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Perspectives on language structure and language change

An introduction

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The present volume has several distinct but interrelated goals. One aim is to pay tribute to Henning Andersen on his 85th birthday in the form of a well-deserved and in fact long overdue *Festschrift*, celebrating a long and distinguished career at the forefront of various aspects of our field. However, this collection does not resemble a traditional version of this genre, but rather, by way of fulfilling a second goal, it finds its form in a thematic volume focusing on terms and concepts that are more theoretical in nature and which are central to Henning Andersen's thinking and to historical linguistics in general. These theoretical concepts are *reanalysis* and *actualization*, and in a Peircean context, the concept of *indexicality*.

Reanalysis here refers to processes by which language users reinterpret existing grammatical structure into new grammar, whether leading to greater complexity or to less complexity. *Actualization* concerns the spread of a reanalysis throughout the structural ramifications of a given language and throughout the language community. *Indexicality* refers to redundancy relations in morphological and syntactic systems. This is a specialized sense also found in Peirce's work, namely the way parts of a linguistic system can point to other parts of the system, both syntagmatically and paradigmatically. Symbolic meaning in the sense of Peirce is of course highly relevant for describing language functions, as is iconic meaning (iconicity), which has attracted the interest of many functional linguists from the 1980s onwards, and Henning Andersen's work points to the fruitfulness of indexicality as the third Peircean term.

Historical linguistics and the study of language change have always dealt with a basic division in the types and causes of linguistic change, namely changes motivated from within the linguistic system and those motivated from the outside. This

distinction is reflected in terminological opposites such as *evolutive* vs. *adaptive change*, terms introduced by Henning Andersen (1972, 1973).

Reanalysis is a part of ongoing everyday language use, and both familiar structural items and exotic novelties borrowed from other languages can undergo this process. It is also a central issue in mainstream studies in grammaticalization, where grammaticalization is understood as a process leading from lexical status via stages of increased bonding and attrition towards increasing grammatical status, a developmental scheme known as the cline of grammaticalization. In the present work, however, grammaticalization is generally viewed as a panchronic concept, and the diachronic concepts of grammation, regrammation and degrammation replace the 'cline'. These concepts, coined by Henning Andersen, do not exclude studies of how lexicon turns into grammar, but the focus instead is on the development of existing grammar into new and different grammar. *Actualization*, on the other hand, covers the processes through which a reanalyzed structure spreads throughout single communities and society. Actualization processes are the empirical changes that document the reanalyses initiating them.

Peirce's semiotics has deeply influenced Henning Andersen's thinking. The distinction between symbols and indices plays an important role in his synchronic analyses of the morphology of especially Slavic languages. His overview article on historical morphology (2010) is a demonstration how the inclusion of *indexicality* leads to fine-grained analysis (where others see unanalyzable wholes). Such analyses are a precondition for a qualitative understanding of language change, both where morphology, word order, and constructional syntax are concerned.

The papers contained herein are varied in nature but fall into clusters that speak to issues that have informed Henning Andersen's contributions to our field over the years, both general issues concerning the nature of language and more specific issues concerning language change. In what follows, we survey these papers, section by section, highlighting how they pertain to Henning Andersen's work.

Theory of language change

In his well-known and oft-cited 1973-article "Abductive and deductive change" (Andersen 1973), Henning Andersen distinguishes two types of language change: evolutive change – defined as "change entirely explainable in terms of the linguistic system that gave rise to it" – and adaptive change – defined as "a change not explainable without reference to factors outside the linguistic system in question". In their paper, Hope C. Dawson and Brian D. Joseph present an overview of the evolutive versus adaptive dichotomy in Andersen's work and the role this dichotomy has played in the field in ensuing years. They show how it corresponds essentially to

the distinction between internal and external causation, but at the same time how it represents an innovation compared with the more traditional tripartite distinction of types of change and their causality: sound change, analogy, and borrowing. While Andersen's particular terminology has never taken a central role in discussions of these issues, the terms are still in some use, and the field as a whole has seen a proliferation of various terms focusing on this and similar dichotomies.

Ole Nedergaard Thomsen's paper proposes to investigate language acquisition and change, as dealt with in Andersen's model of abductive and deductive change, in its larger perspectives of Tradition, Language Gaming, Languaging, and a model named Total Human Evolutionary Cognition and Communication (THECC). The levels of the present system of THEC correspond to stages of the evolution of human language, and it shows that it coheres with Peirce's architectonic of sciences, the hypothesis being that Science is a second order system to THECC. Thus, the three levels of Normative Philosophy correspond to the main stages of the evolution of Languaging, viz. emotional Mimetic Signalling, ethological Sign Playing, and Language Gaming. Language Gaming corresponds to Normative Logic and has three levels: Communion, Practice, and Tradition. Tradition answers to Methodeutic, with its stages of inquiry, thus, in terms of language acquisition and change, the hypothesis of a code (abduction), the testing of it in actual Practice (deduction), and its *conventionalization* (induction). It is Thomsen's contention that *Induction* is the logical conclusion of Andersen's model.

Iván Igartua's paper deals with the typology and diachrony of morphological reversals, which represent a particular type of mismatch between morphological form and syntactic or semantic function. Inverse marking has been found in several languages, but it is not usually included as a special phenomenon in morphological studies. There have been significant advances in recent times regarding the synchronic description and theoretical assessment of morphological reversals (see Baerman 2007), but the diachronic treatment of this set of phenomena is at most in its incipient stage. Despite the overall scarcity of historical data on the rise of inverse marking patterns, there is, nonetheless, a certain amount of evidence that allows for an understanding of the dynamics of morphological polarity. Igartua's article first provides a revised typology of morphological reversals and then examines two processes of change leading to the appearance of inverse encoding patterns in two inflectional systems (declensional paradigms in Old French and the feature of number in Upper Sorbian). These systems differ in some respects, e.g. in the extent to which they can be considered morphological reversals, but both innovations demonstrate some of the motives, mechanisms, and functional principles underlying the emergence of inverse marking patterns in inflectional morphology.

Juliette Blevins explores the concept of markedness in a typology of sound change. Many sound changes have been attributed to misperception. When two

sounds A and B are perceptually similar, A can be misperceived as B and vice versa. One sound change attributed solely to perceptual similarity is θ > f. Misperception of [θ] as [f] yields θ > f, while hearing [f] as [θ] should lead to f > θ changes. Context-free shifts of θ > f are attested, but regular f > θ changes are rare. Recent research questions the existence of f > θ changes and the perceptual basis of θ > f changes. Historical, typological, experimental, developmental, and language contact data are reviewed here and support the original perceptual account of θ > f and f > θ, suggesting that the observed asymmetry can be explained phonetically and structurally, without reference to markedness (cf. Andersen 2008).

Indexicality

Starting out from a precise example, that of the Danish verb *forstå* 'understand', Peter Juul Nielsen explores the diachronic morphology of this verb, in order to shed light on the indexical function and to review the so-called morpheme-based analysis. With a critical assessment of morphomic morphology as point of departure, he presents an analysis of the structure of the Danish verb *forstå* 'understand' and its development from Early Middle Danish to Modern Danish. Based on a semiotic-functional framework (Andersen 1980, 2010; Harder 1996), the analysis is an examination of the strong past tense form *forstod* 'understood' and its relation to the inflection of the simplex verb *stå* 'stand'. The original isomorphism between expression plane and content plane has been lost, but indexical relations on the two planes ensure that structural meaningfulness is maintained. The structure and development of *forstå* is further compared to that of the verb *overvære* 'attend, witness', and the paper offers an alternative strategy to the morpheme-based analysis of English *understand*.

Meillet's views on word order and word order change as an alternative way of grammaticalization have had, it seems, few followers within mainstream grammaticalization studies. Lars Heltoft's article is an attempt to take Meillet seriously, in the context of Andersen's view of morphology and the principles of its analysis. Taking Andersen (2010) as his point of departure, he proposes a typology of the ways word order can grammaticalize, i.e. organize in closed paradigms, built on the distinction between symbolic, indexical and iconic meaning.

Problems of reanalysis

In his publication on reanalysis and linguistic change, Andersen (2001:234) states that "(i)t is not clear yet what constitutes structural ambiguity in surface realizations; this remains a question for the future". As a tribute to Henning Andersen,

Hans Henrich Hock's paper examines a case of (near-) systematic structural ambiguity regarding Vedic passives and anticausatives and demonstrates that this ambiguity creates serious obstacles to determining whether anticausatives are reanalyzed from passives or vice versa. In fact, given the persistent structural ambiguity it is possible that different speakers preferred different accounts, whether for all relevant verbs, for subsets of the verbs, or even for individual verbs, in individual contexts.

The paper by Vit Bubenik is intended as a contribution to the current theoretical discussions regarding the issues of grammaticalization, degrammati(calizati)on and reanalysis as practiced by scholars working predominantly in Western European, Greek and Slavic languages. He presents and discusses relatively under-represented data from the West Iranian languages by surveying fundamental morphological and syntactic changes in the development of the verb systems of Persian, Tajik, Kurdish and Balochi: (i) the realignment of the Old Persian possessive construction as the finite verb form in Middle Persian, (ii) the establishment of the analytic perfect in Early New Persian, (iii) degrammati(calizati)on of the copula in the perfect aspect in Kurdish and Balochi, (iv) grammaticalization of the adverb *hamēw* 'always' as the imperfect marker in Early New Persian, (v) the formation of the modal future tense in New Persian, and (vi) the role of grammaticalization and degrammati(calizati) on in the renewal of the passive diathesis in Early New Persian.

Reanalysis and grammaticalization in the domain of voice are investigated by Michela Cennamo, who studies the reanalysis of lexical verbs as passive auxiliaries and light verbs in the passage from Latin to (Italo-)Romance, focusing on (i) the diachronic relationship between auxiliarization and light verbs, (ii) the direction of the changes, and (iii) the often-quoted pertinacity to change of light verbs. It is shown that the light verb uses of the verbs under investigation (COME, BECOME), both in Late Latin and in some early Italo-Romance vernaculars, exhibit a different type of decategorialization and desemanticization compared with auxiliaries, attested later than their auxiliary function.

Bjarke Frellesvig's paper considers a seemingly anomalous and not well-described word order phenomenon in Old Japanese, the earliest attested stage of Japanese, and proposes a diachronic interpretation of it, which in turn can be generalized to contribute to an understanding of other morpho-syntactic developments which may be reconstructed for pre-Old Japanese, including the emergence of a number of grammatical morphemes in Old Japanese. In his contribution, he proposes an understanding of an Old Japanese construction as representing a transient stage in the emergence of the complex predicate constructions in Japanese. Other than basing itself on the theoretical concepts developed by Andersen, the author's approach to these Japanese constituent order phenomena draws particular inspiration from Andersen's account and understanding of some long-term word order and categorial changes in Polish (Andersen 1987), which have several points

in common with those found in Japanese: Both involve categorial reinterpretation (an abductive innovation) and subsequent structurally motivated shifts in surface position, gradually realized over time (deductive innovations).

Jan Ivar Bjørnflaten studies reanalysis and actualization processes in the evolution of the past tense system in East Slavic languages. The large majority of the Slavic languages have in historical times undergone a radical transformation in the expression of past tense. This transformation has been the loss of the synthetic past tenses of aorist and imperfect, and their replacement by a past tense based on the erstwhile perfect. Bjørnflaten's contribution discusses how this transformation created space for new ways of expressing past tense. One of these pathways was the establishment of an expression of past tense based on the past active participle, also called the gerundial past tense, which has given rise to a new past tense in Northwest Russia, above all in the Pskov area, cf. Pskov dialectal *i jon pom'orši toper' uže*, versus Standard Russia *i on teper' uže umer* 'and he died now already'. It is demonstrated how the emergence of the *l*-participle as the general past tense opened up the possibility for a reanalysis of the past active participle as a finite past tense verb-form. The actualization of the reanalysis is illustrated by examples from the Pskov Chronicle as evidence of how a novel past tense can come into being.

In their paper, Kirsten Jeppesen Kragh and Lene Schøsler study the reanalysis, grammaticalization, and paradigmatization of constructions becoming members of grammatical paradigms. The changes are illustrated by means of a single lexical unit, i.e. the French verb of perception *voir* 'to see'. This verb is found in very different contexts, which have been reanalyzed resulting in grammaticalized structures. Therefore, this verb provides an interesting illustration of the pathway of a lexical unit into grammar. One reanalysis has resulted in the creation of *voir* followed by the deictic relative as part of a marker of progression, i.e. as a member of the category of tense, aspect, and mood. Another pathway involves the imperative form of the verb, which has grammaticalized as presentatives (*voici* and *voilà*). These forms have undergone further grammaticalization or, following the terms of Henning Andersen, *regrammation*, into markers of focalization.

The concept of reanalysis is also the main topic of Harold Koch's paper, which discusses three examples of reanalysis in the Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia, affecting word-, clause-, and sentence-level constructions, respectively. First, the elimination of a morpheme boundary, with absorption of an erstwhile suffix into the nominal stem, in Western Desert dialects revisits and amplifies earlier discussion from Koch (1995), canvassing various motivations and finding support from more recent data from Langlois (2004). Second, the gradual implementation of the effects of a change from ergative to accusative alignment in Panyjim are explored within Andersen's framework of actualization. The third study shows, on the basis of the etymology of formal markers, how, in the Arandic languages, biclausal

structures have developed via auxiliarization into inflectional markers of imperfective aspect, but also into a set of inflections realizing contrasting values within a new morphosyntactic category of "associated motion". This section articulates the diachronic developments behind the synchronic system, building on earlier suggestions by Koch (1984) and Wilkins (1991).

John Ole Askedal's contribution is a comparative overview of overt marking of definiteness in Germanic and Balto-Slavic from a historical perspective. The main functional types and formation types are compared as well as general aspects of the historical development, all of this leading towards a typological overview of definiteness marking in these languages in an areal perspective.

Actualization

Two papers investigate how innovation is spread. Ronelle Alexander explores diatopy and frequency as indicators of spread. She applies the idea that diatopy, the geographical distribution of linguistic differentiation, gives important clues about diachrony as well as the direction and spread of language change to the study of accentual phenomena in Bulgarian dialects, focusing on the accentuation of phrases including clitic forms. Methodologically, her study does not work with isoglosses of the normal, binary type (which mark the presence vs. absence of a feature). Rather, she utilizes a database consisting of large stretches of conversation, recorded in the field by herself and her colleagues over a 27-year period, to construct indices of relative frequency of occurrence of the pattern in question. The resulting isoglosses allow new conclusions to be drawn about accentual patterns in Bulgarian dialects.

Constructing a typology and cross-linguistic survey for Aktionsart, actionality, and related notions is largely infeasible at present because so few Aktionsart systems have been fully described, they are typically complex and intricately dependent on verbal semantics and classification, and despite its inherent connection to the lexicon, information about Aktionsart categories is rarely recoverable from dictionaries. The paper by Johanna Nichols proposes a very minimal distinction of continuous (lacking inherent endpoints, chiefly states and activities) vs. bounded (having one or more endpoints, e.g. punctual, telic, and ingressive predicates and subtypes such as accomplishments and achievements). The word family of a predicate like *sit* can be based either on the continuous form, as in English, where continuous *sit* is the base and *sit down* is derived, or on the bounded form, e.g. Slavic **sed-* 'sit down' and derivative **sid-e-*. A stumbling block in this endeavor has been sets like continuous *know*: bounded *find out*, *realize*, etc., where no regular derivation relates the forms. Are they a paradigm? If so, what is the base? Structuralist criteria and Andersen's notion of markedness agreement indicate that they do form a paradigm and the continuous form is the base.

Language change and diachronic typology in Balto-Slavic

Henning's work has touched on many languages, but none as consistently as those of the Balto-Slavic branch of Indo-European. As a result, several papers on topics specifically pertaining to the diachronic analysis of Baltic and Slavic languages are included here.

Thomas Olander takes up a theme of special interest for language classification and subgrouping, namely the question of the relation between the Baltic and Slavic subgroups of the Indo-European language family, which are more closely related to each other than to any of the other surviving subgroups; yet it is debated whether Baltic and Slavic together form a subgroup of Indo-European descending from a uniform Balto-Slavic proto-language. While most historical linguists do operate with a Balto-Slavic subgroup and a corresponding proto-language, others remain skeptical. In his contribution, Olander focuses on one of the most salient similarities between Baltic and Slavic: the paradigmatic accentual mobility found in both subgroups. Following a discussion of non-trivial shared innovations as a diagnostic tool in linguistic subgrouping, he examines the Balto-Slavic problem in the light of three different hypotheses on the origin of accentual mobility.

Laura A. Janda follows up on a relatively recent paper by Andersen (2012), which points out that the Russian "new vocative" (e.g., *мам!* 'mama!', *Саш!* 'Sasha!') presents an unusual behavior that sets it apart from ordinary case marking. The vocative is subject to functional restrictions to certain pragmatic expressions, lexical restrictions to words that can serve as forms of address, syntactic restrictions to a position independent of the sentence, association with diminutives (which are themselves peculiar), morphophonological restrictions to words ending in *-a* with penultimate or prepenultimate stress, and various phonological peculiarities. On the basis of these facts, Andersen (2012: 126) argues that the vocative should not be considered a form of nouns: "Russian vocatives are not declensional wordforms but transcategorial derivations formed by conversion." Janda argues that there can be no doubt that Andersen is correct in identifying the Russian vocative as an uncommon linguistic category but asks whether this entails setting up an additional part of speech. In order to provide a cross-linguistic perspective, she brings in evidence from North Saami, where the first person singular possessive suffix has a vocative interpretation and is arguably functioning as a vocative case marker.

Finally, Jadranka Gvozdanović's paper analyzes the typology of change processes proposed by Andersen (2001, 2006) by minutely investigating semantic and pragmatic properties of temporal categories in the earliest Slovene texts which emerged under German cultural influence, but preserved primacy of system-motivated developments. The investigated texts are the Freising Fragments (preserved in a copy from the end of the 10th century, but originally probably two centuries older), the

manuscript of Rateče (from the 14th century), and Trubar's Catechism from the 16th century compared to its main source, Luther's Catechism. All of these texts preserve the same Pannonian/Central European narrative heritage and illustrate the development of temporal and modal categories. Specifically, the Slovene loss of the imperfect and the aorist proceeded faster than the southern German loss of the preterit due to full functional replacement by the existing aspecto-temporal categories in Slovene. The emerging future tense in Slovene appeared as a temporal variant of epistemic and subjective modality, in a way only partly reminiscent of German models in Luther's texts. In addition to confirming the essence of Andersen's typology, this investigation stresses the importance of pragmatics as a trigger and frame for grammation processes.

Concluding remarks

In sum, the papers included in this volume provide updated insights into different aspects of language structure and language change, especially ones associated with Henning Andersen's own work. The diachronic perspective clearly predominates both in theoretically oriented and more concrete contributions, and the vast majority of them take inspiration in specific pieces of Henning Andersen's enduring oeuvre. Far from just summarizing previous results, the contributors offer new material and ideas regarding the evolution of linguistic systems. As could be expected, the notion of *abductive change*, one of the central concepts that characterize Henning Andersen's linguistic thought, is present in more than one paper. Other terms of his (*deductive change*, *remedial innovation*) show up in different papers as well. It is no surprise that the Slavic languages (Old East Slavic, Russian, Upper Sorbian, Slovene) are well represented throughout the volume, but its scope is much wider, both in terms of typology and in terms of the languages analyzed.

Many topics in Henning Andersen's work have not been touched in this collection of papers. To mention but a few such themes from the impressive breadth of his scientific production: Language contact in prehistory, phonological processes like diphthongization, lenition, and vowel contraction, or the general typology of morphological change, are not directly reflected. But in the face of such breadth, choices needed to be made and this more narrowly focused volume emerged as the best fitting tribute to our colleague.

Because in fact this volume is, above all, a deserved tribute to his inspiring and groundbreaking work in the field, especially in diachronic linguistics. The evolution of forms and meanings remains one of the most interesting and intriguing aspects of language, and although linguists like Henning Andersen have vastly advanced our knowledge, there is still, undoubtedly, enough room for further contributions

by present scholars as well as by generations of linguists to come. The papers included in this volume may be viewed as a conspicuous instance of this.

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