

Abstracts

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Accent & prosody in Old English poetry

The main principle of verbal accentuation in Vedic Sanskrit consists of the fact that finite verbs in main clauses are “accentless” (with some exceptions), while verbs in subordinate clauses bear an accent. Similar observations were made about Old English (OE): Harkness (1991) notes that subordinate verbs are always found in the most prominent positions, while the position of main clause verbs with respect to accented metrical positions varies. In fact, finite verbs tend to occur in unstressed or weakly stressed positions (i.e. those that don’t display alliteration) in the meter of *Beowulf*, like elements normally unstressed cross-linguistically, i.e. pronouns, conjunctions, particles, and prepositions (Keyser 1969, a.o.). In addition, Harkness provides significant statistical data (from Daniel Donoghue) showing that finite verbs avoid lifts or appear in the weakest ones: when in lifts, about 70% of the time in the fourth (the least prosodically prominent) and less than 20% in the second (second weakest), less than 10% in the first (the second strongest), and 2–3% in the third (the most prosodically prominent).

I observe that, in Vedic, exceptions to the principle of verbal accentuation of main clause verbs are due to prosodic phrasing and contrastive focus. Therefore, the deaccentuation of main clause verbs is not abnormal in Sanskrit, but it is in line with cross-linguistic data (Gussenhoven 1992, Truckenbrodt 2002, a.o.), including some from modern Indo-Iranian languages (e.g. Bengali and Persian), as well as Germanic languages (e.g. Dutch, German, and English). Clearly, OE also displays this phenomenon, as Harkness noticed that Sanskrit and OE exceptions are similar. In fact, verbs display “stress subordination” (Keyser), whereby the sequence of certain words always gives the same alliterative result; e.g. the noun qualified by an accented adjective or a verb modified by its accented complement are deaccented by default. The stress subordination facts as well as Sievers’ (1983) rule of precedence suggest that the association of stress and alliteration is in fact the manifestation of sentence accent, and give us some insight into the phrasing and accentuation rules of the OE accentual phrase (AP); e.g. the default pattern accentuates the complement, rather than the head contained in the same AP. In this paper, I argue that OE also displays “deaccentuation”, and I show that it is due to prosodic factors, such as different configurations of the AP and contrastive focus. I also propose a synchronic prosodic analysis of verbal accentuation in OE.

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For to infinitives in Middle English (and later on): On the position of PRO

In this talk I examine the syntax of infinitival constructions in Middle English with respect to the position of PRO. I will focus on non-purpose for to infinitives, like the one in (1):

- (1) agan ich forto slepe
 started I to sleep
 (Caligula 12767)

These for to examples have been discussed at length in the literature, and there seems to be a consensus that during the Middle English period infinitives ceased to be nominal elements and became structurally closer to regular clauses (see e.g. Lightfoot 1979, Van Gelderen 1993, Pak 2006). Here I would like to focus on one aspect that to the best of my knowledge has not been addressed in detail, namely, the position of PRO in a sentence like (1).

As is well known, PRO in Present Day English is incompatible with infinitives with for (cf. The government is expecting for the minister to resign vs. The minister is expecting to resign vs. *The minister is expecting for to resign), the reason being that for is a case-assigning head, or at least it is not a head that can assign null case (presumably a remnant from its prepositional origin). Technical details aside, if for is responsible for an overt DP's case and to is involved in PRO's null Case, questions arise regarding the position of PRO in for to infinitives once these developed a TP/CP structure in Middle English.

If the above is correct, it seems that we are compelled to posit a structure like the one in (2) below, where PRO gets null case from to and does not move to Spec-TP (in order to avoid case assignment by for):

- (2) CP[_Cfor TP[_Tto vP[... PRO ...]]]

In this respect, it is interesting to note that there is good evidence that PRO raises to Spec-TP in Present Day English (see Radford 2006 for evidence from floating quantifiers and Epstein & Seely 2006 for evidence from VP-ellipsis). This suggests that the position of PRO has changed in the history of English and so it seems then that since Middle English control clauses have become more akin to regular clauses in two steps; first with the addition of T and C, and then with Amovement to Spec-TP, corresponding to the time when for infinitives became restricted to cases with overt DPs (so-called for-ECM constructions) and PRO infinitives began to disallow for.

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The (unidirectional) development of the West Germanic complementizers

The diachrony of the German, Dutch and English adverbial clauses shows systematic patterns of cross-linguistic syntactic changes which give rise to new complementizers steadily. This processes can be traced back many centuries. From the point of view of Generative Grammar, the reanalysis that gives rise to a new complementizer is often due to the substitution of the complementizer *dass/that/dat* by another element X. The starting point most often is a periphrastic construction consisting of X (+ correlate) + *dass/dat/that*-clause. In most case, X is a preposition and the correlate is either a demonstrative or a noun. In the course of the change the correlate is either dropped or amalgamated with X (by univerbation) followed by the reanalysis into a complementizer. In the history of German and Dutch, these changes happened more often than in the history of English.

Since these data can be sampled from a period of at least 1000 years, they lend themselves for an empirical basis in the discussion of the unidirectionality-hypothesis in language change. The change from X to C is always unidirectional, but from a particular interest is the change from P to C because the development proceeds towards a grammatical item when a clause selecting preposition is regrammaticalized. Thus, the development of the West Germanic adverbial clauses provides strong evidence for the hypothesis of unidirectionality which is central to Grammaticalization Theory (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer (1991), Haspelmath (1999, 2004), Hopper & Traugott (2003)), but only accepted by a few Generativists (Van Gelderen (2004, 2010, 2011), Faarlund (2008), Kiparsky (2012), Haider (2015)).

All in all, this paper shows that the diachrony of the West Germanic complementizers adduces evidence not only for systematic cross-linguistic types of change but also for the unidirectionality hypothesis. It aims to illustrate the unidirectional development of the West Germanic complementizers from the point of view of Generative Grammar.

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The use of articles and determiners in Layamon's Brut

Layamon's Brut was written in the transitional period between Old and Middle English. Two extant manuscripts, MS Cotton Caligula A. ix and MS Otho C. xiii, both originating from the second half of the thirteenth century, give proof of two different versions of the text. These texts vary both in terms of language and content.

On the basis of these two texts a corpus was set up consisting of 1,227 examples occurring in subject, object and adverbial positions (prepositional phrases). To gather these data 2,770 lines were studied, which corresponds to 17.2 percent of the total number of lines in the text.

English before 1400 was a language that was hardly subjected to any efforts of standardisation. Therefore, the often slow attrition which is the result of everyday oral usage of a language could operate relatively undisturbedly; however, it is likely to believe that the encounter with Norman French and Old Norse accelerated the processes of linguistic evolution dramatically.

Due to disruptions in the grammar of the kind mentioned above, the Old English nominal and verbal inflexions more or less vanished, and we are witnessing the gradual emergence of new categories such as indefinite and definite articles. It may be concluded from the findings in our corpus that the use of the articles as we know them in Modern English was not completely established at the time of Layamon's Brut, although some tentative steps in that direction had been taken.

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Translation effects and syntactic change: The case of polyvalent adjectives

This paper seeks to assess the role of translation as a means for potential linguistic change. In particular, it looks at translation as a form of language contact that is capable of inducing structural interference. My research is primarily centered on the valency of adjectives, the ways in which their complements are realized syntactically throughout the language's development as well as on whether potential changes in the complementation patterns were encouraged through the translation practice.

Language contact through translation has for the most part, been neglected in the literature despite the fact that individual cases have showcased its influence on the system of the recipient languages (Kranich, Becher, & Höder, 2011). This influence or rather *transfer*, to speak in Heine and Kuteva's terms, stems from "the speaker's conceptualization of correspondences between languages in contact" (p.4, 2005) and can even occasionally extend beyond translated texts and penetrate into native linguistic domains (Kranich, Becher, & Höder, 2011).

Once we have established that linguistic changes can be potentially attributed to the process of translation, we can begin to investigate the features that are susceptible to these contact effects. Amongst others, structural interference has emerged as one of the candidates for change although it is admittedly difficult to convincingly argue in favor of such cases (Thomason, 2001).

The data in this paper will hopefully shed some light into the ways in which diachronic syntax and translation can interact to widen the scope of language change studies. In addition, they will attempt to exemplify how we can approach such interdisciplinary tasks and the challenges that we need to address in undertaking them.

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Grammaticalization and complex prepositions: On the grammaticalization and differential development of *instead of*, *in place of* and *in lieu of*

Revisiting Schwenter and Traugott's (1995) article on the semantic and pragmatic development of substitutive complex prepositions in English, this presentation reconstructs the grammaticalization paths of *stead*, *place* and *lieu*, which resulted in the PDE substitutive complex prepositions *instead of*, *in place of* and *in lieu of*. These complex prepositions all

originate from the same source structures, the free compositional constructions *in (the) stead/ place of + NP* and *in lieu of + NP* expressing literally “in the place of”. Making use of larger corpora than the original study, the main theoretical aim of these reconstructions is twofold. Firstly, I will identify and characterize which main mechanisms of change have affected the development of *instead of* from a [Prep + Noun + Prep] construction. These mechanisms of change include: (i) context-induced semantic change through pragmatic invited inferencing; (ii) decategorialization: the loss or neutralization of the typical morphosyntactic properties of the lexical class of an item and the attribution of characteristics of secondary categories; (iii) a number of parameters of grammaticalization as described by Lehmann (1985), i.e. attrition, obligatorification, coalescence and fixation; and, (iv) reanalysis in the sense of functional reparsing of an existing structure. Secondly, I will seek to explain the differential development of *instead of*, *in place of* and *in lieu of* in which two different factors linked with Hopper’s (1991) principles of persistence and layering have been at play. To begin with, there are the different semantic and pragmatic developments of the locative nouns *stead*, *place* and *lieu* throughout the history of English, which have had a great influence on the formal and the semantic characteristics of *instead of*, *in place of* and *in lieu of*. In addition, there is the consecutive character of the rise of the three substitutive constructions: *stead* and *in (the) stede of* is attested for the first time in OE, *place* and *in (the) place of* in ME and *lieu* and *in lieu of* in the EModE period. The existence of an earlier substitutive form has evidently put restrictions on the rise of a newer form.

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Figuration encapsulated in Old and Middle English surnames

The particular study explores the creation of indicative cases of naming in Old and Middle English. Employing the Cognitive Linguistics framework, two main processes are the means by which the act of naming is examined, namely, conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy. In other words, the latter motivate the naming act which in Old and Middle English was more than a mere labeling. Surnames used to indicate the place of residence of the name-bearer or the place of origin; in this case the metonymic link PLACE (OF ORIGIN) FOR PERSON was at work (Jäkel 1999: 216; Wright 1996). As Wright (1996: 103-104) informs us, Ekwall in his work *Studies on the Population of Medieval London*, Londoners between 1270 and 1350 inherited surnames not only by their parents but also by their master in case an individual was an apprentice or depending on their profession. For instance, the surname *Whiter* was generally taken to be a derivative of the verb *whiten* ‘to make white’ (from OE *hwitian*) and interpreted as ‘bleacher’ or ‘white-washer’ (Hough 2003). This is confirmed by the entry for the substantive *whiter* in the *Middle English Dictionary*, which gives the definition ‘a bleacher’, also ‘a caulker’ or ‘whitewasher’ (ibid.); a surname which was facilitated by the ACTION FOR AGENT metonymic link (Radden and Kövecses 1999 typology). Additionally, as Colman claims (2014: 7), naming “follows certain conventions and those

conventions may be onomastically (linguistically) or socially inspired, [...] names acquire indexical encyclopedic properties: non-lexical indicators for example, social status, family relationship, age and so on". For example an occupational surname denoting status was Dean, which used to refer to a person who was a dean or worked for one > form Latin decanus 'a subaltern official in the Byzantine era' (surnames.Behind the Name.com).

Overall, the study reviews the underlying systematicity of morphological patters of a number of surnames and attempts to indicate the most frequent metonymic or metaphoric links which triggered their creation. Overall, the study sheds light to the implications of the naming strategies and onomastics of Old and Middle English, that is: i) the surnames provide us with cultural information, especially since there are not many historical tokens of the Old English language development during the 11th and 12th century (Fisher 1996: 29), ii) this cultural information and naming strategies appear to be a source of inspiration in modern literature i.e. the character's names in Tolkien seem to be Gothic in their nature reflecting qualities of the name-bearer such as wisdom, and echoing ancestry (Straubhaar 2004: 108) and iii) the surnames serve as evidence that figuration is involved in morphological processes.

Key words: surnames, Old English, Middle English, metonymy, metaphor, figuration, systematicity of naming strategies

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