
Miriam Butt

The role of pronominal suffixes in Punjabi

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 15:00

Akhtar (1999) reports on a number of "argument replacing" morphemes in some dialects of Punjabi spoken in Pakistan. At first sight, this phenomenon seems puzzling as Bhatia's (1993) reference grammar of Punjabi makes no mention of these morphemes, nor do the older comparative grammars (Beames 1872, Kellogg 1883). Indeed, Masica's (1991) impressive survey of Indo-Aryan languages also fails to mention this characteristic.

One exception is Bailey (1925), who analyzes the morphemes as pronominal suffixes. Grierson's (1895a,b) pioneering study of Kashmiri, Lahanda and Sindhi pronominal suffixes traces the suffixes to parts of the ancestral enclitic/unstressed Sanskrit/Prakrit pronominal system. A close look at the Punjabi data collected by Akhtar (1999) shows it appears to be amenable to this analysis as well, but that the forms are clitics rather than suffixes.

Further investigation reveals that while pronominal suffixation is not commonly thought of as an areal characteristic of South Asian languages (e.g., Masica 1976, 1991), Emeneau (1965) argued that pronominal suffixation is common enough in South Asia to be considered an areal trait. Another well known areal trait is the ability to pro-drop any argument of a clause.

One reasonable analysis suggested by much of current linguistic thinking might be that the pronominal clitics/suffixes license pro-drop. As pronouns developed from clitics to become part of the verbal morphology, they could be seen to saturate the argument structure of a verb and thus allow for pro-drop. However, only a subset of the South Asian languages which allow rampant pro-drop can be shown to have developed pronominal suffixes.

Instead, this paper proposes an alternative hypothesis which sees the clitics as implicated in discourse structural consideration: they are used to background referential information. The analysis builds on Butt and King's 1996, 1997 analysis of Urdu word order as being primarily motivated by discourse considerations and makes sense of several characteristics also observed by Akhtar (1999), namely that the pronominal clitics cannot "replace" a wh-word (focus) or an unmarked (nominative) argument (these also interact with focus).

Olav Hackstein

Nominal classification in Indo-European and beyond

Freitag/Friday: 13:30

Many non-Indo-European languages, such as Mparntwe Arrernte (Australian) and Yacaltec (Mayan), have developed a system of nominal classification. The forerunner of the nominal classifiers may be seen in close appositions. In my presentation, I will endeavour to show that a less grammaticalized version of nominal classification was in use in ancient Indo-European as well. Indo-European employed a system of close appositions to mark social and non-social relationships pertaining to the human and non-human world alike. A comparison of the Indo-European state of affairs with those languages that have developed a system of nominal classification hints at possible pathways of the grammaticalization of close appositions. I will discuss the change of the internal dependency structure of noun apposition units from a synchronic and typological perspective. The question which factors might further the development of close appositions into nominal classifiers will be examined.

Geoffrey Haig

The emergence of ergativity in Iranian: Evolution or exaptation?

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 15:30

The Iranian languages are regularly cited as an example for the evolution of ergativity from a passive construction (e.g. Estival & Myhill 1988, Campbell & Harris 1995:243-244). On this view, the emergence of ergativity must have involved, among other things, a transfer of subject properties from the grammatical subject of the erstwhile passive construction to the Agent-phrase, which ultimately became the subject of the ergative construction. These changes are generally considered to have occurred somewhere between the Old and Middle Iranian periods.

There are, however, empirical and conceptual drawbacks with this account. First, the relevant passive construction of Old Persian, the so-called *manā kartam* construction, cannot simply be equated with the agentive passive of more familiar languages, mainly because it had no unmarked active counterpart. Second, the syntactic status of the Agent-phrase has yet to be unequivocally established. Third, agentive passives were rare in Old Persian, as in other ancient Indo-European languages; whether they could have contributed the necessary substance for the complete restructuring of past tense alignment is open to doubt. Finally, in at least one modern Iranian language, Bahdinanî Kurdish (North Iraq), both 'passive' and 'active ergative' functions of the same set of verb forms coexist, yet there is no evidence of an intermediate stage involving agentive passives, and indeed such evidence appears to be lacking in other Iranian languages as well.

Closer examination of the Kurdish data, and from related West Iranian languages, suggest that the mechanism involved may have had little to do with the widely-held 'transfer of subject properties' account. Rather, the ergative construction arises through the extension of already existing constructions involving non-canonical subjects with intransitive verbs. Crucially, it can be demonstrated that such non-canonical subjects already possess subject properties, thereby rendering an account in terms of a transfer of subject properties within the ergative construction superfluous. It will be argued that this mechanism also offers a more plausible explanation for the evolution of ergativity in the Iranian languages generally (Benveniste (1952) can also be interpreted along these lines). It is also consonant with more recent accounts of the changes in Germanic from oblique to nominative subjects of Experiencer verbs (Barddal 2003), where Cole et al's (1980) approach in terms of a transfer of subject properties is called into question. I conclude that the more appropriate metaphor for the emergence of ergativity in Iranian may be exaptation (Lass 1990) rather than evolution.

Johannes Helmbrecht

On the emergence of adjuncts

Donnerstag/Thursday: 9:30

All theoretical approaches to grammar acknowledge a basic distinction between arguments and adjuncts of a clause. Arguments are complements that are semantically and mostly also syntactically necessary to give a complete nuclear predication. Adjuncts are semantically and syntactically optional expressions introducing peripheral participants. They are not complements, but rather relational itself. They modify the nuclear predication.

Peripheral participants that are typically expressed by adjuncts include semantic roles such as recipient, beneficiary, comitative, instrument, manner, source, path, direction, location, time, and others. The semantic relation between these peripheral participants and the nuclear predication is frequently indicated by means of oblique case marking and adpositions in the languages. There is a general agreement in the linguistic community that oblique case markers and adpositions ultimately derive either from relational nouns via genitive constructions or from converbs/ serial verbs via subordination (cf. Givón 1975, Kahr 1975, Lehmann 1995:Ch. 3.4).

The proposed paper presents an investigation of the various grammaticalization processes associated with the two principal paths to adpositions/ oblique case markers. The focus will be put on the incipient stages of these paths, i.e. the relational nouns and their constructions and converbs/ serial verbs and their constructions that are employed to introduce peripheral participants.

Data for the investigation will be taken from languages that have no adpositions and no oblique case marking (usually no case marking at all). These languages have to employ less grammaticalized strategies to bind peripheral participants in the clause. Hence they are appropriate to studies these strategies.

The structure of the paper is as follows:

- 1) The single steps in the development of adposition from relational nouns and converbs will be discerned, and the syntactic and semantic changes of the source forms within the respective constructions will be summarized.
- 2) Languages with no adpositions/ oblique case markers usually have to employ adverbs, relational nouns or converbs. The question will be examined whether there is a certain trade off with between these linguistic means with regard to a common function (grammatical conspiracies; cf. Croft 2003:227f), i.e. the introduction of peripheral participants.
- 3) There are languages with only one, two, or three adpositions. The question will be examined whether there is a hierarchy of semantic concepts that are grammaticalized as adpositions first.

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Gerhard Jäger

Case marking and evolutionary stability

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 16:30

Grammars are self-replicating systems like the genome in biology. It is thus to be expected that natural languages underly the evolutionary forces of selection and adaptation just like biological organisms. The replication of grammars is mediated by language learning (in an inclusive sense, not restricted to infant's first language acquisition). Major selectional forces are communicative success and learnability.

The framework of Evolutionary Optimality Theory attempts to formalize these intuitions. A grammar is conceived as a stochastic ranking of violable constraints. A learning algorithm simulates a language learner who tries to maximize communicative success both as a speaker (i.e. the odds to get the message across) and as a hearer (i.e. the chance to understand utterances correctly) in interaction with users (“teachers”) of a given grammar. (Note that we are simulating an ambitious learner; the primary goal of learning is not to copy the teacher’s behavior but to enable efficient communication while minimizing constraint violations.) Learning is iterated – in the next step of the iteration former students assume the teacher’s position, while new students enter the game. Crucially, the frequency distribution of the different meanings that are communicated is kept invariant over time.

In a series of computer simulations, we investigated the evolutionary behavior of different logically possible case marking systems. We were especially interested in the correlation between case marking and both definiteness and animacy.

Several corpus studies (involving different languages) unequivocally revealed that there is a strong statistical correlation between agenthood and animacy on the one hand, and patienthood and inanimacy on the other hand. For definiteness the patterns are less clear (the majority of both agents and patients are definite), but the pattern “definite agent/indefinite patient” is by orders of magnitude more common than the inverse pattern. Briefly put, agents are most of the time more animate and more definite than the corresponding patient.

In the simulations we assumed frequency distributions of input patterns following the corpus findings. We furthermore assumed the optional presence of both ergative and accusative morphology.

The most significant findings are:

- Pure nominative-accusative systems and split ergative systems are evolutionary stable and attainable. (By split ergative we mean a system where ergative marking is confined to inanimate/indefinite agents and accusative marking to animate/definite patients.)
- Inverse split systems (ergative marking only for definite or animate agents and/or accusative marking only for indefinite/inanimate patients) are learnable but evolutionary unstable and not attainable.
- Systems without case marking (and without other disambiguating means like head marking or word order) are not learnable – the language that is acquired by the student differs substantially from the teacher’s language.

This is in good accordance with actual typologically attested tendencies. To sum up, the corpus studies indicate that the attested case marking patterns are well-adapted to language use because they minimize ambiguity in a maximally efficient way. Iterated ambitious learning suggests a link between functional pressure and competence grammar.

Gerd Jendraschek

The relationship between predicate core and its arguments in Basque

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 17:00

Basque is well known for its complex verbal morphology, where the inflected verb, i.e. the predicate core, shows agreement with up to three arguments (ergative, absolutive, and indirect object). This entails that the syntactic relations between the central participants and the situation core are perfectly reflected in verbal and nominal morphology, by both agreement and case. The Basque agreement pattern illustrates the hierarchy between the central participants in different argument-constellations. The argument slots on the top allow of most variation. For those at the end, possible candidates are restricted to third person. Auxiliaries

corresponding to uncommon argument-constellations fall gradually out of use. This erosion in verbal morphology makes it impossible for first and second person participants to appear as arguments in certain constellations. Basque has therefore developed several alternative strategies for the expression of uncommon participants: a) the use of less complex auxiliaries, which do still express agreement, but not other situation features such as modality; b) the reduction from three- to two-participant-agreement, with the third participant being left to nominal morphology; c) the use of noun cases that do not require agreement, such as allative instead of dative; d) the use of embedded infinite constructions where relevant participants appear as overt constituents; e) the demotion of the uncommon argument to adnominal status.

Seppo Kittilä

The marking of recipient, recipient-beneficiary and beneficiary: Typological and evolutionary remarks

Donnerstag/Thursday: 10:00

The present paper is concerned with the linguistic encoding of three semantic roles that usually surface as indirect objects (understood in a broad sense). These are here labelled as recipient, recipient-beneficiary and beneficiary. The corresponding grammatical roles are defined as the linguistic encoding of these semantic notions. Recipient is, as is typical of all studies dealing with ditransitive constructions or events, defined as the role like ‘he gave the book *to me*’. Recipient-beneficiary (henceforth RB) refers to the role in ‘he baked a cake *for me*/he baked *me* a cake’, in which there is also reception, but in which the notion of benefaction is clearly stronger. Beneficiaries, in turn, refer to participants that merely benefit from a given event, like in ‘he parked the car *for me*’. The paper focusses on the synchronic description of the roles, but evolutionary aspects are very closely related to this. The origin (usually ‘give’) is the same in many languages, but the results may be radically different. Different aspects of ‘give’ have been grammaticalized as relevant parts of the roles in different languages. In other words, the extensions of ‘give’-schema vary typologically.

As noted, languages display obvious variation with regard to how the roles under study are expressed and how they have evolved. First of all, there are tripartite languages that have distinct ways of coding all the roles at issue here. A very good example is provided by Icelandic, in which ‘give’ only governs a double-object constructions, while there are specific prepositions for the two other roles. Icelandic is also a very interesting language as regards the evolution of the given grammatical roles, since ‘give’ cannot constitute the starting point for RB’s and Beneficiaries. Second, there are languages in which the reception is a more strongly grammaticalized feature, since it conditions the marking of RB’s. The semantic and grammatical role of recipient is very strong in these languages, like Finnish. Third, in beneficiary-prominent languages, the marking of Recipient is different from both RB’s and Beneficiaries. The ‘give’-schema is also here very prominent, but in a completely different way. Only Recipients bear this marking, and these languages thus best capture what is typically labelled as benefactive. Last, there are languages with a very general indirect object relation. This means that all the three roles are encoded in the same way. Typical examples include Hokkien and Lolovoli. The most probable origin of the marking is also ‘give’ in these cases, but the schema has been highly de-semanticized. For example, in Hokkien, ‘give’ as a serial verb can be employed to introduced any of the three roles, and ‘give’ thus seems like a very general IO preposition synchronically. Languages with SVC’s of this kind are very interesting, since the relation to ‘give’ is so obvious.

All of the four grammaticalization paths noted above are understandable. First, since the roles are semantically distinguishable, it does not come as a surprise that there are languages that employ different strategies in their encoding. However, since the roles in question also share common features, we can also predict that at least some of them are coded in the same way. The intended reading is usually contextually retrievable.

Leonid Kulikov

**Noun incorporation in a diachronic perspective: Its sources and development
(evidence from Indo-European)**

Donnerstag/Thursday: 10:30

The canonical noun incorporation can be determined as a particular type of compounding in which a verb and a noun combine to form a new verb. The noun bears specific semantic relationship to its host verb (patient, location, instrument etc.) and typically corresponds to some syntactic function in the pendant construction without noun incorporation (most often, to direct object). Whilst synchronic aspects of this phenomenon has been the subject of several studies, our knowledge of the diachronic aspects of incorporation, its emergence and evolution, is much more scarce.

In my paper, I will concentrate on Indo-European, rather than on ‘canonical’ incorporating languages (such as Amerindian or Paleo-Siberian). Although this phenomenon is unusual for the Indo-European linguistic type, several Indo-European languages, such as Sanskrit and Frisian, furnish valuable evidence for possible scenarios for its development.

In some late Sanskrit texts we find converb-based compounds, such as *gavyābhicecya* ‘having besprinkled [the object of worship] with cow-products (milk etc.)’ (*gavya-* ‘cow-products’ + *abhicecya* ‘having besprinkled’); *stotrābhyarcya* ‘having worshipped [the gods] with praises’ (*stotra-* ‘praise’ + *abhyarcya* ‘having worshipped’). Such N+V_{CONV} compounds (note that V_{CONV} is not a nominal or adjectival derivative), exemplify noun incorporation, i.e. combining of a verbal form and its syntactic argument (typically, an object) to form a new verb. One of possible sources for such N+V_{CONV} formations could be compounds based on gerundives (= future passive participles), built with the suffix homonymous to that of the absolutes, *-ya*, cf. *bala-vijñāyā-* ‘recognizable by (his) force’, *śīrṣa-hāryā-* ‘to be borne on the head’. Another trigger for the rise of incorporated forms might be Old Tamil incorporated forms (mainly based on non-finite forms). These formations correspond, in turn, to the constructions with the non-marked accusative (‘analytical incorporation’), well-attested in modern Indic (both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) languages. The late Sanskrit N+V_{CONV} compounds could be built on their model and thus may betray a Dravidian native language (Tamil?) of its author(s).

Another Indo-European language which has developed noun incorporation is Frisian (West-Germanic). The starting point was – like in Sanskrit – the non-finite domain of the verbal paradigm, the gerund in *-ane* (yielding Fris. infinitive in *-en*). This form did not merge with the old infinitive in *-en* (> Fris. inf. in *-e*), but transferred some of its syntactic properties to this form. Thus, as in the case of Sanskrit, the incorporation has arisen when the composition has been expanded from a verbal derivative (i.e. a formation outside the paradigm properly speaking) to a non-finite form belonging to the paradigm: in Skt., from the gerundive to the absolute, in Frisian – from the gerund to the infinitive, thus from the periphery of the verbal paradigm to its core.

Christian Lehmann & Stavros Skopeteas

Evolution of syntactic relations

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 14:00

The evolution of syntactic relations may involve one or more of the following processes: (a) a syntactic relation emerges in the grammar; (b) a syntactic relation changes; (c) a syntactic relation disappears from the grammar. The workshop on “Evolution of syntactic relations” is going to deal with theoretical and empirical issues concerning these evolutionary processes:

- What is the situation before the emergence and after the loss of a syntactic relation?
- What are the conditions that motivate an evolutionary process?
- What diachronic processes (e.g. grammaticalization, reanalysis) are involved to the evolution of syntactic relations?

This presentation will conclude with different patterns of interpretation, that aim at the assessment of these evolutionary processes. Certain processes – especially those related to grammaticalization – show a given directionality across languages. Language change is often explained through principles based on complementarity: “If an entity *x* disappears from the grammar, an entity *y* emerges in order to implement the same function”. Cross-linguistic dominance of certain syntactic relations implies the preference for their emergence in language change. Typological harmony accounts for different individual changes that are subsumed under a common denominator and lead to the evolution of a uniform grammatical system.

Rosemarie Lühr

Subjekt und Agens im Indogermanischen: Das Passiv

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 17:30

Beim passivischen Gebrauch des Mediums erfolgt zum einen ein Übergang zu einer Art „Antipassiv, das eine sekundäre Handlungsperspekte mit Agens-Subjekten erzeugt:

- (1) KBo III 1 + 1 (Telipinu-Erlaß) 35 *nu-wa-kán pa-ah-ha-aš-ha*
 werde ich unter Schutz stehen?’ > `werde ich beschützt?’

Zum anderen ergeben sich sekundäre Zustände vor allem aus Nachfolgezuständen perfektiver Handlungen, wobei der Agens mittels einer Präposition, in einem bestimmten Kasus oder im Vorderglied eines Kompositums genannt ist:

- (2) (a) KBo VI 28 Vs. 6 KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} URUHatti IŠTU^{LÚ} KÚR arha harganuwan ešta
 `die Hatti-Länder waren vom Feind völlig vernichtet’
 (b) RV I 92,7 *divá stave duhitá gótamebhi#*
 `Des Himmels Tochter wird gepriesen von den Gotamas’
 (c) griech. *deódmhto#* `von den Göttern erbaut’, jungavest. *v0rko.jata-* `von den Wölfen getötet’

In den altindogermanischen Sprachen fehlt beim Passiv aber oftmals ein Agensausdruck. Während die ältere Forschung daraus den Schluß gezogen hat, dass die indogermanische Grundsprache noch kein Passiv gekannt hat, geht die heutige Forschung von einem Instrumental als indogermanischen Agenskasus aus. Doch hängt das Vorhandensein eines Agens vom Grad der Transitivität des zugehörigen Verbalausdrucks ab. Hier sind Aspekt und Tempus wesentlich, denn Transitivität ist mit dem Merkmal Perfektivität verknüpft. Dies gilt auch für intransitive Verben:

- (3) Caes. Gall. 4,25,1 Pugnatum est ab utrisque acriter.
 'Es wurde von beiden Parteien erbittert gekämpft.'

Weiterhin spielt eine Rolle, wie ein potentieller Agens auf der Definitheitsskala DEFINIT > REFERENTIELL > INDEFINIT > NICHTREFERENTIELL > GENERISCH einzuordnen ist. Z.B. ist für *pugnatur* und *proceditur* in:

- (4) Caes. Civ. 1,80,1 Tali dum pugnatur modo, lente atque paulatim proceditur ...
 'Während auf solche Weise gekämpft wird, wird langsam und allmählich vorangeschritten'

ein generischer Agens anzunehmen; vgl. dt. *man kämpft*, *man schreitet voran*. Hinzu kommt der Kontext, da ein Agens oftmals im weiteren Kontext vorkommen kann, alles Parameter, die bei Untersuchung von Agens und Subjekt beim Passiv der ältesten indogermanischen Sprachen noch nicht systematisch berücksichtigt worden sind.

Ulrike Mosel

Where do the incorporated prepositions in Teop come from?

Donnerstag/Thursday: 11:30

In Teop, an Oceanic language spoken in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, four out of seven prepositions can be incorporated into the verb complex so that the complement of the preposition (*bene iaa*) becomes a primary object (*e iaa*), whereas the former primary argument (*a nahu*) becomes a secondary argument (*bona nahu*).

- (1) Enam na von maa a nahu a voon ki bene _____ iaa.
 EXC TAM buy DIR ART pot ART new for OBJ.ART Mum
 'We bought a new saucepan for Mum.'
- (2) Enam na von ki maa e _____ iaa bona nahu a voon.
 EXC TAM buy for DIR ART Mum ART pot ART new
 'We bought Mum a new pot.'

With intransitive verbs like *rosin* 'run', the verb complex as a whole can be transitivised by preposition incorporation.

- (3) E Kakato na rosin bata maa-nakahi bona otei.
 ART Kakato TAM run along DIR-TAM:3SG from ART boy
 'Kakato is running towards me/us away from the boy'

- (4) E Kakato na rosin kahi bata maa-nabona otei.
 ART Kakato TAM run from along DIR-TAM:3SG ART boy
 ‘Kakato is running away from the boy towards me/us.’

But what synchronically looks like the same operation - namely valence change through incorporation - is the result of two different grammaticalisation processes. While *ki* ‘for’ and *mi* ‘with (comitative)’ are originally prepositions which in analogy to the applicative *ni* can enter the verb complex, *suku* ‘because of’ and *kahi* ‘from’ have originated from verbs. Since verbs regularly incorporate as serial verbs and in this function can also increase the valence of the verb complex, it is not the incorporation of *suku* and *kahi* that is an innovation, but their use as a preposition.

Juan Diego Quesada

**Chain reaction, typological determinism, or a phenomenon of the third kind?
 The evolution of word order patterns in Teribe**

Freitag/Friday: 13:00

There are currently three basic orders in Teribe (Chibchan, Costa Rica, Panama) transitive clauses: SOV order is used discourse-initially, for grounding participants, and to reinforce their identity in some discourse passages (1); the more frequent OV-s order, where -s stands for a person-indexing suffix, is used for running discourse (2); and the inverse construction OVS*dē*, where S is a full noun phrase marked as obviative (by *dē*) in postverbal position (3):

- (1) Ta Jacinto shpo-no
 1SG Jacinto hit-PERF
 ‘I hit Jacinto’
- (2) Jacinto shpo-ro-r
 Jacinto hit-PERF-1SG
 ‘I hit Jacinto’
- (3) Jacinto shpo-ra Carlos *dē*
 Jacinto hit-PERF.INV Carlos OBV
 ‘Carlos hit Jacinto’

The SOV order can be regarded as the most basic and stable overtime; the inverse construction has been hypothesized to stem from an erstwhile passive, and the OV-s can be transparently traced to a sort of nominalized subjectless phrase (the current person-indexing suffix is a grammaticalized form of the possessive marker). This paper discusses the interaction of these word orders in terms of both their interaction within Teribe word order patterns (and some of the consequences that can be drawn from that) and of what happens in some neighboring Chibchan languages (Boruca and Rama), in which alternative word orders (OVS and OSV, respectively) have led to emerging head-marking patterns, especially in Rama. How these changes can be best accounted for will constitute part of the presentation.

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Mechthild Reh

Denominal verbalization in African languages: Typology, areality, diachrony

Donnerstag/Thursday: 9:00

"Inflection is more important for the syntax, word formation is more important for the lexicon."

(Bernd Naumann & Petra M. Vogel 2000. Derivation.
In Booij et al. (eds.) 2000. *Morphologie*. (HSK 17,1.)
Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, p. 938

Despite the quotation above, transposition between verbs and nouns as part of word formation processes can indeed be highly relevant for syntax, in particular if there is a distinct asymmetry between deverbal nominalization and denominal verbalization, as in the case of many African languages. Thus, while languages of all families in Africa include some means for deverbal nominalization and, hence, for the reduction or even deletion of syntactic relations synchronically, the opposite process, namely the addition of syntactic relations by means of denominal verbalization, is absent from a great number of languages and language groups. This absence or presence of N>V derivation cuts both genetic families and morphological types. Thus, not only do nearly all languages of the Mande (Niger-Congo) and the Chadic (Afroasiatic) family – both to a large degree isolating - lack N>V derivation, but also the highly agglutinative Bantu languages (Niger-Congo) and the extremely fusional Western Nilotic languages of the Republic of Sudan (Nilosaharan) – and most other Nilosaharan languages irrespective of morphological type.

Cushitic (Afroasiatic) and Atlantic (Niger-Congo) languages, on the other hand, both agglutinative-fusional, do have means for denominal verbalization and thus morphological means for adding and/or increasing syntactic valence. This raises the question of how the N>V derivation came into existence, or how it got lost, in the various sub-families. In addition, there are language groups, such as Eastern Nilotic, which show only marginal N>V derivation.

The paper proposed here will address the following topics:

- (1) genetic and areal distribution of African languages with and without denominal verbalization;
- (2) some information regarding the type of syntactic relation emerging through N>V derivation synchronically;
- (3) some information on compensatory strategies of languages without N>V derivation in order to provide a noun with syntactic relations;
- (4) evidence suggesting linguistic contact as the rationale behind incipient/marginal N>V derivation (e.g. Eastern Nilotic) and – if time and results allows -:

(5) historical reasons for the typological diversity within different branches of some major language phyla in Africa regarding N>V derivation (e.g. Cushitic vs. Chadic; Atlantic vs. non-Atlantic Niger-Congo).

Esther Rinke & Ioanna Sitaridou

Word order change in the history of French and Portuguese

Freitag/Friday: 11:30

In this paper we discuss word order phenomena in Old French (OF) and Old Portuguese (OP), as well as the subsequent changes that took place in the history of the two languages. In particular, we study the position of the verb vis-à-vis the type of constituents that precede it. In the generative literature, OF and OP are regarded as V2-languages (cf. Adams 1987; Roberts 1993; and Vance 1997 for OF; Ribeiro 1995 for OP), whereas Modern French and Modern Portuguese are considered to have lost this property, namely the ability of the verb to reach as high as the C(omplementiser) head. XVS-sequences have customarily been considered to exemplify an underlying V2 structure (examples (1) and (2)):

- (1) Einsi parla la voiz au roi. (Old French)
 ‘In this way the voice spoke to the king.’
 (*La Queste del Saint Graal*, 86, 4 in Vance 1997: 43)
- (2) E todo o contrairo faz a Escritura. (Old Portuguese)
 ‘And the Bible does all the contrary.’
 (*Diálogos de São Gregório*, 3.34.27, in Ribeiro 1995:114)

However, this view has been recently challenged for both languages, among other reasons, because OF and OP allow for XYV-sequences (examples (3) and (4)), which are not compatible with a V2-grammar (cf. Kaiser 2002; Martins 1994 for OP):

- (3) Mais puis que il out set anz passed, la mere áturnad un bel present ... (Old French)
 ‘But after seven years have passed by, the mother gave him a nice present ...’
 (*Li quatre livre des Reis*, 6:1 Sam 1, 24, in Kaiser 2002: 143)
- (4) E assi o santo homen defendeu os seus discipulos. (Old Portuguese)
 ‘And then the saint man defended his disciples.’
 (*Diálogos de São Gregório*, 1.2.5 in Ribeiro 1995:124)

We take the view that despite of Old Romance not being a V2 language, it is still different from Modern Romance in that: (a) the verb occupies a different and probably higher functional position in the medieval stages of these languages; (b) the left periphery has been reorganised from the older stages to the modern ones (cf. Ferraresi and Goldbach 2002 for OF; (c) change (a) relates to change (b).

Based on a corpus and a database (University of Hamburg - *Multilingualism as Cause and Effect of Language Change: Historical Syntax of Romance Languages* research project), we present novel comparative data which: (i) describe the nature of the left periphery in those languages; (ii) extrapolate some conclusions for the left functional field in Old Romance; (iii) put forward the idea that there is an interplay between the complement phrase (CP) and the tense phrase (TP) which gives rise to these V2-phenomena. Based on evidence from the distribution of null subjects in OF and word-order variation in OP, it will be claimed that V2-order is essentially an epiphenomenon of the interaction between C and T.

Peter Siemund

Turning gender markers into exponents of mass/count agreement

Mittwoch/Wednesday: 18:00

In some English dialectal systems the masculine/neuter distinction on 3rd pers. pronouns corresponds to the division of nouns into count nouns and mass nouns (*the tree – he, the milk – it*). There is also a feminine pronoun in the [+count] domain for reference to female humans and higher animals. Mass/count-agreement is triggered on pronouns and marginally on demonstratives. In the Danish dialect of West-Jutland mass/count-agreement is triggered on pronouns and articles/demonstratives. Some varieties of Dutch show incipient mass/count-agreement in the system of pronouns. In some Romance dialects (Central Italy, Asturias) there is a mass/count-contrast in the non-feminine gender such that non-feminine mass nouns and non-feminine count nouns trigger different agreement patterns. Agreement is shown on articles, adjectives and pronouns.

The dialectal agreement systems described above look like special gender systems, but it is by no means straightforward to analyse them as such. A semantic contrast corresponding to the opposition of count nouns and mass nouns has only rarely been reported as the semantic basis of gender systems. Common and frequent distinctions are animate/inanimate, male/female, human/non-human, among others. Moreover, an analysis in terms of gender produces a comparatively large number of hybrid nouns, basically all nouns that can be either [+count] or [-count]. Finally, the agreement patterns available can be used productively to enforce a mass reading or a count reading of the nouns that allow both readings.

Evidently, in the dialects described above former gender markers have turned into exponents of mass/count agreement. Previous research has completely neglected the categorical status of these dialectal agreement systems. It is the goal of this talk to work towards a proper categorization of these systems: To what extent do these systems share properties of gender systems? Do they have properties of other grammatical categories (e.g. number)? Do we have to analyse them as something *sui generis*? Last but not least, it needs to be established why gender markers can turn into exponents of mass/count agreement.

References

Siemund, Peter (2002) Mass versus count: Pronominal gender in regional varieties of Germanic languages. *Zeitschrift für Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* (STUF) 55 (2002) 3, 213-233.

Barbara Stiebels

The evolutionary scenario of agent focus in Mayan

Freitag/Friday: 12:00

Quite a number Mayan languages display a particular structure if the subject of a transitive verb is to be questioned, focused or relativized: In all these languages - apart from Yucatec - the verb receives a special marker (the 'agent focus marker'), which renders the verb morphologically intransitive, though semantically transitive (i.e. the ergative agreement marker is blocked). These structures have been taken as instances of syntactic ergativity. The various Mayan languages differ, however, in the contexts in which agent focus does occur (in

particular in the subject-object settings), in the agreement patterns (the remaining agreement marker may index the subject, the object, or the most salient argument), in the marking of the internal argument of the verb (unmarked vs. oblique) and in the extent to which the agent focus marker merged with the antipassive marker.

In my talk I want to show how the agent focus construction has arisen as means of disambiguation in 3rd p. subject - 3rd p. object settings - due to the fact that there is no structural morphological case and that argument focus, relativization and wh-questions involve the extraction of the respective DPs from a postverbal into a preverbal position; consequently, two arguments of third person can no longer be identified by their syntactic position. I will show that once the agent focus marker was grammaticalized (as a joint focus-ergative marker), the corresponding structure was extended to subject-object settings in which it was not needed for disambiguation. Hence, the agent focus marker lost its functional motivation and became a purely structural means of focus marking. The observed effects of syntactic ergativity are just an epiphenomenon of the grammaticalization of the agent focus marker.

I will provide a lexical analysis within Optimality Theory; I will show that the extension of agent focus resulted from a re-ranking of faithfulness constraints that guarantee the visibility of person/number features.

Nina Sumbatova

Person and grammaticalization of information structure: The case of Dargwa

Freitag/Friday: 12:30

Dargwa belongs to the few languages of the Nakh-Daghestanian group that have personal agreement (this paper is based on the data of the Icari dialect of Dargwa.). Person in Dargwa is expressed in most TMA paradigms including those characteristic of subordinate clauses (e.g., conditional forms). However, the properties of personal agreement vary across different groups of paradigms.

The TMA paradigms can be roughly classified as assertive vs. non-assertive: assertive forms can be used as heads of independent declarative sentences where the verbal predicate belongs to the assertive part of the sentence. In this group, past forms do not express person at all. Non-past forms are marked for person with clitics –da (1SG&1PL&2PL) ~ –di (2SG). These markers, along with the past marker –di, belong to the closed class of auxiliary elements that are always placed after the sentence focus (in the sense of Lambrecht 1994). In sentences with an argument-focus, person markers –da and –di are separated from the verbal form and cliticized to the focused constituent, be it a nominal phrase, an attribute or an adverbial.

Non-assertive forms show higher degree of grammaticalization of personal agreement than assertive forms. Person markers used in these forms are suffixes, which can be followed by other inflectional morphemes; they are inseparable from the verb. Formal expression of an argument-focus in the clauses headed by these forms is impossible. Non-asserted forms fall into two groups: (1) imperative, optative and other forms denoting wish, order or request; (2) forms used in subordinate clauses (conditional, subjunctive, etc.). In the latter group, expression of person is supported by direct ~ inverse marking.

Personal agreement of the forms with hypothetical, irreal or habitual meaning shows middle properties and can be placed in between the two polar person types.

TMA PARADIGM		OPPOSITION	MARKERS		RELATED CATEGORIES
Assertive	past	no personal agreement			
	non-past	2SG ~ 1SG&1PL& 2PL ~ 3	-da ~ -di	clitics, word-final, separable	
**	hypothetical, irrealis, habitual			suffixes, word-final, inseparable	
Non-assertive	imperative, optative, etc.	1 ~ 2 ~ 3	-a ~ -i	suffixes, word-internal, inseparable	2nd person plural marking
	conditional, subjunctive, etc.		-d ~ -tt		direct ~ inverse or transitivity marking

Contrary to our expectations (based on the prototypical properties of finite vs. non-finite forms as presented, e.g., in Givón 1990), forms used in independent clauses show more verbal categories than those used in subordinate clauses, which is not the case in Dargwa. On the other hand, the facts described here are consistent with the tendency to grammaticalize elements of information structure that is generally characteristic of Dargwa and other Nakh-Daghestanian languages. For instance, the formal opposition of main sentence types and of finite vs. non-finite verbal forms is based on the opposition of assertive vs. non-assertive predications. Expression of person is another case of grammaticalizing elements of information structure.