

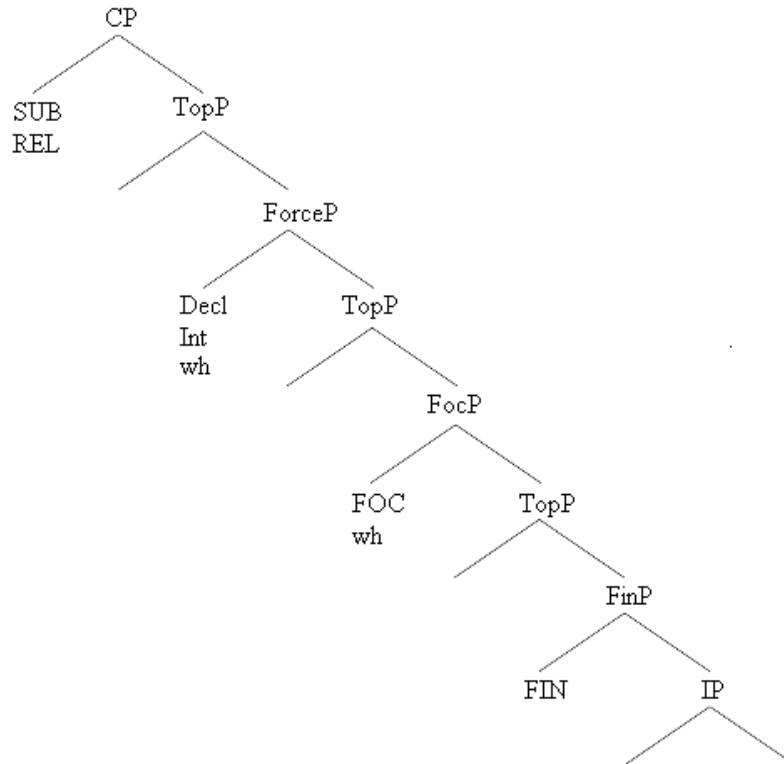
1. Formalism and Functionalism

1.1. Generative Syntax

Major claim of Generative Grammar: The speaker's *performance* is constrained by her/his language competence that is based on universal *principles of language* and their idiosyncratic *parametrisation*.

⇒ 'core grammar'; it cannot be manipulated by the speaker's performance; e.g.:

(1)



(cf. Öhl & Grewendorf, *in progress*; adapted from Rizzi 1997)

➤ Distributional variation of complementisers follows from different positions of types of complementisers in a parametrically variant C-Domain.

(2) Credo, [_{CP} **che** [_{TopP} a Gianni [_{ForceP} [_{FocP} [_{FinP} [_{IP} avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità]...]
think-1stsg – DAT – G. – SUB – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3.pl – must-P11 – say-INF – DET – truth

(3) a. *Credo, a Gianni, **che** avrebbero dovuto dirgli la verità. (cf. Rizzi 2001: 289)
think-1stsg – DAT – G. – that – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3.pl – must-P11 – say-INF – DET – truth

'I think **that** they should have told the truth to John.'

b. Non so, [_{CP} [_{TopP} a Gianni [_{ForceP} **se** [_{IP} avrebbero potuto dirgli la verità]...]
 NEG – *know-1stsg – DAT – G. – Q – AUX-PQP-SUBJ-3rdpl – can-P11 – say-INF – DET – truth*

'I do not know **if** they could have told the truth to John'.

⇒ **Che** does not represent features of clause mood.

➤ Functional phrases are ordered corresponding to the conceptual hierarchy of the features projecting them. Thus, the relative distribution of complementisers allows to conclude what features they represent.

Parametrisation:

(4) a. ū porsīd [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **āyā** [_{FinP} [_{IP} man zabānšenāsī xānde būdam]...]] (Öhl 2004b: 165)
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – studied-had

b. He asked [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **if** [_{FinP} [_{IP} I had studied linguistics] ...]]

➤ Complementisers indicating the clause type are generated in a deeper position than mere subordination markers and relativisers, because the phrase hosting the type feature is dominated by the phrase hosting the subordination feature and the wh-feature of relatives.

(5) a. %lk vraag me af [_{CP} [_{TopP(?)} **wie** [_{ForceP} **of** [_{FinP} **dat** [_{IP} taalkunde studeert]...]] (Öhl 2003: 225)
I – ask – me – of – who – if – that – linguistics – studies

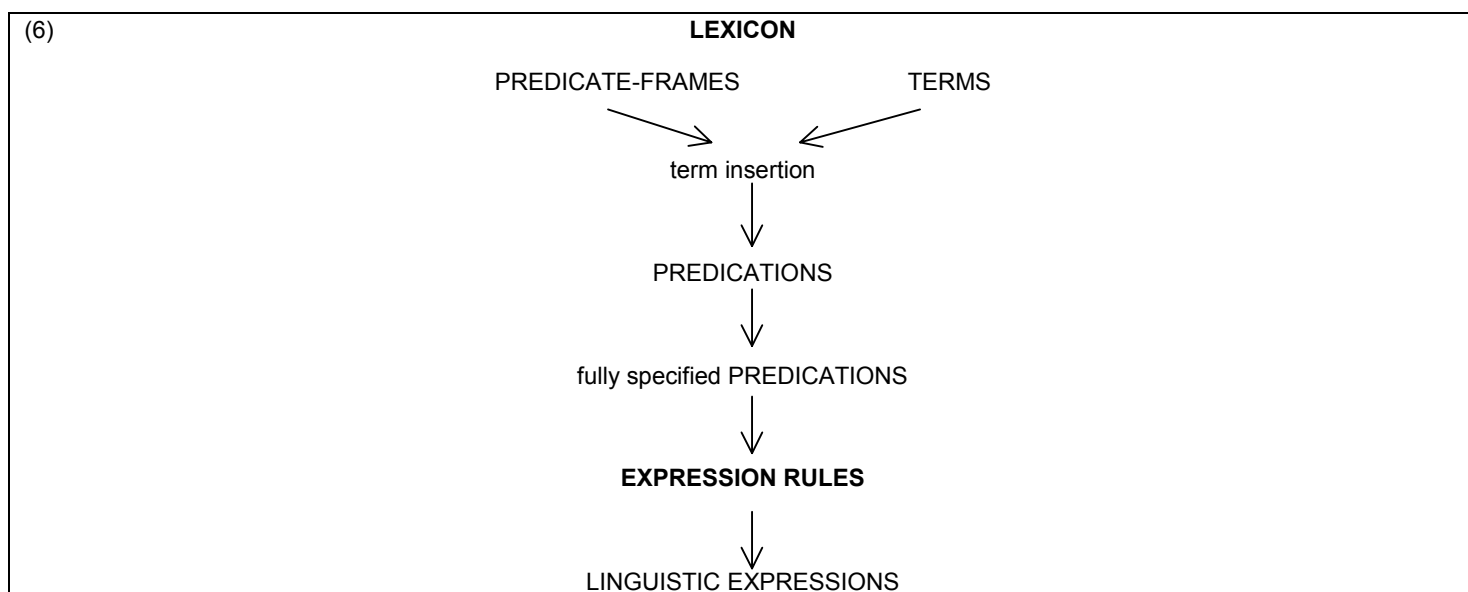
'I wonder who studies linguistics.'

b. jeg tror [_{CP} **at** [_{TopP} lingvistikk [_{FinP} **studerer** [_{IP} gutt-en]...]] (Öhl 2004b:)
I – believe – CMP – linguistics – studies – boy-DET

c. *Ich glaube [_{CP} **dass** [_{TopP} Linguistik [_{FinP} **studiert** [_{IP} der Junge]...]]

➤ Complementisers representing features of finiteness are generated in the lowest position of the C-Domain.

1.2. Functional Models of Grammar



(Dik 1993: 373)

Vom Standpunkt einer funktionalen Grammatik aus ist es möglich oder sollte es möglich sein, **daß einzelne Strukturen** (bzw. Strukturtypen) **nicht funktional begründbar sind**. Allerdings liegt es nahe, daß der Beschäftigungsanlaß die Hypothese ist, daß **eine funktionale Begründung entscheidendes zu klären hat**.

(Welke 1992:16)

It has been the aim of this book to show that **syntactic and nonsyntactic factors interact**, and that both bear on the acceptability of certain structures.

(Kuno 1987: 271)

It is not realistic to expect ('expect?') theoretical convergence given the fundamentally different goals of functional linguistics (which tries to explain language structure) and Chomskyan linguistics (which tries to explain language acquisition), but **mutual awareness** could help linguists in both approaches to improve their theories.

(Haspelmath 1994, 14)

1.3. Questions/ Hypotheses

- How much manipulation does the 'core grammar' allow? (one major question of an integrational model)
- Speakers do not have active access to the basic rules of grammar.

- (7) a) **Wen** hat Maria **wo** getroffen? (cf. Öhl to appear b)
 b) ***Wen wo** hat Maria getroffen?
 c) *(es) hat Maria **wen wo** getroffen?
 d) **Koj kakvo na** kogo e dal? (Bulgarisch)
Wer – was – wem – hat – gegeben
 e) John-ga **nani-o naze** katta no (Japanisch)
John-NOM – was-AKK – warum – kaufte – INT
- 'Functional variation' takes place in the *fringe grammar*.
- (8) ?**Wo** hat Maria **wen** getroffen?

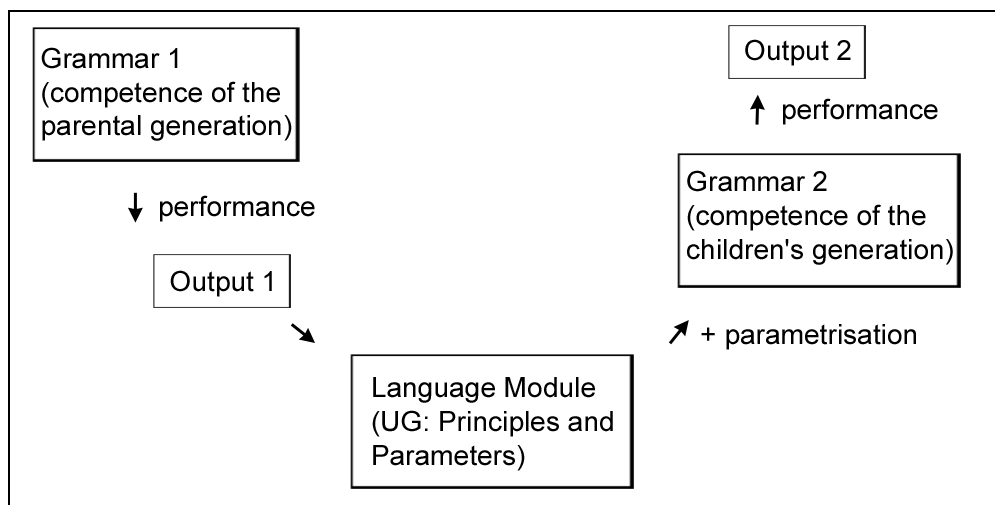
2. Grammaticalisation

Clines are often observed in grammaticalisation theory (cf. Lehmann 1995: 309),
 e.g. : autonomous > dependent (full verb > AUX; pragmatic marker > COMP)
 concrete > abstract (modal verb > AUX; REL > SUB)

2.1. Accounts of *parametric change* (principles & parameters)

- One major functionalist criticism of universalist models of language change: change may happen arbitrarily within the limits of universal principles (*'random walk'*; cf. Östen Dahl, SLE plenary talk, 31.08.06)

(9)



(Öhl to appear b; cf. Lightfoot 1991)

2.2. Performance-based accounts

- call for a '*performance-based theory of grammaticalisation*' (Haspelmath 1998: 345)

The unidirectionality of grammaticalisation is an indirect effect of general principles of human cognition and behaviour – the principle of the salience of novelty, and the asymmetric orientation of the continua of phonetic and syntactic-semantic variation. **There is no reason to think that language acquisition plays a central role in this explanation.** The principles involved are as relevant to adult language as they are to child language. **Grammaticalisation occurs in language use, not in language acquisition.** (Haspelmath 1998: 322)

- The role of the *context* in grammaticalisation:

stage I (*'untypical context'*, Diewald 2002: 113): '(It) does not initiate a grammaticalisation process; it merely constitutes a necessary though not sufficient precondition for it.' (ibd.)

(...) the new meaning, which is going to be grammaticalised in the further development, may arise as a conversational implicature.' (Diewald 2002, 103)

stage II = ('*critical context*') 'the actual triggering of the grammaticalisation process' (Diewald 2002: 113)

stage III = ('*isolating context*') 'where only one of the competing interpretations is possible' (Diewald 2002: 114)

... > *bridging context* > *switch context* > *conventionalisation* (Heine 2002)

Conventionalisation:

Most context induced inferences remain what they are: they are confined to bridging contexts, they are what has variously been described as 'contextual meanings' or 'pragmatic meanings'. But some of them, i.e. those acquiring switch contexts, may develop some frequency of use, **they no longer need to be supported by context**, and they turn into 'normal' or 'inherent' or 'unusual' or 'semantic' meanings (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993: 73f). With reference to their source uses, conventionalised meanings have been described as 'petrified' and 'unpredictable'. (Heine 2002: 85)

The process that I have sketched takes generations to happen, normally centuries. **The speakers proposing bridging contexts are not normally the same as those who create switch contexts.** (Heine 2002, 96)

3. Integration: Performance and Parametrisation

Major claims:

1. It is parametrisation but not conventionalisation that isolates the new grammatical structures.
2. All relevant kinds of contexts may create the input for parametric change.

3.1. Core grammar and 'functional variation at the fringe'

- The basic rules of a grammar can't be changed, created or get lost but through language acquisition (*abductive change*; cf. Andersen 1973: 774ff).
- Variation in performance serves the optimisation of the functioning of a language (*langue/parole*):
 - When applying of the rules of grammar, speakers seek to economise speech production and be at the same time expressive.
 - ! *Rule addition* (cf. Kiparsky 1975: 241ff) may lead to *norm changes* in the sense of Coseriu (1975) but may not contradict the *core grammar*.
- Performance based changes modify the input for language acquisition. Therefore, in processes of grammaticalisation, changes of the core grammar are often initialised by *functional variation at the fringe*.
- *Regularisation/ generalisation* takes place via parametrisation.
- Gradualness of grammaticalisation:
 1. Conventionalisation is gradual.
 2. The whole process may include several steps of alternate performance based and parametric changes and reanalyses. (e.g. full V (in untypical contexts) > functional V (...) > AUX > (phon. Red.) > suffix)

3.2. Cognitive Economy (cf. Öhl, *forthcoming*; Korn&Öhl, *submitted*)

Die gesamte Sprachentwicklung wird bestimmt von dem stets vorhandenen Widerspruch zwischen den kommunikativen und den expressiven Bedürfnissen des Menschen einerseits und andererseits seiner Neigung, seine geistige und physische Aktivität auf ein Minimum zu beschränken. Martinet ([1955] 1981: 85)

(10) *Maxime of cognitive economy*

Generate minimal structures converging with sufficient specification of logical interpretation.

(11) *Minimal logical specification*

Structures are rather underspecified than redundant

(12) **Competing Principles of Cognitive Economy**(cf. Öhl, *forthcoming*; *in progress*)

- a) structures are minimal wrt the generative expense
- b) structures are sufficiently specified wrt the logical interpretation

Impetus on speech production:

- ⇒ (a) may lead to structural simplification
- ⇒ (b) may lead to creative use of linguistic means (e.g. *lexical* elements implying *functional* meaning)

Impetus on language acquisition:

- ⇒ (a) may lead to structural simplification
- ⇒ (b) may lead to assignment of functional features to lexical elements by language learners and presupposes innate knowledge of functional features (in the C-Domain)

4. Case studies4.1. Periphrastic Perfect (in German) (cf. Öhl, *forthcoming*)

- (13) a) Ob sie _{[VP die Getränke (auch) [AP PROgekühlt] (da) haben_V]? ¹}
- b) Ob sie (auch) _{[VP die Getränke gekühlt_V haben_{AUX}]?}

- Compositional aspectual predicative constructions in 'untypical contexts' (stage I):

- (14) iogiuuelih thie thar gisihit uuïb sie zi gëronne, iu habet sia forlegana in sinemo herzen (Tat 28,1)
jeglicher – REL – *da* – *ansieht* – *Weib* – *sie* – *zu* – *begehren* – *schon* – *hat* – *sie* – *geschändete* – *in* – *seinem* – *Herzen*

Wer ein Weib ansieht, sie zu begehren, hat sie schon geschändet (*freies Prädikativ*; alternativ: als *Geschändete*) in seinem Herzen.

- ! No paradigmatic use ⇒ no inflectional structure.

- Irregular use of nominal agreement with adjectives/ participles:

- (15) a) ther blintêr ward geboranêr (Otrf., ≈840AD); ⇒ Prädikativum noch mit NomK
 b) pist also gialtet man (Hild., ≈800AD, 41); Attribut ohne NomK
 c) tot ist Hiltibrant, Heribrantes suno (Hild. 44); ⇒ Prädikativum ohne NomK

- Regularisation of nominal agreement in later OHG (before 1000AD)

- Functionalising *haben* in complex predicates; recategorising *haben* as T-element:

- (16) a) hialt uns (...) dar giborgan ('verborgen halten') (Otrf IV 55, 42)
hielt – *uns* – *da* – *geborgen*

'Er hielt uns dort verborgen.'

- b) *Er hat sie lieb und [zur Frau].

↙ ↘
coherent

- c) Er hat sie lieb und (er hat sie) darum auch zur Frau genommen. (*gapping*)

¹ In der generativen Grammatik wird hier meist ein sogenanntes Leerpronomen PRO angenommen, das für den Koreferenten steht. Vgl.: ‚Sie haben Getränke da, und die Getränke sind gekühlt.‘ Die Stellungsmöglichkeiten der Modalpartikel *auch* mit dem weiten Skopus im zweiten Satz zeigt die Verschiebung der syntaktischen Kategoriengrenze an, da *auch* als Fokuspartikel immer einer Konstituente vorangeht.

- (17) a) Wir haben lauter unerledigte Probleme. (*haben* as full verb, PII in attributive use)
 b) Wir haben alles fertig und erledigt. (*haben* as 'Funktionsverb')²
 c) Wir haben noch einiges zu erledigen. (gerundive)
 d) Wir haben alles erledigt. (periphrastic perfect)

➤ Dik (1987, 77ff): Periphrastic tenses arise from complex aspectual expressions if language learners overgeneralise them, such that an operational tense system replaces compositional aspectual distinctions.

- Bridging context/ switch context (structurally ambiguous):

- (18) a. ir den christanum namun intfangan eigut (Exh. 9,5)
ihr – den – Christen – Namen – empfangen – habt
 b. denne der paldet, der gipuazzit hapet (Muspilli 99)
dann – der – erstarkt – der – (etwas) gebüßt – hat

Paradigmatisation: generalisation, application to intransitive and ditransitive Verbs

- (19) a. so habet er gelogen (NOTK I, 544,29)
 b. tar habet si imo geantwurtet sinero frago (NOTK I, 284, 26)

⇒ no depictive or complex predicate, but full verbs analytically inflected with the AUX *haben*;

! Cognitive economy: *regular* instead of *creative* construction of the relevant structures.

! But: only parametrisation can change the core grammar.

⇒ Neither *performance based changes* nor *parametrisation* can explain alone the whole grammaticalisation process.

4.2. Embedded interrogatives in Persian (cf. Korn & Öhl, *to appear*)

- (20) Man midānam [_{CP} **ke** [_{IP} gorbehā šir dust dārand]] (Persian; cf. Ahmad Lotfi, p.c.):
I – know – SUB – cats – milk – like – have
 'I know that cats like milk.'

- (21) a. ān nešān na-dād [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **āyā** [_{FinP} [_{IP} xošhāl-e yā nā]...]]
 DEM – show – not-give – SUB – INT – happy-is – or – not
 'He/she did not show if he was happy or not.'

- b. man nemīdānam [_{CP} **ke** [_{ForceP} **āyā** [_{FocP} čī-O_i [_{FinP} [_{IP} ū t_i mīxānad]...]]]
 I – NEG-know – SUB – INT – what-ACC – he/she – studies
 'I wonder what he/she studies.'

- The subordination marker arose through structural reanalysis of relative constructions due to economy principle (12a) and loss of semantic features (→ generalisation):

- (22) spāh Kirm **kē** pad diz būd (Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān 10: 17)
Armee – Eigenn. – REL – in – Burg – war
 'die Armee von Kirm, die in der Burg war'

- (23) īn šab **ke** dīgar rūz hasanak-rā bar dār mīkardand
 DEM – Nacht – SUB – anderer – Tag – PN-RA – zu – Galgen – machten
 bū-sahl nazdīk-e pedar-am āmad.
 PN – nahe-EZF – Vater-PRON1SG – kam

² Polenz (1987) spricht hier vom Beitrag von Hilfs- und Modalverben zu partizipialen Verbgefügen; wir schlagen vor, den Begriff *Funktionsverb* auf alle Hilfsverben in Verbgefügen auszudehnen, die nicht zur periphrastischen Flexion zu zählen sind.

'In jener Nacht, als anderntags Hasanak gehenkt wurde, kam Bu-Sahl zu meinem Vater.'³

- The development of NPrs. *āyā* (*ayāb* > *yā* > *āyā*; *reduction, structural reanalysis and recategorisation*):

1. X *ayāb* Y:

- (24) kahas ī mard pad zamīg ī xwēš **ayāb** pad zamīg ī hambaragān kunēd (§ 85: 8)
Kanal – EZF – Mann – in – Erde – EZF – eigen – AYAB – in – Erde – EZF – Ertragsgesellschaften – tut
 'Der Bewässerungskanal, den ein Mann auf dem eigenen Boden **oder** auf dem Boden von Ertragsgesellschaften herstellt, ...'

2. X *ayāb* ¬X (> X *yā* ¬X) (*performance based change*):

- (25) ud nē dānēd, kū dōš ka man bē āmad ham, ānōh būd **ayāb nē** (Šāyast-nē-šāyast II: 72)
und – nicht – weiß – SUB – gestern – wenn – ich – PTC – gekommen – bin – dort – war – AYAB – nicht
 'und er/sie weiß nicht: als ich gestern gekommen bin, war es [schon] dort **oder nicht?**'

- (26) šomā tašrīf mīārīd **yā na?** (Lazard 1992: 212)
Sie/ihr – Ehre – bringen – YA – NEG
 'Geben Sie (mir/uns) die Ehre oder nicht (d.h.: Kommen Sie zu Besuch)?'

- ! The construction is conventionalised as indicator of interrogatives in *Farsi* (standard modern Persian).

3. *agar* X *yā* Y > *yā* X *yā* Y (*parametric change*):

- (27) ud harw kū windānd (M 5794 II R, Z. 10-13, DDM 330)
und – alles – Lebewesen – SUB – fänden –
agar pad wahāg **agar** pad zīšn ud **agar** pad dāš(i)n hēb xwarēnd
wenn – zu – Kauf – wenn – zu – Gastmahl – und – wenn – zu – Geschenk – OPT – essen
 'Und alles, was sie finden – ob durch Kauf, beim Gastmahl oder als Geschenk – mögen (dürfen) sie essen.'

- (28) ... tā (...) wāspuhr (...) wēnam (...) **agar** zī(wa)ndag **ayāb** murdag (Ayādgār ī Zarērān 79, DDM 332)
damit – (...) – EN – sehe – (...) – wenn – lebendig – AYAB – tot
 '... damit ich Waspuhr sehe, sei er lebendig oder tot.'

- (29) az īrānīān har-ki afganda būd (Šāhnāma V: 333, Z. 1661)
von – Iraner – jeder-SUB – niedergeworfen – war
agar kušta būdand **agar** zinda būd
AGAR – getötet – waren – AGAR – lebendig – war
 'Jeder von den Iranern, die niedergeschlagen worden waren – ob sie getötet waren oder noch lebten –, ...'

- (30) **agar** dād xāhī hamē **yā** sitam (Šāhnāma II: 83, Z. 139)
AGAR – Recht – willst – oder – Unrecht
 'Ob du Recht befehlst oder Unrecht'

- (31) gomān mīkonam **yā** emrūz **yā** fardā. (Behzad & Divshali 1999: 90)
Vermutung – mache – YA – heute – YA – morgen
 'Ich vermute, (entweder) heute oder morgen.' (Antwort auf die Frage: 'Wann kommt er/sie?')

- (32) man mīxāham pesar-am-rā bebīnam **yā** zende-aš-rā **yā** morde-aš-rā (Ali Shirazi (K.), brieflich)
ich – möchte – Sohn-PRON1SG-RA – SBJsehe – YA – lebendig-PRON3SG-RA – YA – tot-PRON3SG-RA

³ Zitiert nach Jahani (2000): 37. Jahani fasst den Satz als Relativsatz auf (etwa "die Nacht, in deren nächstem Tag").

'Ich möchte meinen Sohn sehen, sei er lebendig oder tot.' (lit.: ob lebendig, ob tot)

(33)

MPrs.	(<i>ka ... ka ...</i>) <i>agar ... agar ...</i> <i>agar... ayāb ...</i> <i>*ayāb ... ayāb ...</i>	ex. 27 ex. 28
FNPrs.	(<i>a</i>) <i>gar ... (a)gar ...</i> <i>(a)gar ... yā ...</i> <i>*yā ... yā ...</i>	ex. 29 ex. 30
SNPrs.	<i>*agar... yā ...</i> <i>yā ... yā ...</i> <i>āyā ... āyā ...</i>	ex. 31 ex. 35

Tab.1: combination of conditional/ disjunctive particles

4. *yā* > *āyā*:

- Development of an interrogative particle out of a phonemically distinct derivative of *yā*:⁴

(34) *āyā* ki ma-rā tu dastgīr-ī *yā* na ('Un□urī 2794)
AYA – ENZ⁵ – *ich*-RA – *du* – *helfend-bist* – YA – *nicht*

faryād-ras-ī ba-īn asīr-ī yā na
Hilfeschrei-dazukommend-bist – *zu*-DEM – *gefangen*-INDEF – YA – *nicht*

'Bist du mir ein Helfender oder nicht,
kommst du dem Gefangenen [Verliebten] zu Hilfe oder nicht?'

(35) *nemīdānam āyā beravad āyā naravad.* (Najāfī 1999: 43)
NEG*weiß* – AYA – SBJ*geht* – AYA – NEG.SBJ*geht*

'Ich weiß nicht, geht er/sie oder nicht (lit.: [oder] geht er/sie nicht)?'

- The particle *-ā*: enunciative marker in emphatic contexts (*exclamatives, optatives, prohibitives*).

(36) a) *bas-ā firēštagān-ā ki andar āsmānhā and* Tafsir aus Cambridge Br 430⁶
viel-A – Engel-A – ENZ – in – Himmeln – sind

'Wie viele Engel es [doch] in den Himmeln gibt!'

b) *dar buzurg ġalat-ā ki man būḍam* Tāriḫ-i Baihaqī (ed. Nafīsī) 399γ
in – groß – Fehler-A – ENZ – ich – war

'In welchem Fehler ich mich [doch] befand (wie sehr ich mich geirrt hatte)!'

c) *pas matarsēḍ zūḍ-ā ki bē niyāz kunaḍ šumā-rā* Tarjuma-i tafsīr-i □abarī III: 45a
also – PROHIBfürchtet – schnell-A – ENZ – ohne – Mangel – macht – ihr-RA

'Fürchtet euch also nicht, denn wie bald wird er euch von Mangel befreien!'

(37) a) *agar baḍ ast šum bāšiy-ā* Tāriḫ-i □abarī (Handschrift von Bahār) 26b
wenn – schlecht – ist – elend – sei-A

'Wenn [deine Nachricht] schlecht ist, mögest du elend sein (...)!'

b) *sabr kunand-ā ān juftān* Tarjuma-i tafsīr-i □abarī I: 144a
Geduld – machen-A – DEM – Paare

'Mögen diese Partner (dieses Paar) geduldig sein (abwarten)!'

⁴ Vgl. die Vermutung von Steingass (1892: 128), dass die Verwendung von *āyā* in Kombination mit *yā* mit der Bedeutung "whether or not" bzw. in Doppelfragen ("Ist es x oder y?") primär ist, wogegen die Verwendung als Satzmoduspartikel jünger sei. Wir danken für diesen Hinweis Lutz Rzehak.

⁵ Enunziativpartikel

⁶ Beispiele zitiert nach Lazard 1963: 452f.

c) ma ravaḏ-ā tan-i tu Tarjuma-i tafsīr-i □ abarī VI: 3b
 PROHIB – geht-A – Körper-EZF – du
 'Du sollst nicht gehen (möge dein Körper nicht gehen)!'

d) tā na pindāriy-ā Tarjuma-i tafsīr-i □ abarī I: 266b
 PTC – nicht – vorstellst-A
 'Du sollst Dir [das] nicht [etwa] vorstellen (einbilden)!'

- The reanalysis grammaticalisation of **āyā** was supported by emphatically marked interrogatives.

(38) a) guft hamān-ā īn ast-ā xuḏāy i man⁷ Tarjuma-i tafsīr-i □ abarī II: 215b
 sagte – eben-DEM-A – DEM – ist-A – Gott – EZF – ich
 'Er sagte: Es ist [sicher] dieses, mein Gott [, nicht wahr]?'

b) čūn kunam-ā □ abaqāt-i An □ ārī (Ivanov JRAS 1923: 352)
 wie – mache-A
 'Was soll ich [nur] tun?'

- *Phonological cliticisation* to the matrix verb ⇒ *structural ambiguity* facilitating reanalysis:

(39) guft-ā yā buzurg ast yā kučik?
 sagte-A – YA – groß – YA – klein

> guft **āyā** buzurg ast yā kučik?
 sagte – AYA – groß – YA – klein

'Er/sie sagte: "Ist dies groß oder klein?"'

5. **āyā** X (**yā** Y) (*parametric change*):

What the language learners had at their disposal for acquiring a new parametrical realisation of Force^o was:

1. Innate knowledge of functional features in the left periphery (C-Domain).
2. Logically underspecified or even ambiguous input with the combination of **yā** and other particles, interpretable as interrogative expressions.
3. At least one possibility to reanalyse **āyā** from **yā** in order to find a lexeme in the input that could be categorised as interrogative particle.

- Use of **āyā** as interrogative marker from the 14th ct on:

(40) ānān ki xāk-rā ba nazar kīmiyā kunand (□ āfi□, 14th ct. AD)
 DEM.PL – REL – Erde-RA – zu – Blick – Alchemie – machen

āyā buvad ki gūša-yi čašmī ba mā kunand
 AYA – wäre – SUB – Ecke-EZF – Auge – zu – uns – machen

'Jene, die die Erde durch einen Blick zu etwas Edlem verwandeln –
 würde es wohl geschehen, dass sie (auch einmal) auf uns einen Blick werfen?'

4.3. COMPs indicating the clause type (Fin- and Force- elements)

Claim: complementisers indicating the clause type may originate from elements that did not necessarily belong to the C-domain of a clause; they arose through the replacement of concrete semantic features by abstract functional features due to recategorisation as functional heads potentially representing features like SUB, clause mood or finiteness – which requires innate knowledge of these functional heads.

⁷ Die morphologische Kongruenz in (38a), wo sich –ā sowohl am fokussierten Element wie auch am Verb befindet, lässt sich u.E. durch eine syntaktische Dependenzbeziehung zwischen den Köpfen Foc^o und V^o erklären. Zum Begriff der syntaktischen Dependenz vgl. Sportiche (1998); Öhl (*to appear c*).

- German *dass* was recategorised from the 3rdsg.n demonstrative pronoun (cf. Müller&Frings 1959).
- (41) a. chīt man **dáz**. îeht sī in presenti geuuāro. táz íst so. (NOTK. Cons. 37f.)
says – someone – DEM – something – be – in – present – true – DEM – is – so
- b. joh gizalta in sar **thaz** – [IP thiū salida untar in was] (OTFRIED 2,2,8)
and – payed – him – soon – DEM – good – luck – with – him – was
- c. er thahta (...) **thaz, thaz** er ther duriwart was (OTFRIED 2,4,7)
he – thought – DEM – COMP – he – the – goalkeeper – was
- Romance *si* originally was a Lat./IE demonstrative adverb or discourse marker⁸ indicating expectation (cf. BRUGMANN 1904, 670, 696; comp. Lat. *sic*, Engl. *so*). It could indicate *prospectivity* and was the source for reanalysis of a whole range of nonveridical markers (e.g. interrogative & conditional complementisers).

- (42) a. sto expectans **sī** quid mi imperent (BRUGMANN 1904, 696)
stand1stSg – expecting – SO – what – to-me – order3rdPI
 'I stand waiting – so what may they order me?'
- b. **sī** nunc se nobis ille aureus arbore ramus ostendat nemore? (Verg., Aen. 6, 187)
SO – now – itself – to-us – that – golden – tree-ABL – leave – show-SJT – grove-ABL
 'Shall now that golden leave from the tree of the grove appear to us?' (⇒ INT-particle?)
- (43) a. Captīvī cōnābantur, **sī** effugere possent. (BAYER & LINDAUER 1990, 221)
prisoners – tried – COMP – escape – could
 'The prisoners tried out, if they could escape.' (⇒ INT-COMP?)
- b. **Sī** tacuisses, philosophus mansisses. (Boethius, Cons., II/7)
 COMP – be-silent2ndSgPstPerf – philosopher – remain2ndSgPstPerf
 'If you had been silent, you would have remained a philosopher.' (⇒ COND-COMP?)
- c. Observabant autem scribĕ et Pharisei, **si** in sabbato curaret, ut invenirent accusare illum. (Lk 6,8) (T)⁹

- Complementisers like English *if* < OE (*g*)*if* or ModG *ob* < OHG *ibu, oba, ob* stem from PG **eba-* < IE **e-* (pronominal) + *b^ho-* 'both'¹⁰.

! The Goth. cognate *ibai* was, in the first place, a marker of prospectivity (cf. BRUGMANN 1904).

- (44) a. nih niujasatidana, **ibai** aufto ufarhauhiŪs in stauai atdriusai unhuŪins. (1Tim 3, 6) (T)
 NEG – newcomer – PTC – probably – arrogant – in – jury – fall – devil-GEN
 '(He should be) no newcomer, so that he might become arrogant and fall to the jury of the devil.'
- b. Ūandei guŪ Ūans us gabaurŪai astans ni freidida, **ibai** aufto ni Ūuk freidjai. (Rom 11, 21) (T)
as – god – DEM – from – origin – leaves – NEG – exempted – PTC – probably – NEG – you – exempt
 'As god did not exempt the leaves, that were there from the beginning, he will (probably) not exempt you.'

➤ Firstly, it became a marker of interrogatives implying a negative answer (like Lat. *num*; cf. BRUGMANN 1904).

- (45) jah qaŪ im lesus: **ibai** magun sunjus bruŪfadis, und Ūatei miŪ im ist bruŪfaŪs, fastan? (Mc 2, 19) (T)
and – said – them – Jesus – PTC – may – sons – bridegroom-GEN – and – REL – with – them – is – bridegroom – fast
 'And Jesus spoke to them: May the bridegroom's sons and the bridegroom, who is with them, fast?'

⁸ Zum Phänomen der Grammatikalisierung von Diskursfunktionen zu grammatischen / syntaktischen Funktionen, vgl. Lehmann (1995: 113ff).

⁹ Text quotations marked by (T) are taken from the electronic text corpora incorporated in the database of the „Thesaurus Indogermanischer Text- und Sprachmaterialien (TITUS)“. (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/>).

¹⁰ An etymological correlation with both ModE *or* (= ModG *oder*) and the Goth. interrogative marker *-u* is also often assumed (cf. FRIEDRICH KLUGE 231995, 595ff).

➤ In German (and English), this marker of prospectivity developed into a COMP for both conditionals and interrogatives.

(46) Simes wir ouh balde, **ob** es thËrft werde, . . . (Otfried 4,5,49) (T)
see – we – also – soon – COMP – it – need – become-SBJT

'We will also see soon **if** it becomes necessary'

(47) a. ih fragen iuuuh, **oba** iz arloubit si in sambaztag uuola tuon oda ubilo . . . (Tatian 69, 4) (T)
I – ask – you – COMP – it – allowed – be-SBJT – in – sabbath – well – do – or – evil

b. Ênkund ist mir thar to, **ob** er si Æbildato; (Otfried 3, 20, 113) (T)
unknown – is – to-me – here – by – COMP – he – be-SBJT – sinner

(48) a. Blinter **oba** blintemo leitidon forgibit, beidae in gruobe uallent. (Tatian 84, 7) (T)
blind-NOM – PTC – blind-DAT – leadership – leave – both – in – pit – fall

'The blind PTC leave the leadership to a blind, they will both fall into the pit.'

b. Wio harto mihiles mer gibit druhtin iuer gËat, **ob** ir imo fËlget joh inan bitten wollet? (Otfried 2,22,40) (T)
how – much – more – gives – lord – your – goods – COMP – you – him – follow – and – beg – him – want

(49) Doch **ob** man sanct Peters stuel zu ehren will solchs tun (. . .) lasz ich geschehen. (early NHG, LUTHER, 'An den ChristliichenAdel, 45603f)

➤ Ousting of Gm. **ob** by **wenn** as COND-marker in NHG: lexical economy (blocking of synonyms).

(50) Doch **wenn** man zu Ehren von Sankt Peters Stuhl solches tun will (. . .), meinetwegen.

5. Some Comments on 'Integrational Linguistics'¹¹

"It is an overall view of linguistics that has given rise both to a theory of language and a theory of grammars, and to theories of individual languages, in particular, grammars."

Basic claim: all aspects of natural languages and their interrelations are taken into account:

1. Linguistics is construed as a well-defined discipline in its own right but is also placed within a system of interrelated disciplines that include biology, psychology, and sociology.

2. A broad view of linguistic subject matter is taken: linguistics deals with all aspects of natural languages that are directly or indirectly relevant to their use. This includes but goes beyond the 'systematic aspects' of languages, i.e. aspects related to structural properties of 'linguistic systems' in a traditional sense.

3. It is assumed that each major aspect of natural languages (the syntactic aspect, the semantic aspect, etc.) must be characterized in its own right, which includes showing its interrelations with other aspects.

4. Relevant parts of a theory of language are integrated with each language description (specifically, a grammar), in a way that can be made formally explicit; in particular, a language description may be formulated 'in terms of' a theory of language

Contrary to the position taken in most of current cognitivism and Chomskyan generative grammar since the sixties, psychology and biology are construed as neighbouring fields not as basic disciplines of linguistics; thus, IL is **non-reductionist**. The relationship between linguistics on the one hand and biology, psychology, sociology, and anthropology on the other is explicated by the notion of **interdiscipline**. (see 1992f: §6.3)

Integrational Linguistics construes the systematic aspects proceeding from **their role in actual communication**, which has a profound influence on how the various components of a linguistic system are conceived.

➤ **Our comment:** An 'integrational model' must also take into account language acquisition and the role of parametrisation.

¹¹ Based on: 'Basic Characteristics of Integrational Linguistics; a brief summary by Hans-Heinrich Lieb.' (<http://www.germanistik.fu-berlin.de/il/+en/basic-en.html>)

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