariate analysis of 700 tokens revealed that the ellipsis in both old and young speakers of the Ottawa-Hull French Corpus (Poplack, 1989) is favoured by plural subjects and conjoined clauses, and disfavoured by initial turn position, a finding contrary to change in progress. However, the relative importance of each factor group varies greatly from one generation to the next, which raises the possibility of an emergent change. (1) Astheure, ils en veulent pas plus que deux, [Ø] coûte trop cher. (XX/52/884) Nowadays, they don’t want more than two, [Ø] costs too much. Real-time data extracted from the *Récits du français québécois d’autrefois* (Poplack & St-Amand, forthcoming in 2007), a rare witness of the speech of francophones born in the 19th century, serve to shed some light on the issue. By examining the statistical significance, the constraint hierarchies as well as the range of effect provided by variable rule analysis of both 19th-century and 20th-century tokens, I will demonstrate how change can be methodologically detected by other means than rate of occurrences and how these measures fit into the apparent-time and real-time dimension.

Vinderup in real time - a showcase of dialect leveling

Inge Lise Pedersen, University of Copenhagen, the LANCHART Centre

Signe Wedel Schøning, University of Copenhagen

The Danish speech community has undergone a dialect levelling process which has progressed further than in any other Scandinavian or North Western European speech community (Pedersen 2003). In the present day situation, traditional dialects have vanished altogether as a living reality, while regional differences reside mainly in intonation. In this paper we document variation and change in Vinderup in Western Jutland, i.e. in a marginal area seen from Copenhagen, the capital and only cultural and metropolitan centre of Denmark. Here, in a linguistically relatively traditional Jutland district, dialect levelling has taken place in only three generations. We know from recordings from the 1970s that the adults spoke a traditional local dialect, while the language of the adolescents varied from relatively traditional, local dialect to regional standard language (Kristensen 1977). In the re-recordings from 2006 we have found considerable variation, especially within the youngest generation, born around 1960, where a substantial dialect levelling has taken place in most speakers. In the next generation, however, born around 1990, all seem to be regional standard speakers, and apart from a clearly regional intonation most of the informants have only isolated dialect features. Focussing on a single family, we demonstrate how this rapid change from local dialect to regional standard language has taken place in real time, within and between the generations. This focus enables us to shed light on the complex interplay between gender, local affiliation and linguistic habits.

Modeling the transition period in linguistic change

Shana Poplack, University of Ottawa

This paper provides a variationist perspective on the transition period in linguistic change. We exemplify with the evolution of the future temporal reference system in Brazilian Portuguese, where multiple variants have advanced and retreated for centuries. Making use of vernacular speech and texts representing speech, we examine the variable expression of future time from the 16th century through the present. We operationalize competing hypotheses about variant selection as factors in a multivariate analysis, and determine which are significant when all are considered simultaneously. The detailed picture of variant choice over time reveals how the labor of expressing future temporal reference is distributed at each stage of the change. Results show that the sector is overwhelmingly dominated by the synthetic variant and the haver-periphrasis until the 19th century, at which time the emergent ir-periphrasis began infiltrating the system. A century later, ir had expanded into all of the contexts formerly associated with the older and more robust variants, effectively ousting them. We show how this change was driven by the gradual expropriation of the preferred contexts of the receding variants by their incoming counterparts, culminating in the contemporary situation in which the ir-periphrasis has become virtually the only future form in Brazilian Portuguese. Our focus on inherent variability confirms that the transition period is not abrupt. Rather, change proceeds as a series of adjustments, while incoming and outgoing variants jockey for position in the system.

Variation in real time: a case of sound change in Catalan

Orland Verdú, Alicante University

Our research on the local variation of Catalan in Petrer (Alicante) analyses language variation in real time with a focus on a sound change in progress. In the replacement of the palatal affricate voiced consonant by its correspondent voiceless sound, it is aimed to define the extension and progress of this change comparing the results obtained by B. Montoya (1985) in his thesis to our results, taken at the present moment with a distance in time between twenty-six and twenty-three years. To determine if the variable rule is a cyclic phenomenon repeated generation after generation, or if local variability in sound change has progressed in this time, we have recovered a certain number of subjects selected in the original sample to make them go through an identical interview again. At this point, we have also maintained the same model of survey including all the five contexts suggested by W. Labov in his first works in order to represent stylistic variation from casual to formal context. Our results have revealed that in this time sound change has not stopped. Quite the contrary, it has been kept by the same people and even the older speakers –harder to accept the palatal change twenty-three years ago– show a higher tendency to apply the variable rule. However, since the 80's to nowadays, stylistic context has raised more significant in the application of the rule as a consequence of status planning politics on Catalan, which has achieved a relative success in public uses.

ORIGINS OF GERMANIC

Convenors: Kurt Braunmüller, University of Hamburg and
Theo Vennemann, University of Muenchen

Determination in early Germanic dialects

Kurt Braunmüller, University of Hamburg, Germany

the Gmc. suffix *+an* seems to have a parallel in Hett. *-ant* (cf. Josephson of definiteness and individual reference to be found 2004: 101f.) with approximately the same referential function. How can indicators for an elaborated system in discourse reference go together with features which are almost typical for creoles? I would like to give a description of all types. Several features of Proto-Germanic indicate that this language seems to have undergone reductions and simplifications typical for contact languages. Compared with other IE languages, it shows only two tenses, no conjunctive mode and has given up reduplication in the verbal system. Ablaut, which has become highly regularised, is no longer productive in forming tenses, either. However, a new suffix *-tha* (< IE. *+dhê* ‘to do’) was introduced as a kind of tense-mode-aspect marker in order to form a new preterite (Braunmüller 2007). The nominal case system became reduced as well. The absence of a discourse referential system would fit this scenario. However adjectives, such as runic *farauisa* ‘the one experienced in travelling’ and Afs///[a]kA ‘the one free of guilt’, show that there are early indicators of individualisation or definiteness. Moreover in the oldest Germanic dialects. My hypothesis is that the suffix *+an* has been inherited from Proto-IE but lost its function quite early. Later developments show that determination became re-established either by deictic morphemes (cf. runic *hali hino* ‘this stone’) and/ or by aspect markers (*ga-*) as in Gothic (see Leiss 2000). Braunmüller, Kurt (2007): “Det ældste germansk: åbne spørgsmål og mulige svar.” *Nya perspektiv inom nordisk språkhistoria* (Lennart Elmevik, ed.). Uppsala [in the press]. Josephson, Folke (2004): “Semantics and typology of Hettite *-ant*.” *Indo-European word formation* (James Clarckson & Birgit Anette Olsen, eds.). Copenhagen, 93-118. Leiss, Elisabeth (2000): *Artikel und Aspekt. Die grammatischen Muster von Definitheit*. Berlin, New York.

Germanic Aspiration as Phonetic Enhancement

Gregory K. Iverson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, USA

Joseph C. Salmons, University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA

The consonantism which resulted from the Germanic consonant shift has long been regarded as a defining characteristic of the family, usually seen, in fact, as signaling the beginning of Germanic as a separate branch of Indo-European. We argue that the crucial moment in the origin of the Germanic obstruent system lies not in the *erste Lautverschiebung* per se, however, but rather in the early emergence of a consistent, core aspect of the phonetics and phonology which characterizes most of the family down to the present day, viz., the spread glottis or aspirated nature of fortis stops. Grimm's Law, the Second Consonant Shift and a variety of less well-known changes all reflect this "...persistent change' rising out of the enduring 'base of articulation' that came to characterize Germanic" (Iverson & Salmons 2003). Once introduced into the system, unlike many sound changes, the germ of aspiration has persisted, never leaving the grammar in most of the languages of the family. (It has of course been lost due to external linguistic influences in the case of Romance-colored Dutch and Slavic-shaded Yiddish.) Otherwise, rather like a dormant viral infection, aspiration is inherent, residing in the body of its Germanic host all the time and erupting with special effects -- the *Kreislauf* of the sound shifts -- particularly at moments of contact or crisis-induced stress. Iverson, Gregory K. & Joseph C. Salmons (2003): "Laryngeal enhancement in early Germanic". *Phonology* 20, 43-72.

Loss and retention of grammatical categories in Germanic and Hittite

Folke Josephson, Göteborg University, Sweden

Germanic has no aorist but a preterite based on the IE perfect. It shows no IE future but has the IE optative. Anatolian lacks IE aorist, future, perfect and optative. It has a hi-conjugation present with o/e-Ablaut which is similar to IE perfect though without reduplication. Germanic shows the archaic trait of proclitic verbal prefixes. It tends to form a perfective by a prefix (Goth. *ga-*) as Hittite by *-kan*. This is a development of a completive meaning also found in Lat. *con* (and OI *com*). Germanic and Hittite show deadjectival adjectival derivation by individualizing suffixes. Hittite uses *-ant*. The Germanic weak adjective shows the declension of n-stems with individualizing **-on/-en* also when followed by a noun. Weak inflection occurs after identificational *sa* which has the function of specific reference. The Hittite singulative and decollectivizing *-ant* is used for discrimination as opposed to identification. It expresses the indefinite specific. Its agentive meaning may be connected with that of the indefinite specific (Josephson 2004 a,b). Hitt. shows *a-a-an-za* (**oi-ont-s*) 'one, alone' with *-ant*. Individualizing *-n-* is found in Germanic, Latin and Celtic 'one'. The absence of aorist (and future) in Germanic and Hittite does not necessitate an explanation by substrate or adstrate. It may be an archaic trait like the parallel use of individualizing suffixes. Specific similarities in the vocabularies of Anatolian and Germanic (as of Anatolian and Latin) should make us consider a possible prehistoric appurtenance of Anatolian and Germanic to a common area. (2004a): "Semantics and typology of Hittite *-ant*." *Indo-European word formation* (James Clackson & Birgit Anette Olsen, eds.), Copenhagen, 91-118. (2004b): "Singulative and agentive in Hittite and Germanic." *Per aspera ad asteriscos* (Adam Hyllested et al., eds.), Innsbruck, 257-262.

Loss and Emergence of Grammatical Categories

Rosemarie Lühr, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Germany

The Indo-European synthetic medio-passive is a grammatical category which is lost in the development of the Germanic languages. While there are still some traces of the old synthetic medio-passive in Gothic, Old Norse and the West Germanic languages an analytic passive is to appear, but Gothic also develops a new synthetic passive (verbs in *-na-*). Since the evolution of syntactic categories often depends on the connection of meaning and grammatical function Silverstein's hierarchy of features and Ergativity (1976) must be considered: According to this hierarchy one could expect that the first and second person is not permitted as patient subject, for these persons have the most prominent proto-agent features. Therefore, the question is: Is the evolution of the new Germanic and Gothic passive caused by saliency hierarchies? Which is the semantics of agent and patient in passive constructions, especially with regard to the features "animated" and "inanimate"? In Old Greek, for example, the motivation for the change of a medium to a passive is the presence of an appropriate agent: 1. medium - extern 'animated' agent \square restructuring into a passive 2. medium - intern 'inanimate' agent \square restructuring into a passive 3. 'inanimate' agent Further evidence for this evolution come from Old Indic. The next question refers to information structure. Because the subject often occurs as topic in passive constructions there might be strategies to avoid a certain topic. Silverstein, Michael (1976): "Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity", *Grammatical categories in Australian languages* (R.M.W.Dixon, ed.), Canberra, 112-171.

The role of ablaut in the nominal system of Proto-Germanic

Robert Mailhammer, University of Munich, Germany

Proto-Germanic is well known for its extensive systematisation and functionalisation of ablaut in the verbal system (see Mailhammer *forthc.*). By contrast, Germanic nominal morphology largely seems to continue the Proto-Indo-European situation. Only in the stem formation of the Germanic adjective there is a clear bias in favour of thematic over athematic forms. However, little has been made of the fact that in nominal derivation, Germanic frequently shows a notable tendency to display ablaut grades that cannot be projected back to the situation in the parent language and thus have to be considered secondary. For instance, instead of the usual Indo-European o-grade Germanic a-stems occur with zero grade, e-grade and ê-/ô-grade, e.g. Gmc. +dag-a-z, +spur-a-n, +set-a-n, +êt-a-, +swôr-a-. In addition, formations of one and the same root sometimes display different ablaut grades within the same type of stem formation as well as different types of stem formation altogether, which may also be distributed diatopically, e.g. +-drep-a-n (> ON drep 'hit, push'): +drêp-a-n (> ON dráp 'death, murder') : +drap-i- (> OE drepe 'hit'). It is striking that this diversity of ablaut grades is extraordinarily frequent with deverbal formations, most notably involving the root of strong verbs. This talk investigates the role of ablaut in the stem formation of the Germanic nominal system, pointing out its peculiarities while exploring possible explanations. Mailhammer, Robert (*forthc.*), *The Germanic strong verbs: Foundations and development of a new system*. Berlin, New York.

Some aspects of the restructuring of the Germanic verb system

Paolo Ramat, University of Pavia, Italy

The aim of this contribution is a comparison of the ProtoGmc. —or, simply, Germanic (Gmc.)— verbal system with the state of affairs we can reconstruct for the common PIE ancestor, in order to ascertain how conservative or innovative Gmc. has been. I will first deal with some considerations concerning reduplication in the PIE and then the Gmc. verb system. More generally: What role does reduplication in its largest meaning play in the Gmc. languages? Along with reduplication, preverbs are the other element which can occur in front of the verb. They will be considered from the PIE and then the Gmc. point of view, looking for possible differences in their use and function. The aspectual function of preverbs and/or adpositions (i.e. separable preverbs) will be confronted with similar syntactic strategies in other ancient IE languages. Finally the ablauting Gmc. system will be considered and confronted with its PIE ancestor: some general conclusions will be drawn from the comparison with the reconstructed system as well as the verbal systems attested in the ancient IE languages, which sometimes developed different typological strategies. It will be shown that Gmc. offers very conservative as well as very innovative features. Cuzzolin, Pierluigi, Ignazio Putzu, and Paolo Ramat (2006): “The Indo-European adverb in diachronic and typological perspective”, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 111, 1-38. Di Giovine, Paolo, Sara Flamini, and Marianna Pozza (in press): “The internal structure of verbal stems in the Germanic languages”, in: Paolo Ramat and Elisa Roma (eds.), *Europe and the Mediterranean as linguistic areas: convergencies from a historical and typological perspective*, Amsterdam. Di Meola, Claudio (2000): *Die Grammatikalisierung deutscher Präpositionen*. Tübingen. Hurch, Bernard (ed.) (2005): *Studies on reduplication*. Berlin. Kuroda, Susumu (2007): “Zur valenzmodifizierenden Funktion der Verbalpräfixe im Althochdeutschen und Gegenwartssdeutschen”, *Sprachwissenschaft* 32, 28-75.

Germanic and Anatolian: A typological and formal comparison

Frederick W. Schwink, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, USA

In traditional Indo-European linguistic studies, the Germanic group of languages has been considered highly innovative when compared with Indo-Iranian or Hellenic. Germanic is characterized as having lost a great deal of verbal and nominal morphology as well as having undergone massive shifts in the phonological system. These losses are accompanied by innovations, especially in the verbal system (change of perfect to preterite, innovation of weak preterite), and also in the nominal system (pronominalization of adjectival inflections). Studies of the Indo-European perfect, the consonantal system (Glottalic theory), and the gender system have all suggested that Germanic might be treated as an archaic Indo-European language, much like Anatolian. However, such studies rely overly much on typological similarities of the two language groups and their shared patterns of differences from traditional reconstruction instead of in a principled examination of the formal identities of functionally similar material. This paper examines the degree of formal identity or relatedness of key functional categories in Anatolian and Germanic. I will in particular be looking at the structure of tense and aspect in the verbal system and at the patterns of case markings.

Lombards and lautverschiebung

Theo Vennemann, University of Munich, Germany

Recent treatments of the High Germanic consonant shift (or Second lautverschiebung) only deal with the High German shift but not with the Lombardic shift. It will be shown that my roll-back or repression theory of the High Germanic consonant shift accommodates both shifts in a unified historical and socio-linguistic framework: Two once completely-shifted High Germanic languages were partially Low Germanicized by the invasion of Low Germanic speakers, resulting in languages in which the originally complete affrication is partly undone, giving the false impression that it had never been completed. In the High German area this roll-back has created the orderly distribution known as the Gestaffelte deutsche Lautverschiebungslandschaft with the Rhenish Fan, reflecting the phases of the Franconian conquest of Germany. Since the original Lombardic Lautverschiebungslandschaft was lost through the Lombards' migration first to Pannonia, then to Italy, and no original dialect data has survived, the Lombardic lautverschiebung material is less "orderly" but nevertheless supportive of this reconstruction. In addition, it will be shown that the Wermelskirchen data, which has provoked a flood of literature over the last decade, can also be easily accommodated within the repression theory. Hasenclever, Max (1905): *Der Dialekt der Gemeinde Wermelskirchen*. Marburg. Iverson, Gregory K., & Joseph C. Salmons (2006): "Fundamental regularities in the Second Consonant shift", *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18, 45-70. Vennemann, Theo (1994): "Dating the division between High and Low Germanic", *Language change and language structure* (Toril Swan et al., eds.), Berlin, 271-303.

THEORETICAL HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS

Convenor: Bert Vaux, University of Cambridge

Synchrony, Diachrony, and Typology: More Marshallese Historical Phonology

Mark Hale, Concordia University

This paper discusses the division of explanatory responsibility between synchronic linguistics, diachronic linguistics, and linguistic typology using as a foundation for the discussion the coming into being of the in many ways typologically marked phonological system of Marshallese. Specifically, the paper argues that the contemporary approach to the division of labor between these disciplines is a muddled one and that that muddledness has impeded, and continues to impede, intellectual progress in both synchronic phonological theorizing and diachronic phonological analysis. A coherent separation of domains is proposed and exemplified using the Marshallese data.

Diachronic tendencies in historical phonology: evidence for absolute principles or violable constraints? The case of ‘secondary contractions’ in Northern English

Patrick Honeybone, University of Edinburgh

Does phonological structure constrain change? I argue that it does, and that we need ‘universally hard constraints’, which languages seek to avoid violating (that is, we need phonological *principles*) in order to understand why there are tendencies in change. OT-style soft constraints fail to predict the change pathways that historical phonologists observe. I focus on syllabic structure and argue that the tendency towards satisfaction of the constraint *mmm (where ‘m’ = mora) requires us to admit that languages change in order to satisfy principles, ‘rectifying’ phonological ‘flaws’. This can only hold in models which admit ‘absolute’ principles, which languages may only violate in exceptional circumstances, as in standard Generative and Government Phonology. In OT, constraints should be able to rerank down a hierarchy just as easily as up it. *mmm has been assumed widely (by Hayes; Vennemann; Kaye, Lowenstamm & Vergnaud; and Prince & Smolensky). For some, *mmm is an absolute principle in monomorphemic monosyllables, which may only ever have two moras, and it has been shown that languages such as English essentially observe this (once certain syllabification assumptions are allowed). My empirical focus is on the innovation of ‘secondary contractions’ in the English of Northern England, wherein polymorphemic forms such as [do:nt] and [ka:nt] have become [do:t] and [ka:t]. I describe the phenomenon in detail and show how we can best understand it as the imposition of *mmm on the relevant forms, in line with their lexicalisation towards the phonotactics of monomorphemes. This can only hold if *mmm is an absolute principle.

On the evolution of laryngeal final neutralization in German

Gregory Iverson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Joseph Salmons, University of Wisconsin-Madison

In this paper, we apply the findings of Evolutionary Phonology (Blevins 2004, 2005) to the various forms of final laryngeal neutralization, underscoring that the evolutionary approach to phonological alternation allows for nonassimilatory feature addition (final voicing, final fortition) as well as loss (final devoicing, final lenition). The motivations for the emergence of these four patterns is various, but final fortition, as has emerged in German, appears to have its roots in the prosodic function of ‘edge marking’ (parallel to final aspiration in Klamath, Kashmiri, and others; Vaux & Samuels 2005). We examine the known history of final fortition in German and conclude that its edge marking function in the modern language is less fixed (because final release is not obligatory) than at the point of its origins.

Non-grammatical factors in language change

Charles Reiss, Concordia University

The paper discusses how non-grammatical factors determine the set of possible diachronic linguistic changes.

THE THEORY OF METATYPY (EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES)

James M. Unger, Ohio State University and John Whitman, Cornell University

Development of distinctive pitch accent in Hokkaido Ainu

Elisabeth De Boer

It is now widely believed that Japanese was introduced to the islands of Japan sometime during the 1st millennium BCE, and that Ainu is the only surviving language of the long, preceding Neolithic period. A better understanding of how these two languages interacted is important for working out their respective prehistories, both of which are still problematic: Ainu appears to be an isolate and there are numerous conflicting theories about the origins of Japanese. If we ever want to be able to establish a genetic link between Ainu and other languages, we must make sure that our reconstruction of proto-Ainu is based on solid grounds. In my presentation I will concentrate on the nature of the prosodic system of proto-Ainu. While Sakhalin Ainu has distinctive vowel length, Hokkaidô Ainu has distinctive pitch accent. I will show how a careful application of the comparative method to Ainu dialect data, both modern and historical, yields evidence for the reconstruction of a very simple prosodic system for proto-Ainu. In that language, the second syllable in the word was automatically given prominence unless the first syllable was closed, or contained a long vowel. The distinctive pitch accent of Hokkaidô Ainu developed only in the mid 19th century. There are several reasons why it makes sense to assume that influence from the pitch accent system of Japanese was the major cause for this development.

Reconstructing VO constituent order for proto-Sino-Tibetan

Redouane Djamouri, EHESS/CRLAO

Waltraud Paul, EHESS/CRLAO

John Whitman, Department of Linguistics, Cornell University

Depuis trente ans, le PST est généralement reconstruit comme OV; à cela deux raisons: (i) des caractéristiques OV augmenteraient en remontant le temps (Li & Thompson 1974) ; (ii) la fréquence de OV en tibéto-birman témoignerait de OV pour PTB (LaPolla 1994). Nous réexaminerons ces critères et soutiendrons qu'il aussi convaincant de reconstruire le PST comme SVO. De nombreux travaux invalident (i) : les caractéristiques VO en chinois sont plus fortes en remontant l'histoire. Dryer (2003) prend comme caractéristiques OV en chinois moderne l'ordre SP-V, l'ordre Marqueur-standard-adjectif dans les comparatives, ainsi que /wh/ in situ. Aucune de ces propriétés vaut pour le chinois archaïque: Djamouri & Paul (1997, 2006) montrent que dans les textes Shang-Zhou les SP sont fréquemment en position postverbale. Cela est confirmé par l'ordre adjectif-Marqueur-standard dans les comparatives en chinois ancien et le déplacement en position préverbale des pronoms interrogatifs (Wei 1999). De plus, la position des affixes confirme l'ordre V-Complément en PTB. Toutes les hypothèses sur PTB (et PST) reconstruisent ces protolangues comme étant essentiellement à préfixes. Benedict (1972) et Matisoff(2003) comptent 7 préfixes. Sagart (1999) en compte 7 plus un infixe *-r- que Benedict et Matisoff considèrent comme préfixe. Ces derniers reconstruisent 3 suffixes en PTB ; seul *-s se retrouve en chinois ancien (Sagart). Typologiquement, les langues à préfixes sont majoritairement VO : des 54 langues ayant une forte préférence pour les préfixes que compte Haspelmath et al (2005), 47 sont SVO et 5 OV.

Could Korean or Japanese have undergone metatypy?

J. Marshall Unger, The Ohio State University

It has proven difficult to expand and refine lexical comparisons relating Korean to Japanese, though of all the hypotheses about either, it remains the most fully developed. Ross's examples of metatypy imply that a language that has undergone metatypic change will show calques and other traces of earlier, less radical convergence. Such traces are not found in Korean or Japanese with respect to the other. Therefore, instead of rejecting the pKJ hypothesis on the ground that grammatical similarities between languages, no matter how numerous or striking, are never sufficient to sustain a genetic hypothesis, we would do better to accept proto-Korean-Japanese provisionally, despite the sizable unmatched lexical residues in each language, and focus our attention on auxiliary hypotheses that might explain them historically. Korean and Japanese may have retained jointly inherited morphological and syntactic patterns even as innovations in each language eliminated many of the cognate forms that once filled the slots in those patterns.

Case marking in Old Japanese: Ergative, accusative or neither?

Janick Wrona, Department of Linguistics, Kyoto University

Bjarke Frellesvig, The Oriental Institute, University of Oxford

Modern Japanese is uncontroversially regarded as language with an accusative case-marking system. However, the case-marking system of Old Japanese is still a matter of some dispute. Since the late 1990ies, suggestions that the case-marking system in Old Japanese is at least to some extent ergative (Yanagida 2006) or active (Vovin 1997) have surfaced from time to time. Others have suggested that Old Japanese is an accusative language, but that the direct object could be assigned either abstract case or morphological case depending on the verb inflection (Miyagawa & Ekida 2003). In this talk, we will focus on the facts of the Old Japanese case-marking system and how they relate to the various proposed hypothesis on the syntactic typology of the language. We will demonstrate that there is only a partial overlap between grammatical function and case-marking in Old Japanese. We will further argue that the Japanese case system does not reflect an inherited case system, but was in its formative phase during the Old Japanese period. Miyagawa, Shigeru & Ekida, Fusae (2003). Historical Development of the Accusative Case Marking in Japanese as Seen in Classical Literary Texts. *Journal of Japanese Linguistics* 19: 1-97. Vovin, Alexander (1997). On the syntactic typology of Old Japanese. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 6: 273-290. Yanagida, Yuko (2006). Word Order and Clause Structure in Early Old Japanese. *Journal of East*

QUANTITATIVE APPROACHES TO COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS

Sheila Embleton, York University and Joseph Salmons, University of Wisconsin

Modeling variation in rates of word replacement in Indo-European

Quentin Atkinson, University of Reading

Mark Pagel, University of Reading

Andrew Meade, University of Reading

Among over one hundred Indo-European languages and dialects, some meanings, such as ‘tail’, evolve rapidly and are expressed by dozens of unrelated terms, whilst others, like the number ‘two’, evolve much more slowly and use the same related term across the entire language family. Currently, we lack a clear explanation for this variation. An answer to this problem in diachronic linguistics may lie in synchronic linguistics, in the way meanings are used in everyday speech. Here we combine corpus data on spoken word use with estimates of rates of evolution across 200 meaning categories and show that the way meanings are used in regular speech predicts rates of lexical replacement over the 6,000-10,000 year history of Indo-European. We propose a model of lexical replacement, derived from population genetics and models of language learning, that can account for up to 50% of the observed variance in rates of meaning evolution. These findings show that, despite considerable statistical noise, it is possible to estimate rate variation in a principled way and hence improve the precision and accuracy of historical inference from linguistic data. In addition, our observations show that some meanings evolve slowly enough to allow cognate lexical forms to persist for tens of thousands of years, raising the possibility of establishing ‘long range’ linguistic relationships, although reliably identifying these cognate words at such a time depth may prove unfeasible.

An experimental study comparing phylogeny reconstruction methods for linguistics

François Barbançon, The University of Texas

Tandy Warnow, The University of Texas at Austin

Donald Ringe, The University of Pennsylvania

In just the last few years, several new methods for constructing phylogenies from languages have been produced and used to analyze a number of language families. These analyses have led to a great deal of excitement, but have also been controversial, since the analyses have not always been consistent with each other, and the differences between different reconstructions have been potentially critical to the claims made by the different groups. In this paper, we report on a simulation study we performed in order to help resolve this controversy. Our simulated datasets varied in the amount of borrowing, the degree of homoplasy, the deviation from a lexical clock, and the deviation from the rates-across-sites assumption. We find the accuracy of the unweighted methods (maximum parsimony, neighbor joining, lexico-statistics, and the method of Gray & Atkinson) to be remarkably consistent across all the model conditions we studied, with maximum parsimony being the best, followed (often closely) by Gray & Atkinson's method, then neighbor joining, and finally lexico-statistics (UPGMA). The accuracy of the two weighted methods (weighted maximum parsimony and weighted maximum compatibility) depends upon the appropriateness of the weighting scheme, and so depends upon the homoplasy levels produced by the model conditions; for low-homoplasy levels, however, the weighted methods generally produce the most accurate results of all methods. There are two other authors: Steve Evans (UC Berkeley) and Luay Nakhleh (Rice University).

Computational phylogenetic methods and Austronesian subgrouping.

Russell Gray, University of Auckland

Simon Greenhill, University of Auckland

Bob Blust, University of Hawaii Manoa

In this talk we will outline the power and potential pitfalls of applying Bayesian phylogenetic methods to the task of inferring linguistic relationships. We will analyse a large database of basic vocabulary for over 480 Austronesian languages (see <http://language.psy.auckland.ac.nz/>). The ability of Bayesian phylogenetic methods to recover accepted Austronesian subgroups and generate novel results will be discussed.

Les racines virtuelles comme base de la reconstruction

Patrick Mouguiama-Daouda, Université Lyon

Quantitative phonetic comparison of varieties of English, past and present

April McMahon, University of Edinburgh

Warren Maguire, University of Edinburgh

Paul Heggarty, University of Edinburgh

Quantitative Phonetic Comparison of Varieties of English, Past and Present April McMahon, Warren Maguire, Paul Heggarty and Robert McMahon University of Edinburgh Recent applications of quantitative methods to language data have understandably prioritised major questions of comparative linguistics at family level and above: these include subgrouping; superfamily proposals and membership; and dating of protolanguage stages. Our own priorities are different, focusing on phonetic comparison of varieties of a single language (English), and of its Germanic relatives. The corpus for comparison consists of 110 narrowly-transcribed words for each variety, and involves a technique for matching phonetic transcriptions against each other and quantifying their similarity. The results of these quantifications are represented in networks, using the phylogenetic network construction program NeighborNet (Bryant and Moulton 2004), which shows connections between varieties regardless of whether these reflect common origin, parallel innovation, or contact. Thus far, we have compared a range of present-day varieties mainly from the UK and North America, though we also include varieties from the Southern Hemisphere and elsewhere. In some localities, up to three sub-varieties are also included to illustrate the potential of these techniques of comparison for sociolinguistic research. In this talk, we turn to the possibilities and challenges presented by the inclusion of historical varieties of English. At present, we include two accents of Old English, three of Middle English, and an Early Modern variety; all of these have been transcribed by linguists who have worked extensively on these periods, and to maximise compatibility with the present-day varieties, the OE and ME varieties are based on particular, localisable manuscripts. We will consider the difficulties that arise in interpreting NeighborNet diagrams including historical varieties when these networks are based only on similarity, and ask what conclusions we can draw from the position of the historical varieties in the diagrams.

Quantification of linguistic changes. Experiments from Norwegian language history

Helge Sandøy, University of Bergen

Quantification of linguistic changes. Experiments from Norwegian language history There are reasons for assuming that different types of communities provide different social conditions for linguistic changes with consequences at least for the speed and grammatical type of the changes. In order to explore this question, a typology of communities is necessary. Moreover, models for measuring the extent of linguistic change must also be developed, in which both frequency and type of change have to be taken into account. I want to suggest and discuss such a way of measuring, by which it should be possible to compare systematically the degree of linguistic and societal changes. The tentative calculations will be illustrated by data from places in Norway where we have precise data from the 20th century. Furthermore, I want to test how these insights from present-day society might help us explain changes in the more distant past. There are standard language histories on Norwegian that venture to give rather precise descriptions of language changes over the last 1000 years. Given these descriptions we can reconstruct certain linguistic stages and quantify the changes. When comparing these results with the ones from present time we will be able to discuss to what extent our descriptions have presented a realistic picture, and, moreover, to ponder upon the question whether the past can be inferred from the present.

TOWARDS REALISTIC MODELS OF CONTACT-INDUCED CHANGE: MAPPING PSYCHOLINGUISTIC AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS

Ioanna Sitaridou, University of Cambridge and Marina Terkourafi, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Spanish in an 18th century collection of letters from Majorca: historical clues for a contact variety

Andrés Enrique-Arias, Universitat de les Illes Balears

This study analyzes Spanish-Catalan contact from a historical perspective on the basis of a corpus of 250 letters written in Majorca in the late 1700's. An advantage of this corpus is that, for the most part, the letters contain information on the sender's sex, occupation and relationship to the addressee. Moreover, the corpus represents a variety of registers as it includes official, personal, and family letters as well as informal notes. The data from the corpus shows a remarkable historical continuity for the traits that characterize the variety of Spanish spoken in Majorca today (devoicing of /d/, non distinction of lexical pairs like 'pedir' / 'preguntar', 'traer' / 'llevar', two-member demonstrative system, "dequeísmo", etc.). Contact phenomena are more intense in writers of lower socioeconomic status but they surface as well when more educated writers use informal registers. Diachronically, it is possible to appreciate a convergence with standard Spanish as some of the phenomena that are widespread in the documents are nowadays restricted to speakers with limited Spanish proficiency (non distinction of /x/ and /k/, seseo, directional uses of the preposition "en"). Contact phenomena seem to be unrestricted at the lexical level; in contrast, all the phonetic and morphosyntactic phenomena attributable to Catalan influence have some sort of existence in monolingual Spanish varieties. This supports the view that contact situations result in the simplification and restructuring of grammatical rules by extending to more contexts structures that already exist in monolingual varieties while the adoption of entirely innovative morphosyntactic features is extremely rare.

Attitudes and ideology in contact-induced change: Trumping all psychological and structural factors

Brian Joseph, Ohio State University

Although bilingualism, even to a very limited degree, is a key component in contact-induced language change, it is argued here that social factors, and in particular those pertaining to speaker attitudes and the ideologies that underlie them, can prove decisive in determining the direction and degree of change in contact situations. The key case-study examined here is the treatment of Greek loans in two Aromanian (Balkan Romance) dialects, where it is argued that structural factors, while seemingly relevant to the issue of nativization of the loans, are of lesser significance than speaker ideologies about the status of the donor language.

Contact induced and contact independent change. (Swiss) Raeto-Romance in comparison with other Romance languages.

Georg A. Kaiser, Universitaet Konstanz

Traditionally, the term ‘Raeto-Romance’ is used as an umbrella term for Swiss Romansh, Dolomitic Ladin and Friulian. Their classification as a common language is based on three morphophonological properties. In addition, these dialects, in particular Swiss Romansh and Dolomitan Ladin, share syntactic properties which are unknown to the neighboring Romance languages: strong verb-second order, obligatory subject pronouns, particle verbs containing separated prefixes, postverbal object pronouns, postverbal negation. Given that these syntactic properties are typical of German their emergence is generally attributed to language contact between German and Raeto-Romance. This assumption is supported by the observation that in those dialects that have not been exposed to this contact, namely Friulian and those varieties of Dolomitic Ladin spoken south of the former Austrian-Italian border, most of these properties are almost completely unknown. I would like to examine possibilities of how to decide whether these properties are indeed induced by language contact or not. The option I propose is to compare Raeto-Romance to other Romance languages by looking whether they exhibit similar properties or passed similar diachronic developments. The first concern is to determine whether these properties of Raeto-Romance are indeed particular ones. In this case, I compare them to German and try to determine the specific (socio- and psycholinguistic) conditions under which these particularities could have been emerged. However, for such properties of Raeto-Romance for which are found counterparts in other Romance languages I propose that they are due to internal processes common to Romance languages in general.

Modelling contact-induced grammatical change: the case of Berber negation

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Recent models of contact-induced change (CIC), such as van Coetsem (2000); Heine and Kuteva (2003), (2005); Winford (2005), represent valuable initial contributions to a field still in search of theoretical foundations. However, none of the above seriously discuss the cognitive mechanisms which must ultimately underlie CIC. This paper combines and develops the insights of these works, using them as a basis for understanding these mechanisms. Taking as a case study the development of negation in Berber, I show that the structural borrowing from Arabic in this domain is broadly compatible with Heine and Kuteva’s notion of ‘contact-induced grammaticalization’ (CIGr) though it fits neatly with neither of the varieties they distinguish (‘ordinary’ and ‘replica’ CIGr; H & K 2003: 533-539). Hence I propose a third variety (‘category-preserving’ CIGr), and show how all three are compatible with Winford’s (2005) distinction between replica language (RL) and source language (SL) agentivity. On this basis I propose the following model of CIC. The necessary preconditions for CIC are either L1 attrition among individual bilingual speakers (where a change occurs under RL agentivity), or imperfect L2 learning/use (SL agentivity). Despite the evidence against “interference” effects in bilingual acquisition (Meisel 2001), I argue that acquisition is nevertheless crucial in the spread of CIC at the level of the speech community: if the primary linguistic data available to children acquiring a language is significantly altered (due to attrited L1 use or imperfect L2 use), they will abduce a different grammar for that language than that of previous generations.

"Change from above" in situations of dialect contact: is it that simple?

Panayiotis Pappas, Simon Fraser University

In this presentation, I will argue that in cases of sound change that occur above the level of awareness the mechanical nature of sound change may be vitiated. The particular change that I will be discussing is the change of [ʝ] and [ɲ] into their alveolar equivalents ([l] and [n]) in (C)Xi(C) syllables, which is taking place in a rural Greek community due to contact with urban varieties. An interesting pattern is revealed when we look into the effect that the type of consonant (/l/ or /n/) has on the variation. Although the statistical analysis shows that the overall effect of this parameter is not significant, there is a group of speakers for whom the percentage of palatalization is markedly different between the two consonants. For some speakers the difference is as high as 74%. The answers that participants provided during the sociolinguistic interviews indicate that the speakers who exhibit this split pattern tend to be those who are aware of the variation and have been exposed to the prevalent stereotype either directly or indirectly. I will present several excerpts from the interviews in which participants discuss how they have become aware of the variation and the stereotype and their reactions to it, which are indifference, attempt to control the pronunciation, or in some cases avoidance of lexical items that contain the variable. The particular circumstances of dialect contact and the sociological implications that accompany it can lead individual speakers to complex psycholinguistic processes of acquiring the desired speech pattern.

Borrowing of verbal periphrases in Irish English: the role of construction-based grammatical representation

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This contribution will address the issue of modelling the processes involved in contact-induced language change, arguing that: - The locus of contact-induced change is primarily the pragmatically driven discourse behaviour of the bilingual individual, reinforced by sociolinguistic forces such as accommodation, prestige etc. - These changes in behaviour may at first remain below the level of what formalist theories of grammar would regard as “language” change proper, being restricted to language “use”. - Developments that are subject to the same dynamics as internally motivated change may then ultimately lead to deeper changes in actual grammatical categorisation. They may indirectly lead to analogical replication of structures in the contact language (Heine/Kuteva 2005) - A crucial mental operation that must be assumed at the initial stages of these processes is cross-linguistic identification of structures in the two languages involved. It will be argued that such acts of cross-linguistic identification can be most easily accommodated in a theory of grammatical knowledge based on “constructions” as building blocks of linguistic structure (Goldberg 2006). Illustrations will be from a case study of verbal constructions in 18th/19th century Irish-English, demonstrating how a group of usages of very heterogenous origin in English was consolidated into a more uniform and productive construction pattern under contact with a similar family of constructions in Irish. References Goldberg, Adele (2006): *Constructions at work: the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Heine, Bernd, Tanja Kuteva (2005): *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

When does contact lead to change?

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The ability of language contact to trigger change is a contentious issue, particularly as regards the grammar; positions range from outright denial to the claim that any feature can be transferred from one linguistic system to another. Inspection of the literature reveals that much of the relevant evidence stems from the inherent variability particularly salient in contact languages, in conjunction with the reported prevalence in them of nonstandard variants. Is variability coterminous with change? How can we assess whether change has occurred, and how can we determine whether it is the product of contact or internal evolution? Applying the variationist framework and the comparative method of historical linguistics to massive corpora of spontaneous bilingual speech, this paper outlines a comprehensive empirical method for detecting change in contact languages. Our working hypothesis is that underlying grammatical structure can be discerned by examining the distribution and conditioning of competing variants in discourse. Comparison of this variable structure amongst the relevant pre-, post- and non-contact varieties, as well as with the putative source, enables us to identify stable variation and distinguish contact-induced from internally-motivated change. We illustrate with ongoing research on the grammars of English and French, the official languages of Canada, each of which, in its minority guise, is assumed to have undergone change induced by contact with the other.

Social and Linguistics structures in the slave colony of Algiers (1500-1830)

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This talk describes the language ecology of Algiers from 1500-1830, exploring the contacts of the languages, religions and cultures there, and correlating the social structures with the linguistic ones. Algiers was one of the main centers of Barbary Coast slavery, where European slaves were held as principal economic pillars of the North African dominions of the Ottoman empire. It was a multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-lingual meeting place par excellence, composed of Turkish and Arabic rulers, Jewish refugees, and Christian slaves, alongside the remaining Berber population. Arabic, Turkish and Romance were the principal language groups spoken, with countless individual languages in circulation alongside a _corrupted_, koinecized variety of each. The contact language used for relations with the European slaves on whom much of the city_s infrastructure was based was Lingua Franca (LF), a Romance-lexified pidgin language known from Mediterranean trade. I focus on LF, an unusual pidgin in that 1) the bulk of the lexicon was derived from the languages of the European slaves rather than the Turkish masters, and 2) it persisted without nativization for three centuries, despite variability in both lexicon and grammar. There was a cultural niche for LF not lastly because it served to both efface unwanted national and cultural differences, but also to unite the group of Christians under their common religious front. Variation was acceptable because the idea of a language proper to the Christians provided the necessary cohesion that was not offered by a single fixed grammar.

The loss of genitive plural in Cypriot Greek: language contact or internal evolution?

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As in other parts of the Greek-speaking world, the medieval period in Cyprus (12th-16th centuries) is a period of intense language contact and increased multilingualism, as evidenced by contemporary sources. Cypriot and French, in particular, came into close contact during the period of the Lusignan kingdom (1192-1489). This paper investigates a language contact scenario for the loss of the genitive plural morpheme from the inflectional paradigm of masculine adjectives and nouns (–ων in other Greek varieties) in Cypriot Greek, and its replacement by the accusative plural (–ους). First noted in texts of the medieval period (Assizes, Chronicle of Machairas), this phenomenon is becoming generalized today, affecting also feminine nouns (Terkourafi 2005). Papadopoulos (1983) attributes this to transfer during translation from French originals. Old French preserved a nominative/oblique distinction but not an accusative/genitive one, and it is precisely this dual case system that Cypriot is claimed to have been mapped on. However, before the language contact scenario can be accepted, the broader context of this change must be examined. To this end, we investigate the linguistic contexts in which the genitive plural is preserved in Cypriot Greek (Hadjiioannou 1964), the possibility that the change is motivated system-internally (Menardos 1896), and, finally, developments affecting the genitive plural in other varieties of Greek to this day. In this way, we can assess the plausibility of the language contact scenario, and propose a likely path for the loss of the genitive plural from the inflectional paradigm of masculine adjectives and nouns in Cypriot Greek.

Competing Grammars in Cypriot Greek? Evidence from code-switching

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The purpose of this paper is to explore patterns of code-switching and code-mixing in Cypriot Greek, with a view to determining whether these point to the emergence of a mixed or ‘fused’ system as a result of the possible resolution of diglossia between Standard Modern Greek and Cypriot Greek. Based on a corpus of naturalistic data involving the same participants in a variety of communicative situations ranging from informal interaction within peer groups to relatively formal interaction, including interaction with speakers of Standard Greek, I argue that the patterns of code-switching and code-mixing between Cypriot and Standard Greek occurring in the data, which may appear unexpected from a pragmatic/conversation-analytic perspective, can best be viewed as the outcome of ‘competing grammars’. The nature of the ‘competition’ between related or largely overlapping grammatical systems is particularly hard to pin down; the data examined in this project indicate that there are ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ players in such competitions, the strong players being syntax and phonetics/phonology and the ‘weak’ players being morphology and lexis. More specifically, it appears that the syntax and phonetics of the superposed variety is on the losing end, or that the syntax and phonetics of the naturally-acquired variety remains largely intact. This is evidenced by the fact that ‘code-switching’ (in reality register-shifting) is achieved largely through morphological or lexical choices, while the strong structural constraints on phonetic and syntactic choices point to the robustness of the corresponding underlying systems.

Contact-induced change in Celtic negation systems

David W. E. Willis, University of Cambridge

Several changes to negation systems in Celtic suggest contact with English or French as an explanation: (i) Welsh grammaticalized a new postverbal negative marker *dim* < indefinite pronoun ‘anything’ from the thirteenth century, slightly later than English grammaticalized *no(h)t* via the same path; (ii) Breton undergoes a period of using various postverbal reinforcers to negation (e.g. *tamm* ‘a bit’, *banne* ‘a drop’) before selecting *ket* as its new postverbal negator, closely mirroring the history of French; (iii) recently, Welsh has grammaticalized new indefinite pronouns that morphologically parallel their English counterparts (e.g. *unrhywun* ‘anyone’ < *unrhyw* ‘any’ + *un* ‘one’); it has furthermore realigned existing negative polarity items as negative quantifiers, thereby matching English (e.g. Welsh *neb* now more closely equates to English *no one* than it did previously). This paper will address the question of whether contact is responsible for these changes, and, if so, what the influencing mechanisms are. Changes (i) and (iii) can be thought of as replica grammaticalization in the sense of Heine & Kuteva (2005), although the fact that the changes give rise to new expression of an existing category rather than expression of a new category does not fit straightforwardly with their model. Questions also arise for the distinction between borrowing and substrate effects especially with change (iii): in a bilingual society undergoing language revitalization, speakers may be placed on a continuum from L1 to L2. This may make it difficult to establish whether change is driven by L2-speakers introducing change via an English ‘substrate’ or whether change should be regarded more traditionally as borrowing from prestige languages by L1-speakers.

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