Language Change in English and beyond:
Linguistic Theory and Historical Corpora

March 14-15, 2019

Keynote Speakers:
Jóhanna Barðdal (Ghent University)
Alexander Bergs (University of Osnabrück)
Amalia Moser (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Ioanna Sitaridou (University of Cambridge)

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Historical Central Building of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens:
"Ioannis Drakopoulos" amphitheater
30 Panepistimiou Str.

Program

8:30-9:00   **Registration-Opening**

9:00-9:50   **Keynote Talk:** Jóhanna Barðdal (Ghent University)
             How to succeed in Germanic and Indo-European without really trying?

             chair: Kiki Nikiforidou

9:50-10:20   **Coffee break**

10:20-11:35 **Session 1**
             chair: Jóhanna Barðdal

10:20-10:45 Dagmar Haumann (University of Bergen)
             How to get high on the left periphery: syntactic contexts for the reanalysis of VP adverbs as CP adverbs
10:45-11:10 Barthe Bloom (Friedrich-Schiller University, Jena)
             The disappearance of OV order in subject relative clauses
11:10-11:35 Kiki Nikiforidou (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
             A constructional account of the relativizer as adverbial connective reanalysis in Medieval Greek

11:35-11:45 **Short break**

11:45-13:00 **Session 2**
             chair: Dagmar Haumann

11:45-12:10 Javier Pérez-Guerra (University of Vigo)
             Object-Verb after the fixation of word order in English: from core to edge
12:10-12:35 Javier Martín Arista (Universidad de La Rioja)
             Semantic and syntactic integration in the Old English predicative construction
12:35-13:00 Thanasis Giannaris & Nikolaos Pantelidis (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
             Periphrastic constructions with έχω ('have') in Medieval and Modern Greek: Parameters of diachronic variation and change

13:00-14:30 **Lunch break**

| 14:30-16:10 | **Session 3** |
| | **chair:** Amalia Moser |

14:30-14:55	Nikolaos Lavidas (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
	On the relationship between written contact and language change. Evidence from a comparative diachronic corpus study
14:55-15:20	Isabella Greisinger (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf)
	Aspects and loss of negative contraction with ne in early West Germanic
15:20-15:45	Asimakis Fliatouras (Democritus University of Thrace)
	An inter-parameter approach of interpreting affixization: evidence from the Greek language
15:45-16:10	Panagiotis Filos (University of Ioannina)
	On the remodeling of medieval Greek verbal forms: analogy, reanalysis, and the importance of corpora

| 16:10-16:20 | **Short break** |

| 16:20-17:35 | **Session 4** |
| | **chair:** Javier Martín Arista |

16:20-16:45	Carla Bouzada-Jabois (University of Vigo)
	Tracing the evolution of ING/ED subjectless supplements in English: a diachronic corpus-based description
16:45-17:10	Karolina Rudnicka (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg)
	The statistics of obsolescence: purpose subordinators in Late Modern English
17:10-17:35	Alexander Pfaff (University of Oslo)
	The development of noun phrase patterns and definite articles in Icelandic

| 17:35-18:05 | **Coffee break** |

18:05-18:55	**Keynote Talk:** Amalia Moser (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
	Changes of aspect, aspects of change
	chair: Nikolaos Pantelidis

9:00-9:50   **Keynote Talk:** Alexander Bergs (University of Osnabrück)
Think big, start small: Speaker innovation and language change in construction grammar
chair: Dionysis Goutsos

9:50-10:20   **Coffee break**

10:20-11:35   **Session 5**
chair: Alexander Bergs

10:20-10:45   Johanita Kirsten, Anette Rosenbach & Letizia Vezzosi (North-West University, South Africa; University of Florence, Italy)
Language contact and probabilistic change: the genitive in White South African English and Afrikaans
10:45-11:10   Eleni Karantzola & Konstantinos Sampanis (University of the Aegean)
Antagonistic finite and non-finite complement structures in the history of English and Greek
11:10-11:35   Georgia Fragaki & Dionysis Goutsos (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Diachronic corpora and sociolinguistic variation: an example from 20th century Greek

11:35-11:45   **Short break**

11:45-13:00   **Session 6**
chair: Ioanna Sitaridou

11:45-12:10   Stefan Dedio & Paul Widmer (University of Zurich)
The value of unsuccessful exploratory constructions for the study of language change
12:10-12:35   Spiros A. Moschonas (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens)
Corpus-driven approaches to detecting prescriptivism's effect on language change
12:35-13:00   Eleonora Serra (University of Cambridge)
Change 'from above' in a sixteenth-century corpus of Tuscan correspondence

13:00-13:10   **Short break**

13:10-14:00   **Keynote Talk:** Ioanna Sitaridou (University of Cambridge)
Language variation and change needs linguistic theory but not a theory of language change
chair: Nikolaos Lavidas

ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTE TALKS

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How to succeed in Germanic and Indo-European without really trying?[*]

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A surprisingly large number of verbs that signify 'succeed' across the Indo-European language family derive from metaphorical extensions of the same verbal meaning, namely that of motion. This use, in and of itself, is not necessarily noteworthy, as semantic change often proceeds from concrete to abstract and recurrent metaphors reflect certain shared cognitive frames. However, these recurrent metaphors in the Indo-European languages, and specifically across the Germanic languages, share a deviant syntactic structure as well: they occur with non-canonically case-marked subjects in one daughter language after the other. The co-occurrence of these two facts leads us to consider two interconnected questions: i) what is the relation between semantic change and argument structure, and ii) given the recurrent semantic and syntactic patterns, what can be reconstructed for the proto-stage of these languages? The data presented in this article provide a basis for several reconstructions for both Proto-Germanic and Proto-Indo-European, including a reconstruction of the verb-specific argument structure construction DAT-goes, with the meaning 'succeed', a partial reconstruction of a verb-class-specific DAT-'succeeds' construction, as well as the reconstruction of a conceptual metaphor, SUCCESS IS MOTION FORWARD, and its mapping to the Dative Subject Construction in Proto-Indo-European. Only through the concept of inheritance can the correlation between the metaphoral extension and the non-canonical argument structure in one daughter language after the other be convincingly explained.

*Joint work with Cynthia A. Johnson, Alexander Kerkhof, Esther Le Mair & Leonid Kulikov

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Think big, start small:
Speaker innovation and language change in construction grammar

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In this programmatic talk I will try to develop of theory of linguistic change within the framework of usage-based construction grammar (CxG for short). The key idea is that if linguistic competence materializes in the constructicon of speakers then language change must begin exactly there. Change can then mean the addition or loss of constructions. And it can mean changes in the form and/or meaning of individual constructions (which then, by definition, become new constructions).

Changes in the constructicon (and probably also in the language community) begin with speaker innovations, i.e. individual speakers consciously or unconsciously manipulating their personal constructicons in the ways just outlined. In order to develop into full-blown language change (as actuation), however, we also need diffusion in the speech community. In other words, other speakers must somehow copy or imitate what speaker zero is doing. If this is successful we see actual linguistic change.

This scenario leaves a few questions open, of course. How and why do speakers manipulate their lexicon? Why and how do other speakers imitate them? How do we account for the apparent directionality of certain change processes, as documented, for example, in grammaticalization. On the basis of a number of case studies from the history of English, I will attempt to sketch this model of linguistic change in some detail, and to answer these and other pertinent questions.

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Changes of aspect, aspects of change

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This paper explores the relationship between linguistic theory and the historical study of language. The importance of the study of language change has been recognised in the last five decades, along with the need for a theory of language change, and several such theories have been developed, causing considerable controversy. This paper, however, is concerned with the relationship of language change to to the general theory of language. It aims to show that the study of change can bring valuable insights and enhance our understanding of the structure and function of language; equally, the historical study of language, if it is to be more than an accurate description, requires an adequate theoretical background, and not just of the theory of language change.

The discussion will proceed on the basis of research trends in recent years and the results that they have been producing. It will concentrate primarily on studies of aspect; these are mainly semantic analyses, often within the field of formal semantics, though there is a small number of studies of its diachronic development in specific languages. I will attempt to show that this notoriously complex category, which resists categorisation as much as it defies formal analysis, can be understood in some depth if semantic theory and the facts of language change are taken equally into account in its analysis.

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Language variation and change needs linguistic theory but not a theory of language change

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There is strong consensus that linguistic theory (of different persuasions) has transformed our understanding of language. The obvious question would then be whether we also need a theory of language change. The question is not new and, at least within the generative paradigm, the answer has been negative. However, historical linguistics couched within the generative tradition has often, and rightly so, been criticised as a-historical. What sort of framework can we envisage towards more holistic explanations of syntactic change? This is precisely the topic of my talk which I shall be illustrating with references to the evolution of Pontic Greek.

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WORKSHOP TALKS

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How to get high on the left periphery: syntactic contexts for the reanalysis of VP adverbs as CP adverbs

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It is uncontroversial that sentence-/CP-adverbs develop from manner-/VP-adverbs though grammaticalization (Swan 1988; Hanson 1987; Traugott 1989; Tabor & Traugott 1998). Through frequent pre-posing from the VP- to the CP-layer, manner adverbs undergo subjectification and scope extension (Swan 1988; van Gelderen 2011); ultimately, the pre-posed adverbs come to be reanalyzed as merged in the CP-layer (van Gelderen 2011).

On the basis of a historical corpus-based study of selected adverbs, this paper probes into the structural conditions that define *bridging contexts* (Heine 2002) for the reanalysis of manner adverbs (1) as illocutionary (2a), evaluative (2b) and evidential (2c) adverbs, which assume designated positions in the CP-layer, i.e. the left periphery (Haumann 2007; van Gelderen 2011):

(1)   a.   But can you say, that you came not *honestly* by that letter, and yet forgive yourself? (ECF)

          b.   Dulcia most warily and carefully executed his businesse, which fell out so *fortunately*, that […] they met at the gate. (EEPF)

     c.   The body being the corruptible and ponderous part, falls *naturally* to the earth whence it was first elemented (EEPF)

(2)   a.   *Honestly*, I cannot congratulate you upon it. (NCF)

     b.   Lady Mary *fortunately* had had no confidant in her design of running away. (ECF)

     c.   *Naturally* they paused a long while in front of the altar. (ECF)

Rather than assuming that reanalysis results from frequent pre-posing of VP-adverbs, I argue that the delimitation of bridging contexts for reanalysis feeds on the interplay of a number of syntactic factors, with the presence of a full left periphery being key (Haegeman 2012). Another important determinant is the relative scope of manner adverbs vis-à-vis verbal elements, negation or other adverb(ial)s (Haumann & Killie to appear).

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[ECF]   Eighteenth-Century Fiction. 1996. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

[EEPF]   Early English Prose Fiction. 1997. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

[NCF]   Nineteenth-Century Fiction. 1999–2000. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

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The disappearance of OV order in subject relative clauses

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Present day transitive subject relative clauses can be distinguished from object relative clauses based on their basic word order, (S)VO and (O)SV respectively. In Old English, object relative clauses already had their basic structure of (O)SV, but subject relative clauses showed variation between (S)OV and (S)VO. This study analyses the factors determining OV/VO alternation in Old English and argues that the disappearance of OV order can be accounted for in terms of multiple inheritance (Trousdale 2013).

By means of the statistical method of variable importance measures (Janitza, Strobl, and Boulesteix 2013) applied to a sample from the YCOE (Taylor et al. 2003) and the PPCME2 (Kroch and Taylor 2000), the study confirms that the length of the object (Pintzuk and Kroch 1989) is the most important variable determining the order in Old English. In Middle English the heaviness restriction of the post-verbal complement slot weakens, and the slot allows for increasingly shorter elements.

Furthermore, two types of relative clauses can be identified in the Old English data: one more integrated construction, typically introduced by invariable þe, and a more independent relative clause, introduced by a relative pronoun se (and its variants). Þe-relatives are shown to prefer OV order, while the more independent clause with se is more prone to employing the expanding VO-pattern, presumably as a consequence of its stronger resemblance to the main clause.

The study argues that there was a prolonged period in which the two constructions, þe-relatives and se-relatives, exchanged features. This situation is discussed in light of constructional contamination (Pijpops and Van De Velde 2016). Subsequently the distinctive characteristics of the two constructions disappeared, and the relative clauses merged. With the complete amalgamation of þe- and se-relatives, V-complement order became the default of all transitive subject relative clauses.

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A constructional account of the relativizer
as adverbial connective reanalysis in Medieval Greek

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Drawing on a collection of 72 texts of medieval vernacular Greek from the earliest to the latest periods (compiled and available at the Centre for the Greek Language), I extend earlier work (Nikiforidou 2015) on the historical development of the grammatical marker *(o)pu*. Corpus data support the development of the adverbial connective use of the marker from its more widespread relativizer function. I suggest that the reanalysis (a case of hypoanalysis in Croft's 2000 terms) is facilitated by the syntactic indeterminacy inhering in the *(o)pu* category: non-inflected *(o)pu* regularly underspecifies the relativizing relationship with the preceding head - e.g. (1), where the partitive interpretation is computed on the basis of the preceding name list in conjunction with following 'one':

(1) *καί Ἀναξίμανδρος καί ὁ   Ξενοφάνης   καί ὁ   Φιλόλαος,*
     and Anaximandros and the Xenophanes and the Philolaus,
     ὀπού τίς   λέγει   ὅτι ...
     who   one say.Pres.3sg that
     "...and Anaximandros and Xenophanes and Philolaus, **(of) whom** one says that..."
     (Παλαιά τε καί Νέα Διαθήκη)

I argue that the "bridging" (Heine 2002) or "critical" stage (Diewald 2006) should be captured in constructional terms since the relevant contexts simultaneously refer to syntactic and discourse-pragmatic restrictions; these include the requirements of a syntactically self-standing non-restrictive relative (with all valence requirements locally filled) and the need for the content of the relative to be "discourse-active" (hearer-old, discourse-old – Lambrecht 1994), e.g. (2). The transitional pattern appears to correlate with particular genres and text-types (texts in poetic meter) in which it is sufficiently entrenched to be recognized as a distinct variety of the source construction.

(2) Τοῦτη   εἶναι   ὀρδινιὰ Θεοῦ,   **ὀπού** τὰ πάντα   ὀρίζει,
     this-fem.sg be-Pres command God-gen who   the everything decide-Pres-3sg

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"This is the command of God, **who/since** he decides everything," (Η θυσία του Αβραάμ, 163)

These variations on a constructional theme illustrate clearly the "three common steps in the creation of a new construction" (Barðal & Gildea 2015: 17-18), highlight the appropriateness of constructional approaches for capturing the long-established gradualness of linguistic change, and offer cognitive grounding to the treatment of *(o)pu* as a single multi-functional marker (thus contributing historical evidence to a controversial topic).

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Object-Verb after the fixation of word order in English: from core to edge

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Whereas Verb-Object (VO) is the unmarked order for the predicate in Present-Day English clauses, in previous stages of the language Object-Verb (OV) was the preferred option, at least in certain syntactic contexts. The frequency of OV predicates was indeed significant in Old and Middle English, and the pattern was systematic until the sixteenth century (Moerenhout & van der Wurff 2005: 83). This study deals with OV in Modern English, and takes a corpus-based approach to explore a number of variables that may account for the continued presence of such a marked alternative. The data are retrieved from electronic parsed corpora, primarily from the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (1500–1710, 1,737,853 words). In order to determine whether the OV patterns continue to be systematic after the fixation and syntacticisation of English word order (Fischer 1992: 371, Van Hoorick 1994: 53, Bybee 2015: 185), the data are assessed in terms of textual (genre), morphosyntactic (presence of auxiliaries, particles, finiteness, main/subordinate status of the clause, discontinuity between the verb and the object, explicit subject, type of object, complexity of the subject and the object) and semantic/discoursive (quantified, negated objects) variables. Findings resulting

from the logistic regression analysis of the data reveal that OV, highly statistically marked in Modern English, is significantly determined by factors other than the speakers' grammar (end-weight – pronominal short objects, lack of intervening material between the object and the verb –, given-new and genre – 'speechy' texts –), and this is more relevant across time (from Late Middle to Early Modern English). In contrast to previous periods in the history of English, in which OV was conditioned by systematic word-order options, the determinants accounting for most of the OV instances in Modern English are 'non-grammar' factors.

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Semantic and syntactic integration in the Old English predicative construction

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The aim of this paper is to assess the degree of semantic and syntactic integration of Old English constructions of the type *Se cyningc þa him andswarode bysmerigende* (cochristoph,LS_4_[Christoph]:51.31) 'Then the king answered him delusively (lit. deceiving)'. In this construction, a present participle that is not auxiliarised by *bēon* 'to be' gives rise to a linked predication. The matrix predication necessarily contains a finite form of the verb and shares its first argument with the linked predication. This basic type and the related constructions are discussed within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Van Valin 2005, 2007). More specifically, the semantic and syntactic interclausal relations holding in these constructions are analysed with respect to the background-profile configuration, and focus structure; as well as adjacency, relative order, and the transitivity of the linked predication. The data, which have been extracted from *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose,* comprise a total of 936 fragments. The conclusions insist on the maximal integration of the intransitive linked predication, followed by the linked predication with an internal accusative, as in *singende heofenlicne sang* (ID cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_42:316.193.7155) 'singing a heavenly song'; and the minimal integration of complex linked predications, as is the case with *biddende þæt he þæt behat mid weorcum gefylde* (cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_38:282.89.6363) 'asking that he fulfilled that promise with deeds'.

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Periphrastic constructions with *ἔχω* ('have') in Medieval and Modern Greek: Parameters of diachronic variation and change

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In this paper we aim to explore the diachrony of a number of linguistic patterns that, while they are constructed by the well-known combination of the verb *ἔχω* 'to have' along with an infinitival or participial form, exhibit apparent formal and functional peculiarities. The verb *ἔχω* has been used as an auxiliary since an early stage in the history of Greek and its complementation by infinitival and participial forms has been the source for grammatical meanings and forms which range from modal and temporal (future) to aspectual (*perfectum*). These formations have been the object of extensive research in the past especially from a philological or grammaticalization theory perspective (e.g. Markopoulos 2009, Moser 1988, Horrocks 1996, 2018). A closer look in the historical and dialectal data, however, reveals some hitherto under-studied (or even unnoticed) formal patterns (and arguably respective diachronic paths) that can be indicative of the divergent routes along which a construction type may evolve.

Through a detailed investigation of the written record, our paper aims to: (a) contribute to the fuller documentation of the different variants of the *ἔχω*-constructions and define their geographical and textual distribution, with a view toward understanding the diachronic processes involved in their development; (b) to identify the possible interrelationship between these variants and the main, more well-studied forms of the constructions (e.g. perfect periphrases); and (c), to discuss which parameters (relating to the specific properties of the constructions) lie behind this seemingly variable picture of the diachronic data. In theoretical terms, the study is conducted in a constructionist spirit and the developments are considered to minimally involve constructional change and possibly constructional grammaticalization (in the sense of Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

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On the relationship between written contact and language change.
Evidence from a comparative diachronic corpus study

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The aim of the paper is to investigate the role of written contact in the diachrony of English and Greek, in a comparative way. We mainly examine cases of borrowing of features of argument structure.

Translation typically crops up within the historical linguistic context in several cases (see, among others, Lehiste 1979, Blake 1992, Koller 1998). Timofeeva (2011), for instance, proposes a translation-induced interference approach instead of a syntactic borrowing analysis of the Old English construction *(ge)don+accusativus-cum-infinitivo*. Moreover, Fischer's (2013: 23) explanation of the contrast between the status of Latin and French in the history of contact with English (with fewer loanwords from Latin than from French) refers to the written type of contact with Latin: "On the external side, it can be related to the fact that communication in terms of Latin was far more indirect (mostly via translators of texts)."

In this study, we compare various translations of Boethius' "*De Consolatione Philosophiae*" from different stages of English. We also examine various translations of biblical texts from different periods of the diachrony of English and Greek (see Taylor (2008) on types of transfer from biblical and non-biblical translations). We show that the combination of a machine learning approach and a corpus-based study of the diachrony of the phenomena under examination can facilitate testing the hypothesis of contact-induced change that is first evidenced in early English or in early Greek translations.

We propose that the patterns related to the borrowing of argument structure features reflect grammar competition, according to which transitional stages demonstrate the coexistence of

more than one grammar and a competition between these grammars (Kroch 1989, 2001). The diachronic perspective of this investigation (of translated and non-translated texts from various periods), and its combination with a corpus study of the development of the features under examination, provides information on the details of the co-existence of parallel grammars, which are quite evident in cases of transitional periods and language change.

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Aspects and loss of negative contraction with *ne* in early West Germanic

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Like Old English, Middle English shows contracted forms combining the negative particle *ne* with a verb (e.g. ME *nolde* 'would not'). This phenomenon is subject to prosodic restrictions (Minkova 2003), syntactic constraints (Blockley 1990), and dialectal variation (Levin 1958, Hogg 2004). A similar situation can be found in Old and Middle High German, where negative contracted forms consisting of the proclitic negator *ne* or a variant thereof and a verb occur (e.g. MHG *newerde* 'become not'). Middle High German further allows for the variant *en-* in negative contracted forms (e.g. MHG *enwelle* 'will not') as well as for *ne* to be enclitically fused with an element it follows (e.g. MHG *dune* 'you not'). Negative contracted forms with proclitic

ne also occur with non-verbal elements in early Germanic, serving e.g. as markers of subordination (e.g. OE *nemne*/*nefne* 'not even', OHG *niba* 'not if'). English and German both underwent Jespersen's cycle. With the replacement of the negator *ne* by other negative elements, negative contraction with the clitic negative particle *ne* disappears from Middle English and Middle High German (Behaghel 1924, Levin 1958).

In dealing with diachronic cross-linguistic features of negative contracted forms consisting of the Indo-European clitic negative particle *ne* or a variant thereof and a verb or another part of speech, and in additionally discussing the loss of negative contraction with *ne* from a contrastive point of view, this contribution seeks to unfold further details about structural and phonological requirements and constraints of cliticization with *ne*. A discussion of this kind further qualifies as context for addressing the nature of language change. Are there universal constraints when it comes to negative contraction, and, if yes, is it syntax or phonology or rather their interface which is in charge of the pertinent restrictions?

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An inter-parameter approach of interpreting affixization: Evidence from the Greek language

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The paper attempts to prove, contrarily to reports in the literature, that affixization (as a kind of grammaticalization) in the Greek language shows not only systematicity and directionality, but also some kind of order of the parameters involved, which redefines their relation and upgrades the role of morphological reanalysis.

Specifically, we may find three systematic, directional, process-specific and predictable schemas of affixization, which involve approximately 100 cases in the history of the Greek language. The material has been drawn from TLG corpora (see Fliatouras 2018):

- Ancient Greek (AG) verbal stems as second constituents become either suffixes, e.g. AG -*o:d-is* "who smells" > AG *-ó:dis* 'diminutive', or bound stems, e.g. AG *-lóg-os* 'who speaks for' > AG *-lógos 'who studies, examines, occupies with'*,
- Adverbs have been reanalyzed in Ancient Greek as prefixes, e.g. AG *hupó-lefkos* 'white-like',
- The compounding marker -o- is reanalyzed as part of the first constituent (see also Ralli 2013), e.g. Medieval Greek (MG) *dipl-o-* 'double-compound marker' > MG *diplo-* 'augmentative'.

Affixization occurs if certain interfacial parameters (semantic, morphological, phonological) account for the process (see among others Lehmann [1982] 1995, Hopper 1991, Heine & Kuteva 2002, Amiot 2005, Kastovsky 2009, Lightfoot 2011, Hartmann 2016): phonological erosion, reanalysis, de- or re-semanticization, de- or transcategoralization, expansion, paradigmatization. Following a feature- and lexicon-based analysis (for Greek, Ralli 2005), we argue that morphologically-proper parameters may precede and morphological reanalysis (as proposed firstly by Aronoff 1978; see also Fertig 2013) should be added to the most crucial and operative morphological properties (cf. Detges/Waltereit 2002). Specifically, a new reanalyzed item is lexicalized and gains new morphological properties, subcategorization frame, selection base criteria, stress rules and possibly boundness, expansion of combinatorial properties and/or productivity. Reanalysis leads to four constructional changes, which are schemas-driven, namely headedness change (from exocentric to endocentric compounds), structural change (from stem-driven to word-driven structures), decategoralization (from adverbial-driven to noun-driven structures) and stress change (from compounding stress rules to new derivative-like stress properties).

Furthermore, the parameters are not of equal weight. In an effort to rate their importance in the Greek language, we will show that semantics is crucial and causal, morphology is reinforcing, and phonology is complementary. Contrarily to the literature, each of these parameters is not independent from the others: the more the phonological, semantic and morphological parameters act in parallel, the more grammaticalization is taking place.

Finally, will show the necessity for quantitive and corpus-oriented analysis by focusing on the diachronic statistical and text-based distribution of *huper* 'hyper' as both adverb and intensifier from Ancient Greek to Hellenistic Koine.

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On the remodelling of post-Classical/Medieval Greek verbal forms:
analogy, reanalysis, and the importance of corpora

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The major role of analogy and other similar mechanisms in the transformation of the Greek verbal system during the post-Classical and Medieval periods is a well established fact: note, for instance, cases like post-Class. Gk. 3pl. οἴδασι 'they know' (vs. classical Attic ἴσασι) coined on the basis of the stem οἰδ- found in the singular (e.g. 1sg. *οἶδα*, 3sg. *οἶδε*); or Med. Gk. pres. ξεύρω 'to know' from aor. ἐξεῦρον (: class. ἐξηῦρον < ἐξευρίσκω 'to discover, find out') through reanalysis and backformation.

In this paper, I will focus on certain cases of verbal metaplasm in Medieval Greek, notably on the interplay between sigmatic and -κα aorist forms (e.g. ἄφη-καν vs. -σαν), a phenomenon with multiple semantic and morphological ramifications, both as regards the aorist tense itself

and the other tenses involved and/or affected, such as the present and perfect tenses. The primary aim, on the one hand, is to highlight the role of important morphological mechanisms, such as reanalysis, back formation and analogy in the emergence of new verbal forms and paradigms in the context of Greek, but also in a comparative perspective involving (quasi-)similar cases in other languages; on the other hand, there will be an attempt to draw attention to the importance of typologically diversified select corpora, such as non-literary texts and selected vernacular texts besides the more standard research corpora of literary texts.

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Tracing the evolution of ING/ED subjectless supplements in English:
a diachronic corpus-based description

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Supplements or supplementive clauses are defined as "elements which occupy a position in linear sequence without being integrated into the syntactic structure of the sentence" (Huddleston and Pullum et al. 2002: 1350). They might occur immediately before/after the main clause or as an interpolation, and, most often, they might occupy different positions within the clause without a change in meaning. In addition to these general features, the constructions under investigation are nonfinite ING/ED verbal clauses without an explicit subject. They are usually controlled by an element in the main clause (1), but they can also remain uncontrolled (2). Their meaning, sometimes underscored by the addition of a connector (3), is adverbial, and it usually varies according to the surrounding context (4).

(1) 'I don't want to know anything,' I said, *turning on my side* and *closing my eyes*. (ICE-GB:W2F-013 #058:1)

(2) However, *having explained fully the uses and background of choropleth mapping* the problems of presentation and interpretation must be examined. (ICE-GB:W1A-006 #075:2)

(3) *After being examined*, he went out of Court… (PPCMBE1, TOWNLEY-1746,29.204)

(4) but *hearing how we put some of their captive nobility to death*…, they altered their minds, and… (PPCMBE1, BRADLEY-1905,209.181)

The aim of this presentation is to trace the evolution of ING/ED supplements in the recent history of English. Data has been retrieved from the Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English for Late Modern English, and the British component of the International Corpus of English for Present-day English. The examples obtained from the corpus analysis have been coded according to the features described above, and preliminary results point to an adjustment of supplements to the core features of regular adverbials. Across time, supplements are more and more integrated in the structure of the clause. The increase in the use of connectors, which are compulsory for regular adverbial clauses, favours this integration. Also the diachronic preference of supplements to occupy end position might support this hypothesis, as final placement is the preferred option for regular adverbials (Breivik and Swan 1994: 28; Hasselgård 2010: 55).

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The statistics of obsolescence:
Purpose subordinators in Late Modern English

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Introduction: The paper presents the conclusions of my PhD project [1], focused on the under-researched [e.g. 2] topic of grammatical obsolescence understood as a situation in which a previously popular and productive construction is, often gradually, losing its productivity and popularity over time until it disappears completely or there are only residues or fossilized forms left[1].

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[1] In research literature, phenomena which might instantiate obsolescence are also referred to as e.g. loss, decline or demise.

The main goal of the paper is to discuss potential causes and symptoms of obsolescence in the investigated constructional network.

Methods: Investigation of language corpora (above all COHA and COCA) supported by statistical and quantitative testing in R and in Mathematica.

The investigated variable: Purpose subordinators: *in order to*, *in order that*, *so as to* and *lest*, which display a significant decrease in the frequency of use over the past two centuries, see Fig. 1-1. This development, along with some other symptoms might instantiate grammatical obsolescence.

Results: The most important factor contributing to obsolescence of the investigated variants is the presence of certain higher-order processes[2], namely processes concerning a „higher level of grammatical organization than the construction" and exemplified by e.g. the breakdown of the bounded system of Old English [4].

The present work identifies two higher-order processes influencing the network of purpose subordinators in Late Modern English. The first one, classified as internally-motivated, is the rise of the *to*-infinitive [5]. The second one, externally-motivated, are the socio-cultural changes of the 19th century [e.g. 6]. The effects of higher-order processes are, naturally, visible on the constructional level.
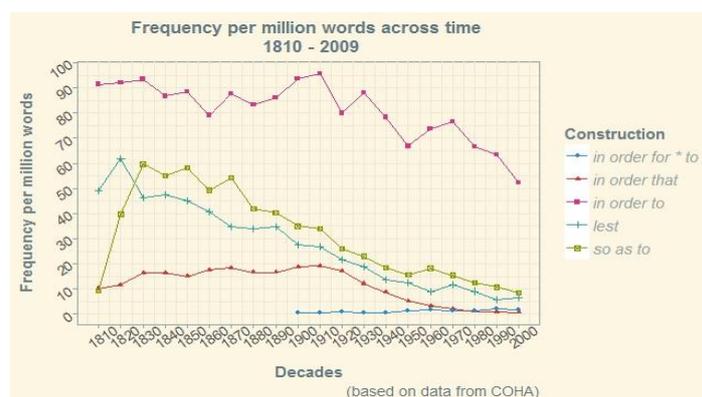

Fig. 1-1: The diachronic frequency trends in the network of English purpose subordinators.

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[2] Higher-order processes are also sometimes referred to as "system dependency" or "system-dependent changes".

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The development of noun phrase patterns
and definite articles in Icelandic

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In this talk, I will trace the development of different noun phrase patterns in the history of Icelandic drawing on data from IcePaHC[i] complemented by data from MÍM[ii] for Old Icelandic. I will address empirical, theoretical and methodological aspects.

Beyond presenting a particular case study, I will discuss the role of "patterns" as a methodological device, especially for (historical) corpus studies. A "Pattern", as understood here, is a linear surface string representing a level between individual items and full phrases. Our empirical focus here is the development of *adjectivally modified definite noun phrase patterns* from the 12th to the 21st century, in terms of *absence*, *existence* and *dominance* of certain patterns during certain periods.

Of primary theoretical interest is the changing status of the definite article(s); Icelandic has both a suffixed (*-inn*) and a freestanding preadjectival article (*hinn*), both originally developing from a demonstrative during the Viking period (ca. 725-1100). From the perspective of the data to be discussed, the Icelandic article system displays a rather unusual biography deviating, in part, from a straightforward DEMONSTRATIVE >> ARTICLE grammaticalization, in part, from the development in the related Mainland Scandinavian languages (though some "deviations" may be explained by external factors, e.g. language contact, language purification). It can be shown that, in Modern Icelandic, both suffixed and freestanding article are surface manifestations of the same underlying element, while the same analysis does not apply to older stages of the language. I will also look at the incipient emergence of another preadjectival article (*sá*) in the 16th century, which was presumably accelerated by Danish influence, and mimics a process that had previously taken place in Mainland Scandinavian, but ultimately has a different outcome: here, competition does not lead to the disappearance of the older element (*hinn*).

[i] Wallenberg, Joel C., Anton Karl Ingason, Einar Freyr Sigurðsson, and Eiríkur Rögnvaldsson. 2011*. Icelandic parsed historical corpus (IcePaHC). Version 0.9.* (http://www.linguist.is/icelandic_treebank).

[ii] *Mörkuð íslensk málheild (*"Annotated Icelandic Corpus"); http://mim.hi.is/index.php?corpus=for .

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Language contact and probabilistic change:
The genitive in White South African English and Afrikaans

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In both English and Afrikaans speakers can choose between a prenominal and a postnominal genitive when expressing a possessive relation:

(1) English: *the cat's tail* (*s*-genitive) vs. *the tail of the cat* (*of*-genitive)
(2) Afrikaans: *die kat se stert* (*se*-genitive) vs. *die stert van die ka*t (*van*-genitive)

The range of factors constraining genitive choice is very similar in the two languages, with animacy being one of the strongest determinants of genitive choice (see Kirsten 2016 and Rosenbach 2014). Other important factors include possessor length, the semantic relation expressed by the genitive, and the register or text type within which the genitive occurs.

Rosenbach (2017) has indicated that Afrikaans allows inanimate possessors more freely than English in prenominal position, and the L2 English of Afrikaans speakers showed a significantly higher use of *s*-genitives with inanimate possessors than the British and White South African English (WSAfE) L1 subject groups, thus transferring the greater freedom of using the prenominal *se*-genitive with inanimate possessors in their L1 Afrikaans to their L2 English.

Preliminary diachronic analyses point towards probabilistic influence between Afrikaans and WSAfE regarding the role of possessor animacy in genitive variation. Mutual influence between Afrikaans and WSAfE is not surprising, given the high levels of Afrikaans-English bilingualism in South Africa (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2013). We will expand on these findings from the Historical Corpus of Standard Afrikaans (Kirsten 2016), spanning from 1911 to 2010, and the historical corpus of WSAfE (Wasserman 2014), spanning from the 1820s to the 1990s, as well as limited Cape Dutch (predecessor of Afrikaans) data from the late 19th century. A comparative diachronic corpus study will establish the dynamics and chronology of genitive variation in the two languages and in so doing help to further assess both the question of the establishment of the genitive pattern in Afrikaans in terms of change vs. continuity and of the question of influence between Afrikaans and WSAfE in the domain of genitive variation.

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Antagonistic finite and non-finite complement structures
in the history of English and Greek

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Frequently, the emergence of new grammatical categories or novel syntactic structures occurs at the expense of another category or structure. This premise has been sufficiently expressed in literature (cf. Roberts 2010: 319ff, with further references) and suggests that the rise and decline of morphosyntactic phenomena are interrelated processes.

In this paper we examine how complementation finiteness and non-finiteness stand in structural competition within the diachrony of English and Greek. While in English new approaches (e.g. Los 2005, cf. Miller 2002) suggest that the rise of the to-infinitive led to the demise of the that+subjunctive constructions, in Greek finite complements gradually stamped out non-finite constructions (cf. Joseph 1983, for similar cases in other Balkan languages cf. Tomić 2006). The paper discusses, in the light of diachronic data from English and Greek, how (and eventually why) finiteness and non-finiteness compete with each other. In addition, it takes a closer look at other concurring parameters, such as verbal modality and inflectional morphology.

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Diachronic corpora and sociolinguistic variation: An example from 20th century Greek

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Sociolinguistic variables have not been empirically studied in the diachrony of Greek, although vocabulary doublets or morphological variants have always abounded because of the language's uncommon diglossic situation. As a result, it still remains unclear whether common variants are in complementary distribution or reflect stylistic or other variation. A case in point is the genitive singular of i- stem feminine nouns, which is formed in –εως in the 'learned' morphological paradigm or in –ης, as assimilated in the paradigm of 'regular' feminine nouns (e.g. *δυνάμεως* /ði'nameos/ vs. *δύναμης* /'ðinamis/ 'power.GEN'). This has been regarded as a highly stereotypical variable by both linguists and ordinary speakers, reflecting speakers' choice of variety and/or ideological stance. At the same time, Horrocks (2010: 462-463) speaks of the restoration of this learned paradigm as a regular feature of Standard Modern Greek nominal morphology.

This paper attempts a detailed investigation of the variable's occurrence in 20th century Greek with a view to identify its recent linguistic history and its role. Our data come from the *Diachronic Corpus of Greek of the 20th century* (Goutsos et al. 2017), comprising texts from 1900 to 1989, in conjunction with the synchronic 30 million word *Corpus of Greek Texts* (Goutsos 2010), including texts from 1990 to 2010. Here we analyse approx. 4 million words from seven different genres of the diachronic corpus, namely spoken news (newsreels), public speeches, film scripts, literature, legal and administrative texts, academic texts and private letters. Our findings point to the late rise of the Low variant and the late fall of the High one, as well as to the overall complementarity of their use. They also emphasize the role of genre in recent language change, as has already been widely established through the use of diachronic corpora (Taavitsainen et al. 2015, Fragaki & Goutsos 2018).

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Why dodos matter.
The value of unsuccessful exploratory constructions for the study of language change

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The study of linguistic change usually focusses on larger shifts with an end point that is significantly different from the starting point of the linguistic change event. Examples of these types of changes include, among others, sound laws, the loss of case distinctions seen in all branches of Indo-European, changes in productivity of certain morphological markers (such as plural -s in the history of English), and shifts in word order patterns (e.g. the emergence of verb-first orders in Insular Celtic).

In addition to these, a large amount of phenomena emerge, stay in marginal use for a couple of decades or centuries, and then vanish again without leaving discernible traces in the language.

While these are usually deemed to be of philological interest only, we argue that, as in other areas of of the cultural sphere (O'Dwyer and Kandler 2017), these unsuccessful structures (and the comparison with more successful related phenomena) can give interesting insights into the nature of language change.

As a case study, we will examine the case of incipient structures of object coindexing on the verb that can be found in almost all branches of Indo-European. While some varieties developed and lost it rapidly (e.g. Middle Welsh, see ex.1a), others kept this kind of head marking and expanded on it eventually (obligatory with indirect objects, optional with direct objects in Albanian, see ex. 1b). By contrasting the circumstances in which emerging coindexing went extinct with those in which it flourished, we try to detect factors that favour this development.

(1) a. *Mi$_j$ a-e$_i$-dywed-af$_j$ itt   yr   ystyr$_i$*
        1SG AFF-3-tell-NPST.1SG to.2SG ART reason
        'I will tell the reason to you.'   (Middle Welsh; Richards 1948: 4, 29)
     b. *Çdo punë$_j$ ty$_i$ t$_i$-a$_j$-ka-në$_k$ bërë*
        all   work.ACC.SG 2SG.DAT 2SG.-3SG.ACC-have-PRS.3PL make.NONFIN
        të-tjerët$_k$
        NOM.PL-other.NOM.PL
        'The others did all the work for you.'   (Albanian; Buchholz and Fiedler 1987: 442)

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Corpus-driven approaches to detecting prescriptivism's effects on language change

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This paper presents a performative theory of prescriptivism. The theory is based on the notion of *prescriptive acts*, i.e. metalinguistic acts of two types: *correctives* ('one should neither say nor write X; one should say or write Y instead') and *permissives* ('one may say X in addition to Y under condition C').

It is argued that correctives and permissives are the elementary units for the quantitative study of prescriptivism within a variationist paradigm. Correctives and permissives tend to form *repertories*, the evolution of which provides evidence for concomitant developments in standardized languages.

The performative theory of prescriptive acts provides a general framework that can unify the diverse approaches to the study of prescriptivism. Our review of the literature concentrates on corpus-driven approaches that seek to demonstrate the effects of prescriptivism by statistically correlating two types of corpora: 'precept' corpora (such as Usage Guides and prescriptive Grammars) and 'usage corpora', i.e. historical language corpora (Langer 2001; Auer 2006, 2009; Poplack & Dion 2009; Poplack (2015); Poplack *et al.* (2015); Anderwald 2014, 2016; Hinrichs, Szmrecsanyi & Bohmann 2015; Havinga 2018, among others).

It is shown that at least some of the studies that attempt to measure the effectiveness of prescriptivism a) do not differentiate between correctives and permissives; b) they tend to interpret permissives as descriptive rather than prescriptive metalinguistic statements; c) they treat correctives/permissives in isolation, disregarding the repertories in which they occur; d) they disregard variation in the metalanguage (i.e. differing, sometimes conflicting, instructions for the same phenomena); e) they only account for changes in written, standardized varieties; f) they do not take into account the possible effect of general trends, such as language reforms or 're-standardization' processes; g) they fall short of proving that the change attributed to prescriptivism *could not have occurred otherwise* - a counterfactual condition on language change. Overall, quantitative corpus-driven studies demonstrate a limited effect of prescriptivism on language change.

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Change 'from above' in a sixteenth-century corpus of Tuscan correspondence

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The linguistic situation of Renaissance Italy was one of fragmentation. Yet in the first half of the sixteenth century a Tuscan variety, which had already spread as a prestige variety in the previous centuries, was codified and promoted. The protagonists of this codification process, in which the Venetian printing press played a major role, were at a first stage exclusively non-Tuscans. Since this codified variety did not entirely coincide with the language spoken in Tuscany, but was based on the fourteenth-century language used by Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, its reception within Tuscany was problematic. At a first stage, it was rejected as inauthentic. However, it is well-known that in the course of the century this 'archaic' variety progressively made its way into the writings of Tuscans, and was eventually promoted by the *Accademia della Crusca*. This paper examines the appearance and spread of a range of morphological and syntactic features that characterised the codified variety, as opposed to

contemporary Tuscan, in a Tuscan letter corpus produced by Michelangelo's family and their correspondents. The corpus (400,000 words), produced by 175 writers and spanning ninety years (1496–1585), provides access to the language of different strata of society, since Michelangelo was in contact not only with the great patricians of his day but also with a number of artisans and assistants of relatively humble origins. A common trend is highlighted which appears to reflect change from above: a number of prescribed 'fourteenth-century' features are significantly more used by high-ranking individuals at the beginning of the century, and seem to percolate down the social ladder in the subsequent decades. Even though the linguistic debates that took place in early modern Italy and Tuscany have been widely studied, they have rarely been accompanied by quantitative analysis of usage. My paper aims to address this gap.