

PhD course: Loss and gain in language

UiA, May 20-22, 2015

Program

	May 20th	May 21st	May 22nd
10.00-11.00		Elly van Gelderen	Allison Wetterlin
11.00-11.30		Lauren Fonteyn	Perlaug Marie Kveen
11.30-12.00		<i>coffee break</i>	<i>coffee break</i>
12.00-12.30		Keith Tse	Kamil Malarski
12.30-13.30		Hendrik de Smet	Peter Trudgill
13.30-14.30	<i>lunch</i>	<i>lunch</i>	<i>lunch</i>
14.30-15.30	Jan Terje Faarlund	Hans-Olav Enger	
15.30-16.00	Urd Vindenes	Xavier Bach	
16.00-16.30	<i>coffee break</i>	<i>coffee break</i>	
16.30-17.00	Rodrigo Hernáiz Gómez	Sofia Björklöf	
17.00-18.00	Ulrike Demske	John Ole Askedal	

Lecturers

Prof emeritus John Ole Askedal (University of Oslo)
Prof Ulrike Demske (University of Potsdam)
Prof Hans-Olav Enger (University of Oslo)
Prof Jan Terje Faarlund (University of Oslo)
Prof Elly van Gelderen (Arizona State University, Tempe)
Dr. Hendrik de Smet (KU Leuven)
Prof Peter Trudgill (University of Agder)
Dr. Allison Wetterlin (University of Agder)

PhD candidates

Xavier Bach (University of Oxford)
Sofia Björklöf (University of Helsinki)
Lauren Fonteyn (KU Leuven)
Rodrigo Hernáiz Gómez (University of Barcelona & University of Marburg)
Perlaug Marie Kveen (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
Malarski Kamil Malarski (Adam Mickiewicz University)
Keith Tse (University of Oxford)
Urd Vindenes (University of Oslo)

Abstracts

On definiteness marking in Germanic NPs in comparison with Balto-Slavic

John Ole Askedal (University of Oslo)

The definite article of the southern (traditionally 'West') Germanic languages is uniformly a pre-nominal determinative. North Germanic (Mainland and Insular Scandinavian), on the other hand, has a 'split' article system comprising both a definiteness suffix ('enclitic article') and a determinative ('adjective article').

All Germanic languages have, or have had, a distinction between 'strong' and 'weak' ('definite') adjectives. In the present-day southern area, comprising languages with a morphologically uniform article determinative, the distribution of the two adjective declensions can be shown to be subject to purely morphosyntactic rules (German); or adjective declension is reduced to a rudimentary minimum of two forms (-∅, -e; Dutch, Frisian), or all formal morphological oppositions have been neutralized (English). In neither case is the adjective distinctive with regard to definiteness. In North Germanic, on the other hand, weak adjectives can still be considered as indicators of definiteness.

The purpose of the present paper is, first, to provide a comparative survey of the distribution and use of definite articles and adjectives in the modern North Germanic languages Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. An attempt is also made to combine earlier views on the history of the North Germanic definite article and adjective systems into a diachronic description in terms of different stages of a grammaticalization process, comprising adjectival use of Indo-European nominal *-n*-stem formations in Proto-Germanic, enclisis of a postnominal demonstrative in pre-literary (Runic) Nordic, and morphological simplification (progressive univerbation) of morphological definiteness-marking in post-Old Norse times.

With few (and mostly minor) exceptions, Baltic and Slavic languages have not developed definite articles but Old Baltic and Slavic languages had (and to a varying extent still have) a definiteness opposition in adjectives: adjectives with a suffixed pronominal element were functionally akin to Old Germanic weak adjectives, whereas Old Balto-Slavic adjectives without the pronominal suffix compare functionally with Old Germanic strong adjectives. It is argued that the further development of the old Balto-Slavic adjectival marking system has resulted in a modern state of affairs that bears a certain isoglossal typological similarity to the general difference between modern North and southern Germanic systems of adjective morphology.

Losing classifiers and acquiring gender. Insights from Austronesian languages.

Xavier Bach

In typological studies, the Austronesian languages are generally reported to lack gender, with the exception of Teop, which presents a system of three genders marked on articles, and Tagalog, which has borrowed a two gender system from Spanish (Aikhenvald 2000; Senft 2015). But Austronesian languages are held to present systems of (nominal or numeral) classifiers, particularly within the Oceanic family.

The South Halmahera-West New Guinea (henceforth SHWNG) family of Austronesian languages constitutes a group of about 40 languages spoken in Eastern Indonesia, that are nonetheless a perfect test-ground for analysing the development of non-canonical gender distinctions. Two of the languages, Buli and Sawai, present possessive classifiers, and at least two classifiers can be reconstructed for proto-SHWNG (van den Berg 2009). The reconstructed forms, which still have reflexes in most of the languages, are *na- for edible possession, and *ri- for general classification. All of the other languages have now lost any classificatory system, but a subset of these have developed a non-canonical system of gender, in which gender assignment is based on animacy, and gender marking is restricted to 3PL. This kind of system is crosslinguistically rare, and seems to be constrained both areally and structurally: all 13 languages with this type of marking present a system of gender assignment based on animacy, with a two way distinction. Of these, 3 are spoken in Western Africa, one is a Mon-Khmer language, and the remainder are all Austronesian, including 7 SHWNG languages. The following table exemplifies these gender systems with subject agreement markers on C-verbs in Biak (van den Heuvel 2006; Mofu 2009).

	SG	DU	TR	PL	
1 INCL		ku-		ko	
1 EXCL	ya-	nu-		inko	
2	wa-	mu-		mko	
3	i-	su-	sko-	AN	si-
				INAN	na-

I argue that in SHWNG, and particularly for Biakic languages, this specific paradigmatic pattern can be explained by a unified account of the acquisition of animacy distinctions. Following the breakdown of the classifier system, possibly induced by the grammaticalisation of a new alienable possessive marker from a relative clause (Bach 2014), a former personal pronoun, *si*, and a classifier, *na*, came to express an animacy distinction for subject and possessors alike, and were interpretable as non-specific (in the sense of Farkas 2002) and formally unmarked for number. Even today in Biak, plural is non-specific, and available for generic readings of number including one (Dalrymple & Mofu 2013). 3PL.INAN never takes a specificity marker. In parallel, the expected plural marker was reinterpreted as more specific than the other types of marking, and progressively reanalysed as having a lesser cardinality. That led in Biak to a highly non-canonical paradigm that distinguishes paucal number only for third person, and gender only for 3PL. Other languages regularised the paradigm, either by replacing the previous plural with the innovative pattern without developing a paucal (as in Dusner, see Dalrymple & Mofu 2012), or by subsequently extending gender distinction to all third persons. Evidence from Larike (Laidig & Laidig 1990; 1991) provides further confirmation that gender can develop from a classificatory system along this pathway.

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- Van den Berg, René. 2009. Possession in South Halmahera-West New Guinea: typology and reconstruction. *Austronesian historical linguistics and culture history: a festschrift for Robert Blust*, ed. by Alexander Adelaar and Andrew Pawley, 327–357. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
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Lexical Relations of Finnic Languages in North-Eastern Estonia and Western Ingria

Sofia Björklöf

The historical language contact situation in North-Eastern Estonia and Western Ingria is reflected in the vocabulary of local languages in several ways. The languages that will be more closely examined in the presentation are the Estonian north-eastern coastal dialects, the Estonian eastern dialect, Vote, and Ingrian, as well as Ingrian Finnish as a contact language, all genetically closely related Finnic varieties.

The traditional Votic and Ingrian settlements used to locate in Western Ingria, the south-eastern coastal area of the Gulf of Finland between the river Narva and the present-day metropol of St. Petersburg that, historically, was built on the ancient trading centre of Finnic peoples in the beginning of the 18th century. Politically, the local people have never formed an independent state on the area that has been ruled by both Russia and Sweden. In the 17th century Finnish-speaking population migrated to Ingria, whereas the Russian migration increased considerably after the foundation of St. Petersburg in 1703. Finally, Estonian migrants settled in the same area in the 19th century. Presumably, there used to be Swedish-speaking people in Western Ingria as well although the subject has been studied very little so far.

The arrival of new inhabitants from the politically ruling countries changed the demographic balance between different peoples in Ingria, increased linguistic diversity and changed the hierarchy of the languages leading gradually to drastic language and identity shift of the local peoples of Ingria. Both the Votes and Ingrians used to be multilingual and, actually, some of their villages had a mixed inhabitation. In general, the language boundaries between the old rural communities have been extremely vague: in fact, the speakers of both Vote and Ingrian have repeatedly expressed the opinion that their dialects are dialects of the same language.

The presentation is based on old dialectal materials published in dictionaries and in the case of Estonian and Finnish still partly unpublished materials that are preserved in the archives. The words that will be analyzed and discussed etymologically in more detail are drawn from Vote, Ingrian, and Estonian. The main hypothesis is that there are numerous loanwords originating from mutual contacts, although it is often difficult to confirm the direction of borrowing between closely related languages. Nevertheless, the main aim is to find the origin of shared words, whether they inherited from the mutual

protolanguage or result from areal diffusion. Furthermore, it will be sought to determine the direction of the diffusion, reconstruct the old language contact situation and amplify the picture of the mutual relations of the closely related languages, whose development cannot be described merely in terms of a family tree model.

Arguments of Non-Factive Predicates: The Rise of V1 Clauses in German

Ulrike Demske (University of Potsdam)

Considering the Germanic languages, particular classes of predicates allow for their arguments to appear as V2 clauses (along with *dass*-clauses), as the literature well attests, cf. Reis (1995) for Present-Day German and Heycock (2006) for an overview of the phenomenon in various Germanic languages. So far unnoticed, however, is the fact that arguments of non-factive predicates might as well be instantiated by V1 clauses in Present-Day German:

- (1) Es entsteht der Eindruck, als **wäre** es um die Zukunft der hiesigen Tierwelt
there arises the impression as were it for the future of the local fauna
nicht schlecht bestellt. (A08/APR.08732)
not badly done

In contrast to Present-Day German, the distribution of V1 complement clauses in earlier stages of German is not restricted to a few nominal predicates such as *Eindruck* ›impression‹, *Gefühl* ›feeling‹, *Verdacht* ›suspicion‹ as well as *scheinen* ›seem‹, *mir dünkt* ›me thinks‹ and *Anschein* ›appearance‹ but includes verbs of propositional attitude like *glauben* ›believe‹, *vermuten* ›assume‹, *vermeinen* ›mean‹, *verstehen* ›understand‹ as well as verbs of saying like *beschuldigen* ›state‹, *fürgeben* ›claim‹ and *verlauten* ›announce‹.

- (2) dem machten zway der ansechlichen Raette/ (...) weyber **glauben**/ als hetten
him made two of the honorable aldermen (...) wives believe as had
sy das aus der Salomea mund gehort/ (Herberstein, Moskau 1r39)
they this of the Salome mouth heard
'the wives of two honorable aldermen made him believe that they had heard this from S.'

As to the distributional differences of V1 complement clauses throughout the history of German, I argue that the rise of V1 complement clauses with verbs of propositional attitude and verbs of saying is motivated by changes within the grammar of adverbial clauses denoting a hypothetical relationship of similarity between two propositions (Demske, 2014), while their decrease has to be attributed to a growing standardization of clause patterns in the history of German. Considering the external syntax of V1 complement clauses, evidence is provided that they are relatively unintegrated subordinate clauses along the lines of Reis (1997). Focussing on V1 complement clauses, the present paper will introduce a

new point of view into the relationship between factivity, assertion and embeddedness (Hooper & Thompson, 1973), widely discussed with respect to the Verb Second Phenomenon.

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Heycock, Caroline 2006. Embedded Root Phenomena. In: Martin Everaert & Henk van Riemsdijk, eds., *The Blackwell Companion to Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell, 174–209.

Hooper, Joan & Sandra Thompson 1973. On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4, 465–97.

Reis, Marga 1995. Extractions from verb-second clauses in German? In: Ulrich Lutz & Jürgen Pafel, eds., *On extraction and extraposition in German*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 45–88.

Reis, Marga 1997. Zum syntaktischen Status unselbständiger Verbzweit-Sätze. In: Christa Dürscheid, Karl-Heinz Ramers & Monika Schwarz, Hrsg., *Sprache im Fokus. Festschrift für Heinz Vater zum 65. Geburtstag*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 121–44.

Inflection class and gender: Loss and gain

Hans-Olav Enger (University of Oslo)

Inflection classes may seem to be useless, to constitute ‘mere ballast’. Therefore, one way of simplifying language structure would be to get rid of such classes, at least those that are lexically conditioned, that are not anchored in any ‘extra-morphological properties’ – another would be to align them with such properties. This is a widespread view, articulated very clearly by Natural Morphologists such as Wurzel (1984, 1986). The idea also gets some empirical support.

At the same time, inflection classes can be remarkably stable, diachronically (Carstairs-McCarthy 1994, Maiden 1992); they arise (Dammel 2011), and they can be ‘strengthened’ over time (e.g. Enger 2014). Also other morphological patterns without any apparent *raison d’être* outside of morphology can spread diachronically (e.g. Maiden et al. 2013).

This does not necessarily contradict the initial ideas from Natural Morphology, even if it calls for a more sophisticated framework. For one thing, “simplification” is a more difficult concept than we may have thought (Audring 2013). Another general point is that many phenomena in language in general – and not only in morphology – may be subject to more lexical restrictions than we have thought. A case in point is valency (Haugen 2012), traditionally considered “hardcore syntax”.

Even if my talk mainly will deal with inflection class, I shall also look at gender, since the two phenomena can be related, both empirically and theoretically.

The development of preposition stranding in Scandinavian and English

Jan Terje Faarlund (University of Oslo)

Preposition stranding is a regular feature of English and Mainland Scandinavian, but of very few other languages. Its development, which can be traced back to developments in Old Norse syntax, meant a gain in syntactic flexibility. Its occurrence in Middle and Modern English is one of many testimonies of the North Germanic origins of Middle English.

You win some, you lose none: on diachronic verbalization and nominalization in the history of the English gerund

Lauren Fonteyn

This paper discusses the development of nominal gerunds (NG), as in (1), which have the internal syntax of a noun phrase (NP), and verbal gerunds (VG), as in (2), which have the internal syntax of a clause:

- (1) I doe beginne to speake of *the making of the Cheese* (PPCEME, 1615)
- (2) I knewe a woman that was readie to hang her selfe, for seeing but her husbands shirt hang on a hedge with her maides smocke. (PPCEME, 1597)

This variation is the result of a long-term diachronic verbalization process in which part of the gerundive system has adapted a VP- rather than NP-like internal structure. While the **morphosyntactic** changes in English gerunds have been documented extensively (Fanego 2004; Hudson 2007), it has only recently been noted that these studies may benefit from a consideration of the meaning and function that the constructions encode (Croft 2007, De Smet 2008, Traugott & Trousdale 2010). For instance, exclusively morphosyntactic accounts cannot explain why the rise of the VG, which has the advantage of being both a more economic and iconic construction (De Smet 2008), has not led to the loss of the NG.

A detailed analysis of 2000 NGs and VGs in the LEON0.3, PPCEME and PPCMBE shows that the morphosyntactic verbalization of the gerund is linked to significant changes in its **discourse-functional** and **semantic** behavior. Moreover, the data show that NGs too, while not undergoing notable formal changes, went through critical changes in their functional profile. Specifically:

(i) Both gerund types developed different **distributional preferences**. As VGs spread to different grammatical functions, NGs suffered a significant frequency decrease, especially as complements to prepositions (35.8% to 9.1%). However, VGs remain very uncommon in subject position, which became more tolerant of NGs (9% to 22.2%), suggesting that the NG over time became a more appropriate means to express the subject of a clause.

(ii) NGs gradually became more likely targets for **anaphoric tracking**, indicating that they increasingly take part in the nominal system of identification and reference. VGs moved in the opposite direction (author et al. 2015).

(iii) NGs and VGs also show a shift in the **grounding strategies** typically associated with them. From Middle English onwards, some gerunds gradually acquired clausal rather than nominal grounding

strategies (Langacker 2009: 149), i.e. by means of subject control and temporal integration with the matrix clause rather than through determiners:

(3) (...) he had a malicious Intent in *making of this Book*. (1590, PPCEME)

This clausal grounding became the most frequent grounding strategy for the formally verbalized VGs (50.6%, illustrated in (2)), while clausally grounded NGs (as in (3)) disappeared by Late Modern English. NGs, however, have come to allow a fuller range of nominal grounding elements, including the indefinite article *a/an* (e.g. *There was a perpetual slamming and banging of doors* [1837, PPCMBE]).

These findings indicate that the history of the English gerund is not one of gain and loss, but one of gain and retraction (Haspelmath 2004). As the gerund functionally and formally verbalized and the VG emerged, the NG again specialized in those uses in which it experienced the least competition from the VG and the most attraction by prototypical NPs and thus reestablished its place in the language.

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Loss and gain in aspectual, case, and definiteness marking in early Middle English

Elly van Gelderen (Arizona State University, Tucson)

Arguments that are definite and aspect that is perfective add to the transitivity of an event. Marking definites and aspect has changed dramatically in the history of English. Where Old English has specialized case and some use of demonstratives to mark definiteness and verbal prefixes and inflections to mark aspect, Modern English uses articles for definiteness and particles and auxiliaries for aspect.

In this paper, I will examine three interconnected changes in the English of around 1200 that involve the object and, indirectly, the entire event. Old English prefixes, such as *ge-*, mark a verb as transitive or perfective. When these affixes are lost in early Middle English, this role is taken up by particles, such as *up*. In Old English, the genitive Case is used when the object is partially affected, i.e. when the “limit of

involvement” of the object is relevant (Allen 2005: 240). When this case is lost, again around 1200, there is an increase in the use of demonstratives, articles, and quantifiers, such as *all*.

Grammatical loss vs. syntactic gain? The emergence of Akkadian finite complementation in its historical-sociolinguistic context

Rodrigo Hernáiz Gómez

The rise of Akkadian finite complement clauses has been taken as an example of syntactic complexification related to the increasing complexity of communicative needs in early historical societies (Deutscher 2000). Despite divergent interpretations of some textual data and their subsequent conclusions (Streck 2002), the existence of written evidence of an ancient language, where prior non-recursive structures gave way to more complex embedded clauses, has become a commonly held assumption in the linguistic literature (e.g. Sampson 2009).

It has not yet been considered, however, that Akkadian underwent a parallel process of substantial phonological and grammatical reduction, accompanied by the decisive language switch towards Akkadian of the otherwise dominant Sumerian region. In addition to that, speakers of related Semitic linguistic varieties also settled and even ruled the area during the same time span. Under the consequent sociological changes, and without any discernible linguistic compensation strategy, the contrast between the rather expected featural ‘loss’ and the less-predictable syntactic ‘gain’ remains unexplained. Furthermore, the only hypothesis about the way finite complements emerged suggest adverbial clauses - and not paratactic constructions- as the analogical origin of finite embedding, which differs from the usual channels of grammaticalization (Heine & Kuteva 2007).

Since crucial sociolinguistic and textual aspects for the time of said syntactic gain have not been accounted for, this paper will present them on a diachronic scale, and will compare quantitatively the syntactic alternatives for complementation. In view of the documental paucity of that period (ca. 2300-2000 BCE), I will also conduct a synchronic and socially-informed study of syntactic distribution for the verb *idûm* (‘to know’) in the following, and much better documented, Old Babylonian period (ca. 1900-1500 BCE).

I will argue that the nonexistence of finite complementation in the oldest period of Akkadian is an assumption that can no longer be maintained. As a consequence, the plausibility of both the indirect influence of writing and the assumed late development of adverbial clauses into complement clauses must also be called into question. On the basis of the oldest documented finite complements and on the structural properties of Old Babylonian syntax and semantics, I will finally suggest a much older grammaticalization process in which paratactic constructions develop into complement clauses via integration (Heine & Kuteva 2007) and linked by the simulative marker *ki / kima* ‘(be) like’, ‘so’.

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Prosodic features of the dialects in Nord-Gudbrandsdalen

Perlaug Marie Kveen

Norwegian (and Swedish) has tonal accents. Based on the contrastive realisation of these accents Norwegian dialects can be divided into two basic intonation systems: L(ow)-tone dialects and H(igh)-tone dialects. They can be further divided into more fine-meshed categories, based on regional tonal features and characteristics (cf. Nilsen 2000; 2001). Since tonal accents, or word accents, are considered quite rare and "exotic", at least in a European context, there has been a fair amount of research on this phenomenon. However, less attention has been devoted to tonal variation on the level of *intonation* in Norwegian (but cf. Abrahamsen 2003; Nilsen 1992).

In my PhD-project, I investigate tonal and other prosodic features in the dialects in Nord-Gudbrandsdalen (hereafter NGbr). On the one hand, the NGbr dialects have some prosodic features that clearly identify them as belonging to the L-system. On the other hand, they have tonal and other prosodic features that clearly distinguish them from other L-dialects, like the dialects spoken in the Trøndelag region and in the South-Eastern area of Norway. In brief terms, my project is about mapping these features, as well as explaining how they contribute to the overall tonal and prosodic characteristics of this specific regional variety. In so doing a comparative approach is both necessary and fruitful. More specifically, I compare NGbr dialects with other regional varieties within the L-system to see how they differ in terms of the overall prosodic realisation.

In the analyses I make use of the Trondheim model, which is a model developed for the description and analysis of the form and function of Norwegian intonation (see Nilsen 1992 for more details). This is a suitable tool to describe and compare tonal variation in different Norwegian dialects.

In this presentation I will give an outline of my project, including examples of what I believe to be tonal and other prosodic characteristic features of NGbr dialects, as well as tentative analyses of some of these, e.g. the oxytonic accentual pattern and short syllable words. The data set stems from an empirical investigation carried out in 2014. It is based on interviews of 12 persons from this region.

Abrahamsen, J.E. (2003). *Ein vestnorsk intonasjonsfonologi*. Dr.art.-avhandling, Institutt for språk- og kommunikasjonsstudium, NTNU.

Nilsen, R.A. (1992). *Intonasjon i interaksjon – sentrale spørsmål i norsk intonologi*. Dr.art.-avhandling, Lingvistisk institutt, Universitetet i Trondheim.

Nilsen, R.A. (2000). Tonale sætrekk i norske lavtonedialekter. I Ivars, A.M. og Slotte, P. (red.) *Folkmålsstudier* 39. Helsingfors, 219–238.

Nilsen, R.A. (2001). "Borderline Cases". Tonal characteristics of some varieties of spoken South Norwegian. *Nordic Prosody VIII*, 173–186.

Loss of rhotic variants of pronunciation in Cornwall, Devon and Dorset

Malarski Kamil Malarski

Inspired by the recent reports on the loss of rhoticity in Dorset (Piercy 2012), my future study will focus on this variable in Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. All these counties have traditionally been described as rhotic (e.g. Trudgill 1999), but Piercy's findings point to an almost complete loss of rhotic pronunciations among young people in this area. Because a large part of what we assume about rhoticity in southwestern England is either anecdotal or outdated, the aim is to update the existing references on the use of nonprevocalic /r/, and to find out whether the sociolinguistic patterns of pronunciation in Dorset extend over Cornwall and Devon.

The aim of this talk is to get feedback from the audience on the planned fieldwork in the South-West of England. The recording sessions are to be performed in 2016 on a relatively large sample, c. 120 speakers from each region, comprising both sexes and different age groups. The speakers will be recorded in pairs in sociolinguistic interviews.

Later, the tokens with nonprevocalic /r/ will be analysed mainly impressionistically (which is a common procedure in studies on this variable, cf. Piercy 2012 or Feagin 1990), although acoustic cues like F3 and F4 will also be looked at (after Thomas 2011: 129-136). The collected data will help to answer the following research questions: 1) Are young people in Dorset, Devon and Cornwall switching to r-less pronunciation?, 2) How fast is the process of losing rhoticity in Dorset, Devon and Cornwall?, 3) What is the prestige status of the variable in question?, 4) What are the exact differences in the pronunciation of nonprevocalic /r/ between the researched groups?, 5) How does the phonetic context influence the loss or retention of /r/?.

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On the extent of blending in grammatical change

Hendrik de Smet (KU Leuven)

This paper argues that many innovative constructions derive from more than one historical source (Van de Velde, De Smet & Ghesquière 2013). This goes against the common practice, especially in grammaticalization studies, of tracing an innovation to a single historical ancestor – for instance, the PDE modal *must* derives from the preterito-present verb *motan*. The view of change developed here has consequences for different aspects of linguistic theory, including our views on blending, reanalysis, productivity and the nature of syntactic categories. First, it is argued that blending is much more extensive than generally recognized. A sample of cases of grammaticalization is shown to contain a

considerable number of blends. The impact of blending on change is potentially even more impressive if ‘covert blends’ are considered – i.e. patterns that superficially look rule-based but in fact arose through blending. Second, it is shown that traditional cases of reanalysis often involve blending between the pre-reanalysis source and the post-reanalysis innovative pattern, resulting in hybrid structures. This challenges the discreteness often attributed to reanalysis. Third, recognition of the role of multiple source constructions in language change may help resolve the productivity paradox. Synchronically, patterns with high type frequencies are likely to be productive, but this does not explain how patterns become productive diachronically. It is proposed that productive patterns are likely either to derive from another productive pattern, or to derive from a number of historically distinct patterns. Fourth, even the features that define syntactic categories may derive from multiple sources.

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Loss, gain, and equicomplexity

Peter Trudgill (University of Agder)

The notion that all languages have an equivalent degree of complexity was at one time very much part of the conventional wisdom of the linguistics community. And that view was, understandably, particularly strongly maintained in the face of a nonspecialist public who still held to the view that some languages really were more “primitive” than others. Hockett spelt it out for us: “the total grammatical complexity of any language, counting both morphology and syntax, is about the same as any other” (1958: 180-1). The idea was that simplification at the level of morphology would be compensated for by complexification at the level of syntax, and vice versa. Complexity could neither be lost nor gained. But his *invariance of linguistic complexity or equicomplexity hypothesis* (Sampson et al, 2009) – a loss of complexity in one part of a language is always compensated for by a complexifying trade-off elsewhere – had always been implicitly rejected by sociolinguists, creolists and dialectologists who had learnt that language contact – of a certain type – led to simplification. It had always been obvious to them that, if the same language could be more or less simple at different points in time, then different languages could be more or less simple at the same point in time. In certain sociolinguistic situations, complexity really can be lost. But non-equicomplexity is not just due to differential degrees of simplification. Complexity can also be gained. In which sociolinguistic situations is this most likely to occur – and why?

Loss and gain of features in syntactic change: grammaticalization and 'lateral' grammaticalization

Keith Tse

Grammaticalization is argued to involve 'structural simplification' (Roberts and Roussou (R & R) (2003), van Gelderen (2011)), and the outcome of grammaticalization (functional categories) is assumed to be defective at Spell-Out (R & R (2003:218ff) cf Selkirk's (1984) 'Principle of Categorical Invisibility of Function Words'). Tse (2013a, b, forthcoming) analyses 'lateral' grammaticalization which consistently produces functional elements that are phonologically, morphologically and semantically strong. This paper analyses the interface effects in syntactic change, namely the causes behind the weakening of phonology ('phonological weakening'), morphology ('univerbation') and semantics ('semantic bleaching'), which occur in grammaticalization but not in 'lateral' grammaticalization. This comparison reveals a correlation between syntactic features and the Spell-Out of phonetic and logical form which seems to support Chomsky's (2004) 'best case scenario' (parallel derivation between narrow syntax, semantics and phonology).

R & R (2003:201) define 'structural simplification' as the reduction of 'feature syncretisms', while van Gelderen (2011:16-21) argues that uninterpretable features are 'simpler' than interpretable features. R & R (2003:200) further characterise grammaticalization as the loss of *Agree/Move* in favour of *Merge* at higher functional positions. Tse (2013b:99) therefore defines grammaticalization as the loss of probe features in *Agree/Move* and a concomitant upward shift (*Merge*) of probe features (cf Roberts (2010:50-51)). 'Lateral' grammaticalization describes the geneses of copula verbs from determiners (e.g. Chinese *shi*) and deverbal case-markers (e.g. Chinese *ba*), which involve 'structural simplification' but no upward feature analysis (Tse (2013a, b, forthcoming)): Chinese *shi* is originally used in equational constructions where it has *Agree* with the apposed topic and predicate (Li and Thompson (1977:422-423)), and when it is re-analysed as a copula verb in Pred, *Agree* is lost and the interpretable phi-features of *shi* become uninterpretable as they agree with the new subject (Lohndal (2009:14-15), van Gelderen (2011:130-131)); Chinese *ba* originally undergoes V-to-v *Move* (Feng (2002), van Gelderen (2011:189-191)), and as case-markers, it loses *Move* and is merged as a functional preposition in little v where its interpretable verb features become uninterpretable as they select the second (main) verb (Feng (2005:4, 7, 10), van Gelderen (2011:189)). However, both Chinese *shi* and *ba* hold features that are re-analysed not from below but from pragmatic implicature, since the Pred features of *shi* are re-analysed from the implied identity between the apposed elements in equational constructions, while Chinese co-verbs hold K(case) features which do not exist in Chinese which has never had morphological case (Lamontagne and Travis (1986, 1987, 1992), Tse (forthcoming)). This can be correlated with the fact that all cross-linguistic examples of 'lateral' grammaticalization do not display 'phonological weakening'/'univerbation' (see Lohndal (2009:13ff) for copula verbs derived from determiners, Lord (1993) for deverbal case-markers) or 'semantic bleaching', since there is a gain of features from pragmatics that are not in the original 'cue' (Tse (2013b:107)). These pragmatically inferred features seem to reinforce not only semantics but also prosodic boundaries, while the loss of probe features and an upward shift of goal features give rise to the weakening of PF and LF in grammaticalization.

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The development of Norwegian complex demonstratives with *herre/derre*

Urd Vindenes

The Norwegian adverbs *her* 'here' and *der* 'there' typically function as locational adverbials: *boka ligger der* 'the book lies there'. However, they may also be used adnominally or pronominally together with a demonstrative (henceforth *complex demonstratives*, cf. Myklebust 2012):

1. **den bok-a der**
that book-DEF **there**

2. **den der(re) bok-a**
that there book-DEF

The development from locational adverb to demonstrative is an attested grammaticalization path from many languages (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 172). If the intensifier (i.e. *her* or *der*) is used postnominally (1), the deictic function is exophoric or anaphoric, and if it is used prenominally (2), the prototypical function is recognitional (activating shared knowledge, see Diessel 1999). The prenominal intensifiers, as opposed to the postnominal, may take an *e*-suffix: *den derre boka*. These extended variants are often analysed as inflected forms (e.g. by Faarlund et al. 1997: 211) because they resemble weak adjective inflection (3):

3. den **gul-e** bok-a
 that **yellow-DEF** book-DEF

A central Old-Norse dictionary, Fritznors ordbok, say that all of the extended variants of *her/der*, such as *derre*, *derne*, *derrane*, etc., are derivatives of the Old-Norse adverbs *hérna* and *þarna*. Thus, there are two hypotheses about the *e*-suffix in *herre* and *derre*:

- a. The *e*-suffix in prenominal *herre/derre* is an inflectional suffix that expresses definiteness.
- b. The prenominal intensifiers *herre/derre* have developed from the Old-Norse adverbs *hérna* and *þarna*, and are near-synonyms of *her/der*.

In the presentation, I will use data from the Nordic Dialect Corpus (Johannessen et al. 2009) and the Medieval Nordic Text Archive (Menota) to discuss the status of *her/der*-intensifiers in complex demonstratives. The research questions that I will address include: 1. How did the extended variants of adnominal and pronominal *her/der* develop? and 2. Is the development of prenominal *herre/derre* an example of recategorialization?

I will argue that none of the existing hypotheses (a., b.) are very satisfactory, but that hypothesis a. (the “inflection hypothesis”) is the more plausible of the two. The problem with hypothesis b. is that the Old-Norwegian texts in Menota contain no examples of *hérna* or *þarna*, or of any complex demonstratives at all. Fritznor’s references to the use of *hérna* and *þarna* are all from Old-Icelandic sources, and it is reasonable to assume that these adverbs were used in Icelandic only, or that they were very infrequent in Old-Norwegian.

There are a few problems with hypothesis a. as well. First, it is highly unlikely that the *e*-suffix expresses definiteness. If that were the case, the shorter variants *her* and *der* would be used with indefinite meaning, but they are not (cf. example 1). In addition, the extended variants may also be used with indefinite nouns, if they are used together with *sánn* ‘such’ (*en sánn derre bok* ‘a kind of book’). Second, the *e*-suffix is optional in most dialects, and there is variation between *den der boka* and *den derre boka*. Therefore, the *e*-suffix might not have any grammatical meaning, and a third hypothesis could be that the suffix simply expresses ‘prenominal’.

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Can loans effect the loss and/gain of phonological contrasts? The case of Germanic.

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This talk will discuss the impact that loans can have on the phonemic inventory of languages by looking at the significant role that loans played in the development of Swiss German geminates and of word accent in North Germanic. In both cases a loss prepared the way for a new contrast.