

DiGS

IN BRAZIL

The XI Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference

University of Campinas
July 22-24, 2009

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Authors

INVITED SPEAKERS

- Michel DeGraff** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Mary Kato (University of Campinas)
Giuseppe Longobardi (University of Trieste)
Ana Maria Martins (University of Lisbon)
Jurgen Meisel (University of Hamburg / University of Calgary)
Ian Roberts (University of Cambridge)
- Judy Bernstein** (William Paterson University)
Theresa Biberauer (Cambridge University)
Adriana Cardoso (University of Lisbon)
Silvio Cruschina (University of Oxford)
Susann Fischer (U. of Stuttgart / Goethe Universität Frankfurt)
Chiara Gianollo (University of Konstanz)
Denice Goddard (University of Amsterdam)
Virginia Hill (University of Brunswick-SJ)
Dalina Kallulli (University of Viena)
Anthony Kroch (University of Pennsylvania)
Elliott Lash (Cambridge University)
Rosmin Mathew (CASTL, Tromso)
Guido Mensching (Freie Universität Berlin)
Olga Mladenova (University of Calgary)
M. Aparecida T. Morais (University of São Paulo)
Gertjan Postma (Meertens Inst. Amsterdam / Academy of Sciences)
Chris Reintges (CNRS / U. Paris 7 – Denis Diderot)
Ilza Ribeiro (Federal University of Bahia)
Joachim Sabel (Université Catholique de Louvain)
Beatrice Santorini (University of Pennsylvania)
Christopher Sapp (University of Mississippi)
Ioanna Sitaridou (Cambridge University, Queens' College)
Joel C. Wallenberg (University of Pennsylvania)
John Whitman (Cornell University)
Yuko Yanagida (University of Tsukuba)
Rafaela Zanuttini (Yale University)
Hedde Zeijlstra (University of Amsterdam)

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PROGRAM

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22nd

08h00 – 08h45: Registration

08h45 – 09h00: Welcome Address

09h00 – 10h00

On Bilingualism as Cause of Diachronic Change in Syntax

Invited Speaker: *Jurgen Meisel* - U. Hamburgo/Calgary

10h00 – 10h30: coffee break

10h30 – 11h10

Language Acquisition in German and Phrase Structure Change in Yiddish

Joel C. Wallenberg - U. Penn

11h10 – 11h50

A Diachronic Shift in the Expression of Person

Judy Bernstein & Rafaella Zanuttini - William Patterson U. & Yale

11h50 – 12h30

The Formal Syntax of Alignment Change: the Case of Old Japanese

Yuko Yanagida & John Whitman - U. of Tsukuba & Cornell University

12h30 – 14h30: Lunch

14h30 – 15h30

Brazilian Portuguese and Caribbean Spanish: Similar Changes in Romania Nova

Invited Speaker: *Mary Kato* - U. of Campinas / CNPq

15h30 – 16h10

From Modern to Old Romance:

the Interaction Between Information Structure and Word-Order

Silvio Cruschina & Ioanna Sitaridou - U. of Oxford & U. of Cambridge, Queens' College

16h10 – 16h50

Old Romance Word Order: a Comparative Minimalist Analysis

Guido Mensching - Freie Universität Berlin

16h50 – 17h20: coffee break

17h20 – 18h00

The Comparative Evolution of Word Order in French and English

Anthony Kroch & Beatrice Santorini - U. Penn

18h00 – 18h40

Word Order Change as a Trigger for Grammaticalization

Susann Fischer - U. of Stuttgart/Goethe Universität Frankfurt

THURSDAY, JULY 23rd

09h00 – 10h00

Parametric Convergences: Homoplasmy or Principled Explanation?

Invited Speaker: *Pino Longobardi* - U. Trieste

10h00 – 10h30: coffee break

10h30 – 11h10

Prepositional Genitives in Romance and the Issue of Parallel Development

Chiara Gianollo - U. of Konstanz

11h10 – 11h50

Macroparameters, "Deep" Analycity, and Shifting Phases

Chris Reintges - CNRS / U. Paris 7 - Denis Diderot

11h50 – 12h30

The Impact of Failed Changes

Gertjan Postma - Meertens Institute Amsterdam / Academy of Sciences

12h30 – 14h30: Lunch

14h30 – 15h30

Comparative Historical Syntax: the Art of Creating Data

Invited Speaker: *Ana Maria Martins* - U. of Lisbon

15h30 – 16h10

Doubling-QUE Embedded Constructions in Old Portuguese: a Diachronic Perspective

Ilza Ribeiro & M. Aparecida T. Moraes - Federal University of Bahia & U. of Sao Paulo

16h10 – 16h50

Extrapolation of Relative Clauses in the History of Portuguese

Adriana Cardoso - U. of Lisbon

16h50 – 17h20: coffee break

17h20 – 18h00

Information Structure and Syntactic Change in Early Bulgarian

Virginia Hill & Olga Mladenova - U. of New Brunswick-SJ & U. of Calgary

18h00 – 18h40

The Emergence of the Infinitival Left Periphery

Joachim Sabel - Univeristé Catholique de Louvain

20h30: Conference dinner

FRIDAY, JULY 24st

09h00 – 10h00

Language Acquisition in Creolization and, thus, Language ChangeInvited Speaker: *Michel DeGraff* – MIT

10h00 – 10h30: coffee break

10h30 – 11h10

On the Origin of VO in Berbice Dutch Creole*Denice Goddard & Hedde Zeijlstra* – Amsterdam

11h10 – 11h50

Negative Changes: a Parametric Account of the Diachrony of Afrikaans Negation*Theresa Biberauer & Hedde Zeijlstra* - Cambridge University

11h50 – 12h30

Morphological Change Due to Syntactic Reanalysis: From Deponents to Voice Gaps*Dalina Kallulli* – U. of Viena

12h30 – 14h30: Lunch

14h30 – 15h10

Grammaticalization and the Pragmatic Field: the Romanian "Can"*Virginia Hill* - U. of New Brunswick-SJ

15h10 – 15h50

Report Verbs, Complementation, and Serial Verb Constructions*Rosmin Mathew* - CASTL, Tromso

15h50 – 16h30

Old Irish Standard-of-Comparison Constructions*Elliott Lash* - Cambridge University

16h30 – 17h00: coffee break

17h00 – 17h40

The Verbal Complex from Middle High German to Modern German*Christopher Sapp* - U. of Mississippi

17h40 – 18h40

Micro-parameters, Macro-parameters and MarkednessInvited Speaker: *Ian Roberts* - Cambridge University

18h40 – 19h00: Business meeting / closing remarks

ABSTRACTS

A DIACHRONIC SHIFT IN THE EXPRESSION OF PERSON

Judy B. Bernstein and Raffaella Zanuttini
William Paterson University and Yale University

A striking fact about Appalachian English is that in addition to singular lexical subjects, plural lexical subjects co-occur with verbal *-s*, unlike the pattern found in standard English:¹

- (1) a. All preachers *likes* fried chicken. (DOH)
b. Them gals *is* purty, but they're crazy as Junebugs. (M&H)

In contrast, pronominal subjects (with the exception of *he, she, it*) in Appalachian English do not co-occur with verbal *-s*, matching the pattern of standard English:

- (2) a. I *go* down there sometimes and that's about as far as I go anymore.
b. You *see* 'em coming in here every evening.
c. We *go* up in West Virginia a lot a-train-riding and stuff.
d. They *live* in Pennsylvania.

We argue that verbal agreement in Appalachian English is not sensitive to the number of the subject, but rather to its person feature: verbal *-s* is expressed when the DP subject fails to express person, typically with lexical subjects (Zanuttini & Bernstein 2009).

An ancestor of Appalachian English, older Scots (beginning in the 1400s) displayed verbal *-s* throughout the paradigm, as in (3), unless a pronominal subject was adjacent to the verb (with two exceptions), as in (4) (Murray 1873):

	<i>sg.</i>		<i>pl.</i>
(3) 1 st	leykes/w'reytes	('likes'/'writes')	leykes/w'reytes
2 nd	leykes/w'reytes		leykes/w'reytes
3 rd	leykes/w'reytes		leykes/w'reytes
(4) aa	leyke/w'reyte	wey	leyke/w'reyte
thuw	leykes/w'reytes	yee	leyke/w'rey
hey,scho,(h)it	leykes/w'reytes	thay	leyke/w'reyte

Montgomery's (1994) corpus analysis of seven texts (14th-17th centuries) confirms Murray's descriptions of the older Scots verbal paradigms: table 1 shows the rate of verbal *-s* with plural lexical subjects and table 2 shows the rate of verbal *-s* with non-adjacent personal pronouns:

Rate of *-s* marking for 3rd-person plural subject types (N=527)

	<i>conjoined Ns</i>	<i>rel. pronouns</i>	<i>common Ns</i>	<i>total nouns</i>
% <i>-s</i>	92%	95%	91%	93%

Table 1 (from Montgomery 1994, p. 88)

¹DOH = Dante Oral History Project; M&H = Montgomery and Hall (2004); the Appalachian English examples in (2) come from our own fieldwork.

Rate of *-s* marking with non-adjacent personal pronoun subjects (N=170)

	<i>they</i>	<i>I</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>total</i>
% <i>-s</i>	90%	94%	94%	100%	94%

Table 2 (from Montgomery 1994, p. 89)

Although no table is provided for the pattern with adjacent personal pronouns, Montgomery states that the \emptyset -marked verb was found at “greater than 90%” in all but one document source, where it was 82% (Montgomery 1994: 88). Based on these facts, we hypothesize that in older Scots, verbal *-s* is a generalized person marker expressed only when a person-bearing form (pronoun) is not cliticized to T (an intuition also found in Börjars & Chapman 1998 for some contemporary non-standard varieties of UK English; see also Roberts 1993). This means that in older Scots, personal pronouns could either be clitic forms (expressed with the verb in T) or full-fledged DP pronominal subjects, in which case generalized *-s* is spelled out in T. Under this analysis, T always expresses person in older Scots.

How does the older Scots pattern of generalized *-s* compare with the more limited verbal *-s* found in the contemporary variety, Appalachian English? We propose that in Appalachian English, verbal *-s* is expressed only in the limited contexts where the subject does not express person, as with lexical subjects. This suggests that in this language, T probes the DP subject and when it finds a person feature (as with 1st, 2nd, and some 3rd person pronouns), it spells out as \emptyset ; when no person feature is found (as with lexical subjects), T spells out as *-s*.

If this is correct, then the person feature is always expressed in T in older Scots (either with an incorporated pronoun or with *-s*). In contrast, in Appalachian English, the person feature is spelled out only if a person feature is missing from the subject, as in the case of lexical subjects. We propose that the difference between the two languages can be viewed as follows: T is insensitive to the nature of the unincorporated subject in older Scots, in the sense that it expresses person regardless of whether the subject does or not; in contrast, T is sensitive to the nature of the subject in Appalachian English, in the sense that it expresses person only if the subject does not. We can implement this idea by saying that T does not probe the person feature of the subject in older Scots, while it does in Appalachian English; this is why the person marker *-s* co-occurs with all unincorporated subjects in older Scots, but only co-occurs with those that do not express person in Appalachian English.

The examination of two historically related languages suggests that the robust expression of the person feature in the verbal domain, that is, in T, in older Scots has given way to a very restricted expression of the feature in T in Appalachian English, where the expression has shifted overwhelmingly to the DP subject. A subsequent stage would be a system where the person feature in T is not present at all. This, we argue, is the case in present-day standard English, where person is marked only on the DP subject, never in T (which is marked only for number, Kayne 1989). The same contrast would also distinguish Mainland Scandinavian languages like Swedish and Norwegian, lacking person in T, from Insular Scandinavian languages like Icelandic and Faroese, which still contain a person feature in T (Holmberg & Platzack 1995).

References

- Börjars, K. and C. Chapman. 1998. Agreement and pro-drop in some dialects of English. *Linguistics* 36: 71-98.
- Holmberg, A. and C. Platzack. 1995. *The role of inflection in Scandinavian syntax*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kayne, R.S. 1989. “Notes on English agreement,” *CIEFL Bulletin*. Hyderabad, 41-67.
- Montgomery, M. 1994. The Evolution of Verb Concord in Scots. In Fenton and MacDonald (eds.) *Studies in Scots and Gaelic: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Languages of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Canongate Academic and the Linguistic Survey of Scotland. pp. 81-95.

Montgomery, M. and J. S. Hall, eds. 2004. *Dictionary of Smoky Mountain English*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Murray, J.A.H. 1873. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland: Its Pronunciation, Grammar, and Historical Relations*. London: Philological Society. pp. 209-215.

Roberts, I. 1993. *Verbs and Diachronic Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Zanuttini, R. and J. B. Bernstein. 2009. Micro-comparative syntax in English verbal agreement. Proceedings of NELS 39.

**NEGATIVE CHANGES: A PARAMETRIC ACCOUNT
OF THE DIACHRONY OF AFRIKAANS NEGATION**

Theresa Biberauer and Hedde Zeijlstra
Cambridge University and University of Amsterdam

I Negation systems are traditionally classified as either Double Negation/DN or Negative Concord/NC systems, with the difference being that every morphosyntactically negative element in the former corresponds to a semantic negation, whereas the same is not true in the latter. Diachronically, we observe that DN systems may become NC ones (cf. the DN 17th century varieties of Dutch which gave rise to NC Afrikaans), while the reverse change is also possible (cf. the changes that have occurred during the history of English). Here, we focus on a previously undiscussed negative change, one that has taken place in the recent history of Afrikaans (since its 1925 standardisation), resulting in a dialectal split in modern Afrikaans.

II Standard Afrikaans (Afrikaans A) is an NC language which necessarily requires both the sentential negative marker/NM *nie* (1) and n-words (2) to co-occur with clause-final *nie*:

- (1) Hy verstaan *nie* Afrikaans *nie*
he understand NEG Afrikaans NEG = “He doesn’t understand Afrikaans”
- (2) Ons wil *nooit* ophou *nie*
us want n-ever stop NEG = “We never want to stop”

This variety, spoken by a dwindling number of speakers in South Africa, contrasts with an innovative variety, Afrikaans B, spoken in particular by younger speakers and also by the Cape Coloured community (Kaaps). First, whereas a pair of n-words necessarily delivers a DN reading (3a) in Afrikaans A, the same Afrikaans B string results in an NC reading (3b):

- (3) a. *Niemand* verstaan *niks* *nie* [Afrikaans A]
n-one understand n-thing NEG = “No-one understands nothing”
b. *Niemand* verstaan *niks* *nie* [Afrikaans B]
n-one understand n-thing NEG = “No-one understands anything”

Second, Afrikaans A does not permit clause-internal concord elements in the presence of n-words (4a), whereas Afrikaans B optionally does (4b). As indicated, the presence of the “extra” *nie* results in an emphatic effect (cf. Dahl 2001, Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006):

- (4) a. Hy het *niks* (**nie*) gedoen *nie* [Afrikaans A]
He has nothing NEG done NEG = “He didn’t do anything”
b. Hy het *niks* (*nie*) gedoen *nie* [Afrikaans B]
He has nothing NEG done NEG = “He didn’t do ANYTHING”

Given this difference, the question that arises is whether the NC phenomenon in (3b) gave rise to the “extra” *nie*-permitting structure in (4b) or vice versa. Here, we will show (i) that the latter sequence can plausibly be shown to have given rise to the synchronic properties of Afrikaans B, and (ii) that this sequence can be readily understood in terms of Zeijlstra’s formal characterisation of negative markers and n-words, a fact with wider implications.

III Although Afrikaans A does not permit n-words to co-occur with a clause-internal concord element, there is one context in this variety where an n-word is often followed by final *nie*: fragment

answers as in (5) (prescriptively, final *nie* is obligatory, but it is very commonly omitted in spoken standard Afrikaans, the variety under consideration here), where the answer with *nie* can be more emphatic (an expected outcome, following proposals on the interaction between negation emphasis in Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006):

- (5) Wie het my boek gesien? *Niemand (nie)*
 who has my book seen? n-body NEG = “Who saw my book? No-one (at all)”

Further, Afrikaans A speakers also permit clause-internal *nie* in emphatic structures like (6):

- (6) Die opdrag moet *nie* langer *nie* as 10 000 woorde wees *nie*
 the assignment must no longer NEG than 10 000 words be NEG
 “The assignment must be NO longer than 10 000 words”

Afrikaans A, then, features two contexts in which *nie*-inclusion yields an emphatic effect.

IV Biberauer & Zeijlstra (2009) analyse Afrikaans A as an NC language in which all n-words carry an interpretable formal negative feature ([iNEG]), which may then establish an Agree relation with the NM, *nie*, the bearer of a [uNEG] feature. This analysis directly accounts for the Afrikaans A property that no n-word may be stacked without giving rise to an additional semantic negation. Moreover, it also explains why the negative marker *nie* may show up multiple times: adding an additional negative marker *nie* does not involve adding an element that is semantically interpretable as a negation. Finally, the reading in (1)-type structures follows from Zeijlstra’s (2004, 2008) proposals (inspired by Ladusaw 1992) that overt elements carrying [uNEG] license the presence of a covert negative operator $Op \neg$, which carries [iNEG]. The properties of the NM in NC Afrikaans B are the same as in Afrikaans A: it is [uNEG]. N-words, however, are crucially different, bearing [uNEG]; hence the NC readings in (3b)-type structures. Afrikaans B, then, is a Strict NC language (cf. Giannakidou 2000), i.e. one in which semantic negation is always introduced by an abstract negative operator. Afrikaans A, by contrast, is a previously unnoticed type of NC language.

V The question that now arises is why Afrikaans B has changed w.r.t. the phenomena illustrated in (3) and (4). We propose that the emphatic role that “extra” *nies* already play in restricted contexts in Afrikaans A is the source of the change, with speakers opting to extend this option in particular to the domain of n-words. In effect, we thus have a Jespersen Cycledevelopment in the domain of n-words (cf. Biberauer 2008). A consequence of this extension is that n-word+*nie* combinations are analysed as single constituents by a new generation of speakers. This is clearly shown by the fact that *nooit nie* in Afrikaans B can undergo fronting to the initial position in V2 structures (7), where only one constituent may precede the verb:

- (7) *NOOIT nie* kom jy terug *nie* !
 never NEG come you back NEG = “You’re NEVER coming back!”

The rise of clear n-word+*nie* constituents (cf. (4b) and (7)), however, prevents acquirers postulating the Afrikaans A featural analysis for n-words: since *nooit* is now located inside a larger constituent [_{DP} *nooit nie*], it is no longer possible for an [iNEG] feature on the n-word to enter into an Agree relation with the *sentential* NM (clause-final *nie*); the c-command relation between *nooit* and sentence-final *nie* which is a prerequisite for Agree is thus unavailable. Language learners confronted with such sentences nevertheless have to account for their grammaticality, which they do by assigning n-words the feature [uNEG], and postulating a commanding abstract negative operator not just in the case of NMs (as in Afrikaans A), but also in n-word-containing structures. This reanalysis renders Afrikaans B a Strict NC language, with the result that we predict multiple n-words (all carrying [uNEG]) to be

able to co-occur without giving rise to additional semantic negations. The second discrepancy between Afrikaans A and B is thus also accounted for.

VI The analysis proposed here is of wider significance for the understanding of DN→NC changes. Specifically, it shows that a previously unnoticed type of NC language (Afrikaans A) represents an intermediate stage in DN→Strict NC changes. Viewed in terms of Zeijlstra's (2004, 2008) system, this change seems to reflect a natural *pathway*, one defined in terms of increasing formal non-negativity (Dutch: NM & n-words=[+neg] → Afrikaans A: nwords=[+ neg]; NMs=[-neg]; Afrikaans B: n-words & NM=[-neg]). If this is correct, we might expect to find other NC languages fitting Afrikaans A's *partial* Strict NC profile. Jaggar's (2007) discussion of Hausa negation suggests the existence of a partial Strict NC variety of this language. Our proposal also entails that properties of negative elements, i.e. (classes of) lexical items, constitute the locus of negation-related parametric variation (cf. also Déprez 2000, Roberts & Roussou 2003). If [+neg] features are necessarily associated with the substantive core of n-word nominal structure, while [-neg] features are associated with the functional periphery, a natural assumption in the Probe-Goal framework (Chomsky 2001), the changes discussed here in fact represent a further case of upward reanalysis (cf. Roberts & Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004).

EXTRAPOSITION OF RELATIVE CLAUSES IN THE HISTORY OF PORTUGUESE

Adriana Cardoso
University of Lisbon

A. There is a large number of competing analyses of extraposition in the literature. Generally speaking, the different analyses can be divided into three main groups: extraposition as right-hand adjunction (Culicover & Rochemont 1990); extraposition as VP-internal stranding (Kayne 1994); extraposition as specifying coordination (Koster 2000; De Vries 2002).

B. The different syntactic theories on extraposition are usually seen as competing analysis, each one trying to provide a unified account of extraposition across languages. In this talk I will explore the hypothesis that there is no unified account of extraposition to be offered across languages. Moreover, I will argue that, from a diachronic point of view, different syntactic analyses seem to be necessary to explain the changes affecting extraposition of relative clauses in different stages of the same language.

C. Focusing on empirical evidence from European Portuguese, I will show that Modern Portuguese (MP) contrasts with Old Portuguese (OP)² w.r.t. the properties of relative clause extraposition, and I will provide an explanation for the observed contrasts.

D. In MP, extraposition of restrictive relative clauses displays the following cluster of properties:

a. Extraposition from the subject is only possible with: (i) indefinite subjects (see (1a)); post-verbal subjects (cf. (1a-b)); (iii) subject of all types of verb, except transitive-direct and ditransitive verbs.

(1) a. Ontem explodiu uma / *a bomba em Israel que causou 5 mortos.
yesterday exploded a / the bomb in Israel that caused 5 dead

b. *Uma bomba explodiu ontem em Israel que causou 5 mortos.
a bomb exploded yesterday in Israel that caused 5 dead

b. Extraposition from the direct object is only possible with indefinite objects (see (2)).

(2) Encontrei uma / *a pessoa ontem que estava à tua procura.
I.met a the person yesterday that was waiting.for.you

c. Extraposition from a prepositional argument of the verb is not allowed (see (3)).

(3) *O João candidatou-se a uma câmara nesse ano
the John applied.SE to a town.council that year
que fica no distrito de Bragança.
that stays in district of Bragança

If we consider the information structure of these constructions, another generalization emerges: the antecedent has to be interpreted as information focus (see Guéron 1980), or has to be a preposed-focus (identificational/contrastive focus or a *wh*-constituent).

² For Old Portuguese, the *data* considered in this paper were drawn from the *corpus* of notarial documents (from 13th-16th century (first half)), edited by Martins (2000).

As for appositive relatives, although it is generally assumed that extraposition is not allowed (Brito 2004), some speakers do accept it, specially when the relative clause is introduced by the pronoun *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ (see (4)).

- (4) ?O carro despistou-se, projectando o passageiro pelo ar, o qual foi embater
 The car crashed.SE projecting the passenger by.the air the which clashed
 contra um poste
 with a lamposte

E. In OP the extraposition of relative clause obeys to fewer restrictions. The main differences between extraposition in MP and OP are:

a. In OP the extraposition of restrictive relatives is possible: (i) with post-verbal and pre-verbal subjects (see (5)); (ii) with indefinite and definite objects (see (6)); (iii) from the prepositional argument of the verb.

- (5) se Algẽ A eles veer que diga que llj eu Alguna cousa diuí (Martins2000- 1275)
 if someone to them come that says that him.CL I some thing owed

- (6) E pera todas as cousas e cada hũa delas ffaser que uerdadeyro e lĩjdemo
 and to all.thethings and each oneof.them do that real and legitimate
 procurador pode e deue ffaser (Martins 2000, year 1317)
 proxy can and should make

b. In OP the extraposition of appositive relatives is allowed (in the *corpus* considered the total of extraposed appositive relatives amounts to 91%).

Additionally, one of the most striking differences between MP and OP concerns the number and heaviness of constituents that may intervene between the head and the relative clause. Contrary to what happens in MP, in OP different kinds of constituents (verb, arguments, embedded/coordinated clauses, textual fragments) may break the adjacency between the head and the relative clause. This typically happens with appositive relative clauses introduced by the pronoun *o qual* ‘the which’ (optionally followed by an *internal head*, cf. **H.**).

F. In this talk I will argue that the properties of extraposition in OP suggest that: (i) there are two different types of appositive relatives in OP: one introduced by the complementizer *que* ‘that’ and other introduced by the relative *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ (Cinque 2008); (ii) appositive relatives introduced by *que* ‘that’ have the same syntax as restrictive relatives, whereas appositive relatives introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ have a different syntactic structure. As for restrictive relatives and appositive relatives introduced by *que* ‘that’, I will claim that they are generated by the *raising analysis* of relative clauses (Kayne 1994, Bianchi 1999) and that extraposition results from VP-internal stranding (Kayne 1994). By contrast, appositive relatives introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ are generated by *specifying coordination* (De Vries 2006) and extraposition is derived by the possibility of attaching the second conjunct (containing the appositive relative) to different clausal and discourse levels.

G. Moreover, I will claim that the differences between OP and MP w.r.t. extraposition of restrictive relatives (namely, the restriction on the position of the antecedent) can be explained by the loss of IP-scrambling in MP (Martins 2002). While in OP the relative head could move from a relative clause

internal position to the IP domain of the matrix (cf. Grewendorf & Sabel 1999), stranding the relative clause, in MP the head cannot move to a position above vP, since IP-scrambling is not an option.

H. Finally, I will put forward that in MP appositive relative clauses introduced by *o qual* ‘lit. the which’ are no longer generated by specifying coordination and are instead generated by head raising, just like their restrictive (and appositive) counterparts. Clear evidence supporting this hypothesis is offered by the strong restrictions on the possibilities of extraposition observed in MP and the concomitant loss in MP of the internal head in appositives (cf. (7) and (8)), which is taken by De Vries (2006) as an argument in favor of the specifying coordination analysis of appositives.

(7) * *Comprei um livro, ao qual livro foi atribuído um prémio.* [MP]
I.bought a book, to.the which book was awarded a prize.

(8) *aqueste prazo fizi e en testemoyo destas cousas en elle meu sinal pusi* [OP]
this contract I.did and as testimony of.these things in it my sign I.put
o qual sinal tal este. (Martins 2000, year 1279)
the which sign this is.

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**FROM MODERN TO OLD ROMANCE:
THE INTERACTION BETWEEN INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND WORD ORDER**

Silvio Cruschina and Ioanna Sitaridou
University of Oxford and University of Cambridge, Queens' College

The articulation of information structure and word order is fairly well-studied in the modern languages. The same can hardly be said about historical linguistics. The aim of this paper is to investigate the interaction between syntax and information structure in the history of the Romance languages. (NB: The discussion of information structure and word order is restricted to prototypical null subject varieties thus Old French is excluded from the present discussion) However, this kind of objective may seem, at least *prima facie*, to face insuperable methodological difficulties given the incomplete knowledge of the prosody of Old Romance (OR) languages, the nature of the texts, the impossibility of experiments on intonation, etc. We intend to circumvent those problems by using 'the window into the past' technique: we will use the pattern of two Modern Romance (MR) languages, namely Sicilian and Sardinian, as a way of 'unlocking' the information package of OR. Our account essentially relies on two major tenets: (a) information structure is encoded in the syntax and movement is driven by discourse-related features (as in the cartographic approach); (b) the word order of 'relatively free' languages, such as MR is directly determined by the information structure of the sentence whereby discourse-related categories (e.g. topic, focus) are syntactically marked.

In the majority of the MR languages, the informational focus of the sentence stays *in situ* in a postverbal position (cf. Zubizarreta 1998) or in a specialised position in the left periphery of the VP (cf. Belletti 2004). Only contrastive focus can undergo movement to the left periphery of the sentence to a dedicated functional projection (cf. Rizzi 1997, Zubizarreta 1998):

- (1) a. MANZANAS compró Pedro (y no peras). *Spanish*
apples buy.PAST.3SG Pedro (and not pears)
'Pedro bought apples (and not pears).' (Zubizarreta 1999)
- b. ¿Qué compró Pedro?
what buy.PAST.3SG Pedro
'What did Pedro buy?'
- c. Pedro compró **manzanas.** c'. #**Manzanas** compró Pedro.
Pedro buy.PAST.3SG apples apples bought Pedro
'Pedro bought apples.'

By contrast, in OR the preverbal focus position is not restricted to a specific interpretation of the focus constituent therefore, either informational or contrastive focus can appear preverbally:

- (2) a. **molti drappi di seta** fanno ... *Old Italian*
'They make many silk cloths.' (*Il Milione* 147-3)
- a'. **Danaio** non aveva da comperare da costui. *Old Italian*
'He didn't have any money to buy anything from this man.' (*Il Novellino* VIII II-I2)
- b. **Tot aizo** vendet Guirberz. *Old Occitan*
'Guirberz sells all this...' (*Chartes* 15, 27)
- c. **Daqueste miragre** diz San Gregorio que ... *Old Portuguese*
'Saint Gregory says of this miracle that ...' (Ribeiro 1995)
- d. **Tod esto** cuenta en este sobredicho libro q<ue>... *Old Spanish*
'All this he recounts in the aforementioned book that ...' (*General Estoria* 3R, 27)

Interestingly, out of all MR, only Sicilian (3) and Sardinian (4) have ‘preserved’ the OR information package in terms of focus fronting (FF) since a contrastive interpretation of the focus constituent is not necessary; thus, informational focus also commonly appears within the left periphery (cf. Cruschina 2008).

(3) Iddu **picciliddu** è. *Sicilian*
 he child be.PRES.3SG
 ‘He is a child.’ (Rohlf 1969)

(4) **Maláidu** ses? *Sardinian*
 sick be.PRES.2SG
 ‘Are you sick?’ (Jones 1993)

Examining the characteristics of FF in Sardinian, Sicilian and OR, many similarities emerge: FF mainly occurs in copular sentences and in interrogatives, and it mostly, albeit not exclusively, involves quantifiers and quantified phrases (5a), as well as predicates, and, in particular, predicative modifiers with a gradient meaning (5b):

(5) a. **tre battaglie** di campo ho poi fatte. *Old Italian*
 years three battles of field have.PRES.1SG then do.PP
 ‘I have then fought three battles.’
 b. Maestro, **di grande scienza** ti credo.
 master of great science you.CL believe.PRES.1SG
 ‘Master, I consider you of great knowledge.’ (Vanelli 1999)

On the basis of these and other similarities, we extend our analysis of FF as movement to a designated peripheral projection from Sicilian/Sardinian to OR. Therefore, on our analysis, the so-called V2 character of OR (cf. Benincà 1984; Ribeiro 1995; Salvi 2000) is shown to be an epiphenomenon: the mere result of syntactic operations related to the information structure packaging, and in particular, FF. Additionally, since our account does not preclude additional operations, such as the topicalisation, V3/4 word orders which are typically labelled as marginal –despite their robustness (cf. Kaiser 2004; Sitaridou 2006) – now receive a straightforward account.

The diachronic implications of our analysis are multiple: (a) the otherwise typologically unattested evolutionary path from Latin OV to OR V2 to MR (S)V(S) is dispelled; (b) what can be dubbed OR stylistic fronting can now be related to FF; (c) the diachronic variation found in Romance with respect to the placement of informational focus can be ascribed to the parametric variation and the relevant change in the activation and specialisation of the focus projections in the clause: the clause-external left peripheral projection for OR, Sardinian and Sicilian, and the clause-internal projection for the rest of MR languages; (d) FF is related to remnant object preposing (Latin setting) and is lost when OV is completely eliminated from the grammar.

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WORD-ORDER CHANGE AS A TRIGGER FOR GRAMMATICALISATION*Susann Fischer*

University of Stuttgart/Goethe-Universität Frankfurt

This paper will present a new perspective on the interrelation of word-order and grammaticalisation by investigating the change that stylistic fronting and non-nominative subjects underwent in Romance (Catalan, French, Spanish) compared to Germanic (English, Icelandic). (i) It has the initial goal of providing an explanation of why non-nominative subjects, stylistic fronting and related verb-third effects disappeared in some but not all of the above-mentioned languages and (ii) the ultimate goal of achieving a better understanding of grammaticalisation perceived as an epiphenomenon of regular parameter change triggered by a “mere” word-order change as the result of syntactic diglossia.

(i) Grammaticalisation is generally seen as the change whereby lexical elements become grammatical elements and/or whereby grammatical elements become even more grammatical elements (Meillet 1912, Kuryłowicz 1965, Lehmann 1995, among many others), or in more recent approaches where lexical categories change to functional categories (Roberts and Roussou 2003, van Gelderen 2004). In all these approaches, grammaticalisation is seen as a unidirectional irreversible process, often claimed to start out in phonology, morphology and semantics, having its subsequent effects on syntax, i.e. word-order. These approaches see word-order change as the outcome of grammaticalisation but never as the source for grammaticalisation (Claudi 1994, Roberts and Roussou 2003 among many others); some even go as far as to suggest that “word-order changes are not to be included in the usual understanding of grammaticalisation” (Hopper and Traugott 1993: 23). In this talk I will argue and present evidence in favour of the view that a different perspective is also possible, a perspective where word-order change is the source for grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation under this perspective is clearly seen as a loss of functional categories or the loss of the phonological realisation of functional categories (cf. Roberts 1999, Roberts and Roussou 2003), however, this loss of functional material need not be triggered by the loss of morphology or morphological cues, as has been argued by Roberts and Roussou (2003), but can also be triggered by a change in word-order alone. This perspective is not new. Meillet already opened up the possibility that the domain of grammaticalisation might be extended to the change of word order in sentences (Meillet 1912: 147) and von Humboldt (1822) in his approach took the change in word-order as the first step towards the emergence of grammatical elements, i.e. which is nowadays summarised under the term grammaticalisation.

(ii) Looking at the two extremes of the chronological line for the Germanic languages compared to the Romance languages, the situation can be characterized by the following facts: stylistic fronting (1) is attested in Old English and Old Icelandic and also in Old Catalan, Old French and Old Spanish; the same holds for the phenomenon of non-nominative subjects (2), which are also attested in Old English, Old Icelandic as well as in the Romance languages Old Catalan, Old French and Old Spanish³. This situation contrasts notably with that in the modern languages. In the languages under investigation, stylistic fronting is only active in Modern Icelandic, but has been given up in English, Catalan, French and Spanish (3). Concerning the non-nominative subjects, the picture is rather more complex. They are not a feature of Modern English, their only appearance being in two idiomatic expressions, but they do appear in Modern Icelandic. In Modern French the verbs that used to assign a non-nominative subject have either gotten lost or have changed into now appearing together with a nominative subject and a reflexive clitic. In the Modern Romance languages Catalan and Spanish they are also used, however the syntactic status of these non-nominative subjects in Modern Romance has

³ The examples presented here are all taken from Spanish, but identical examples exist in all other languages mentioned here.

changed considerably. Modern Spanish (and also Modern Catalan) oblique subjects e.g. do not pass the subject tests for coordinate subject deletion and control which the Old Romance subjects all do (4).

I will argue that the phenomenon of quirky subjects and stylistic fronting is highly interconnected in the Germanic and Romance languages. I.e. if we find stylistic fronting in one of those languages, we also find quirky subjects and vice versa. This will also predict that if a language loses stylistic fronting it will also lose the availability of syntactic non-nominative subjects. In order to account for the loss of SF and non-nominative subjects, I will propose an account in terms of grammaticalisation seen as a regular case of parameter change: those that have lost these phenomena have lost the possibility to make use of one additional functional category. Thus, the loss of non-nominative subjects, stylistic fronting and other verb-third effects is taken as a clear example of grammaticalisation. However, in contrast to previous and recent approaches of grammaticalisation, I will show that it is not the loss of morphological cues that triggers grammaticalisation with the subsequent effect of a word-order change, but that the word-order change as a result of syntactic diglossia sets off grammaticalisation in the functional categories which is then followed by changes in the morphology. Furthermore, I will show that even though grammaticalisation is taken as a parameter change, it still fulfils the requirements of grammaticalisation theory: the parameter change is unidirectional, and therefore follows pathways of change, exactly as is expected for cases of grammaticalisation.

- (1) e **dexado** ha __ heredades e cases e palacios OSp
 and left has.3sg properties and houses and palaces
 ‘And he has abandoned his properties, houses and palaces.’
- (2) De los que uos pesa **a mi** duele el corazón OSp
 of the that you regret to me.OBL hurt.3sg the heart
 ‘As much as you regret this my heart hurts.’
- (3) ***Dejado**ha __ heredades, casas y palacios ModSp
 left has properties, houses and palaces
- (4) a. de todo lo que **Dios** quiere y __**OBLi** gusta OSp
 of all it that **God**_{NOMi} loves and __**OBLi** pleases.3sg
 ‘and of all what God likes and what him pleases.’
- b. En conclusion **me** recorda [PRO] haber visto un árbol
 finally **me.OBL** remember [PRO] have seen the tree
 ‘and finally I remember to have seen the tree.’

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**PREPOSITIONAL GENITIVES IN ROMANCE
AND THE ISSUE OF PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT**

Chiara Gianollo
University of Konstanz

The fact that the Romance languages, since their earliest attestations, appear to be, from the point of view of a syntactic typology, much closer to one another than to their documented common Latin ancestor is often cited as a most striking case of parallel development. As such, it poses a serious challenge to non-directional theories of syntactic change (cf. the recent discussion in Roberts 2007). In this paper I will tackle the issue of parallel development by focusing on the observed sequence of morpho-syntactic changes affecting the realization of arguments of nominal heads from Latin to Romance. I will present data from a corpus search over Latin texts dating to the Classical (I cent. BCE - I cent. CE) and to the Late (IV cent. CE) stage, and from Old French texts (XI-XIII cent. CE).

Prepositional genitives in the Western Romance varieties are attested since the earliest documents. They share the most fundamental syntactic characteristics (cf. Giorgi and Longobardi 1991, Androutsopoulou and Español-Echevarría 2003) and the preposition *di/de* introducing them can be formally traced back to a common Latin origin, the ablative preposition *dē*. However, the genitival function of the prepositional tour with *dē* does not appear to be grammaticalized in any documented stage of the Latin language. The question therefore is whether it is nonetheless possible to detect a commonly inherited feature accounting for such apparent parallel development.

The inflectional realization of genitive was the only way of encoding real arguments within the Classical Latin DP. This situation persists significantly also in the Late Latin texts which have been included in my survey: the prepositional tour with *dē* + ablative does not significantly increase in frequency with respect to the Classical stage and is still overwhelmingly found with its typical directional use. Partitive or pseudo-partitive occurrences appear at a comparable rate as that of earlier -especially pre-Classical- texts (cf. Molinelli 1996, Vincent 1999). The expression of real arguments with *dē* + ablative is extremely rare, and this conclusion seems to hold also for later attestations (cf. Bonnet 1890: 607 f. on the few examples found in Gregory of Tours, where the original ablative value of the preposition is nonetheless still clear).

In the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, one of the most archaic documents of Old French, the distribution of the prepositional tour introduced by *de* attests its full grammaticalization as a means of expressing arguments of nominal heads. However, prepositional genitives occur alongside inflectional realizations of genitives by means of the *cas-régime absolu* (Foulet 1928), i.e. the oblique case of the extant bi-casual declension, which is lost only by the Middle French period. In the *Vie de Saint Alexis* the number of occurrences of prepositional genitives only slightly exceeds that of inflectional genitives. The Old French situation, thus, clearly shows that the grammaticalization of prepositional genitives cannot be mechanically linked to the loss of the inflectional realization.

I will argue that Old French genitives expressed by the *cas-régime absolu* are, in fact, a continuation of Latin from a syntactic point of view: I will propose that they represent the result of a further reanalysis of the Latin construction and that prepositional realizations share the same structural source. The kernel of the change under analysis is traced back to the Late Latin stage: despite the retention of the original inflectional system, Late Latin shows an extremely clear-cut shift in the distribution of genitive arguments. While in Classical Latin genitives occur indifferently in pre- or post-nominal position, in the Late Latin texts included in my sample genitives invariably follow their head noun, with only a few exceptions, which can be straightforwardly accounted for as idiomatic expressions. This major shift, whose ultimate causes are admittedly unclear, but do not seem to be reducible to concurrent morpho-syntactic changes, results in the generation of an ambiguous input for acquisition. Following de Wit (1997) (cf. Gianollo 2007 for Latin), I will assume that a postnominal genitive can have two structural sources: either it is a genitive licensed in the head noun's extended functional projection (a 'functional genitive') or it involves the generation of

additional structure, and is linked to the DP by means of a general process of predication (a ‘free genitive’).

In Classical Latin, the difference between these two syntactic mechanisms of argument realization is detectable, despite the common inflectional means of expression. Pre-nominal genitives are ‘functional’. They obey much stricter structural requirements, occurring in two fixed positions which are crosslinguistically well assessed, respectively before and after hierarchically ordered adjectives (cf. Longobardi 2001), and always respecting the thematic hierarchy: in case of realization of two arguments of the same head noun, the subjective genitive always precedes the objective one. On the contrary, post-nominal genitives are ‘free’, as demonstrated mainly by the possibility of not respecting the thematic hierarchy and by their looser linear distribution.

In Late Latin, ambiguity is due to the fact that the post-nominal genitive could in principle be analyzed as a ‘functional’ genitive, crossed over by noun raising (as e.g. in Modern Greek), or as a ‘free’ genitive. I will assume that the first option is preferred during acquisition due a principle of structural economy which guides the learner to assume the least possible amount of structure, hence to opt, in this specific case, for establishing a licensing mechanism within the head noun’s extended functional projection. The former post-nominal free genitive is thus reanalyzed, in absence of negative evidence, as a functional genitive raised over by the head noun. This genitive construction may have been plausibly inherited by Proto-Romance and may represent the direct source of the Old French configuration with the *cas-régime absolu*. During the Old French period, however, a further reanalysis takes place: as part of the general process of deflexion, the head noun’s extended projection loses its ability to license nominal arguments. As a consequence, the postulation of additional structure comes to be required. I will assume that this additional structure takes the form of a KP-phrase, in the spirit of Bayer, Bader, and Meng (2001): both inflectional endings and prepositions -or at least functional prepositions, with a particularly impoverished set of lexical features, such as *de-* can act as exponents of ‘Kase’. According to this analysis, the *cas-régime absolu* and the prepositional genitives would have the same underlying structure and would coexist until the bi-casual declension eventually disappears. Once a substantial structural parallelism between ‘free’ inflectional genitives and prepositional phrases is established on theoretical bases, the ultimate source of the prepositional tour can be traced back to the crucial shift occurring in Late Latin, which unequivocally transmits to the ‘daughter’ languages genitives in the post-nominal position.

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ON THE ORIGIN OF VO IN BERBICE DUTCH CREOLE

Denice Goddard and Hedde Zeijlstra
University of Amsterdam

1. Ever since the introduction of Bickertons language bioprogram (Bickerton 1981, 1984) creole studies are guided by the question of to what extent creole languages reflect UG default settings and to what extent they reflect properties of their mother languages. In this paper we will address one of the longest standing questions in creole studies: why is Guyanese creole language Berbice Dutch (BD, hereafter) a VO language, whereas both its substrate languages (Eastern Ijo languages, most notably Kalabari) and its superstrate (Dutch) are OV (see Robertson (1979, 1993), Kouwenberg (1992))? We will argue that the VO emergence in BD directly results from the grammatical structure of Kalabari and 17th century Dutch and therefore counts as an argument against the universalist claim that BD word order must result from a UG default setting.

2. According to Muysken (1983: 886) BD provides: “[p]erhaps the strongest evidence thus far that the creole SVO order does not simply result from the contributing languages, but is typical of language genesis in general.” This view has been adopted by Roberts (1999) who applies this to the genesis of BD by arguing that BD, being a creole language, must be VO in spite of its OV environment. He takes thus BD, to show “*just how marked*” OV is, thereby aiming to support Kayne (1995)’s universal SVO hypothesis: even a creole language whose parent languages are all OV still exhibits VO. But the claim that all creole languages exhibit VO is too strong. Den Besten (2002) has shown that e.g. Cape Dutch, a Dutch-Khoekhoe based creole with only OV parent languages, has remained OV as well, thus providing a counter argument against Muysken’s generalization.

3. However, also non-universalist accounts for BD’s VO status have been proposed. Kouwenberg (1992) rejects the universalist hypothesis and argues instead that BD is the result of a process of ‘linguistic negotiation’ i.e. the willingness of both sub- and superstrate speakers to compromise linguistically to advance intelligibility, which resulted in the adoption of structures speakers in this setting perceived as common to all contact languages. Since Dutch exhibited V2 patterns, leading to abundant SVO surface structures, and according to Kouwenberg Kalabari allowed auxiliary fronting, the new language should also be able to place the verb in a position preceding the object, and as a result of ‘linguistic negotiation’ BD then would become VO. But this analysis suffers from several problems. First, the assumption that Kalabari exhibits abundant superficial SVO is incorrect since what Kouwenberg takes to be finite verb movement in Kalabari, actually involves base generated TMA particles. Kouwenberg assumes that in strings such as (1) *ine* (‘be able’) is an auxiliary that moved from sentence final to the second position. However, a typical property of these elements is that they must be uninflected. Inflected Kalabari verbs may never occupy C° (Jenewari (1977)).

(1) *ine ine ofunguru ba-aa* **Kalabari**
3PL.S able rat.O kill-NEG
‘They can’t kill rats’

Also, the analysis that Dutch applies overwhelming surface SVO is at least doubtful (in spite of its main clause V-to-C property, causing SVO surface structures) as evidence for SOV is still massively present. Finally, Kouwenbergs reasoning does not provide an explanation for the fact that the Dutch shifted from SOV to a counter intuitive SVO. Knowing hierarchical relations on slave plantations, it is highly unlikely that the Dutch would not have disregarded SVO overgeneralizations as infantile jabbers of their primitive slaves, who were apparently unable to learn something as sophisticated as a European language.

4. Lightfoot (2006) emphasizes the possibility that due to the tangle of the contact situation, proof for SOV was obscured and speakers’ input consisted solely of SVO evidence. To support this claim Lightfoot points to the postverbal position of the negative marker, a standard signpost for

verbal movement (see (2)) (cf. Zeijlstra (2004)). In Kalabari however, the negative element is clitically attached to the verb, as shown in (3).

(2) *ik ziei het niet t_i* **Dutch**
 1SG.NOM see.1SG 3SG.N NEG
 ‘I don’t see it’

(3) *i mu- ϕ =a?* **Kalabari**
 2SG go-FAC=NEG
 ‘Didn’t you go?’

Since BD adopted this feature from Kalabari, it obscured one instance of SOV evidence, as the negative particle no longer was capable of marking verbal movement. Thus, according to Lightfoot, BD contained less and less elements signalling Dutch underlying SOV structure, leading to an overgeneralization of SVO by both L1 and L2 Kalabari speakers learning Dutch. However, negation is only one of many signposts of underlying VO. Many other instances have remained: verbs with a separable particle and strings with more than one verb (both of which abundantly present in Dutch) leave clear V-traces, as do most adverbials, which outscope vP). It is highly unlikely for all of these instances to have been obscured (let alone instances of subordinate clauses, which are always SOV in Dutch). In addition, Lightfoot’s proposal runs into the same difficulties as Kouwenbergs, in that it does not account for the Dutch adopting a counter intuitive SVO structure.

5. In this paper we argue that despite the fact that the Dutch spoken on the plantations contained direct or indirect evidence for an underlying SOV structure, this did not trigger Kalabari speakers to analyze Dutch as an SOV language. This is mainly due to two causes: first, Kalabari, as discussed above, does not exhibit a V2 property, contrary to what has traditionally been assumed (all instances of what seems to be finite verbs in C° are actually TMA markers), causing these speakers to misinterpret their Dutch input and overgeneralize its surface SVO quality; second, until the 18th century Dutch allowed VO leakages of all kind (up to 30-40%), as recent data by Cloutier (2008: 44) have indicated. The downfall of VO leakages, a by-effect of the decline of Middle Dutch morphological case marking, did not end before the rise of BD. Now, BD VO status follows immediately: first Kalabari had no movement causing SVO in their native language. Since Kalabari had no way of recognizing the V2 property, they must have misinterpreted Dutch SVO surface strings and subsequently overgeneralized SVO to all sentence types. Additional input then, did not lead Kalabari speakers to reject their initial SVO hypothesis and adopt a more complex SOV+V2 hypothesis as the SVO overgeneralizations were in compliance with the existing Dutch VO leakages. The linguistic environment caused the Dutch to gradually increase their VO leakages, in turn confirming Kalabari’s SVO hypothesis. This resolves the objections with regard to Lightfoot and Kouwenberg’s analyses, namely why Dutch planters adopted counter intuitive SVO in depth orderings. This opened up the way for the next generation to interpret this linguistic input as SVO with exceptional leakage to SOV. With the loss of syntactic flexibility, finally, word order for BD was set on SVO.

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GRAMMATICALIZATION AND THE PRAGMATIC FIELD: THE ROMANIAN ‘CAN’

Virginia Hill

University of New Brunswick-SJ

This paper discusses the intra-speaker variation in the use of the Romanian constructions with the modal *putea* ‘can’ in (1) and (2). The modal selects a subjunctive complement in (1), and a bare infinitive in (2). Each construction may yield two readings: epistemic or deontic. Speakers seem to use (1) and (2) in free alternation (for either epistemic or deontic reading), within the same language register, while addressing the same interlocutor. I show that the option for (1) and (2) is not free, but determined by the presence/absence of speech act features in the derivation.

The use of (1) and (2) questions the exclusion of optionality in the grammatical theory, because: (i) each configuration is associated with two readings (distinguishable only through pragmatic clues); (ii) the two configurations may substitute for each other. This paper focuses on these two properties, aiming to (a) sort out the syntactic configuration underlying the ambiguous reading; (b) verify if the alternation between (1) and (2) is indeed free.

The framework for the assessment comes from: the cartography for modal possibility (Cinque 1999); the proposal of a syntactic approach to Speech Acts – which introduce the *speaker* and *hearer* role features in the left periphery of clauses (Baker 2008; Speas & Tenny 2003 a.o.); the definition of grammaticalization as the re-analysis of an item as merged in a higher hierarchical position (Roberts & Roussou 2003). The results are:

Syntax. Word order, constituency tests, clitic placement and verb ellipsis indicate that ‘can’ is a non-thematic, raising verb in (1), but a functional verb merged directly in the TP domain in (2). As shown in (3) and (4), respectively, the configuration is bi-clausal in (1) but mono-clausal in (2), the latter having both the modal and the bare infinitive verb sharing the same TP domain. Hence, the functional ‘can’ in (2) comes from a re-analysis of the modal higher in the hierarchy. According to the criteria in Roberts & Roussou (2003), the version in (2) must be more recent and, therefore, preferred in colloquial language. Irrespective of the bi- or mono-clausal structure, each modal construction allows for deontic or epistemic readings because: (i) the merging site for the modal is low (i.e., ‘little’ v for the raising verb; Mod_{ability} for the functional verb); (ii) obligatory verb movement to the highest inflectional head applies in both cases. Hence, the modal may either check the modal features low in the structure (yielding a deontic reading) or high, above T (in Mod_{epistemic}, yielding an epistemic reading). However, ambiguity arises only out of context, which means that pragmatics determines the qualification of [possibility] in the Numeration, so only one [possibility] ModP has active features (either low or high).

Performance. The direction of grammaticalization predicts that (2) should be preferred over (1) in colloquial language. This is not the case, as the two versions have coexisted at this degree of alternation for at least 400 years. I elicited judgments for a list of 9 modal constructions, counting how many times the speakers (30 women, age 40 and above) opt for subjunctive or bare infinitive complementation. It appears that the bare infinitive is a regular option when economy is at stake (e.g., constructions with recursive sentential complements have the second verb as bare infinitive versus subjunctive (5)), but not when ‘can’ has only one complement. In the latter case, the choice depends on the degree of speaker-orientedness: a strong point of view pairs with the option for subjunctives (6,7), while neutral sentences show the infinitive option (8). Hence, the choice between (1) and (2) depends on the presence/absence of speech act features in the left periphery. The pairing of the subjunctive with speaker-orientedness occurs elsewhere in the language (e.g., the alternation between the auxiliaries ‘be’/‘have’), so it is independent of the properties of ‘can’. The main point is that speech acts influence the choice in syntactic derivation to the point of cancelling the default option given by the direction of grammaticalization (i.e., preference of an older form over a more recent one).

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Data

Abbreviations: SUBJ = 'subjunctive' (mood marker or verb ending); INF = infinitive

- (1) Ar putea domnia-sa să- i lumineze sufletul.
would could lord-his to-SUBJ him lighten-SUBJ soul-the
'His highness might enlighten his mind.' (epistemic)
OR 'His highness could enlighten his mind.' (deontic)
- (2) Domnia-sa i- ar putea lumina sufletul.
lord-his him would could light-INF soul-the
'His highness might enlighten his mind.' (epistemic)
OR 'His highness could enlighten his mind.' (deontic)
- (3) [TP T_{can} Mod_{ability/can} [vP V_{can} [TP T_{enlighten}'...]]] (deontic)
OR
[TP Mod_{epistemic/can} T_{can} [vP V_{can} [TP T_{enlighten}'...]]] (epistemic)
- (4) [TP T_{can} Mod_{ability/can} Voice_{'enlighten'} [vP V_{'enlighten'}'...]]] (deontic)
OR
[TP Mod_{epistemic/can} T_{can} Voice_{'enlighten'} [vP V_{'enlighten'}'...]]] (epistemic)
- (5) *Maria pare [să poată [să se angajeze.]]* options#: 3
Maria seems SUBJ can-3sg to-SUBJ REFL get.employed-3sg.SUBJ
Maria pare [să se poată angaja.] options#: 25
Maria seems to-SUBJ REFL can-3sg get.employed-INF undecided: 2
'Maria seems to be able to get herself hired.'
- (6) *Dragă, nu poți să lucrezi în ritmul ăsta!* options#: 19
dear not can-2sg to-SUBJ work-2sg in rhythm-the this
Dragă nu poți lucra în ritmul ăsta! options#: 8
dear not can-2sg work-INF in rhythm-the this undecided: 3
'Dear, you cannot work in this rhythm!' = **mild/polite point of view**
- (7) *Sigur că poate să întârzie.* options#: 25
surely that can-3sg to-SUBJ retard-3sg
Sigur că poate întârzie. options#: 3
Surely that can retard-INF undecided: 2
'Of course s/he could be late.' = **strong point of view**

- (8) *Legea spune că nu putem să călătorim fără pașaport.* options#: 10
law-the says that not can-1pl to-SUBJ travel-1pl without passport
Legea spune că nu putem călători fără pașaport. options#: 14
Law-the says that not can-1pl travel-INF without passport
'The law says that we cannot travel without a passport.' undecided: 6

INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND SYNTACTIC CHANGE IN EARLY BULGARIAN

Virginia Hill and Olga Mladenova

University of New Brunswick-SJ and University of Calgary

Early Bulgarian texts (i.e., 17th century damaskins) display two configurations for deriving the information structure: (i) one with the particle *ta*; and (ii) one without the particle *ta*. These two configurations contrast in significant ways w.r.t. the operations at the left periphery of clauses: in (i), *ta* allows only for *information focus* (versus *contrastive focus*) reading, and forces the dislocation of some constituent to Topic; in (ii), the derivation allows for a contrastive focus (information focus being read off the lower hierarchy) and the Topic may be absent. Only configuration (ii) survived to Modern Bulgarian, while *ta* has been re-analyzed as a discourse transitional particle of the type ‘ok’/‘so’. How could the particle *ta* determine a separate strategy for deriving the information structure, and what happened to that strategy?

This paper argues that, up to the Early Bulgarian time, *ta* functioned as a syncretic node carrying features for “old” and “new” information, as well as functional features for sentence typing and finiteness, and triggered the configuration (i). Derivational flexibility and economy favored the configuration (ii), in which speakers integrated the grammaticalized *ta*.

The morphology and the distribution of *ta* in the damaskins provide evidence for its status as a free morpheme that triggers obligatory lexical material on its left and on its right, as in (1). The interpretation indicates that the material on the right side (i.e., the c-selected constituent) stands for “new information”, whereas the material on the left side stands for “old” or “background” information in relation to the material on the right.

Ta displays the properties of a functional head that c-selects verbal predicates (e.g., clauses), as in (1), (2). These predicates receive an information focus reading (i.e., *predicate-focus* or *sentence-focus* in Lambrecht’s 1994 terms) only in relation to the constituent to the left of *ta*, which is systematically de-focused, and interpreted as background/old information in relation to the c-selected predicate.

The observations on the behavior of *ta* amount to a definition of this particle as a functional head that carries an underspecified [new information] feature, which triggers the lexical material on the left (for [– new information]) and on the right (for [+ new information]), in a phrasal configuration as in (3). This configuration is obligatorily relational and confirms the intuition that *focus* is, somehow, a “complement” of *topic*. The relational property of *ta* emerges from its features and the way they are checked in syntax: *ta* has a [V] feature, which forces it to select verbal predicates (e.g., versus nouns); an operator feature (it occurs in complementary distribution with *wh/qu* items); sentence and inflectional typing features (it restricts the type of clause it derives and the compatible tense/mood). Thus, *ta* subsumes the functions usually attributed in the literature to various functional heads (i.e., Topic, Focus, Force, Finiteness).

The same texts attest the parallel use of the non-relational strategy in (ii), where, in the absence of *ta*, the information structure displays the cartographic pattern in Rizzi (1997) and Belletti (2008), shown in (5). Co-occurrence of the two configurations in the same sentence, as in (4), is avoided; the loss of the pattern in (i) coincides with the simultaneous re-analysis of *ta* as a coordinating conjunction, a subordinator and a discourse connector. This multiple re-analysis indicates the break of the syncretic node and the free association of *ta* with one of the features formerly clustered on this node. We assume that the dissolution of the syncretic *ta* node happened when the left periphery of clauses became stable in Bulgarian (i.e., after the completion of the infinitive replacement by subjunctives), allowing the left field to derive the focus “analytically” as in (5).

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Examples

- (1) *i toizyi svěť ta [e do vrěme, i pogynuva]*
 and this.MASC world TA is until time and perishes
 ‘And this world lasts for a limited time, and perishes.’
 (Demina 1971: 261, 1650s, Tixonravov damaskin, *togazi* section)

- (2) *i poide onzi kaluger ta [go*
 and went.3SG that.MASC monk TA him.CL.ACC
navadi na igumena]
 denounced.3SG on abbot

‘And that monk went and denounced him to the abbot.’ (Demina 1971, 54 – 1650s, Tixonravov damaskin, *togazi* section)

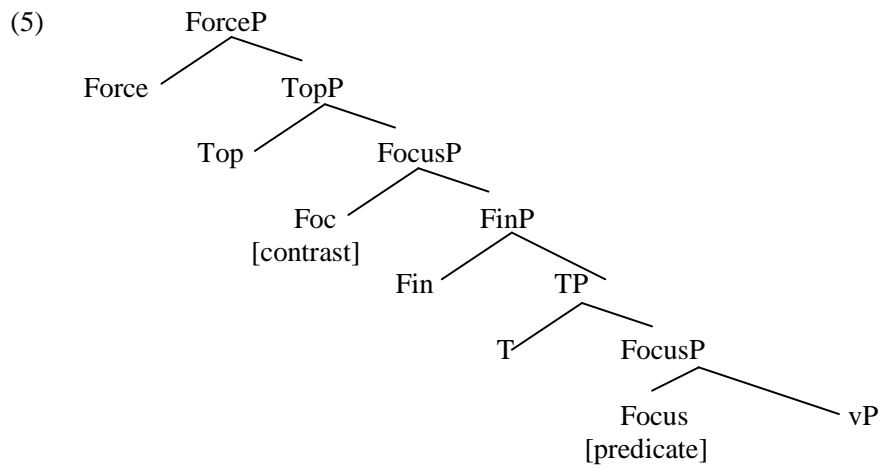
- (3)
- ```

 taP
 / \
 Spec ta'
[-new info]
 / \
 ta Complement
[+/- new info] [+new info]

```

- (4) *koga šte da se svurši svetut ta [nikoj ne*  
 when will to REFL ends world.THE TA nobody not  
*znae ot ljudiete tukmo edin bog deto*  
 knows from people.THE just one.MASC god that  
*stori nebo i zemlju i dni i godini i ]*  
 made.3SG heaven and earth....

“No human being knows when the world will end but God who created the heaven and the earth,...”  
 (Demina 1971, 206 – 1650s, Tixonravov damaskin, *togiva* section)



**MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGE DUE TO SYNTACTIC REANALYSIS:  
FROM DEONENTS TO VOICE GAPS**

*Dalina Kallulli*  
University of Vienna

1. Background and goals

It is well-known that across languages, verbs appearing in different syntactic alternations such as the passive, anticausative, reflexive, middle, etc., often share identical morphology involving a pronoun, a clitic, or a verbal inflection (e.g., non-active or passive voice, depending on the language), as in (1) for Albanian and (2) for German.

- (1) *Fëmija la-het kollaj.*  
child.the<sub>NOM</sub> wash- NACT,IMP,3S easily  
(i) ‘The child washes/is washing itself with ease.’ → reflexive  
(ii) ‘The child is being washed with ease.’ → passive  
(iii) ‘The child washes easily.’ / ‘The child is easy to wash.’ → middle
- (2) a. *Ralf rasiert \*(sich).*      b. *Dieser Roman liest \*(sich) gut.*      c. *Die Tür öffnet \*(sich).*  
Ralf shaves SICH                      this novel reads SICH well                      the door opens SICH  
‘Ralf is shaving.’                      ‘This novel reads well.’                      ‘The door opens.’

While such voice-related syncretisms have especially since Perlmutter (1978) been the subject of substantial research in linguistic theory, to date there exist no theoretical accounts of what may be referred to as (voice-related) morphological gaps. These are cases in which the expected (voice-related) syncretism does not (or cannot) obtain. For instance, while in German the anticausative alternant of an alternating verb is often accompanied by a reflexive pronoun (as in (2c) above for ‘open’), this is not the case for every verb (as in (3) for ‘break’)

- (3) *Das Fenster zerbrach \*(sich).*  
the window broke SICH  
‘The window broke.’

Even more intriguing is the fact that sometimes both forms (e.g. active & non-active/passive) are attested for the same verb in the same syntactic alternation, as illustrated by the Albanian examples (4a,b) for the anticausative counterpart of the verb ‘crack’. (Such patterns are also found in Latin and Greek; cf. Benveniste 1950, Flobert 1975, Embick 1997, Gianollo 2000.)

- (4) a. *Dritarja u kris.*                      vs. b. *Dritarja krisi.*  
window<sub>NOM</sub> NACT crack.AOR.3S                      window crack.ACT.AOR.3S  
(i) ‘The window cracked.’                      (i) ‘The window cracked.’  
(ii) ‘The window was cracked.’                      (ii) \*‘The window was cracked.’

The primary goal of this paper is to account for what seems to be a solid generalization, namely that across Indo-European languages with distinct voice paradigms, voice gaps may arise only with anticausatives and/or middles but **not** with passive, reflexive, or deponent predicates. This situation challenges the popular claim that non-active/passive voice marking relates to just a [-external argument] feature in the syntax (Embick 1997, 2004); assuming as is widely held that anticausatives lack an external argument, since the absence of the external argument does *not* entail non-active/passive voice (as witnessed by examples such as (4b) in which the verb has active form even though it occurs in the anticausative frame), the correlation between non-active/passive voice and lack of an external argument is at best an imperfect one. That is, [-external argument] cannot be the

relevant feature that triggers non-active/passive marking; [-external argument] is a necessary but not sufficient condition for non-active/passive marking. Thus, ideally, an account of the emergence and occurrence of voice gaps should follow from (or bear on) the answer to the following question: What is the feature that non-active/passive voice relates to and that distinguishes it from the active voice?

## 2. Core proposal

The central claim that I put forward is that the non-active/passive voice (is being reanalyzed as a morpheme that) realizes a [+activity] feature (in the sense *actor-initiated*, cf. Kallulli 2007) in the presence of a [-external argument] feature. Beyond the arguments in Kallulli (2007) and in section 3 below, the fact that in English the auxiliary *to be* is used to build both the passive and the progressive constitutes evidence for this view. In fact, throughout the 16th to the 19th century (active) progressives used with a passive meaning, as in (5), have been attested. [Though the period in which this construction seems to have enjoyed its greatest popularity was the 18th century (Jespersen 1931:211), remnants of it are found even in present-day English: e.g. *dinner is cooking, the book is printing, something is wanting.*] Thus, the idea is that the progressive was used with a passive sense because of the [+act(ivity)] feature encoded by the passive head occupied by the verb *be*.

(4) The house was building for years. [Meaning: ‘The house was being built for years’]

## 3. The significance of deponent verbs

Traditionally, deponents have been defined as verbs that have a morphologically passive or non-active form (depending on the language) but active meaning (see e.g. Bennet 1907). Crucially however, not all deponent verbs can combine with agentive or causative PPs (i.e. *by-* and *from-* phrases), as illustrated in (6) for Albanian (see also Xu, Aronoff & Anshen 2007 for Latin), thus rendering untenable the claim in Alexiadou et al. (2006) that non-active voice is solely of two varieties, VOICE [+Ag] and VOICE [+Caus].

- (6) a. *Dielli u duk (\*nga Zoti / qielli).*  
 sun NACT appeared from/by God / sky  
 ‘The sun appeared \*(by/from God / the sky).’
- b. *Krenohem (\*nga djali ) / për / me djalin.*  
 am proud.PR,NACT from/by son.the.NOM / for / with son.the.ACC  
 ‘I am proud of my son.’

Furthermore, some verbs derived from deponents with no causative semantics (e.g. deponents that cannot combine with a PP identifying a cause) can enter transitive/causative frames, as illustrated through the Albanian examples in (7).

- (7) a. *Në rregull, po zhdukem atëhere.* (compare with (6a))  
 in order PROG disappear.NACT then  
 ‘OK, I (go) disappear then’
- b. *I zhduka gjurmët.*  
 CL,3PL,ACC disappear traces  
 ‘I made the traces / evidence disappear’ (I.e. ‘I destroyed the evidence’.)

Data such as in (7), which are by no means sporadic across languages, speak for a transitivization process (i.e. from ‘deponent’ to causative/transitive), lending in this way support to approaches such as the one advocated in Ramchand (2008). Tying this in with the facts discussed earlier, I contend that (non-actively) marked anticausatives as in (4a) started out as ‘deponents’; with the re-analysis/re-interpretation of non-active morphology as realizing an [+activity] feature in the presence of a [-external argument] feature, anticausatives start dropping non-active marking, as they don’t have a

[+activity] feature. Note that under the analysis outlined here the traditional definition of deponents as having a morphologically passive/non-active form but active meaning is derived in a straightforward manner: since deponents are always actor-initiated, they do not present a form-meaning mismatch at all (contra traditional accounts).

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**THE COMPARATIVE EVOLUTION OF WORD ORDER IN FRENCH AND ENGLISH**

*Anthony Kroch and Beatrice Santorini*  
University of Pennsylvania

The existence of parsed corpora of historical English (Kroch and Taylor 2000, Taylor et al. 2003, Kroch et al. 2004, Taylor et al. 2006) has made practicable detailed quantitative studies of the temporal evolution of English word order. Recently, a Canadian project, *Modéliser le changement: les voies du français [MCVF]* (<http://www.voies.uottawa.ca/index.html>), has created a parsed corpus of historical French. As a result, we now have the prospect of conducting similar quantitative studies of that language as well as quantitative investigations of the comparative evolution of French and English. Moreover, as suitably annotated corpora of more languages become available, we can foresee the emergence of a richly quantitative and fully comparative historical syntax.

In this paper, we take a step in the direction of this new subfield by revisiting the loss of verb-second word order in French, with particular emphasis on comparing this development to the parallel loss of V2 in English. In some ways, the developments in the two languages look remarkably alike. For instance, in both there is a steep decline of direct object topicalization that accompanies the loss of V2 word order. Recent work by Speyer (Speyer 2005, 2008) confirms an earlier observation by Johnson and Whitton (2002) that the frequency of object topicalization in the course of Middle English drops by approximately a factor of 3. The MCVF corpus reveals an even greater decline between Old and Middle French. At the same time, the frequency of PP and adverb fronting remains largely constant in both languages. A second commonality (Hulk and van Kemenade 1995; Vance 1995, 1997; Haeberli 2000) concerns the evolution of the position of the subject in the two languages. In both French and English, there was in earlier periods a widely used low position for subjects which became more restricted over time. Given these common features, it is striking that the loss of verb-second word order follows a different trajectory in the two languages, in part because the grammatical starting point for the change was quite different in the two cases. Old English was not a canonical V2 language and did not exhibit V-to-C movement in topicalized sentences (Haeberli 2002; Pintzuk 1991, 1993). Verb-second surface word order was not forced by any grammatical requirement but rather reflected a prosodically driven propensity for the use of the low subject position in topicalized sentences. Old French, on the other hand, was a strict V-to-C V2 language (Adams 1987a, Vance 1997) in which verb-second word order was forced by the same syntactic licensing requirement found in the modern Germanic V2 languages.

The loss of verb-second word order in Middle English resulted from a decline over time in the availability of the low subject position. This decline was accompanied by a decline in the frequency of topicalization, because the prosodic requirement that had favored the use of the low subject position in topicalized sentences in Old English did not change. The contrast with French is sharp. In the transition from Old to Middle French V-to-C movement was greatly restricted (Vance 1997); but the use of the low subject position remained robust, leaving Middle French with a grammar similar to that of Old English. It is then surprising that the frequency of object topicalization in Middle French should have been as low as it was. In Old English, after all, the frequency was quite high. If French had truly followed the English parallel, it should have maintained a high frequency of object topicalization until modern times, the period when its use of the low subject position became restricted. The best explanation for the drop in frequency of topicalization in French turns out to be the change in accentuation that philologists have argued French underwent (see the discussion in Adams 1987b). This change greatly restricted phrasal accents at the left edge of an utterance, making the normal double accentuation of most topicalized sentences impossible and eliminating the information-structural motivation for movement of a topicalized argument to the left edge of a matrix clause. In modern spoken French, the loss of topicalization is compensated by the extensive use of clitic left- and right-dislocation, as well as it-clefting and other constructions, but these constructions have always been to a considerable extent avoided in writing, making detection of the substitution

difficult. Nonetheless, it is possible to show that these alternatives do increase in frequency over time and thereby to support our prosody-based account.

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## OLD IRISH STANDARD-OF-COMPARISON CONSTRUCTIONS

*Elliott Lash*  
Cambridge University

This paper discusses the development of Irish standard-of-comparison constructions from the earliest attested examples (8th century) to the end of the Middle Irish period (12th century). The background for this paper is found in an argument-adjunct distinction found in operator-constructions, due to the fact that Old Irish standard-of-comparison constructions behave like adjunct-operator constructions. The distinction between arguments and adjuncts in these constructions is manifested by phonological ‘mutations’ that are characteristic of Celtic languages. In Irish, the mutations are called *lenition*, which changes a stop to a fricative and *nasalization*, which voices an unvoiced sound and changes voiced stops to nasals.

Operator-variable chains representing arguments exhibit lenition in two cases: if the argument is a subject or if the argument is an object of neuter gender, with non-neuter objects, nasalization is found. Chains representing adjuncts only exhibit nasalization. Such mutations can be viewed as PF-reflexes of Spec-Head agreement between the operator and the head X introducing the subordinate clause. The verb linearly adjacent to X undergoes the specified mutation. The following examples show these distinctions:

- 1) Subject: ind hul-i doín-i ro-chreit-s-et  
the.PL all-PL men-PL PRF-(LENITION)believe-PST-3P  
‘All the men who believed...’ (Ml. 60b16) (lenition c > ch)
- 2) Object (neuter): an ad-chi-am  
the.one PV-(LENITION)see-1P  
‘The one that we see...’ (Ml. 112b13) (lenition c > ch)
- 3) Object (feminine): chech irnigde do-ngne-id  
Each prayer PV-(NASALIZATION)do.SBJ-2P  
‘each prayer that you may make...’ (Wb. 5c20) (nasalization g > ng)
- 4) Adjunct: in tindnacuil sin du-n-écomnach-t Día inní  
the deliverance that PV-NAS-PRF.deliver-PST.3S God that.one  
‘That deliverance by which God delivered that one.’ (Ml. 55c1)

In this paper, I argue that standard-of-comparison constructions were adjunct-operator constructions, because they exhibit nasalization of the verb. They are characterized by the elements *ol daas* where *ol* is a former preposition “beyond” and *daas* a nasalized relative verb “which is” (non-nasalized: *taas*). The translation indicates the adjunct-operator status of this construction with the words ‘the way that’.

- 5) is doch-u indala n-ái ol da-as anaill.  
COP likely-COMP one 3P.GEN beyond (NAS)be-REL.3S other  
‘One of them is more likely than the way that the other is.’ (Wb. 4b24)

Where the predicate of a standard-of-comparison construction differed from the main predicate, the adjunct-operator construction was followed by a complement clause – also marked with nasalization in OI (although it is not the PF-reflex of Spec-Head agreement, as complement clauses lack an operator in SpecX). This two clause analysis is indicated in the example by the words [the way it is [that ...]].

- 6) ol da-as a-tal ndiglaid-i...  
 beyond (NAS)be-REL COP.PRS-3P.REL (NAS)vengeful-PL  
 ‘...than the way it is that they are vengeful...’ (MI. 111c8)

During the Old Irish period, several related changes affected the constructions shown in examples (5) and (6). These changes were driven by the ambiguity of the nasalized complement clause following *ol daas*, which could either be a complement clause or an adjunct-operator construction introduced by a complementiser *oldaas*. Because of this ambiguity, [[C ol] ... [V-T *daas*] ...] was reanalyzed as a complementiser [C *oldaas*]. This reanalysis was also helped by the fact that *daas* was no longer found in other operator constructions (such as relative clauses), where forms such as *ro-ngab* (+nasalizing operator) and *fil[e]* (+leniting operator) had become common. The second reanalysis was that the complement clause became an adjunct-operator construction. Essentially, these changes result in clause collapsing, from the original construction (7) to the new (8):

- 7) [CP [C ol] [XP OP [X' [X] [TP [V-T *daas*] [...]]]]]  
 8) [CP [C *oldaas*] [XP OP [X [TP verb/predicate...]]]]

These two reanalyses were followed by a number of extensions, in which the underlying syntactic analysis of these constructions became clear through a series of phonological and morphological realignments. With the reanalysis of *ol daas* to a complementiser, the verbal characteristics of *daas* were lost: it eventually no longer manifested person/number/tense distinctions and it underwent subsequent phonetic change to Modern Irish *ná*. Furthermore, its use in sentences in which the main clause predicate and the standard-of-comparison predicate were the same (example 5) could now be viewed as a complementiser with an elided predicate, stranding the subject in its (normal for Irish) post predicate position. Finally, the reanalysis of a complement clause as an adjunct-operator construction in sentences having different predicates (example 6) was later manifested by the introduction of the overt-operator *mar* “how/like/as”, which appears to be common in the 12th century (although likely introduced earlier). An example of this new construction is found in the Modern Irish:

- 9) Labhraí-onn sé níos fearr ná mar a scríobh-ann sé.  
 speak-3S.PRS he COMP better than like that write-3S.PRS he

This paper will contribute to the general knowledge about argument-adjunct distinctions by providing data from a previously under-studied language (OI). Additionally, it will show that the history of Irish standard-of-comparison constructions can be explained with reference to a theory of reanalysis, extension and syntax-driven grammaticalisation.

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**REPORT VERBS, COMPLEMENTATION, AND  
SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS**

*Rosmin Mathew*  
CASTL, Tromsø

The nature of V to C grammaticalisation has been the object of much research in diachronic studies. Of particular interest in this paper is the reanalysis of a report verb into a complementiser. Klamer (2000), examining the complementisers in *Tukang Besi* and *Buru*, has argued that they are developed from corresponding verbs of saying triggered by a process of “semantic bleaching”. The option for subject drop in these languages leads to the report verb being a category neutral entity with no arguments. This element is then reanalyzed as a complementiser and another verb now carries the functions of report, saying etc.

One of the main critiques against this model proposed by Klamer has been by Roberts and Roussou (2003). Raising a number of counter arguments to the processes expounded by Klamer, they give an alternate analysis where the V to C grammaticalisation can be seen as arising from Serial Verb constructions. They give the following steps for the reanalysis:

- a. [CP C [TP T [VP<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub> [VP<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub>]]]]
- b. [CP C [TP [T V<sub>1</sub> [VP<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub>]]]]
- c. [CP C [C V<sub>1</sub> [TP T [VP<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub>]]]]

It is argued in this paper, drawing examples from Malayalam belonging to the Dravidian family and spoken in South India, that the process may not be as straight forward as explained above. Malayalam employs the conjunctive participle form of a report verb, namely, *ennu* in instances of complementation (e.g. 1). The interesting fact here is that the same conjunctive participle form is used to produce Serial Verb Constructions (SVC) as well (e.g.3). These examples may, *prima facie*, give the impression of a report verb used in a Serial Verb construction turning into a complementiser. However, such a suggestion runs into trouble at a closer examination of the general behaviour of *ennu* as well as that of SVCs in general.

Malayalam exhibits SVCs where any number of verbs appearing in what is traditionally known as Conjunctive Participle (ConjPrt) form can precede a final finite verb. An SVC can either denote a single event or multiple events. When denoting a single event, the verbs in ConjPrt form are interpreted as modifying the finite verb (cf 3) whereas in the multiple event interpretation the verbs constitute a temporal sequence (cf. 2). Three facts are shown in this paper vis-à-vis SVCs in the language which are of importance in the scrutiny of the properties of *ennu*:

1. There are two different forms corresponding to the single/multiple event interpretations. The single event reading structures make use of the bare ConjPrt form while the multiple event reading structures are of the form ConjPrt+ittu where *ittu* itself is a ConjPrt Verb.
2. SVCs of the kind described in (i) are clearly distinguishable in the language from the V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> sequences where V<sub>2</sub> functions more as a light verb (cf. 4,5).
3. It is possible for the same verb to retain its lexical meaning, and function fully as any lexical verb, while also functioning like a light verb in a V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> sequence displaying a partial loss of arguments (cf. 4,5,6).

Keeping these properties of SVCs in mind, examining constructions involving *ennu* brings the following interesting facts into light:

1. While an *ennu* clause can be used in the context of verbs denoting speech acts and mental perception, the quotative character of the verb seems to be fully retained at least in certain constructions where it is possible for *ennu* to take nominal complements (cf. 7)
2. *Ennu* appears in ALL forms that a ConjPrt verb can appear (cf.8). Interestingly, these possible forms have been reinterpreted as subordinating conjunctions (cf.9,10).

Thus, it is of crucial importance that a careful distinction be maintained between lexical and grammaticalised forms of the verbs in languages like Malayalam where both uses can co-exist. Also of importance is establishing whether the reanalysis of the report verb has taken place following its use in a V<sub>1</sub>-V<sub>2</sub> light verb construction or from a lexical SV construction. Analysing the facts given above, this paper tries to tease apart the different functions of *ennu* in an attempt to capture the process whereby the ConjPrt form of a report verb in an SV construction is reanalyzed as a Complementiser and other forms of the same verb are reanalyzed as different subordinating conjunctions while the report function – i.e. part of the lexical meaning – is still fully maintained in yet other constructions. In order to do this, it is shown that the single versus multiple event SVCs involve different structures. It is further shown that in some cases the ConjPrt form is modifying the finite verb (Jayaseelan 2004) and involves a biclausal structure. These biclausal constructions of the ConjPrt makes the reanalysis of *ennu* more amenable than the other forms.

### Examples

1. Karambi wannu ennu Paily paranju  
Karambi came comp Paily said  
Paily said that Karambi came.
2. Paily kuLicciTTu wi:TTil po:yi.  
Paily bathe<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-ittu home-Loc went  
Paily went home, having bathed.
3. Paily kaLiccu ciriccu wi:TTil po:yi  
Paily play<sub>ConjPrt</sub> laugh<sub>ConjPrt</sub> home-Loc went  
Paily went home playing and laughing.
4. Paily wi:TTil wanniTTu paisa tannu  
Paily home-Loc come<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-ittu money gave  
Having come home, Paily gave money.
5. Paily enikku oru katha paranju-tannu  
Paily to me one story say<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-gave  
Paily told me a story.
6. Paily enikku oru pasuvine tannu  
Paily to me one cow-Acc gave  
Paily gave me a cow.
7. Paily enne paTTi ennu wiLiccu  
Paily me dog comp called  
Paily called me a dog.

8. wann-a:l (if come)    wann-iTTu (after coming)    wann-iTT-o: (what happened after coming?)  
 come<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-if    come<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-ittu    come<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-iTT QuestionParticle
- enn-a:l (but)    enn-iTTu (Then, after that)    enn-iTT-o: (what happened after that?)
9. Paily    wanna:l    ninakku    nja:n    paisa    tarum  
 Paily    come<sub>ConjPrt</sub>-if you-Dative I    money    will give  
 If Paily comes, I will give you money.
10. Paily    wi:TTil    wannu; enna:l    enikku    paisa    kiTTiy-illa  
 Paily    home-Loc    came    but    me-Dative    money    gave-not  
 Paily came home, but I did not get money.

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## OLD ROMANCE WORD ORDER: A COMPARATIVE MINIMALIST ANALYSIS

*Guido Mensching*  
Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

The aim of the talk is the analysis of some aspects of word order in the medieval stages of the Romance languages, focussing on the issue of how the relevant differences with respect to their modern stages can be expressed by parameters in the sense of the Minimalist Program.

The general framework is a new funded research project, which analyses the basic syntactic properties of all Romance languages within a minimalist framework, including the formalization of the underlying mechanisms. Our approach is based on Chomsky's (2000 ff.) proposal of a uniform syntactic component with the lexicon as the locus of parameters, responsible for syntactic variation. As a consequence, the project aims at capturing the varying syntactic behaviour of Romance languages in means of parameterized and consistently formalized functional categories. We mainly assume the following basic syntactic features and mechanisms: the core functional categories C, T, *v*, and D, the operation Merge, a probing mechanism or operation Agree, and the existence of [EPP]-features. The status of head movement still being controversial, we provisionally stipulate a feature similar to the "strong" affixal head-feature used by Radford (2004), a "Head Attraction Feature" (HAF), following Pomino (2008).

The Old Spanish and Old Italian examples in (1) to (3) show the main phenomena that will be addressed in the talk. It will be shown that almost all other Romance languages allowed essentially the same word order during the Middle Ages. Unlike most other studies on the subject, I will present examples from a great number of medieval linguistic varieties of the Romance language group.

- (1) a. E *esto* fiz yo porque tomases ejemplo.  
And this did I because you.take-SUBJ. example  
'And I did this for you to have an example.' (*Conde Lucanor, enx. 2*).  
b. *Questo* tenne lo re a grande maraviglia.  
this held the king to great miracle  
'The king considered this great miracle.' (*Novellino 7*)
- (2) a. porque ella non avia *las cartas* resçebidas  
because she not had the letters-FEM.SG. received-FEM-SG.  
'because she had not received the letters'  
(*L. De Buen Amor, I 191a*, cf. Batllorri, Sánchez & Suñer 1995:204)  
b. avrebbono a *Alessandro e forse alla donna* fatta villania  
they.have-COND. to A. and maybe to-the woman done affront  
'they would have affronted A. and perhaps the lady, too' (*Boccaccio, Dec. 2,3*)
- (3) a. las ventas e compras de tu engañosa feria no prósperamente sucedieron  
the sales and purchases of your fraudulent fair not successfully happened  
'the sales and purchases of your fraudulent fair were not performed with success'  
(*Celestina 21*)  
b. e loro ordinatamente disse come era avvenuto  
and to-them orderly he.told how it-had happened  
'and he told them in detail how it had happened' (*Boccaccio, Dec. 2,5*)

The examples in (1) show the well known phenomenon of XP-V-S order. It will be argued that, in a framework that tries to avoid splitting approaches, these cases can best be explained by theories such as that of Fontana (1993), Roberts (1993), among others, according to which the fronted constituent is

located in [spec,TP], whereas the subject remains in its base position. In a minimalist framework, this means that the [EPP]-feature of T could be checked by any subject or non-subject constituent, unlike the situation in the modern stages of the languages at issue. However, at least two problems will be discussed with respect to this idea: 1.- To assume different types of [EPP]-features (say subject-oriented versus non-subject oriented ones) would at most yield descriptive, but not explanatory adequacy. 2.- Why should the [EPP]-feature attract an object or another constituent located in a tree-position lower than the subject? It will be shown that these problems can be resolved by the assumption that, in Old Romance, (little) *v* could have an optional [EPP]-feature, which, if chosen, attracts a constituent to an outer specifier of *v*P. In this case, both the subject and the moved non-subject constituent would be equidistant to T according to standard assumptions, and either of them could move to its specifier. Interestingly, the data in (2) show that the lower “scrambling”- position really existed, see the analysis of (2a) presented in (4):

(4) [TP  $ella_i$  non avia [*v*P las cartas;  $t_i$  [*v*' resçebidas<sub>k</sub> [VP  $t_k$   $t_j$ ]]]]

This analysis may further be corroborated by another property of the Old Romance languages, namely participle fronting. Batllori (1992) provides evidence that Old Romance participle fronting should be interpreted as XP movement; in our approach the fronted XP (probably a VP under remnant movement) containing the participle will check the [EPP]-feature of T. According to a corollary established by Müller (1998), languages which show this type of movement also have a lower scrambling position available. This is, in fact, borne out by the data and our analysis.

Finally, I will show that the property in (3), i.e., the preverbal location of certain adverbs (in contrast to their modern postverbal position) is independent of the explanation for the examples in (1) and (2). I will stipulate that the HAF on T was optional in the medieval stages of Romance, so that the finite verb could remain in *v*.

Summarizing, what I will show is that the cases in (1)-(3) can be explained by two (lexical) parameters: Optional HAF on T and optional [EPP]-feature on (little) *v*. A combination of both parameters is able to explain almost all Old Romance word order patterns, including the (apparent) verb-final order. The corresponding lexical entries for the functional categories at issue will be formalized and compared to those of several modern Romance varieties.

In addition, my theory will be compared to other approaches that also try to explain data such as (1)-(3) by using (cartographic) split-TP frameworks (e.g., Batllori, Sánchez & Suñer 1995) or split-CP-theories (e.g., Poole 2006, Poletto 2008). With respect to the latter, an alternative explanation for information structure will be presented (based on López in press).

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THE IMPACT OF FAILED CHANGES

Gertjan Postma

Meertens Institute Amsterdam / Academy of Sciences

While successful linguistic changes often grow to their completion in time in the form of an S-curve (Bailey 1973, Kroch 1982), unsuccessful changes can be described by an increase toward a peak and a decline after. Kroch (1989) develops a two-parameter logistic model of successful changes,  $LG(a[1], a[2])$ , that provides a tool to trace relations between successful changes (the ‘Constant Rate Hypothesis’): related successful changes share parameter  $a[2]$ , but not  $a[1]$ . In this study, we develop a model of “failed changes”. We will show that, despite their own failure, failed changes may have impact: they may fuel another related change that is successful. In order to maximally profit from Kroch’s results, we study two failed changes that are closely related to successful changes: the rise and fall of *do*-support in *positive affirmative* clauses in Middle English (Ellegård 1953), and the rise and fall of the inherent reflexive *sick* ‘himself’ in Middle Dutch (Postma 2004). These unsuccessful developments are connected to a related change that was successful: *do*-support in negative and interrogative clauses, and the replacement of *hem* ‘him’ in reflexive contexts by *sich* ‘himself’. The successful and the unsuccessful developments of *do* and the *s*-reflexive are drawn together in figure 1 and 2 respectively. In figure 1 the black curve is the failed change and the red and blue curves represent successful changes (data adapted from Ellegård). In figure 2, the green curve is the (unsuccessful) rise of the reflexive *sick* (SE), and the red s-curve the successful change of reflexive use of *hem* to the SE-reflexive.

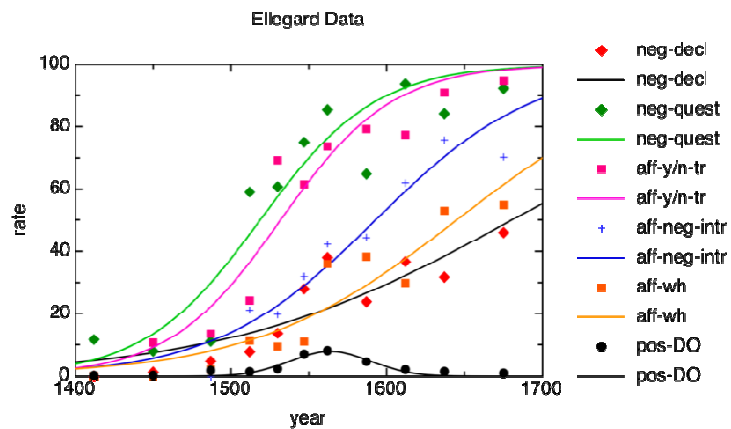


Fig 1.

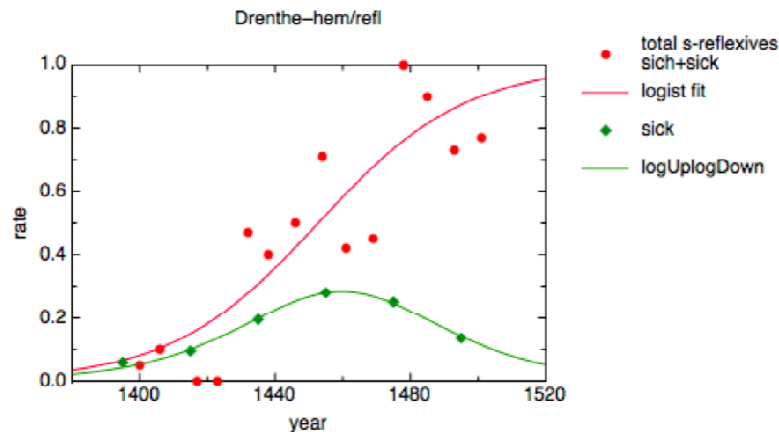


Fig 2.

Kroch shows that the black curve of positive *do* and the red and green curves of NPI-*do* are fundamentally non-related in LG: they have fairly distinct  $a[2]$ -parameters. This is correct. However, what Kroch cannot capture is that the time position of the peak coincides with the time position of curving point of the S-curve. A similar relation holds in the Middle Dutch *sick/sich* case. Moreover, while Kroch was agnostic about the precise type of S-curve (logistic function, Lorentz cumulative function, Gauss-cumulative function) and chooses the logistic model for practical reasons, we are able to show that only the logistic model is able to derive the algebraic relation between successful and failed change. Finally, the successful change identifies two parameters of the failed change.

Two interpretations of the proposed model are discussed:

1. the failed change is a kind of resonance phenomenon outside the empirical range of the successful change. This interpretation sheds light on the fact that the failed change has its peak when the successful change has its strongest impetus. This takes the failed change as an accidental side effect of the successful change.
2. the failed change is an off-grammatical change by an innovating peer group that *induces* a secondary grammatical change in the language community. This interpretation explains that the successful change does not increase exponentially towards 100%, but flattens when the peer group's activity dies out. It also captures the relation between the peak and the inflection point. This interpretation takes the successful change as an L1 accommodation of the L2 change, whose failure is necessary. In figure 2, for instance, the red curve is proportional to the cumulative counterpart of the green curve and approximates the data closely.

In evaluating the pro and cons of both interpretations, we use an additional phonological effect in the borrowed reflexive as evidence of the initial off-grammatical nature of the change. This change is visible in both *sick* and *sich*: the reflexive's vocalisation changed from written /y/ to written /i/. This can be explained by the fact that *sick* and *sich* were borrowed from German dialects, which use a high lax short vowel in *sick/sich* that are interpreted by the Dutch ear as tense [i]. This results in the imperfectly borrowed form [ziX], which is morphologically and moraicly off-grammatical and was replaced by [zIX] along with the completion of the s-reflexive. We may interpret this as an argument for the L2 interpretation. Similarly, we argue that positive affirmative *do* is an off-grammatical side effect of older causative *do* from which it has developed (Ellegård (1953). Bleached *do* relaxes to a pure polarity use in 50% of the cases cross-linguistically (Jäger 2006). We argue that the restriction to the polarity use is triggered by a certain type of anaphoric tense relation (either causative or polarity). The causative and polarity readings of *do*-construal can be seen as a main clause parallel to the intentional cq polarity reading of subjunctive readings in Romance (Stowell 1993, Quer 1998). From this perspective, the (failed) positive *do*-cases are outside the grammatical scheme and must be due to adult or L2 innovations that fueled the polarity use of *do*-support.

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## MACROPARAMETERS, ‘DEEP’ ANALYTICITY, AND SHIFTING PHASES

*Chris H. Reintges*

CNRS & University Paris 7 – Denis Diderot

### 1. MICRO- VS. MACROPARAMETERS

A widespread view about syntactic parameters is that they are restricted to formal features of functional categories. Since functional categories are part of the lexicon, the locus of variation is limited to the component of grammar for which there is strong evidence for learning (Borer 1984; Chomsky 1995). The *Borer-Chomsky Conjecture* favors a microparametric approach, which looks for localized differences between closely related languages/dialects. Kayne (2005) takes this *raison d’être* even further and posits a one-to-one correspondence between microparameters and functional elements made available by Universal Grammar. However, the proliferation of narrow and often construction-specific parameters vastly reduces their efficacy as explanatory devices (Baker 2008; Holmberg & Roberts 2008); it is a departure from the Principles-and-Parameters approach to large-scale typology, which, --in Chomsky’s (1981:6) words--, seeks to derive “complexes of properties differentiating otherwise familiar languages” from “a single parameter, fixed in one way or the other”.

In diachronic-comparative syntax, the micro-parametric approach accommodates the broad type of change known as grammaticalization, which can be modeled in terms of a shift from MERGE over MOVE, and hence manifests different PF- realization strategies for the spell-out of formal features associated with functional heads (Roberts & Roussou 2003). A macro-parametric approach fares better in explaining typological drifts altering a language’s core structure (cf. Huang 2008 on Chinese). In over 4000 years of uninterrupted language history, Ancient Egyptian has changed from a largely agglutinative to an analytic/isolating language. The goals of this paper are two-fold: firstly, to argue that the rise of ‘deep’ analyticity in Coptic Egyptian is due to a resetting of a genuine macro-parameter rather than to an aggregation of micro-parameters acting in concert for markedness reasons, as in Holmberg & Robert’s (2008) system, and secondly, to show that the abstract property corresponding to the analyticity parameter is the relocation of the finiteness feature on vP-external functional heads.

### 2. THE ANALYTICITY MACROPARAMETER (Huang 2008)

Holistic morphological typology has been criticized as being incoherent and useless for conflating too many different variables, such as the index of synthesis, degree of fusion and syntactic flexibility (Anderson 1985; Haspelmath 2008). However, Baker’s (1996) work has shown that the four canonical types, --synthetic, agglutinative, analytic and polysynthetic--, are more than just accidental collections of morphological properties, but correlate in significant ways with the language’s core syntactic structure. The positive setting of the analytic macro-parameter in Coptic underlies the division of labor between lexical verbs and a great variety of tense/aspect/mood (TAM) particles, which appear in the extended projection line of the verb (Grimshaw 1997), but do not form a constituent with it. As free-standing inflection words, TAM-particles do not trigger observable verb movement to meet phonological requirements of the spell-out procedure (Zwart 2001). Although analyticity limits the space for verb movement, TAM-particles are not in any sense structurally deficient functional categories: they can project (when endowed with an EPP-feature) and they can serve as phase heads. From the perspective of major syntactic categories, alternating stems are less finite and less verbal than their counterparts in Earlier Egyptian, which is why they have traditionally been analyzed as infinitives. Due to the dissociation of the finiteness feature from the verbal heads *v* and *V*, the Coptic vP is no longer a licensing domain for the subject and direct object.

## 3. SHIFTING PHASES

The shift from agglutinative to analytic morphological type is not an isolated morphological change, but occurs in tandem with a word order change from a rigid VSO to a discourse-configurational SVO language. Compare the Old Egyptian VSO structure in (1), in which the finite verb **ms-n** ‘has given birth’ contains the Perfect suffix **-n**, with the Coptic SVO structure in (2), in which the Perfect particle marker **a** precedes the DP subject and the verb stem **mise** ‘to deliver’. The main route for deriving VSO surface order in Old Egyptian involves  $V^0$ -to- $T^0$  movement, while the subject and the direct object remain in-situ in the  $\nu$ P domain. Evidence for  $\nu$ P-internal DP subjects comes from their relative positioning with respect to clause-internal negation **w** ‘not’(3) (Reintges 2009). Prima facie evidence for  $\nu$ P-internal ASP(ect) position comes the selectional restrictions on imperfective verbal stems, which are only found with stem-final glide verbs, e.g. **hz.j** ‘to praise’ ~ **hzz** ‘to be praising’.

In Coptic, the derivation subject moves to the highest inflectional node, which may instantiate a lower MOODP, although nothing much hinges on its precise semantic characterization. Verb movement never exceeds the inflectional domain of the MOODP, yet sanctions subject raising, allowing it to skip intermediate specifier positions *vis-à-vis* Chomsky’s (1995) *Minimal Link Condition* (remodeled as phase extension in den Dikken 2007). Crucially, not only the DP subject but also the DP object moves together with the verb past the clause-internal negation **an** outside of the  $\nu$ P-domain. When direct object is frozen in place, it must be supplied with an empty case-preposition (**ən-** in (2)). To accommodate the external and internal arguments of the main verb, the inflectional domain is extended and hosts now an ASPP projection, for which there is no configurational space in the eroded  $\nu$ P-domain.

## 4. CONCLUSION

An interesting way to look at the synthetic-analytic shift would be in terms of shifting phases, i.e. the weakening of an originally strong  $\nu$ P-phase through macroparametric change; see diagrams (5a) and (5b). It provides a hitherto unnoticed case of diachronic variation in the layered  $\nu$ P as the first-phase domain (cf. Gallego 2006; Boecks & Grohmann 2007 for synchronic variation).

## DATA SHEET

- (1) BASIC VSO PATTERN WITH PERFECT SUFFIX **-n** *Old Egyptian* (2600-1990 BCE)  
**ms-n** Nww Mr.jj-n(j)-Rꜥ hr d · rt=f jꜣb-t  
 give.birth-PERF ocean Meri-ni-Re on hand=POSS.3M.SG left-F.SG  
 ‘The ocean has born (King) Meri-ni-Re on his left hand’ (Pyramid Text 1701a/M)
- (2) BASIC SVO PATTERN WITH PERFECT PARTICLE **a** *Coptic Egyptian* (350-1200 CE)  
**a** t-k<sup>y</sup>aꜣle **mise** ən-u-ʃeere ən-shime  
 PERF DEF.F.SG-camel give.birth.ABS PREP-INDEF.SG-girl LINK-woman  
 ‘The she-camel delivered a daughter’ (Mena, Miracles 10<sup>b</sup>:33-34)
- (3)  $\nu$ P-INTERNAL DP SUBJECT AND OBJECT *Old Egyptian*  
**ʃzp** w Hmn zft · t=f  
 accept.PFV NEG Hemen meat=POSS.3SG.  
 ‘(The god) Hemen will not accept his (offering) meat’ (Mo<sup>c</sup>alla Inscription nr. 8, III.5)

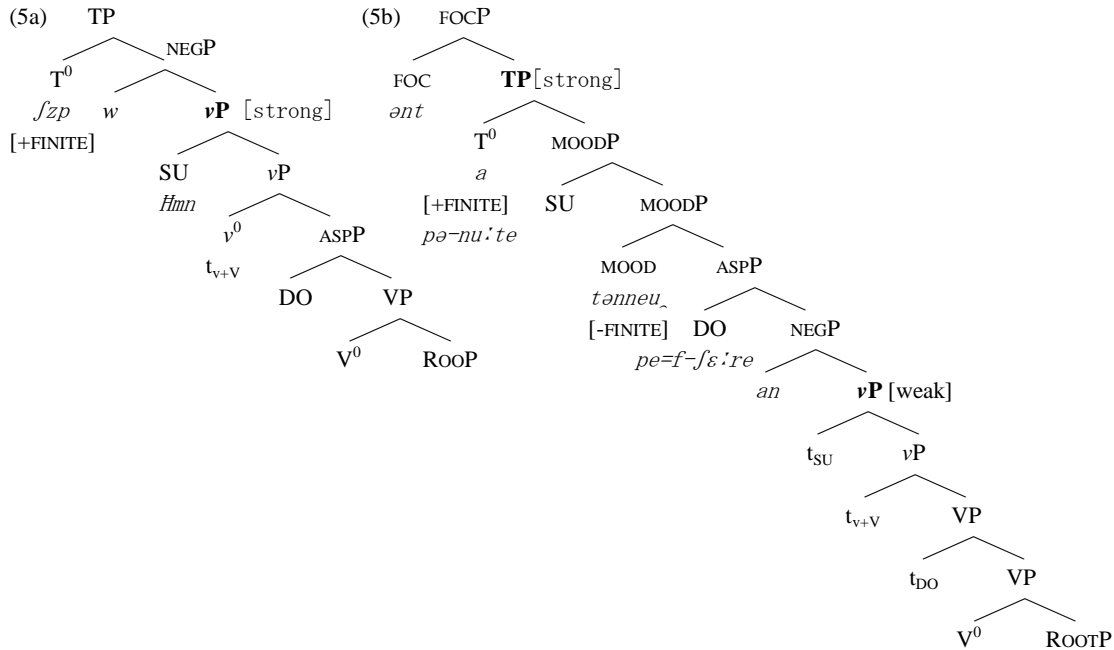


(4) ARGUMENT VOIDING

*Coptic Egyptian*

|          |                                |     |               |                     |           |                   |
|----------|--------------------------------|-----|---------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|
| ənt-a    | pə-nu:te                       | gar | <b>tənneŋ</b> | pe=f-ʃε:re          | <u>an</u> | e-pə-kosmos       |
| REL-PERF | DEF.M.SG-god                   | PCL | send.NOM      | DEF.M.SG-child      | NEG       | to-DEF.M.SG-world |
| t · e    | e=f-e-krine                    |     |               | əm-pə-kosmos        |           |                   |
| COMP     | REL(-FUT)=3M.SG-PREP-judge.ABS |     |               | PREP-DEF.M.SG-world |           |                   |

‘God has not send his son to the world that he judges the world (...)’ (John 3, 17)



The ‘strong’ vP-phase in Old Egyptian (ex. 3)      The ‘weak’ vP-phase in Coptic Egyptian (ex. 4)

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**DOUBLING-*QUE* EMBEDDED CONSTRUCTIONS IN OLD PORTUGUESE:  
A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE**

*Ilza Ribeiro and Maria Aparecida Torres Morais*  
Federal University of Bahia and University of Sao Paulo

The basic empirical goal of this paper is to examine the nature and structure of C-doubling constructions in Old Portuguese (OP) (ex. 1; Ribeiro, 1995; 2009) and in at least some of its diachronic change. The theoretical issue behind the discussion is to consider the split CP-system (Rizzi, 1997; Benincà & Poletto, 2004), and the position that the second **que** occupies (Top / Focus / Fin), since Force is a natural candidate for the first one. The OP doubling-**que** constructions have very interesting properties: (i) C-doubling is not sensitive to the verb's mood in the subordinate sentence, having been documented in the indicative, conditional, and subjunctive (exs. 1-2-3, respectively); (ii) the sandwiched constituent is frequently either an adverbial (ex. 4) a temporal, or a conditional clause (ex. 2), or a left dislocated element (ex. 3); occasionally it may be a contrastive topic (ex. 1); (iii) the second **que** may be omitted in which case the subordinate sentence presents typical characteristics of a matrix sentence – V2 (ex. 5), enclisis (ex. 6), absence of negation interpolation (ex. 7). The natural way to account for the latter properties is to say that the second **que** appears in Fin; when the split CP is selected, Fin must have a lexical realization, either by the merge of **que** or by movement of the finite verb to Fin (like the Fin\* requirement proposed by Roberts 2004). C-doubling disappears from Medieval written texts at the end of the 15th-century (Wanner 1998); however, it is documented in the Portuguese of some less educated writers (ex. 8 – 17<sup>th</sup>-century Inquisition letter; and ex. 9, 19<sup>th</sup>-century writing of Africans in Brazil) and in the oral speech of several contemporary romance dialects – two Northern Italian dialects (Paoli, 2007); Spanish (Demonte & Soriano, to appear); Galician (Uriagereka, 1995); and Modern European Portuguese (EP) (Mascarenhas, 2007). The sentence presented in (10), parallel to the one in (3), is grammatical in oral Modern Brazilian Portuguese (BP), despite its absence in the written register. Nevertheless, the nature and characteristics of C-doubling in OP present both differences and similarities when compared to C-doubling in BP and EP: (i) it seems that EP does not have syntactic restrictions regarding the number of reduplications of C, with the realization of **que** between each instance (ex. 11). The constituent in between may be of some type associated to the topic field, but not focused elements, which leads Mascarenhas (2007) to propose that complementizers such as **que** can occupy Top positions; (ii) a sentence like (11) may be grammatical in BP, if the subject is interpreted as a Focus and the realization of the cleft copula is optional (ex. 12). The possibility for **que** to be a Focus nucleus appears in 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>-century documentation (ex. 8) and is often attested in oral BP (Kato *et alii*, 1996). This indicates that in the history of the Portuguese language the form **que** is able to occupy different positions in the C-system: Top (EP / BP), Focus (EP 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup>/BP), Fin (OP).

1. e o abade San Beento dizendo o contrairo **que** Deus **que** o fezera por el (DSG.2.7.9)  
and the abbot San Beento saying the contrary **that** God **that** it had-done-3sg for him.
2. e dezia **que** se lhi non enviassem Basilio monge que a saasse **que** logo morreria (DSG.1.5.68)  
and said **that** if him NEG send-3pl Basilio monk that her cured **that** soon would-die.
3. e rrogamos-vos **que** essas joyas que ella leixou **que** as mandees dar ao dito Joham Fernandez (CDP.2.47-49)  
and beg-1pl+you **that** those jewels that she left **that** them send-2pl to-the aforementioned J.F.
4. deffendemus firmeme<sup>te</sup> **que** daqui adeante **que** nenhuu seya ousado de coller ne de midir ome pan (FR.1.5.76r)

- defend-1pl firmly **that** from here on **that** no one be-dare to harvest nor-to measure man bread
5. ca temia o santo bispo [**que**, [se os homens soubessen aquilo que acaecera,] [ **tanta vãã gloria lhi creceria** en seu coraçõn quanto louvor lhi dessen os homens aa de fora]] (DSG.1.17.19)  
because feared the holy bishop [**that** [if the men knew that that had-happened,] [**much bluster glory him would-grow** in his heart as praise him would-given the men outside
6. Ja ora podes entender, Pedro, [**que** [aquelas cousas que Deus ordiou e soube ante que o mundo fosse feito,] [--- compriron-**se** pelas orações dos santos homens ]] (DSG.1.16.32)  
Now can-2sg understand, Pedro, [**that** [those things that God ordered and knew before the world was made,] [ were-fulfilled-**self** by-the prayer-pl of the holy men]]
7. rogo-u o cavaleiro de tan gram coraçõn [**que** [o don que lhi dava] [**non-no** despreçasse]] (DSG.1.27.6)  
begged-him the knight of great heart [**that** [the gift that him gave-3sg ] [Neg-it despise-3sg ]]
8. he homem q. migou na natureza da sua mula dizendo **q.** a mula **q.** estaua com dezeios de fazer tal couza (Marquilhas 1996; Anexos III, Documento IV – 1617-1620)  
is man that pissed on the private of-the his mule saying **that** the mule **that** be-3sg-past with wishes to do such thing (Marquilhas 1996; Anexos III, Documento IV – 1617-1620)
9. disse a o prizidente **que** quando hovesse um trabalho como este **que** mandasse lhe chamar (Gregório Ferrão – africano - 1862)  
said to the president **that** when there-were a job like this **that** should-order him call
10. e pedimos a vocês **que** essas jóias que ela deixou **que** mandem dar elas / dá-las ao dito João Fernandez.  
and ask-1pl to you **that** these jewels that she left **that** tell to-give they / give-them to the aforementioned J. F.
11. Acho **que** amanhã **que** a Ana **que** vai conseguir acabar o trabalho. (Mascarenhas, 2007:1) (EP/\*BP)  
Think-1sg **that** tomorrow **that** the Ana **that** will-3sg be-able to-finish the job.
12. Acho **que** amanhã **que** (a) Ana (é) **que** vai conseguir acabar o trabalho (e não (o) Pedro). (BP)  
Think-1sg **that** tomorrow **that** Ana (is) **that** will be-able to-finish the job (and not Peter).

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## THE EMERGENCE OF THE INFINITIVAL LEFT PERIPHERY

*Joachim Sabel*

Université Catholique de Louvain

The languages of the world differ with respect as to whether they allow for *wh*-infinitives and infinitival relative clauses. No systematic analysis has been proposed so far for this language variation. In this talk, I postulate the *Wh-Infinitive-Correlation* that links the (non-) availability of *wh*-infinitives and infinitival relatives to morphological properties of the infinitival C-system. It is shown that *wh*-infinitives as well as infinitival relatives are impossible in languages in which the left periphery of the infinitive cannot be occupied with an infinitival complementizer, an infinitival marker, or more generally, with a base-generated phonetically realized element. In contrast, languages with *wh*-infinitives do exhibit non-finite complementizers. The discussion is mostly based on Romance and Germanic languages.

A close connection exists between the absence of overt subordinators in the infinitival C-system and the possibility of interrogative and relative clause formation with infinitives: languages which do not have phonetically realized complementizers with certain infinitives do not allow for infinitival questions and relative clauses with these infinitives. Consider, for example, the status of the infinitival marker *to* in English, *zu* in German, and *te* in Dutch. It has been claimed in the literature that infinitives in Indo-European languages have developed from verbal nouns (see Lightfoot 1979, Kageyama 1992, Nunes 1995, Jarad 1997, among others). As a verbal noun, the infinitive was governed by a preposition, for example, by the preposition *to* in Old English and *zi* in Old High German. In the modern European languages the nominal infinitive has become a verb and *zi* and *to* have lost their prepositional categorial nature and have become “infinitival markers.” This is the case with the control infinitives of all modern Germanic languages. Modern German *zu*, Dutch *te* and English *to* have all been analyzed in a similar way, i.e. as a verbal particle in T<sup>0</sup> that has the distribution of an auxiliary, although *zu* and *te* differ from *to* in so far as they are bound whereas *to* is a free morpheme. Neither *to* nor *zu* and *te* are prefixes that are combined with the infinitival verb in the lexicon, and neither *to*, *te* nor *zu* occupy a position in the infinitival C-system (see Bennis & Hoekstra 1989a,b; Beukema and den Dikken 1989, Den Besten & Broekhuis 1989; Rutten 1991, IJbema 2001, among others). In *to*-infinitives, the prepositional complementizer *for* is realized in the infinitival C-system of complement and relative clauses (1)-(2). Dutch has the *om-te* infinitive. *Om* is the counterpart of *for* (although *om* cannot appear with an overt subject in the infinitive). Like English *for* it appears in adjunct clauses (see (3)-(4)) and acts as a mere subordinator in infinitival complement clauses, as shown in (5).

(1) I want [<sub>CP</sub> for [<sub>TP</sub> John to win]].

(2) There is someone [<sub>CP</sub> for [<sub>TP</sub> John to talk to]].

(3) Bernard ging naar Amerika [ om [beroemd te worden]].

‘Bernard went to America, in order to become famous.’

(4) ... een bal [<sub>CP</sub> *Op* om [ mee \_\_\_ te spelen]].  
 A ball (which) Comp with to play

(5) ... dat zij probeerde [<sub>CP</sub> (om) [<sub>TP</sub> het boek te lezen]].  
 that she tried (Comp) the book-acc to read.

As a complementizer, *om* occupies the infinitival C-system (Bennis & Hoekstra 1989a,b; Den Besten & Broekhuis 1989a; Broekhuis & Hoekstra 1990; Rutten 1991, Ijbema 2001). Also, diachronically, *for* shows parallels with *om*. Originally, *for* acted as a locative preposition, meaning ‘in front of’. The original meaning of *om* is likewise that of a locative preposition ‘around’. In the course of time, the meaning of *om* has extended to express cause and purpose in infinitivals as in (3). The oldest *for*-infinitives are found in Old English (OE). Lightfoot (1979: 196) mentions that the construction illustrated in (1)-(2) existed in Old-English with the structure [<sub>PP</sub> *for* [*PRO to leave*]] and that the preposition has just recently become a complementizer in Modern English. Interestingly, during the OE and early ME period infinitival relatives and *wh*-infinitives are absent. A similar coincidence is found with *om-te* infinitives (see Ijbema 2001 for discussion). *Wh*-infinitives and infinitival relatives are not found before *for* and *om* have become infinitival complementizers.

Modern German is similar to Old/Middle English and Old/Middle Dutch. It lacks infinitival complementizers, *wh*-interrogatives, and infinitival relatives at the same time. In German, the category change from a preposition selecting infinitive to an infinitival complementizer has not taken place. Therefore, *wh*-infinitives are impossible in Modern German in contrast to Modern English and Modern Dutch (6)-(8):

(6) \*Ich weiss nicht [*wen* [ \_\_\_ zu besuchen]].

I know not who to visit

(7) I don't know [*when* [ to visit Mary]].

(8) Ik weet niet [*wie* [ \_\_\_ te bezoeken]].

I know not who to visit

It will be shown that the observed relation between phonetically realized complementizers and *wh*-infinitives is further confirmed by other Germanic (Norwegian, Swedish, Danish) Slavic (Polish, Russian) and Romance languages (French, Italian, European Portuguese, Italian, Spanish) languages. Based on the data, I propose (9):

(9) *Wh-Infinitive Generalization*

If a language possesses *wh*-movement to Spec CP in infinitives, then this language possesses the option of filling the C-system of this (type of) infinitive with a base generated overt element.

The two properties mentioned in (9), operators in an infinitival Spec CP and infinitival complementizers, imply that there are four potential cases: i. [+Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>, +Comp<sub>Inf</sub>], ii. [-Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>, -Comp<sub>Inf</sub>], iii. [+Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>, -Comp<sub>Inf</sub>], and iv. [-Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>, +Comp<sub>Inf</sub>]. The first group (i) consists of languages in which *wh*-infinitives and infinitival complementizers are found (Dutch, English (control *to*-infinitives), French, Italian, Polish, Spanish, Europ. Portuguese, ...). The second group (ii) are languages in which neither *wh*-infinitives nor infinitival complementizers are found (Danish, German, Norwegian, Swedish, English gerunds, ...). According (9), no languages of the third group (iii) should exist in which *wh*-infinitivals do exist but no infinitival complementizers, and in fact, one does not find any empirical exemplification of such a language type. (9) predicts that a final group of languages, shown in (iv), should exist: languages in which infinitival complementizers are found but no *wh*-infinitivals. Recall the discussion in the preceding section concerning the development of the complementizers *for* and *om* in English and Dutch. In terms of language change, the implicational generalization (9) predicts that a certain property X, such as for example [+Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>], can be found in a language if that language has acquired another property Y before X, such as [+Comp<sub>Inf</sub>]. With respect to language change, the implicational generalization (9) predicts likewise that the property [+Comp<sub>Inf</sub>] can be lost only after the property [+Op-in-SpecCP<sub>Inf</sub>] is lost. We have already seen that this was the case in English and

Dutch. *Wh*-infinitives and infinitival relatives are found after (and not before) *for* and *om* have become infinitival complementizers. A certain historical period would then represent languages of the type (iv). This group consists of languages such as Middle English, and Middle Dutch. However, further languages (or dialects) exist, confirming the idea that generalization (36) makes correct predictions with respect to this language change.

In order to derive the *Wh-Infinitive-Generalization*, I argue, based on Chomsky's (2000, 2001, 2005) analysis of raising and ECM-infinitives that control  $C^0$  is "defective" in languages without *wh*-infinitives (/ infinitival relatives) where "defective" infinitival  $C^0$  is understood in analogy to defective  $T^0_{\text{def}}$ , i.e.  $C^0_{\text{def}}$  cannot bear the complete range of features specific for  $C^0$ . A defective C-system bears a full set of  $\phi$ -features and Tense-features that is transferred to  $T^0$  (assuming the technology in Chomsky 2005), but it lacks the possibility of being endowed with a [*focus*]/[*wh*]-feature in *wh*-question formation (or with a [*topic*]/[*pred*]-feature in relative clause formation). The reason is that Force-, Foc- and Top-features are not realized in the left periphery of infinitives with a defective C-system but only Fin-features (i.e. FinP). At the moment ForceP evolves in infinitives as a result of infinitival complementizer evolution, TopP and FocP as well, i.e. the whole left periphery may be projected, giving rise to relative clause and indirect *wh*-question formation. The situation in infinitives with a defective C-system is that (similar to an NP in the edge of  $T^0_{\text{def}}$ ) a *wh* or a relative operator may move to Spec of FinP, due to the possibility of  $C_{\text{def}}$  being endowed with an edge-feature, but it may not remain there, i.e. in a position in which it cannot be properly interpreted. This analysis derives the fact that Spec  $C_{\text{def}}$ P and Spec  $T_{\text{def}}$ P are only intermediate landing sites. It has been pointed out by Chomsky (1998) and others, that within the principles and parameters framework, adequate typological generalizations can be interpreted as empirical generalizations that should be derivable from grammatical principles and parameters. The present analysis exemplifies that the principles and parameters framework represents an adequate model for explaining language change and typological variation.

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## THE VERBAL COMPLEX FROM MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN TO MODERN GERMAN

Christopher D. Sapp  
University of Mississippi

### 1. Introduction

Unlike Modern Standard German, with its fixed word orders within the verbal complex, earlier stages of German and some contemporary dialects have variable order. For example, with two-verb complexes, Middle High German (MHG) has the 2-1 order (1) like Standard German, the 1-2 or VR order (2), and the VPR order (3).

- (1) wi er daz volk verflvchet. daz got **gefegent** **het.** MHG  
 how he the people cursed, REL God blessed<sup>PPP</sup> had<sup>fin</sup>  
 ‘(How he cursed the people) whom God had blessed.’ (*Buch der Könige* 04va)
- (2) alle die den got gewalt uñ geriht **hat** **verlihen.** MHG  
 all those REL God power and rule has<sup>fin</sup> granted<sup>PPP</sup>  
 ‘(... all those) whom God has granted power and rule.’ (*Buch der Könige* 05ra)
- (3) daz dv vn̄f vergaebest swaz wir vbelf **heten** an dir **getan.** MHG  
 that you us forgive REL we evil had<sup>fin</sup> to you done<sup>PPP</sup>  
 ‘(...that you forgive us for) whatever evil we had done to you.’ (*Buch der Könige* 03va)

Concentrating on two-verb complexes in subordinate clauses, this paper investigates these orders in several stages of the language. Data for MHG and Early New High German (ENHG) come from large corpus studies (1,133 and 2,921 clauses, respectively), using *Goldvarb X* to test the effect of 21 linguistic variables on verb order. Data for contemporary varieties of German come from questionnaire-based studies, with the most extensive study being of the Zurich dialect.

### 2. Results

These studies identify a number of morpho-syntactic factors that favor particular word orders. First, as is well known from many other West Germanic varieties, syntagm plays an important role, with the modal-infinitive construction favoring the 1-2 order while syntagms with a participle favor 2-1. In MHG, a stressed word preceding the verb complex favors the 1-2 order, as in Ebert’s (1981) study of ENHG; however, I find no such effect in my ENHG corpus. Both my MHG and ENHG findings do agree with Ebert’s (1981) in that clauses with extraposition favor 1-2; however, extraposition has become marginal in contemporary dialects and thus no longer affects verb order. Most interestingly, focus has an effect on word order within the verbal complex both in historical stages of German and in some contemporary dialects: although the details differ somewhat in different varieties, wider focus favors the 2-1 order, while focus on e.g. a direct object tends to favor 1-2.

Turning to sociolinguistic variables, the rate of the different orders varies in the historical corpora by genre, with chancery documents (the most formal text type represented) favoring the 2-1 order, which eventually becomes standard, while sermons (the least formal texts in the corpus) favor 1-2. There is also considerable dialectal variation in MHG and ENHG, although in nearly all dialects the 1-2 order declines with each successive century.

### 3. Analysis

Lehman (1971) argues that the trend toward the 2-1 order in the history of German is part of a typological change from SVO to SOV, following Greenberg’s (1966) universal that SOV languages are 2-1. Indeed, Ebert (1981) shows that in ENHG there is a correlation between the increase in the number of verb-final clauses and the increase in the frequency of the 2-1 order.

However, there are some problems with such an argument. First, at no attested stage of German were the 'VO' and 1-2 orders particularly frequent, and although significant, the correlation between the two is not especially strong in my historical corpora. Secondly, contemporary West Germanic varieties such as Swiss German do not allow objects to occur after the verb and yet continue to show variation within the verbal complex. Finally, the apparent VO orders in early stages of German are derived: according to the criteria in Kroch & Taylor (2000), MHG and ENHG are OV languages with extraposition of heavy/focused XPs (as in Bies 1996).

The 2-1 and 1-2 orders coexisted for centuries, subject to morphological, syntactic, pragmatic, and sociolinguistic conditions, with the eventual loss of 1-2 in most varieties a result of "change from above" as argued by Ebert (1981). This variation appears not to be a result of parametric change nor of some deeper syntactic principle, but is perhaps best treated as a post-syntactic operation (as in Wurmbrand 2004) or, like Haider & Rosengren's (2003) analysis of scrambling, as syntactic movement that is accessible at the interface with pragmatics. This would help account for the loose correlation between focus and certain verb orders: some orders are preferred in contexts where they help disambiguate the focus interpretation. Using Uriagereka's (2004) terminology, the operation that derives the 1-2 order is a microparameter at the periphery of grammar, thus is accessible to the kind of sociolinguistic pressure and conscious manipulation that resulted in the eventual fixing of 2-1 as the only possible order in Standard German.

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**LANGUAGE ACQUISITION IN GERMAN  
AND PHRASE STRUCTURE CHANGE IN YIDDISH**

*Joel C. Wallenberg*  
University of Pennsylvania

There is a long tradition stretching back into the 19<sup>th</sup> century of implicitly assuming a relationship between language change and child language acquisition in the notion of “reanalysis”. Recently, studies such as Yang (2000) have developed formal models of language acquisition and expanded them to model how new syntactic variants can arise among children and be maintained in adult speech communities, formalizing the notion of “grammar competition” (Kroch 1989). However, there have been very few empirical studies of language acquisition that can be linked to specific, well-documented cases of grammatical change. This project investigates the relationship between acquisition and change in a study of the West Germanic verb-raising construction (cf. Wurmbrand 2004 and references therein), relating it to the major phrase structure change in the history of Yiddish: the change in the headedness of TP (Santorini 1992, 1993). Just as acquirers of modern German produce some Tense-medial clauses before converging on the target Tense-final grammar (Fritzenschaft et al 1990, Gawlitzek-Maiwald 1997), we suggest that children acquiring Early Yiddish produced some Tense-medial clauses as systematic errors while attempting to acquire Tense-final TPs with verb-(projection)-raising. It is these errors which eventually escaped into the language of adult speakers and ultimately led to modern, uniformly Tense-medial (left-headed TP) Yiddish.

Using a set of diagnostic elements, Santorini (1992, 1993) shows that pre-modern Yiddish (c.1400-1850) experienced a period of variation as it changed from a German-like Tense-final grammar to its current Tense-medial grammar (see also, Kroch & Taylor 2000, Pintzuk 2005, Pintzuk & Taylor 2004, Pintzuk & Haeberli 2006), in which speakers produced Tense-medial TPs, Tense-final TPs without verb-raising, and Tense-final TPs with verb-raising, such as ex. 1 (note the preverbal position of negation). Fritzenschaft et al (1990) give evidence that children acquiring South German produce Tense-medial subordinate clauses at a low rate as they acquire the target Tense-final grammar (note the post-verbal negation in 2 and weak pronoun *sich* in 3). This suggests that children learning verb-raising varieties of West Germanic go through a stage in which they mistakenly deduce a Tense-medial grammar on the basis of Tense-final input sentences with verb-raising. If this is correct, then acquirers of South German briefly reproduce the change from Tense-final to Tense-medial phrase structure that occurred in Yiddish (cf. the modern Yiddish ex. 4).

This study demonstrates that this connection is far more than superficial, by showing that the early Yiddish Tense-final verb-raising grammar posed a serious problem to language-learners and was ripe for syntactic change. To the diagnostics in Santorini (1992, 1993) we add preverbal objects as a diagnostic for Tense-final clauses, which Wallenberg (2008) shows cannot be derived by scrambling. Using the parsed corpus of early Yiddish, we arrive at a more accurate estimate of the rate of verb-raising in early Yiddish Tense-final clauses than was possible in Santorini (1993). This estimate turns out to be higher (~75%) than expected (see Pintzuk & Haeberli 2006 for a similar result for Old English), and is plausibly high enough to cause confusion to learners of a Tense-final grammar. We will argue that the high frequency of verb-raising, combined with plausible contact with Romance and Slavic varieties, allowed the syntactic acquisition-errors in Early Yiddish to escape into the adult grammar in a way that they could not for modern verb-raising Germanic varieties (e.g. Dutch, Swiss German).

This paper lends concrete support to the idea that internal factors can drive language change, and prompts researchers to ask the following question: even if language contact is uncontroversially involved in a case of language change, as it seems to be for Yiddish, can contact propel syntactic change without favorable internal pressures?

- (1) ...dz es di mtsreym **nit** zaltn zehn  
 that **it** the Egyptians **not** should see.  
 “That the Egyptians shouldn’t see it.”  
 (Leib bar Moses Melir’s *Book of Esther*, date: 1589)
- (2) ...dass du hast **net** die meerjungfrau  
 that you have **not** the mermaid  
 “...that you don’t have the mermaid.”  
 (from Benny, 3 years 1 month old; Fritzenschaft et al 1990: 76)
- (3) ...wenn des dreht **sich** was tut ’s dann?  
 if it turns **REFL** what does it then  
 “if it turns, then what does it do?”  
 (from Benny, 3 years, 2 months, 26 days; Gawlitzek-Maiwald 1997: 137)
- (4) Ikh trakht az Hayim hot **im** nekhtn nit gekoyft.  
 I think that Hayim has **him** yesterday not bought.  
 “I think that Hayim didn’t buy it yesterday.”

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**THE FORMAL SYNTAX OF ALIGNMENT CHANGE:  
THE CASE OF OLD JAPANESE**

*Yuko Yanagida and John Whitman*  
University of Tsukuba and Cornell University

Within the generative literature, active alignment is widely viewed as a subtype of ergativity (Bittner & Hale 1996, Legate 2008). Legate (2008) suggests that in ergative languages [+transitive] *v* assigns inherent ergative case, while in so-called “ergative-active” languages, transitivity features are irrelevant; agent arguments are uniformly assigned inherent ergative case. However on the view that ergative languages are simply languages that assign inherent case to the external argument in Spec, *v*, active actually represent the basic type; in ergative languages, assignment of ergative case is conditioned by the distribution of the [+transitive] feature, but in active languages, there is no such condition. Further support for distinguishing ergative and active alignment comes from the contrasting behavior of Silverstein’s (1976) nominal hierarchy. While ergative marking occurs with NPs **lower** on the hierarchy, active marking picks out NPs **higher** on the hierarchy (Dahlstrom 1983, Mithun 1991). A third difference between the two alignment types, noted in the typological literature, is that active languages are more likely to be reanalyzed as nominative-accusative (Klimov 1974, 1977). We show, focusing on data from earlier Japanese, that this follows in a natural way from the treatment of active languages as assigning inherent case to both transitive and intransitive external arguments. Our empirical point of departure is evidence that Japanese underwent a shift from split active to nominative alignment. The active alignment properties of Old Japanese (8<sup>th</sup> century) are characteristic of the clause types we identify as ‘nominalized’. They are summarized in (I-IV) below.

**I. Active case marking:** In Old Japanese, *ga* is a genitive particle, marking both possessors of NP and subjects of nominalized clauses. *Ga* appears only on the agent argument (A) of active verbs (1a-b), and marks only NPs higher on the nominal hierarchy. Personal pronouns and definite [human] nouns such as *kimi* ‘lord’ are marked with *ga*, (1a-b), while arguments lower on the hierarchy are unmarked. The patient argument (P) of intransitive verbs is generally unmarked morphologically (1c), and never marked with *ga*.

- (1) a. itado **wo** wa **ga** pirak-am-u ni (Man’yōshū 3467, 8<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 door Obj I Agt open-Fut-Adn at  
 ‘when I was about to open the door’
- b. kimi **ga** yuk-u miti (Man’yōshū 3724, 8<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 lord Agt go-Adn road  
 ‘the road that my lord (you) travels’
- c. pisakwi Ø opu-ru kiywoki kapara ni (Man’yōshū 925, 8<sup>th</sup> c.)  
 hisagi grow-Adn clear riverbank on  
 ‘on the clear riverbank where the hisagi grows.’

**II. Active/Inactive head marking:** Active (transitive and unergative) predicates are marked by the prefix *i-*, while inactive (unaccusative) predicates are marked by the prefix *sa-*.

**III. Alienable vs inalienable possession:** Active languages typically mark the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession (Klimov 1974:22). This distinction is expressed in the two distinct sets of pronominal forms, one marking alienable and the other marking inalienable possessors. In OJ, 1st person clitic pronouns have two different forms: *a* (inalienable) vs *wa* (alienable).

**IV. Impersonal verbs:** Impersonal (weather) verbs represent an important class in active languages (Bauer 2000). In OJ, the inactive prefix *sa-* appears on weather predicates (*sa-ywo fuke* ‘passing of the SA-night’, *sa-gwiri* ‘SA-foggy’ *sa-gumori* ‘SA-cloudy’ *paru sa-me*, ‘spring SA-rain’) and on inactive verbs (2). We hypothesize that *sa-* originated as a 3<sup>rd</sup> person pronoun functioning as an expletive in impersonal clauses.

(2) a. *sa-ne-si*                      *tumaya*      *ni* *asita*                      *ni pa*    *ide-tati* *sinopi* (*Man'yôshû* 481, 8<sup>th</sup> c.)  
       sa-sleep-Pst.Adn bedroom    in morning            in Top leaving remembering  
       ‘remembering, leaving the bedroom where (I) slept’

b. *kapa se*                      *ni pa*    *ayu kwo*      *sa-basir-i*                      (*Man'yôshû* 475, 8<sup>th</sup> c.)  
       River shallow in Top sweetfish fry sa-run-Inf  
       ‘the young sweetfish running in the river shallows’

In OJ, transitive nominalized clauses display another distinctive syntactic property (Yanagida 2006, 2007, Yanagida and Whitman 2008). When subject and object are both case marked, NP<sub>O</sub> + object marker *wo* always precedes the *ga*-marked subject: [O *wo* A *ga* V] (1a). This is reminiscent of the “de-ergative” pattern (Franchetto 1990) found in Cariban languages such as Kuikuru, Panare and Makushi, where A is realized inside, but O outside VP. Gildea (1998) proposes that the de-ergative pattern originates from an object nominalization structure. The object nominalization functioned as the predicate nominal in a copular clause; the matrix subject was the notional O. The diachronic reanalysis envisaged by Gildea is [O copula [<sub>NP</sub>Poss V-NMLZR]] > [O auxiliary [<sub>VP</sub> A V-T/A]] (order variable). In Panare and Kuikuru, this pattern is obligatory in focus/*wh* constructions. In OJ as well, the [O *wo* A *ga* V] pattern occurs in clause types with nominalization properties, and displays active alignment properties internal to the nominalized clause. Like their Carib counterparts, these clause types are associated with clefts and *wh*-questions. We argue that prior to OJ the [O *wo* A *ga* V] construction underwent the same ‘de-ergative’ reanalysis that Gildea envisages for Cariban. We show that this is the first step on the way to the eventual nominative realignment of Japanese, further accelerated by restriction of the domain of active *ga* in early Middle Japanese.

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# E-mails

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|                        |                                    |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Adriana Cardoso        | adrianaprincipe@gmail.com          |
| Ana Maria Martins      | anamartins@fl.ul.pt                |
| Anthony Kroch          | kroch@change.ling.upenn.edu        |
| Beatrice Santorini     | beatrice@babel.ling.upenn.edu      |
| Charlotte Galves       | galvesc@unicamp.br                 |
| Chiara Gianollo        | chiara.gianollo@uni-konstanz.de    |
| Chris Reintges         | chris.reintges@linguist.jussieu.fr |
| Christopher Sapp       | csapp@olemiss.edu                  |
| Dalina Kallulli        | dalina.kallulli@univie.ac.at       |
| Denice Goddard         | Denice.Goddard@student.uva.nl      |
| Ekaterina Bobyleva     | E.V.Bobyleva@uva.nl                |
| Elliot Lash            | ejfl2@cam.ac.uk                    |
| Filomena Sândalo       | sandalo@iel.unicamp.br             |
| Gertjan Postma         | gertjan.postma@meertens.knaw.nl    |
| Giuseppe Longobardi    | longbard@units.it                  |
| Guido Mensching        | mensch@lingrom.fu-berlin.de        |
| Hedde Zeijlstra        | H.H.Zeijlstra@uva.nl               |
| Ian Roberts            | igr20@cam.ac.uk                    |
| Ilza Ribeiro           | ilzaribeiro@uol.com.br             |
| Ioanna Sitaridou       | is269@cam.ac.uk                    |
| Joachim Sabel          | sabel@lige.ucl.ac.be               |
| Joel C. Wallenberg     | joelcw@babel.ling.upenn.edu        |
| John Whitman           | jbw2@cornell.edu                   |
| Juanito Avelar         | juanitoavelar@uol.com.br           |
| Judy Bernstein         | bernsteinj@wpunj.edu               |
| Jurgen Meisel          | jmm@uni-hamburg.de                 |
| M. Aparecida T. Morais | torres.mariacida@gmail.com         |
| Mary Kato              | ma.kato@uol.com.br                 |
| Michel DeGraff         | degraff@mit.edu                    |
| Olga Mladenova         | omladeno@ucalgary.ca               |
| Rafaella Zanuttini     | raffaella.zanuttini@yale.edu       |
| Rosmin Mathew          | rosmin@gmail.com                   |
| Ruth Lopes             | ruthevelopes@gmail.com             |
| Silvio Cruschina       | sc481@cam.ac.uk                    |
| Sonia Cyrino           | sonia.cyrino@gmail.com             |
| Susann Fischer         | sfisher@ifla.uni-stuttgart.de      |
| Theresa Biberauer      | mtb23@cam.ac.uk                    |
| Virginia Hill          | mota@unbsj.ca                      |
| Yuko Yanagida          | yanagida@sakura.cc.tsukuba.ac.jp   |

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