

On the Interaction of Speech Production and Language Acquisition in Grammatical Change

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1. Introduction

- This talk is not meant to advocate generative approaches to grammatical change or to pull functional approaches to pieces. Rather, it is meant to argue for an *integrative* model making use of the explanatory potential of both kinds of accounts for the appropriate aspects of language change.

1.1 Functional Approaches

Of course, it is us using the language who change the language, by adapting it to our needs. (Nübling & al. 2006: 4; transl. & *italicis*. PÖ)¹

- *Economy* vs. *expressivity*: competition of the interests of speaker and hearer ("ease of production" vs. "ease of perception" cf. Haspelmath 1998: 320; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 65f.).

The whole development of language is determined by the omnipresent contradiction of the communicative and expressive needs of human beings on the one hand, and on the other hand their tendency to restrict their mental and physical activities to a minimum. (Martinet [1955] 1981: 85; transl. PÖ)²

- 'Symbiosis' of the grammatical subsystems (*phonology, morphology, syntax*) in speech production (Nübling & al 2006: 4, 258 ff); → compensation of deficiencies
- Language/ grammatical change (Keller 1990; Croft 2000): spread of innovative expressions/ *constructions*; *conventionalisation* of 'patterns of usage'; ⇒ *graduality*

1.2 Generative Approaches

- *graduality* vs. *abruptness* (cf. Lightfoot 1979; Lightfoot 1999: 77ff)
- Leading argument: the *basic* properties of the linguistic semiotic system are not determined by its communicative function and its *basic* rules are not accessible to manipulation by the speaker (Öhl 2006: 235ff; cf. Grewendorf 1999: 319f).
- 'Grammar' is an 'encapsulated' *modular* cognitive system *generating linguistic structures*.

Def: *modules* = autonomous though interactive subsystems of a superordinate system that may itself be a module of a higher systematic level. (→ *systems theory*) (cf. WSK 'Syntax')

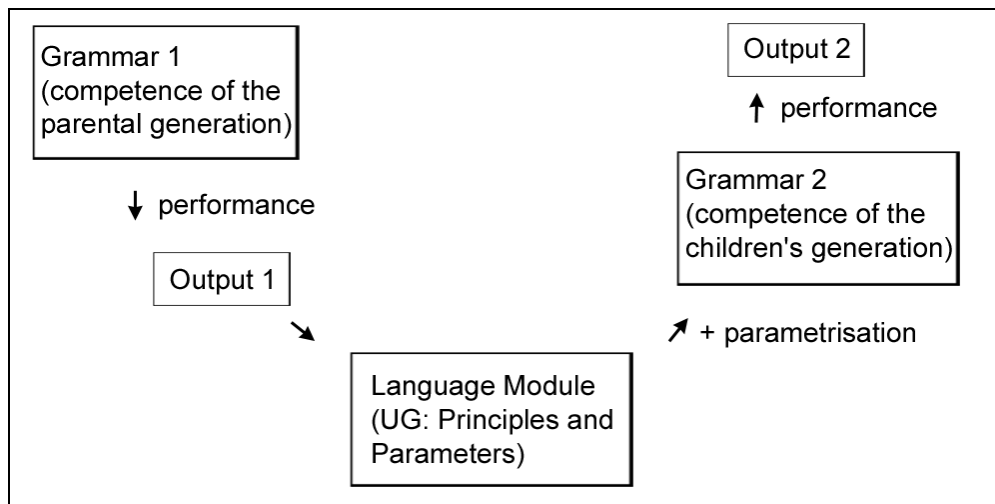
- *Autonomy*: each module has its own *principles* with corresponding *parameters* (Culicover 1997: 11).

¹ *Original*: Selbstverständlich sind wir, die wir Sprache verwenden, diejenigen, die die Sprache verändern, indem wir sie unseren Bedürfnissen anpassen.

² *Original*: 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.

(1) Modules of Grammar:	Phonology (organisation of sound units)	Semantics (organisation of the meaning of expressions/ structures)
(WSK 'Syntax')	Morphology (organisation of the shape of words)	Syntax (shaping together inflected units, phrases, sentences etc.)

Def.: *Grammatical Parameters* (GenGr): variables of the linguistic system, which are set to structurally specific values, on the basis of universal and innate principles, during first language acquisition. This parameter setting is a prerequisite for the consistent inventory of rules for a specific/ individual grammar. (cf. WSK 'Syntax')



(cf. Öhl 2006: 231; cf. Andersen 1973 etc.)

- Parameters of syntax: *wh*-movement, *pro-drop*, head position, verb movement, . . .
- (2) a. Paul has [_{VP} eaten [_{DP}an apple]] (vgl. Cook & Newson 2007: 41ff; Roberts 2007: 92ff)
 b. Paul hat [_{VP} [_{DP} einen Apfel] gegessen]
- (3) a. [_{CP} Leider [_{C'} kann_v [_{IP} Paul [_{VP} keine Äpfel essen] *t_v*]]] (→ FIN-second)
 b. Unfortunately, [_{IP} Paul [_{I'} can [_{NegP} not [_{VP} eat apples]]]] (FIN in I°)
 c. [_{CP} Can_v [_{IP} Paul [_{I'} *t_v* [_{VP} eat apples]]]] ?
 d. [_{CP} Leider [_{C'} isst_v [_{IP} Paul [_{VP} keine Äpfel *t_v*]]]]
 e. *Unfortunately, [_{IP} Paul [_{I'} eats_v [_{NegP} not [_{VP} *t_v* apples]]]] (*V to I)
- Economy* (Roberts 1997, 1999, 2007 40ff; 251ff): variation and change of word order (SOV/ SVO; V2) are based on *marked-* and *unmarked parameter values*, where the unmarked is preferred in *first language acquisition* (*least-effort-strategy*, avoiding movement).
 - Roberts (1993), Roberts & Roussou (2003: 194ff.) and similar: grammaticalisation of functional elements (COMP, AUX, suffixes) is a by-product of structural simplification/ the elimination of syntactic movement in *first language acquisition*.
- ! This is neglecting a whole range of findings of grammaticalisation theory, like *persistence*, *metaphor* and *metonymy*.
- ! How come such 'spontaneous' phenomena of change spread over a speech community within a rather short period?

1.3 An *Integrative* Approach

- With the role of the 'input', speech production comes into the play:
- (4) A sentence S expresses a parameter P if a grammar must fix P to a definite value in order to assign a well formed representation to S. (Lightfoot 1991: 19)
- (5) A sentence S is a trigger for parameter P if S expresses P. (ibd.)
- Language learners *interpret* the input in order to acquire an inventory of lexical expressions and a system of regular structure building operations. In order to acquire the 'right' grammar, misleading data must be filtered out.
- Speakers make use of the range of possibilities within a frame that is set by the inventory of lexical expressions and grammatical structures, constrained by the regular structure building operations (*speech production*; restricted options of enhancing expressivity; no manipulation of the basic rule system).
- However, modification of *usage conventions* in *speech production* changes the input diachronically and may manipulate the grammar of a language *indirectly*.

⇒ *gradual*: conventionalisation; *abrupt*: regularisation; (→ 'catastrophic' changes).

2. Empirical Evidence

2.1 SOV > SVO in the History of English

- Old English: V2 and SOV; Middle English (mid 12th ct.): SVO
- ! Triggering: "presumably a function of saliency and frequency" (Lightfoot 1991: 19) (⇒ robust Input)
- ! The child acquiring a language is confronted with much redundant and ambivalent data that cannot be processed without filtering. (→ 'cues', Lightfoot 1999: 144ff; 'degree-Ø-learnability'; Lightfoot 1991: 22ff)
- Children acquire the verbal head position from main clauses; indicators of OV in main clauses are:
 - (6) a. *þa sticode him mon þa eagon **ut*** (Orosius 168,4; aus Lightfoot 1991: 61)
'then stuck him someone the eyes out' (verbal particles)
 - b. *swa sceal geong guma gode **gewyrecean*** (Beowulf 20; aus Lightfoot 1991: 62)
'thus shall young men good things perform' (infinite verbs)
- Ambivalent data in Oe. main clauses:
 - (7) a. Stephanus **up-astah** þurh his blod gewuldorbeagod (Homilies I, 56; ibd. 61)
'Steven uprose through his blood glory crowned' (particle raising)
 - b. *nime he **upp** his mæg* (Ancient Laws I,296,10; ibd.)
'he should take up his kinsmen' (particle raising or extraposition)
 - c. & þy ilcan geare was **gicoren** Æpelheard abbud to biscop (AS chronicle 790; ibd. 58)
'and that same year was chosen Abbot ethelheard as bishop' (extraposition)

- The order is unambiguous in subordinate clauses, which were not used as triggers but indicate the still basic word order OV:

(8) . . . þæt hie mid þæm þæt folc **ut** aloccoden (Orosius 222.3; ibd. 61)
'that with that they entice the people out'

! Until the 12th ct., main clauses with unambiguous OV-order disappeared from the sources gradually. Only when OV could not be triggered anymore by *robust input* did OV-order disappear (abruptly!) from embedded clauses as well. (cf. Lightfoot 1991: 63ff)

⇒ Speakers made use of the options for manipulating the structure in main clauses, which were increasingly conventionalised; ultimately, this changed the trigger for the head-parameter of the verb, such that the value changed abruptly.

2.2 Verbal Inflectional Suffixes

- Whereas most of the Germanic strong verbs are primary verbs, the weak verbs are derived either from them or from nouns by specific suffixes differentiating 4 semantic classes.

1. *-jan* -verbs: mostly causatives (cf. Garcia Garcia 2005); deverbatives and denominals; with *i*-Umlaut in modern German (caused by [j])

- (9) a. Goth. *nas-jan* ('save') from (*ga*)*nisan*; cf. NHG. *nähren* and *genesen*;
 b. Goth. *lag-jan* ('lay') from *ligan*
 c. Goth. **fōr-jan* ('lead') from *faran*; cf. NHG. *führen*

2. *-ōn* - verbs: originally *factitive* denominals

- (10) a. Goth. *salb-ōn* ('anoint'); cf. NHG. *Salbe*
 b. Goth. *sunj-ōn* ('avenge') from *sunja*; cf. NHG. *Sühne*
 c. Goth. *frauġin-ōn* ('govern') from *frauja*; cf. NHG. *Frondienst*

3. durative *-an* - verbs: Goth. *hab-an* (have), *lib-an* (live), *hāh-an* (hang);

4. inchoative *-nan* -verbs (attested only in Gothic): *full-nan* (fill up/ medial), *kei-nan* (germinate; cf. NHG. *keimen*), *fraich-nan* (ask);

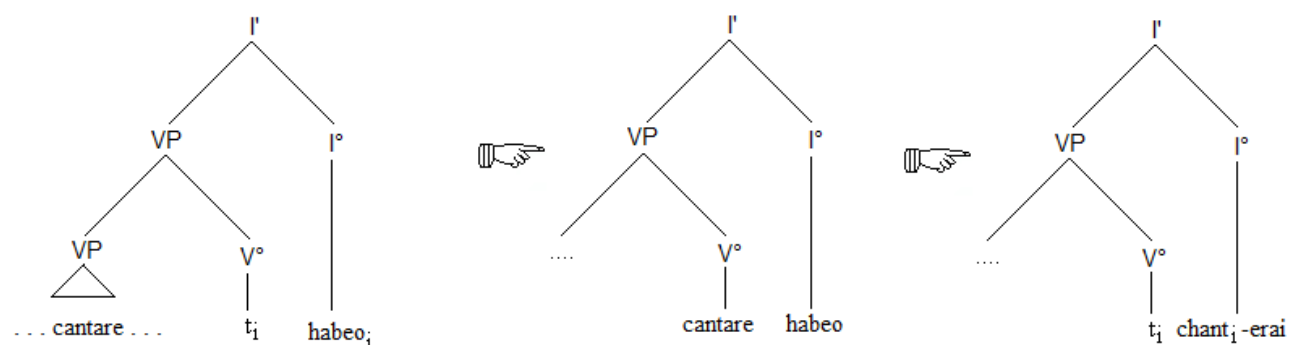
- The preterite suffix developed from the preterite of reduplicating **don* ('do') (Schweikle 2002: 181; Hill 2004: 289ff.)

- (11) a. Goth. *sat-i-dēdum*, *sat-i-dēdup*, *sat-i-dēdun*
 b. ahd. *satz-tum*, *satz-tut*, *satz-tun* (haplological shortening; Hill 2004: 290)
 c. nhd. *setz-ten*, *setz-tet*, *sie setz-ten* (rückumlaut in OHG., levelling in NHG.)

! It seems plausible that, for the lack of a preterite form, the speakers made use of the *do*-periphrasis. What conventional change can make an AUX a suffix, though?

(12) *Reanalysis of the future suffix in French*

(cf. Roberts 1993)



- The new developed periphrastic form ousted the synthetic one in the vulgar Latin varieties where it became, after phonological reduction, the source of grammaticalisation of the new future suffix (cf. Stotz 1998: 325f.).

- Phonological reduction:

(13) *cantare habeo* > *[cantar aio] > *chanterai* (cf. Haspelmath 1998: 348f)

- Cyclicity (cf. Eckardt 2006: 5)

(14) Development of future tense in Latin/ French

Proto Latin		class. Latin		French
*kanta b ^h u-mos <i>sing – be.SUBJ-1^{pl}</i>	>	canta-bimus <i>sing-FUT-1^{pl}</i>		†
		canta-re habe-mus <i>sing-INF – hav-PRES.1^{pl}</i> (GERUNDIVE > FUTURE)	>	chant-erons <i>sing-FUT-1^{pl}</i> (FUTURE)
				allons chant-er <i>go-1^{pl} – sing-INF</i>

2.3 *Have-Perfect* in German (cf. Öhl 2009a)

- How does periphrasis become analytic inflection?
- Starting point in OHG. were predicative structures with PII like the following Eng. ones:

(15) a. He wants to have his car *washed* by noone else. (causative)
 b. I have an apple (that is) (*un*)*peeled*. (depictive object predicative)
 c. We have everything *ready* and *done*. (object predicative in complex predicates)

(16) a. dass [sie [[NP die Getränke] [AP (un)gekühlt] [PP im Hause] haben _{VP}] (werden) _{IP}]
that – they – the – drinks – (un)chilled – have – (will)
 b. dass [sie [[NP die Getränke] (*un)gekühlt _{VP}] haben _{IP}]

- Before *Notker Teutonicus* (~1000 AD), there are no structures HAVE+PII with intransitive verbs in OHG. texts , i.e. with PII that cannot be used as predicatives.

(17) a. tar habet si imo geantwortet sinero frago (Notk I: 284, 26)
then – has – she – him – answered – his – question.DAT
 b. habe ich keweinot so filo (Notk II: 15,30)
have – I – cried – that – much
 c. so habet er gelogen (Notk I: 544,29)
thus – has – he – lied

! Only transitive and ergative verbs were able to form a PII; as long as there is such a restriction, I suggest assuming predicative use, even if a perfective interpretation is possible.

(18) a. phígboom habeta sum **gipflanzotan** in sinemo uuingarten (Tat 102,2)
fig tree – had – someone – planted – in – his – vineyard
 b. in buah si iz duent [AP PRO zisamene **gihaltan**] zi habanne (Otf III 7, 54)
in – book – they – it – do – together – held – to – have

- Abraham (1992): HAVE was reanalysed from a lexical head governing a small clause to an AUX in one step.
- Grønvik (1986): The use of HAVE as an AUX spread gradually to other verb classes by means of conventionalisation.
- Öhl (2009a): The use of aspectually marked predicative constructions increased steadily until the end of the 9th ct. Then they provided robust input for the learners' reanalysis.

- Aspectually ambiguous sentences with HAVE+PII occur in various early Germanic sources:

- (19) a. þin agen geleafa þe hæfþ gehældene (HomS 8,15: 24f)
your - own - belief - you - has - healed
- b. þa he ða hæfde þa wisan onfogne (Beda 344, 27)
when - he - then - had - the - leaders - welcome.PII-ACC.pl
- c. sie **eigun** mir ginomanan liabon druhtin minan (Otrfr V 7, 29)
they - have - me.DAT - taken.ACC - beloved.ACC - lord - my.ACC
- d. ir den christianun namun intfangan **eigut** (Exhortatio 9,5)
you - the - christian - name - received - have/own

! Indicators of predicative reading: nominal morphology of the PII; use of *eigan* as a suppletive verb form³.

- Not the construction but the perfective semantics of the PII itself is the reason for the aspectual contrast of (19d) above and sentences like:

- (20) dass ihr den christlichen Namen empfangt
that - you - the - christian - name - received

- First, HABEN was not grammaticalised as an AUX but as a functional verb in aspectually marked complex predicates with an internal argument position. Thus, the complex formation is an option only with transitive verbs (Öhl 2009a: 286ff).

- (21) a. %dass ihr den christlichen Namen [_{V°} empfangen [_{V°} habt]]
that - you - the - christian - name - received
- b. dass ich ein Beispiel [_{V°} parat [_{V°} habe]]
that - I - an - example - ready - have
- c. Er hat es damals [_{V°} verborgen [_{V°} gehalten]]
he - has - it - back then - concealed - held

- (22) hialt uns (...) dar giborgan (Otrfr IV 55, 42)
held us (...) there concealed

- Only further *reanalysis* and *recategorisation* created the paradigm of the periphrastic perfect tense.

- (23) dass [_{IP} ihr [_{VP} den christlichen Namen [_{V°} empfangen]] [_{I°} habt]]
that - you - the - christian - name - received - have(AUX)

⇒ The use of the construction *haben*+PII signalling aspectual markedness (i.e. perfectivity) was conventionalised in the course of the 9th and 10th ct. In contrast, the auxiliarisation of *haben* leading to the extension of this construction also to intransitive verbs without a noticeable gradual intermediate state is a case of abrupt grammatical change.

⇒ Due to alternating performance- and acquisition-based changes, the grammaticalisation of the *have-perfect* in German cannot be explained by purely formal or functional methods.

³ *eigan* 'own' is used as a suppletive form for *habēn* in PRES.PL. in early OHG. but no more in the writings of Notker at 1000 AD (cf. Oubouzar 1975: 10ff).

2.4 ModPers Interrogative Particle *āyā*

- SModPers (*Fārsī*): subordination marker *ke*, interrogative particle *āyā* occurring both in main and subordinate clauses

(24) ū porsīd [_{CP} *ke* [_{ModP} *āyā* [man zabanšenāsī xānde būdam]...]] (Öhl & Korn 2006: 144)
he/she – asked – SUB – INT – I – linguistics – study – AUX.PRET.1^{sg}

- use of *āyā* as an interrogative marker from the 14th ct.

(25) *āyā* ki ma-rā tu dastgīr-ī *yā* na (‘*Unṣurī* 2794; EModPers. after 1300 AD; ibd.)
 INT – SUB – I-RA – you – helping-are – DISJ – NEG

faryād-ras-ī ba-īn asīr-ī yā na
cry-for-help-coming-are – to-DEM – caught-INDEF – DISJ – NEG

'Will you help me or not, will you come to the captive's rescue or not?'

(26) . . . *ki* īn-jā-yi jang ast *yā* jā-yi mai (Šāhnāma II: 841; EModPers. ~1000 AD; ibd. 157)
 SUB – DEM-place-EZF – war – is – DISJ – place-EZF – wine

'... , is this a place of war or a place of joy?'

- How did the particle come into being?

1. *X ayāb X > X yā X* (phonological reduction)

(27) pad stūrīh *ayāb* pad xwēšīh ō ān ī sazāgtar āyēd (Farroxmard ī Wahrāmān § 52: 2; MPers. before 800;
in – custody – DISJ – in – property – to – DEM – EZF – appropriate – comes Öhl & Korn 2006: 156)

'[His contingent] comes in the custody or in the property of the most appropriate one.'

(28) hājat nabūd mastī-yi mā-rā ba-šarāb (Rūmī, EModPers.. 13.Jh.; ibd. 154)
need – NEG.was – drunkenness-EZF – us-OBJ – to-wine

yā majlis-i mā-rā tarab az čang u rabāb
 DISJ – gathering-EZF – us-OBJ – joy – of – harp – and – fiddle

'Our inebriation requires no wine,
 nor does our gathering the joy of a harp and a fiddle.'

2. Performance based change: *conventionalisation of a formula* in MPers.:

(29) ud nē dānēd, kū dōš ka man bē āmad ham, ānōh būd *ayāb nē* (Šāyast-nē-šāyast II: 72; Ö&K 156)
and – not – know.3sg – SUB – yesterday – when – I – PTC – come-have.1sg – there – was.3sg – DISJ – NEG

'And s/he does not know: When I came yesterday, was it [already] there **or not**?'

! This Formula is conventionalised as an indicator of interrogativity also in Fārsī:

(30) šomā tašrīf mīārīd *yā* na? (SModPers.; ibd. 146)
 PR.2^{pl} – honour – bring – DISJ – NEG

'Will you give [us] the honour **or not**? (i.e.: May we invite you to our house?)'

⇒ high frequency of the disjunction *yā* in interrogatives.

3. *agar X yā Y > yā X yā Y* (Recategorisation)

(31)... tā (...) wāspuhr (...) wēnam (...) *agar* zī(wa)ndag *ayāb* murdag (Ayādgar ī Zarērān 79;
that – (...) – PN – see.1sg – (...) – COND – living – DISJ – dead Öhl & Korn 2006: 159)

'... that I may see Waspuhr, whether/either alive or dead.'

(32) *agar* tūr *agar* čīn *agar* marz-i rūm (Šāhnāma I: 130; ibd. 157)
 COND – PN – COND – PN – COND – border-EZF – PN

'whether Turan or China or the boarder of Anatolia'

- (33) **agar** dād xāhī hamē **yā** sitam (Šāhnāma II: 83; ibd.)
 COND – *right* – *order* – *give*.SUBJ.2sg – *if* – *wrong*
 'whether you command the right or the wrong thing'
- (34) man mīxāham pesar-am-rā bebīnam **yā** zende-aš-rā **yā** morde-aš-rā (SModPers.; ibd. 160)
 I – *want* – *son*-PRON.1sg-OBJ – SBJ.*see* – CND – *living*-PRON.3sg-OBJ – DISJ – *dead*-PRON.3sg-
 OBJ
 'I want to see my son, whether alive or dead.'
- (35) gomān mīkonam **yā** emrūz **yā** fardā. (SModPers.; ibd. 145)
assumption – *make* – DISJ – *heute* – DISJ – *morgen*
 'I assume either today or tomorrow.'

4. **yā** > **āyā**: (structural reanalysis)

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

! Where does the **ā-** in **āyā** come from?

➤ MPers. Apodosis **-ā** + **yā** > **āyā** ?

- (36) ud ka jōrdā andar **ā** xumb rēman ud jōrdā pāk (Šāyast-nē-šāyast II: 34; Öhl & Korn 2006: 162)
and – *when* – *grain* – *in* – **then** – *jar* – *impure* – *and* – *grain* – *pure*
 'And if there [is] grain in [it], then the jar [is] impure, and the grain [itself is] pure.'

- (37) a. If grain in, [**ā** (then)] [**yā** (either) . . . **yā** (or) . . .] ?

b. * [**āyā** [xumb rēman **yā** jōrdā]

'Is the jar dirty or the grain?'

➤ EModPers. emphatic **-ā** + **yā** > **āyā** ?

- (38) a. čūn kunam-**ā** (Ṭabaqāt-i Anšārī; Öhl & Korn 2006: 164)
how – *do*-EMPH
 'What shall I do?'
- b. guft-**ā** kujā-st išq bi-guft andar-īn bar ast (Rūmī; ibd. 165)
uttered.3SG-EMPH – *where-is* – *love* – SBJ-*uttered*.3sg – *in*-DEM – *breast* – *is*
 'And s/he said: "Where is love?" S/he said: "In this breast."

- (39) guft-**ā** **yā** buzurg ast **yā** kučik? (ibd.)
uttered-EMPH – DISJ – *big* – DISJ – *small*

*> guft **āyā** buzurg ast **yā** kučik?

uttered – INT – *big* – DISJ – *small*

'And he/she said: Is this big or small?'

structural ambiguity → (re)categorisation (learners' reanalysis?)

5. **āyā** X ((**ā**)**yā** Y)

- (40) ānān ki xāk-rā ba nazar kīmiyā kunand (Ḥāfiẓ, 14. Jh.; Öhl & Korn 2006: 152)
 DEM.pl – REL – *earth*-OBJ – *to* – *glance* – *alchemy* – *do*.3pl
āyā buvad ki gūša-yi čašmī ba mā kunand
 AYA – *be*.SUBJ.3sg – SUB – *corner*-EZF – *eye* – *to* – *we* – *do*.3pl
 'Those who through a glance transform the earth to something precious, would it [ever] happen that they look at us?'

- (41) nemīdānam **āyā** beravad **āyā** naravad. (ibd. 144)
 NEGknow.1sg – INT – go.SUBJ.3sg – INT – NEG.go.SUBJ.3sg
 'I don't know whether s/he goes, whether s/he does not go.'

⇒ The rise of the interrogative particle **āyā** cannot be explained by purely formal or functional methods either. This is also due to alternating performance- and acquisition-based changes.

2.5 'Decline' of Strong Verbal Inflection in German

- Numerous strong verbs have completely disappeared from the German lexicon (Öhl 2011: 47):

- (42) a. ENHG. *beiten* – *bitt* – *gebitten* ('wait'; cf. Engl. *to bide*)
 b. ENHG. *gellen* – *gall* – *gegollen* ('call'; cf. *Nachtigall*; Engl. *to yell*)
 c. ENHG. *schnachen* – *schnuch* – *geschnachen* ('crawl'; cf. Engl. *snake*)
 d. MHG. *queden* – *quad* – *gequeden* ('speak'; cf. coll. Germ. *quasseln, quatschen*)
 e. MHG. *blanden* – *blind* – *geblanden* (cf. Engl. *to blend*)

- The strong verbs are diminishing steadily (cf. Bittner 1996; Öhl 2011: 47ff): they have passed over to the weak inflection completely (43) or have mixed paradigms (44), where weak and strong and even alternative stem forms co-exist (further examples in Griesbach/Uhlig 1994):

- (43) a. ENHG. *bellen* – *boll* – *gebollen* (vs. NHG. *bellte, gebellt*)
 b. ENHG. *heischen* – *hiesch* – *geheischen* (vs. NHG. *heischte, geheischt*)

- (44) a. *melken* – *molk/melkte* – *gemolken/ ?gemelkt*
 c. *schwören* – *schwor/ schwörte* – *geschworen/ ?geschwört*
 d. *backen* – *buk/backte* – *gebacken/ *gebackt*
 e. *hauen* – *?hiebl/ haute* – *gehauen/ %gehaut*

The speakers successively forget the strong forms, since the concepts expressed by them are no longer communicated as often as they used to be, and they develop new forms in analogy to the weak pattern. (Nübling & al. 2006: 45)⁴

! If the speakers were able to avail themselves of existing patterns arbitrarily, they would have an improbably strong means at their disposal, to change the rules of their languages.

! Active/passive knowledge?

- There is also an (admittedly less frequent) change from the weak to the strong paradigm:

- (45) a. *winken* – *winkte* – *gewinkt/ gewunken* (cf. Neubauer 2009)
 b. *preisen* – *pries* (ENHG. *preisete*) – *gepriesen*
 c. *pfeifen* – *pfiff* – *gepfiffen* (originally weak loan verb; cf. Lat. *pīpo*)

3. Conclusion

- Functionally motivated, conventional changes are certainly one pillar of language change. But the attempt at explaining language change solely on the basis of speech production necessarily results in an overestimation of the speaker's options for manipulating the rules of grammar.
- There are obvious formal criteria which massively constrain functionally motivated change. Regarding the findings of generative approaches, grammatical change, i.e. changes in the basic rule system in a language that is not accessible to the speaker, cannot simply be ascribed to conventionalisation (cf. Öhl 2007; 2008).

⁴ *Original*: Die Sprecher vergessen schrittweise die starken Formen, weil die mit ihnen ausgedrückten Konzepte durch Wandel der Lebensumstände nicht mehr so oft versprachlicht werden, und bilden in Analogie zum schwachen Muster neue Formen.

- On the other hand, usage based changes in language systems are often neglected in acquisition based accounts.
- ⇒ *Long-term-objective*: an integrative model of language change adequately considering and assessing both performance based factors and the conditions related to language acquisition (cf. Öhl 2009b).

4. References

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