

Introduction

Perspectives on the study of grammatical change:

- **“holistic” approach**
 - gradual conventionalization of complex patterns of *understanding* (→ notion of ‘construction’; esp. Croft 2001)
- **discrete partial changes**
 - internal mechanics of production and uptake (e.g. Timberlake 1977; Andersen 1987, 2001; Traugott 2003; Harris 2003; Fried 2008, 2009)
- **motivation**
 - cognitive and communicative explanations for linguistic structure

Introduction

Grammaticalization theory:

- contextual grounding of grammatical reorganization
- ‘constructions’ as a domain of change

notion of **constructionalization**:

= emergence of new syntactic patterns (grammatical constructions)

- **Gradualness** of grammatical change

Introduction

- **In this talk:**

- nature of specific partial transitions that amount to a larger shift in a form's syntactic and textual function;
- importance of contextual setting and patterns of usage in motivating a diachronic shift;
- viability of Construction Grammar for representing the mechanisms and gradualness of change.

- **Case study:**

development of 'long' present active participle in Old Czech:

type *chodiec-í* '(one) walking'

What good is CxG for diachronic analysis?

- Internal vs. external properties of constructions:
 - **incremental** (feature-by-feature) nature of variation and change
 - potential **mismatches** between grammatical patterns and the words that fill them, allowing for non-compositionality
- Emphasis on studying words in their **context**
 - attention to **pragmatic** and **semantic** triggers of variable interpretations
 - role of **syntagmatic** context

Case study

- participial form with multiple functional uses (predicate, attribute, actor noun)
- Old Czech data (+/- 250 years)
- *issues to resolve:*
 - variable functions & distribution in syntax
 - discrepancy between internal and external features of a morphologically complex word-form
 - shifts between compositional and non-compositional semantics
 - representation of changes over time

Old Czech 'participial adjectives'

Adnominal usage

(1) *a za smrtelneho muže **neumierajicieho**_{PA.ACC.SG} krale zyščeš*

‘and instead of a mortal husband, you will find an **immortal king**’ [spiritual poetry; mid 1300s; LegKat 59a; O]

(2) *když opět s kerchova jdieše, uzřel opět d’ ábla s sebú **chodieceho**_{PA.ACC.SG}*

‘as he was again leaving the graveyard, he saw the devil again **walk** along with him’

[popular entertainment; late 1300s/early 1400s; PovOl 250a; A]

Question: how did we get from pattern in (2) to pattern (1)?

- *morphological structure of a word-form:*

a. $[[[V_{\text{root}} - \text{pres.stem}] - \text{ppl}]_{\text{PAP}}]$ ‘[while/when/if...]
V-ing’

b. $[[[[V_{\text{root}} - \text{pres.stem}] - \text{ppl}]_{\text{PAP}} - \text{CNG}]_{\text{PA}}]$ ‘(the one) V-ing’
 $[[[chod - ie] - c]_{\text{PAP}} - í]_{\text{PA}}$ ‘(the one) walking’

- *externally indeterminate:*

CNG = *adjectival* in form

= *variable* in function (predicate, modifier, actor noun)

- *preservation of participial origin:*

- *tense* (contemporaneous), *voice* (active), *aspect* (imperfective)
- semantic & syntactic relationship to the verb root: *valence*

Relevant features

- *can't start from lexical category*

[[PAP stem]_v word-form]?? (V,A,N)



relevant for internal syntax

= valence/dependents (non-subject arg. & adjuncts)

- *usual suspects:*
 - syntax (or valence) of stem (“internal syntax”)
 - semantics of root (“internal semantics”)
- *additional criteria:*
 - tense, voice
 - semantics of subject of PA (“external semantics”)
 - word order and syntactic constituency (“external syntax”)
 - text type

Predicative (event-profiling) usage

- (3) *rač mě přijěti < kajúcióho_{PA.ACC.SG} ... >*
'please accept me [*in my/because I'm*] *repenting*'
(Lat. *paenitentem* 'repenting')
[legend, late 1300s; OtcB 89b; T]
- (4) *zavolal panen i bab těch < kajúcích_{PA.GEN.PL} >*
'(I'm ordering the village magistrate to) summon those
repenting maidens and old women' who are locked up
in that jail)
[correspondence; 1411; ArchČ 3, 294; O]

Constellation of features for predicative (event-profiling) function

e.g. (slyšel) žáčka < dřéveřečený verš *z*pievajícieho >
(he heard) 'youth_{ACC} < the aforementioned song *singing* >_{ACC}'

- *prototypical constellation for secondary predicates*
(= early stage, but persistent!)

Syntax:

- non-subject complements
- verbal government
- active voice

Semantics:

- Vs of action/process
- tense (contemporaneousness with main event)
- animate subject

Categorially undetermined PA form

cat []

val {#1 [Agt]}

prag [contrastive +]

Inflectional PA

lform [...]

cat $v_{NT-part.}$ inherit Verbal Government

syn [voice active]

sem [[tense contemp.]
[frame action/process]
FE #1 [anim +]]

val {#1 [Agt], #i []* }

cat []

lform

[...]

morph. [adj. [case []
number []
gender []]]

- *transparent structure, compositional meaning:*
[one] ‘who Vs at the time of the main event’
- *morphological construction* (constituents = morphemes)

Functionally ambiguous tokens

(5) *mějte mysl k bohu, v dobrotě... hledajte jeho, nebo v duši < **žádající**_{PA.ACC.SG} zlého > nevende duch milosti*

(Lat. variant *malevolam* ‘evil-minded’)

(i) ‘turn your mind toward God, seek him through good life..., for the spirit of mercy will not enter into a soul_i **if/when** it_i **desires** evil things’

(ii) ‘..., for the spirit of mercy will not enter into a soul **desirous** of evil things’

[homily, end of 1300s; MatHom 42a; T]

Functionally ambiguous tokens

(6) *hřěšili sú tiem súžením že hřiešníky < již kající*

PA.ACC.PL > *měli sú za hřiešné*

‘they sinned by inflicting injustice in that they considered as full of sin [those] sinners who were already *repenting*/who had already become *repentant*’

[expository prose, early 1400s; HusPost 125a; O]

Attributive (participant-profiling) usage

Habitual meaning

(7) *jeden loťr sě znamenává každý člověk <kajúcí_{PA.NOM.SG}>, druhý sě znamenává člověk nekajúcí_{PA.NOM.SG}*

‘one thief [on the Cross] represents every *repenting / repentant person*, the other thief represents an *unrepentant person*’

[expository religious prose, end of 14th cent.; AnsVít 54b; A]

(8) < *žadajúcímu*_{PA.DAT.SG} > *lidu, ješto minulé bídy a strasti pamatuje, bezpečenstvie a pokoj zdali by optala*
'in order for our royal mind to provide security and peace for the ***anxious nation*** burdened by its memories of past hardships'
(Lat. variant: *desideranti* 'demanding')
[legal code, end of 14th cent.; MajCar 72; T]

- **Resultative meaning**

(9) *at' patříme na tvój < kající*_{PA.ACC.SG} *> život a následujeme tebe*
'let us look at your ***repentance-filled life*** and follow you'
[expository religious prose, early 1400s; VýklŠal 122a; T]

- **Modal meanings** (cf. Lat. *-bilis*)

Constellations of features in attributive (participant-profiling) function

e.g. *peniez* <*mající na sobě obraz anjelský*>
'coin <**having** on it a picture of an angel>'

Habitual meaning:

Syntax:

- non-subject complements
- verbal government
- active voice

Semantics:

- Vs of action/process – **stative V**
- tense (contemp.) – **habitual / atemporal**
- animate subject

e.g. < *neumierajícího* > krále
'< immortal > king' (lit. 'non-dying king')
< *žadajícího* > vítězství
'desirable victory' (lit. 'desiring victory')

Resultative, modal meanings

Syntax:

- non-subject complements
- verbal government
- active voice – **modal / passive**

Semantics:

- Vs of action/process or **states**
- tense (contemp.) – **atemporal**
- animate subject – **(functionally/semantically) unrestricted 'head noun'**

Attributive usage - summary

- **Recurrent syntactic patterning:**
 - **Internal** constructional properties
 - PA tends to be bare, regardless of verb's valence
 - **External** constructional properties (**word order**)
 - PA more likely to appear inside a NP

(9) *at' patříme [na [tvój < kající_{PA.ACC.SG} > život]_{NP}]_{PP}*
a následujeme tebe

'let us look at your *repentance-filled* life and follow you'

Attributive usage - summary

- **Recurrent syntactic patterning:**
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 - PA more likely to appear inside a NP
 - adjacency of PA and its subject
 - bare PA gradually settles in the position immediately preceding its subject

(9) *at' patříme [na [tvój < kající_{PA.ACC.SG} > život]_{NP}]_{PP}*
'let us look at your **repentance-filled** life'

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 - adjacency of PA and its subject
 - bare PA gradually settles in the position immediately preceding its subject
- **Semantic factors** (also **external**)

...

Linearization as a factor

-- possible **constructs**:

[NP]

- animate /
inanimate

[PA]

- non-subject complements
- verbal government
- Vs of action/process - **stative**
- active voice
- animate subject
- tense (contemp.)

Linearization as a factor

-- possible **constructs**:

[PA]

- non-subject complements
- verbal government
- Vs of action/process - **stative**
- active voice
- animate subject
- tense (contemp.)

[NP]

- **animate** /
inanimate

Modification construction

Modification

cat n

sem ['restrict reference of the noun (#2) by the property expressed in #1']

#1

```
cat []  
role modification  
morphol. [ case #i []  
           number #j []  
           gender #k [] ]
```

#2

```
cat n  
role head  
morphol. [ case #i []  
           number #j []  
           gender #k [] ]
```

PA goes here



Attributive usage - summary

- Recurrent syntactic patterning:
 - word order as crucial
- **Semantic factors** (also external)

	<u>Predication</u>	<u>Modification</u>	<u>Ambiguity</u>
Animate subj.:	53 (92) = 58%	73 (220) = 33%	24 (56) = 43%

Subject referents with *kající* 'repenting'

<u>PA function</u>	<u>NP type</u>	
event-profiling: (i.e. participle-like)	pers. pronoun <i>panny i baby</i> <i>věřící</i> <i>hříšník</i>	'maidens & old women' 'Christian' 'sinner'
functional ambiguity:	<i>hříšník</i> (sg. & pl.) <i>lidé</i>	'sinner(s)' 'people'
participant-profiling:	<i>člověk</i> <i>pokánník</i> <i>život</i> <i>rok</i> <i>čas; den</i>	'person' 'penitent' 'life' 'year' 'time; day'

Attributive usage - summary

- Recurrent syntactic patterning
 - word order as crucial
- **Semantic factors:**

	<u>Predication</u>	<u>Modification</u>	<u>Ambiguity</u>
Animate subj.:	53 (92) = 58%	73 (220) = 33%	24 (56) = 43%

- (animate > inanimate)
- referentially specific > non-specific
- individuated > less individuated (e.g., sg > pl)

Inflectional PA

cat []
 val {#1 [Agt]}
 prag [contrastive +]

Inflectional PA

lform [...]

cat $v_{NT\text{-part.}}$ inherit Verbal Government
 syn [voice active]
 sem [[tense contemp.]
 [frame action/process]
 FE #1 [anim +]]
 val {#1 [Agt], #i []* }

cat [] lform [...]
 morph. [adj. [case []
 number []
 gender []]]]

Habitual PA

cat []
sem ['prone to V-ing']
val {#1 [Agt]}

Habitual PA

lform [...]

cat $v_{NT\text{-part.}}$ inherit Verbal Government
syn [voice active]
sem [[tense contemp.]
[frame action/process]
FE #1 [anim +]]
val {#1 [Agt], #i []* }

cat [] lform [...]
morph. [adj. [case []
number []
gender []]]]

Resultative PA

cat **adj**
sem ['result of V-ing']

Resultative PA

lform [...]

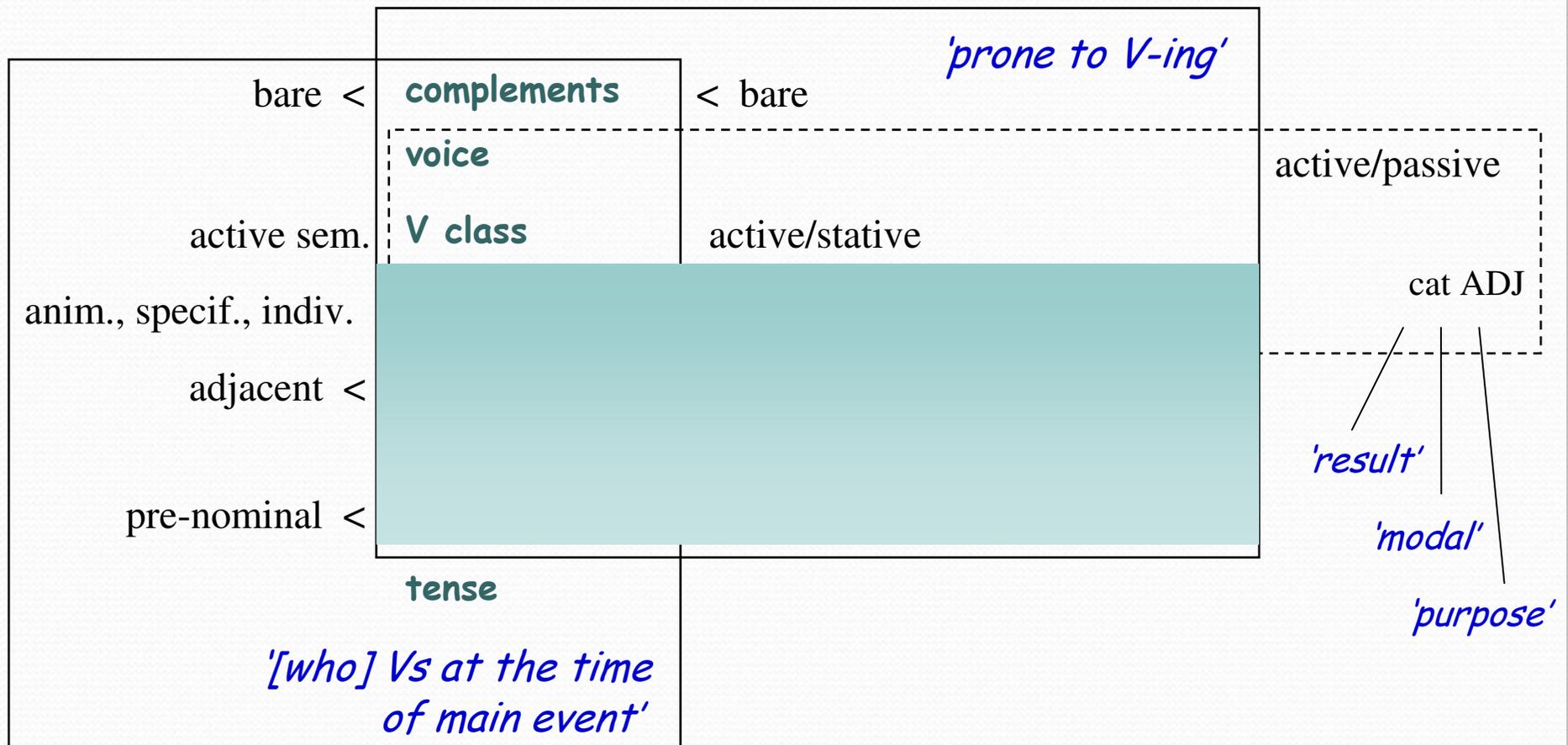
cat $v_{NT\text{-part.}}$

sem [frame []
FE #1 []]

cat [] lform [...]
morph. [adj. [case []
number []
gender []]]]

Network of PA functions

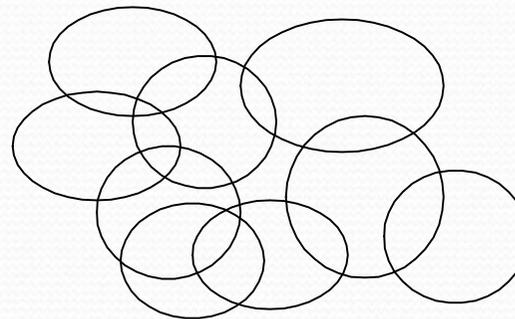
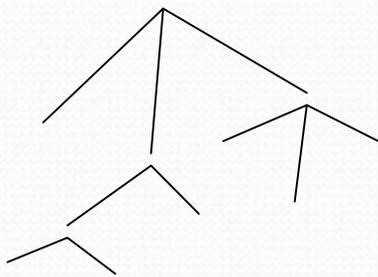
(adapted from Fried 2008)



Why CxG, as a model relevant to variation and change?

- CxG can capture the mechanisms and gradualness of change in all its surface complexity, without being unsystematic:
 - **incremental** (feature-by-feature) nature of variation and change;
 - constructions as multilayered ‘blueprints’ of **functional clusters** that can be stretched in actual communication;
 - fine-grained account of the relationship between partial transitions and a **larger diachronic shift**;
 - potential **mismatches** between grammatical patterns and the words that fill them, allowing for non-compositionality;
 - attention to **pragmatic** and **semantic** triggers of novel interpretations.

- Change in a single form is not driven by a single property (let alone a syntactic one);
- Constructional maps for family resemblance relationships, not just strict hierarchies:





Thank you!