

Editors' introduction

1. Introduction

As has been noted in previous issues in this series, the International Conference on Historical Linguistics (ICHL) is probably the major forum where linguists specializing in the study of the historical development of languages and the reconstruction of their earlier stages can present their most recent research to like-minded scholars. The outcome is typified by a rich diversity not only in languages and language families from around the world, but in theoretical approaches to the data, and the tools that are being used to mine them. The ever-burgeoning masses of data that are available in this age of digital transformation and accessibility of material that was formerly only available to scholars who had access to the libraries where such material was stored, are now providing evidence for language change to anyone with access to a computer, as surely as the data that are the output of fieldwork among some of the last remaining speakers of languages that may well be extinct before the next volume in this series is produced, is providing evidence of language relationships that were previously unknown.

Just as previous conferences have expanded the topics discussed, such as the historical development of creoles, and the introduction of sociolinguistic techniques to track recent change in languages, this conference recognized the need to examine the historical development, not just of spoken languages, but also of the other major modality, Sign Language, as discussed in the Foreword of this volume.

Of the wide range of stimulating and often ground-breaking studies that were submitted for inclusion in this volume, a number have been selected as representative of the conference for this volume, others of which will appear in volumes currently being prepared. Because the function of this volume is to present a sample of the best papers that were presented, there is no unifying theme or theoretical orientation, the papers themselves should be viewed as representative of the diversity that characterizes the field of historical linguistics at the present time.

In the rest of this introductory chapter, we will present an overview of the workshops and some of the general, thematic sessions that were held at the conference (Section 2), before providing a short appraisal of the 14 papers appearing in this volume (Section 3).

2. Overview of presentations at ICHL 20

The twenty workshops that were held at ICHL 20 in Japan can be grouped into three main categories. Five were areal workshops focusing on comparison and reconstruction in restricted geographical areas (the Ryukyuan islands of southern Japan, Australia and the Pacific, Mesoamerica, Ibero-Romance, and the Kalahari Basin in southern Africa), discussed in Section 2.1; five workshops that can broadly be construed as dealing with methodology (computational phylogenetic approaches, problems with tree-based models of evolution, statistics and algorithmic methods, usage-based approaches, and sign-language database modeling), see Section 2.2; and 10 workshops that dealt with various topics in morphosyntax (including exaptation, autonomous morphology, pronominal forms, TAM (tense-aspect-mode) systems, negation, and syntactic reconstruction), see Section 2.3. This distribution of interests closely matched the papers selected for presentation in the general, thematic sections of the conference, which will be covered in the appropriate sections below.

2.1 Family and areal reconstruction and comparison

In addition to the geographical areas mentioned above that were the dedicated theme of the five areal workshops, general, thematic sections covered the languages of Japan and the Pacific, Germanic languages, Romance languages, Slavic languages, Greek and Persian, languages in Africa, and Sinitic languages. A large majority of the papers in these sessions dealt with issues related to the historical development of specific grammatical features within a single language as well as cross-linguistic within the same family. What was somewhat surprising, given the emphasis that sound change has had in previous conferences, is that apart from a number of papers dealing with the development of tone in Sinitic (and other tonal languages, such as Triqui), the issue of the reconstruction and development of sounds and sound systems was hardly addressed. One representative paper, by Wang Haibo, is included in this volume (pp. 101–113).

There were three major areas of attention in these papers, probably the highest of which involved issues of language contact, borrowing and associated problems of areal diffusion and convergence across dialectal and language continua (this was also the major theme of some of the papers in the workshops on methodology). Among the areal workshops that were primarily concerned with this issue was the workshop on Genealogical and Areal Linguistic Relations in the Kalahari Basin (organized by Tom Güldermann), in which a number of papers were presented attempting to untangle the historical relations among the languages of the Kalahari

Basin of southern Africa that appear to form a 'Sprachbund'. One of the papers provided a molecular anthropological perspective on the genes and languages of the Kalahari Basin Area. This was probably the only paper at the conference that attempted to relate the findings of human genetic biology to the issues of language relationship, an area that is often ignored or misinterpreted in the burgeoning publications dealing with human DNA findings.

Another popular area of interest was the concept of grammaticalization, a common topic in recent conferences. Grammaticalization was the theme of one of the general sessions and the term itself appeared in the title of around 20 papers in various workshops, both areal and other, with the concept discussed in a large number of others. A plenary address by Suzanne Romaine considered "Grammaticalization in Socio-historical Perspective: Social Conduits and Vectors of Diffusion of Linguistic Change".

A third major area of research, overlapping to some extent with papers on grammaticalization was morphosyntactic comparison and reconstruction, a topic to be addressed in Section 2.3 below.

The workshop on Mesoamerican Historical Linguistics (Kosuke Matsukawa, John S. Justeson & George A. Broadwell), brought together papers on two diverse language families of Mesoamerica, Mayan and Otomanguean, utilizing data from field-work on the languages, as well as various documentary sources, including pre-Columbian indigenous records, and European-based documents.

The Ibero-Romance workshop (Miriam Bouzouita & Enrique Pato) contained a wide range of papers, several of which utilized data sourced from one of the various corpora built on Old Ibero-Romance languages and dialects. Topics included lexical variation in medieval Spanish; the history of concatenative compounds in Spanish; pathways of change of Spanish verbs of 'liking'; loanwords in Spanish and contact induced language change; and the relation between epistemic modality and intensifying adverbs. One paper dealt with Spanish digressive discourse markers, outlining their history and grammaticalization. Papers on morphosyntactic features of early stages of the Ibero-Romance languages included: stylistic fronting in Old Spanish texts; the position of overt subjects in infinitival clauses in Spanish and Portuguese; postverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs in the history of Portuguese; variation of infinitive markers in Old Portuguese and Old Spanish; syntactic changes in the history of Catalan; future constructions in Ibero-Romance; recursive processes in the evolution of Spanish concessive subordinators; and Medieval Spanish prepositional variation. Papers focusing on phonology included: word-boundary effects and phonemic split in Judeo-Spanish, and Proto Ibero-Romance lenition.

The workshop on Advances in Ryukyuan Historical Linguistics (Thomas Pellard) provided an opportunity for local Japanese scholars to present some of

the recent research on these languages that are vitally important for the reconstruction of Proto-Japonic. Two of the papers dealt with unique tonal systems in some of the Ryukyuan languages and their implications for historical reconstruction. One paper discussed cross-dialectal nominalization strategies in Ryukyuan languages and their diachronic implications, while one paper outlined the grammaticalization of a converb to a clitic in Yuwan Ryukyuan.

The workshop on Australia and the Pacific (Robert Mailhammer & Harold Koch) and a thematic session which included a number of other papers on Pacific languages dealt with similar themes.

2.2 New methodological approaches to historical linguistics

Until recent years, the prime method for doing historical linguistics was the traditional comparative-historical method. With recent advances in computational technology, problems associated with tree diagrams and the ubiquitous effects of language contact have stimulated the development of a wide range of new, some would say supplementary methods for understanding the relationships between languages and the task of reconstructing their parent languages.

A workshop on Computational Historical Linguistics (Simon Greenhill) provided a forum for the discussion of computational phylogenetic methods for doing historical linguistics. Such approaches go beyond the “flawed approaches” of lexicostatistics and glottochronology and have the potential for throwing light on problems of human history and language subgrouping (Greenhill & Gray 2009). Among other papers in this workshop were two that examined the subgrouping relationships of Austroasiatic and Uralic languages.

A workshop Re-examining Tree-based Models of Evolution: Issues of Areal Diffusion and convergence in Dialectal Continua (John Phan) drew attention to the distinction between clades (evolutionary subgroups) from taxa (related languages or dialects that share innovative features, but which need not have descended from a shared ancestor). A workshop entitled Toward Greater Objectivity in Historical Linguistics: Probability, Statistics and Algorithmic Methods (Robert Ratcliffe), brought together papers discussing the problems of competing classifications of Austroasiatic languages, the relevance of the typological classification of languages, and automatic detection of patterns of sound change. Other papers utilizing statistics formed one of the general thematic sessions.

2.3 Morphosyntax

As noted above, one of the major research areas reported on in ICHL20 was the comparison and historical development of features of morphosyntax, including a plenary address by Frantisek Lichtenberk focusing on “The Rise and Demise of Possessive Classifiers in Austronesian” (this volume, pp. 199–225) and a cautionary plenary address by Kazuhiko Yoshida on “The Mirage of Apparent Morphological Correspondence: A Case from Indo-European” (pp. 153–172). There were workshops and general sessions ranging from narrow issues of morphology itself, to issues of syntax, including even the reconstruction and diachronic development of so-called ‘referential null arguments’ (the topic of a workshop organized by Silvia Luraghi & Dag Haug). At the morphology end of the spectrum, apart from a general thematic session with papers on morphology, there were workshops on the Stability and Borrowability of Interrogative Pronominals (Dmitry Idiatov) and The Diachrony of TAM Systems as a Paradigm (Kazuha Watanabe). A workshop on Exaptation (Muriel Norde & Freek van de Velde), the process by which ‘functionless morphology’ has been said to acquire new functions (Lass 1990), examined its possible relationship to the traditional mechanisms of reanalysis and analogy, with papers also considering the concept in the case of language breakdown (see Los, pp. 267–288); a workshop on Autonomous Morphology (Martin Maiden & John Charles Smith) in which the concept of a morphomic level of grammar independent of phonology and grammar, originally described as a synchronic phenomenon (Aranoff 1994), was considered from a diachronic perspective. A workshop on the Diachrony of Negation (Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen & Jacqueline Visconti) and papers from one of the thematic sessions re-visited the well-known ‘Jespersen Cycle’ (Jespersen 1917) from a wide range of language families and areal groupings, and considered the sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors that motivate its role in grammatical change.

On the syntax end of the spectrum, several workshops and thematic sessions were devoted to aspects of syntactic change and reconstruction. The workshop on The Nominalization Cycle (Daniel Kaufman & John Whitman) drew attention to the role of various nominalization strategies in the formation of main clause predicates, their accretion of verbal features and the development of new syntactic constructions. Although the concept of syntactic reconstruction has been critiqued in the past, the workshop organized by Jóhanna Barðdal and Spike Gildea provided a forum for a variety of papers arguing for the cognate status and reconstructibility of certain syntactic constructions in various branches of Indo-European, Austronesian and other language families. A workshop on Person Forms across Time and Space: Divergence or Convergence (Reijirou Shibasaki) examined the diachronic

development of such forms from a cross-linguistic perspective, with papers discussing pronominal development in a number of different languages and language families. Of a more general nature were the workshops on Drift and Long-Term Morphosyntactic Change (David Willis & Ioanna Sitaridou), and Usage-Based Approaches to Language Change (Evie Coussé & Ferdinand Von Mengden). The former presented papers (among others) dealing with the drift from ergative to accusative in Austronesian languages, and the long-term drift towards analyticity. The latter workshop argued for a model of language change that considers such well-known mechanisms as reanalysis and grammaticalization from the perspective of language use, rather than as static results of category change.

3. Comments on papers selected for the present volume

This section provides a summary of the content of each of the papers that have been selected by reviewers as representative of the various themes covered in the conference.

Part I. Grammaticalization

This section contains four papers that deal with grammaticalization in sign as well as spoken languages.

1. Ted Supalla focuses on the reconstruction of early forms and subsequent changes in the expression of negation and gendered kinship in American Sign Language (ASL). This research has revealed that contrary to the widespread claim that sign languages typically show a synthetic typology (Bellugi & Fischer 1972, etc.), there is a slow progression, as in spoken languages, from analytic structure to synthetic morphology, following universal principles of linguistic change observed in spoken languages, including grammaticalization. The analysis is based on data from a searchable historical sign language database of ASL, incorporating materials from early ASL that Supalla has developed, as well as data from fieldwork on young, emerging sign languages and from mature sign languages, such as Japanese Sign Language.
2. Roger Kießling's paper is concerned with the problem of determining the ultimate lexical sources and syntactic structures from which the noun class system of Niger-Congo languages developed. He notes that despite the advanced state of grammaticalization of these forms and the consequent difficulty of determining their sources, a number of contemporary Niger-Congo languages show the embryonic stages of alternative systems of nominal classification

that have transparent etymologies. He claims moreover that the striking similarities they bear to the semantic nuclei of the classical Niger-Congo noun class system suggest that in this respect they replicate the initial stages of its genesis to a considerable extent, starting a new cycle of grammaticalization which eventually produces a new generation of noun class systems, basically organized by the same cognitive models as the old one.

3. Keisuke Sanada examines the processes by which the concept of subjectification developed in the grammaticalization of the Middle English main verb *mo(o)t* to the Early Modern English modal *must*. While he notes that the grammaticalization of *must* from *mo(o)t* has already been clearly demonstrated (Traugott & Dasher 2002), the process by which the root meaning of *must* underwent subjectification sense is new, and is relevant to the broader question of how subjectification and grammaticalization of modals interact with each other.
4. I-Hsuan Chen uses the model of Basic Communicative Space Network (Sanders, Sanders & Sweetser 2009) to account for how subjectification, the speaker's perspective toward an event, is developing in Taiwanese Southern Min by grammaticalization of a third person agentive marker in passive constructions to become a speaker-oriented discourse marker.

Part II. Problems in historical comparison and reconstruction

The first paper in this section (Wang) deals with tonogenesis, a topic that remains a staple in historical studies of phonology. The focus of the other papers in this section is on studies that address the reconstruction of lexicon and morphology in South American languages (Adelaar, Guillaume), with a paper on Proto-Indo-European which cautions against a non-critical use of the standard historical-comparative method (Yoshida).

5. Wang Haibo provides a new perspective on some of the many phonological factors that bring about tonogenesis. While laryngeal features of adjacent consonants are typically recognized as responsible for the innovation of tone in otherwise toneless languages, prosodic features, such as stress, have been proposed as an alternate source of tone in some Scandinavian languages (Riad 2003). Wang's discussion of the emergence of the tone system in the Sanjiazi dialect of Manchu is also prosodic. He notes that accent shift from a formerly accented syllable and a currently accented one resulting from differences in vocalic sonority between the two syllables is one of two possible factors that are likely to have brought about tonal distinctions in the language under study. The other likely factor, he claims, is the fusion of two syllables.

6. Willem Adelaar explores the problem of discovering the phylogenetic relationships among the languages of South America. Noting that with over one hundred phylogenetic lineages in the continent, the possibilities for uncovering previously unrecognized relationships are far from exhausted. This paper outlines the methods that Adelaar has used in discovering phylogenetic connections between several such lineages. He focuses on the careful selection of basic vocabulary, eliminating residual morphology and allowing for semantic change that can be supported by reference to the cultural environment of the languages involved.
7. Antoine Guillaume presents a reconstruction of a cross-linguistically very rare system of 'associated motion' markers for Proto-Tacanan, a small family of languages spoken in the Amazonian lowlands of Northern Bolivia and Southeastern Peru. This system (described also in the literature on some Australian aboriginal languages) consists of a set of grammatical markers that attach to non-motion verbs and specify that the verb action occurs against the background of a motion event with a specific orientation in space. The great complexity and multiplicity of forms that are found raise the question of how many can be reconstructed and what could be the source of the other forms. Guillaume reconstructs four morphemes, and suggests that at least some of the others originated in independent verbs of motion.
8. Kazuhiko Yoshida provides a cautionary tale of what he refers to as a mirage of morphological correspondence. While the comparative method is a powerful tool for reconstructing proto-languages, he notes that there is a constant temptation to attribute too much to the common ancestor. Even forms that appear to be impeccable cognates, both in phonology and function, may not be reconstructible, but the result of parallel and independent development. In particular he shows that some forms that have been posited for Proto-Indo-European are in fact mirages in that they cannot be reconciled with the burgeoning evidence now available for Hittite and other Anatolian languages.

Part III. *Historical development of morphosyntactic features*

The papers in this section deal with specific developments that supplement our knowledge of how languages develop. These range from papers on the development of suppletive forms in morphology (Juge), to the processes that result in the development of possessive constructions in Austronesian (Lichtenberk); the historical development of expressions about the future in English and Dutch (Hoeksema) and the development of *go-Adjective* constructions in English (Matsumoto); and papers on the basic causes of exaptation (Los), and the effect of long-term drift in Ancient Egyptian (Reintges).

9. Matthew Juge's paper deals with the possible sources of suppletive morphological forms, focusing on Galician and other Rhaeto-Romance languages. He provides an overview of the commonly perceived sources of suppletion, noting that analogy is rarely seen as a source of suppletion, being more often considered to be a means of phonological leveling of suppletive forms. Juge claims that paradigmatic analogy cannot only create regularity, it can also create suppletion, a paradox that is resolved when analogy is viewed as a local process of the type described by Joseph (1992). Furthermore analogy-driven suppletion, he says, is a key to a complete understanding of how semantics and suppletion interact.
10. Frantisek Lichtenberk discusses the ultimate origins of alienable possessive constructions in a number of Austronesian languages. While in these languages there is a basic binary contrast between noun phrase types that express inalienable possession and those that express alienable possession, he recognizes two stages in their development. The first, which resulted in the basic binary division, is considered to be the result of contact with Papuan languages. The second was internal to Austronesian and subsequently developed a number of formal and semantic distinctions. Lichtenberk notes the relative rarity of such systems world-wide, but considers that certain predictions can be made about their possible development, for example unless a language has first developed a grammatical contrast between alienable and inalienable possession, it will not develop finer distinctions. Another is if a language does develop finer distinctions, it will be only or initially in the area of alienable possession rather than inalienable possession. The distinctions are motivated in alienable possession and not motivated in inalienable possession. Furthermore, the distinctions will involve food/alimentary possession besides other types.
11. Jack Hoeksema's paper complements grammaticalization studies that account for the development of statements about the future, by showing that a construction that contains a universal or free-choice quantifier may develop a non-universal interpretation, especially with an immediate-future reading. Hoeksema, utilizing Dutch and English corpora, examines the syntactic, lexical and semantic properties of such statements, and concludes that they develop as a result of an implicature becoming the main assertion. Similar constructions are found in other European languages, but do not appear in medieval English or Dutch documents, leading Hoeksema to suggest that they may be specialized constructions borrowed from French or some other European language.

12. Noriko Matsumoto's paper on the development of the *go-Adjective* sequence in English provides a detailed historical account of the various functional developments of this construction, based on an examination of two large corpora of English, one synchronic and the other diachronic. This study makes clear the value of this approach to historical linguistics, by identifying ongoing or incipient changes that are affecting this construction and the other by identifying the syntactic contexts in which the structure is occurring. Four different functions of the sequence are identified along with the range of features that characterize each one, and frequency counts reveal that particular types are currently undergoing change.
13. Bettelou Los re-examines the case for exaptation, the term that has been applied to morphology that has lost its functional relevance, thus becoming 'junk', and is re-analyzed in some unexpected way. She argues that while the most striking examples that have been described in the literature involve morphology, if the concept of exaptation is to have any value as a descriptive tool, it is necessary to realize that it is not restricted to morphology. Phonology may be exapted as morphosyntax, and syntax may be exapted as discourse marking. In all cases, she claims, the normal mechanisms of language change are involved, but some are more striking than others, and these are the changes that are triggered by a breakdown in transmission. Such can occur in the wake of an earlier change that has obscured the evidence for systematicity in the input of new generations of learners. Such breakdowns in transmission make it more challenging for learners to recover the same interpretation of a linguistic feature as their predecessors, and set the stage for an analysis that is in some cases strikingly different from that of their predecessors.
14. Chris Reintges' study of long-term morphosyntactic change in Ancient Egyptian from an agglutinative-synthetic structure to a thoroughly analytic morphological structure is presented as an example of Sapir's 'drift' to analyticity in a non-Indo-European language. Reintges locates the main driving force for the change in a broad range of auxiliary verb constructions and the decreasing morphological productivity of synthetic inflectional patterns and suggests that the structurally marked features of the Coptic particle system are the result of a short-term process of accelerated grammaticalization during a period of language revival, providing potentially significant evidence for Kiparsky's (2012) proposal of grammaticalization as an optimization process.

4. Conclusion

The various papers in this volume provide a fitting representation of the wide variety of studies that were presented at the 20th International Conference on Historical Linguistics. They draw on data from languages and language families from around the world, and in the case of the first paper in the volume, on sign language modality. This paper (Supalla, pp. 15–42), is of particular value in that it draws attention to the fact that sign languages can be shown to follow certain universal principles of linguistic change that have been observed in spoken languages, including grammaticalization. This is probably the first time that discussion of the historical development of sign languages and their similarity to the spoken modality has taken place at such a conference, and augurs well for programs that have developed in Japan as a direct result of the emphasis placed on sign language linguistics at the conference.

The other three papers in Part I discuss grammaticalization and the development of new structures in widely diverse languages. Kießling's paper (pp. 43–65), is concerned with the development of the very complex noun class systems of Niger-Congo languages, while Sanada (pp. 67–82) and Chen (pp. 83–98) deal with the development of subjectivity in English and Min Chinese, respectively.

Of the various papers appearing in Part II, problems that are discussed originate in three widely diverse language and linguistic areas. The first (Wang, pp. 101–113) deals with a Manchu language and discusses the prosodic source of tonogenesis in the Sanjiazi dialect. There are two papers dealing with South American languages, one (Adelaar, pp. 115–128) which explores the problem of determining possible genetic relationships among the many phyla of the area, while the other (Guillaume, pp. 129–151) explores the rare morphological feature of 'associated motion' and the problems in determining its historical source and the extent to which it has spread among geographically and genetically related languages. The final paper in this part (Yoshida, pp. 153–172) deals with a problem of historical comparison and reconstruction in Indo-European languages, specifically the specter of apparently good morphological correspondences that on closer examination turn out to be coincidental similarities.

The papers appearing in Part III likewise source their data in widely disparate languages and language families, for example, Juge's work on suppletion in certain Romance languages (pp. 175–197), Lichtenberk's discussion of the origins and development of absolutive constructions in the Oceanic branch of Austronesian languages (pp. 199–225), Hoeksema's paper (pp. 227–241) and Matsumoto's paper (pp. 243–265) on historical developments of forms in English, Dutch and other

Germanic languages. Finally Los's examination of exaptation (pp. 267–288) focuses on Celtic languages, while Reintges's characterization of the move towards analyticity in Ancient Egyptian as a case of Sapirian 'drift' (pp. 289–328).

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PART I

Grammaticalization