Many thanks to Rachel Hendery for her substantial assistance to the editor (Cynthia Allen) in the production of this edition. Thanks also to Rachel for serving as the student representative on the CRLC Management Committee until the successful termination of her status as a PhD candidate (see Profile). Thanks to Bevan Barrett for taking up the position of student representative.

New members

A warm welcome to Edith Pineda Bernuy, PhD student, School of Language Studies, Australian National University (full member).

News of members:

Claire Bowern was recently appointed as Assistant Professor of Linguistics at Yale University. She joins the department after four years at Rice University in Houston. Her teaching duties include classes on historical linguistics, Australian languages and field methods. Her research projects on reconstruction in various Australian families will continue here.

Dr Alexandre François has received a grant from the French CNRS (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) for a period of two years starting January 2009. During this period, he will be a Visiting Fellow at the Department of Linguistics, RSPAS (ANU), and will carry out research on the three Oceanic languages spoken on Vanikoro (Solomon Is).

Gunter Senft and Asifa Majid at the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics, together with numerous colleagues and students, have begun a new project on Categories and concepts across language and cognition (CATs). This project has emerged from two previous institute projects, Space and Event Representation. As with those projects, CATs maintains the cross-linguistic study of semantic categories but, in addition, it focuses more sharply on theoretical questions concerning categorization in language and cognition. Flourishing subprojects in the prior Space project (i.e. Landscape Terms and Place Names; Body) and Event Representation...
An ARC Discovery Grant was awarded to Harold Koch and Ian Keen in 2007 for a project called “Tracing change in family and social organization in Indigenous Australia, using evidence from language”. The project includes the comparison of kinship terminology across the Australian languages with the aim of reconstructing the prehistory of kin organisation. The project is based at ANU, but involves as a partner investigator Laurent Dousset of Centre de Recherche et de Documentation sur l’Océanie (CREDO) at Marseille in France, which hosts the web-based database. Other participants are Patrick McConvell (Research Associate), Josephine Caffery (Research Assistant), Barry Alpher (Washington), Claire Bowern (Yale University), and Jeanie Bell (Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education). See the project website for more information.

Alice Harris has received an NSF grant for the project “Extended Exponence in Cross-Linguistic Perspective”, which will focus on repetition of gender-number encoding patterns (extended exponence), including the origins of such patterns.

After one year in Munich, Robert Mailhammer will be working at the Katholische Universität Eichstatt for 6 months as of 1 October before coming to Canberra in March to continue working on Amurdak on the second part of the Feodor-Lynen postdoc with Nick Evans.

Malcolm Ross retired officially at the end of 2007 and is now teaching a course in the historical linguistics of the Pacific at the Graduate Institutes of Linguistics at National Taiwan University and National Tsinghua University, Taiwan, during the northern hemisphere winter semester. At the same time he will be a visiting scholar at the Institute of Linguistics at Academia Sinica, where he will be continuing my research into the very early history of the Austronesian language family. Next year (July/August) he will be Collitz Professor of Historical Linguistics at the LSA Summer Institute at Berkeley.

Assoc Prof Ghil'ad Zuckermann gave a course on Language Revival at the Indigenous Languages Institute, LingFest 2008, Koori Centre, University of Sydney. His up-to-date email is <gz@uq.edu.au> and his website is http://www.zuckermann.org/

Forthcoming publication: Harold Koch and Luise Hercus are editing a volume Aboriginal place names old and new, which will soon be published by ANU E Press in the Aboriginal History Monograph Series. Many of the papers concern issues of historical transmission, reconstruction, reinstatement, etc. of Indigenous placenames. Koch’s contribution, “The reconstruction of Aboriginal placenames: methodology and application to the Canberra region”, describes a methodology which is especially close to the methodology of linguistic reconstruction.

Publications and conference presentations by members
(The editor regrets that because of the substantial lapse of time between the receipt of members’ responses to her call for information and the appearance of this newsletter, some information about ‘forthcoming’ articles may be out of date)


Evans, Nicholas. 2007. ‘Standing up your mind: remembering in Dalabon’. In Mengistu Amberber (ed.) The language of memory in a crosslinguistic perspective. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 67-95.


Koch, Harold. ‘Language contact and the grammaticalisation of motion: a case study from Central Australia’, paper presented at the 18th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Montreal, 8 August 2007.


Profile: Rachel Hendery

I submitted my PhD thesis, The diachronic typology of relative clauses, late last year and graduated in July 2008. The first reaction to the topic of my thesis is usually an assumption that I have some deep and inexplicable fascination with the relative clause. (The second reaction is to back away slowly and find someone else to converse with.)

The actual driving interest behind this topic was not so much relative clauses per se, but rather the intersection of typology and historical linguistics. Can we (should we?) take what we know about language change or the history of a construction into account in establishing a typology? Conversely, to what extent should we bring typological considerations to bear on syntactic reconstruction? The reason for focusing on relative clauses was merely that they are synchronically thoroughly enough described that diachronic work has a solid foundation on which to build.
One of the main findings in my thesis was that relative clauses are remarkably stable, historically, in the absence of contact. Almost every case of change involving relative clause constructions that I examined had occurred in the context of some language contact situation that could have triggered or accelerated it. I argue that taking language contact and diachronic considerations into account in a typology can illuminate constructional relationships that would otherwise be overlooked. For the full story, however, you'll have to wait until the movie comes out. (For publicity reasons I plan to retitle it *Harry Potter and the diachronic typology of relative clauses.*)

Since submitting my thesis I have been fortunate to have had steady part time employment at ANU filling in for colleagues on leave. Teaching two of our largest courses ('Structure of English', and 'Introduction to the Study of Language') has been a very rewarding challenge and great preparation for the future. Currently as well as some teaching, I am working as a research assistant to Luise Hercus, and preparing my thesis for publication.

**Editorial (by Cynthia Allen)**

**Some Comments on Demythologisation in Historical Linguistics**

A good deal of my time and effort is spent simply on establishing facts of diachronic English morphosyntax. This can get pretty frustrating when you are working in an area where there is already an established canon of ‘facts’. When people think they know what the facts are, it is not surprising that the focus will be on showing that one theoretical framework gives a better explanation for these facts than another does. After all, linguistic facts derive their interest from either supporting or raising problems for our conception of how language works. What is more surprising is how difficult it is to correct pseudo-facts which have crept into this canon, despite the publication of the clearest evidence that a particular cherished story does not bear close scrutiny. At the beginning of my career, I naively assumed that one could publish a paper having no further aim than showing that a particular historical sequence which had been widely accepted as the basis for accounts of syntactic change did not in fact fit the historical record. I soon learned that such a paper would be knocked back as ‘purely negative’ and that in fact it would be a struggle to get an editor of a journal which shall remain nameless to publish a three-page reply correcting some egregiously erroneous data published in an issue of that journal about the history of a particular construction in English. My point about the facts was valid, I was told, but I didn’t have an interesting theoretical point to make (they finally published it, though).

While it is no bad thing to push researchers to look for alternate theories when they find that existing theories, as they stand, do not account well for the facts, I cling stubbornly to my belief that ‘merely’ contributing to a sound empirical base is an occupation which should be valued. An account which does not account for the data may be the best account we have, but in one respect at least it is worse than no account at all: if it is not brought to researchers’ attention that the account is faulty, then no one will bother to look for a better account. Or if people do look for another account, they will waste their time attempting to account for non-facts.

It is difficult for linguists who have not dealt with historical texts themselves to appreciate the amount of time, effort, determination, knowledge, and indeed skill that can be involved in setting the record straight. So for example certain claims have been made in the literature
about changes which have taken place from Early to Modern Dutch in a construction which has gone under many names, but is most often referred to as ‘possessor doubling’ in the generative literature (e.g. Jan z’n boek ‘Jan’s book’, lit. ‘Jan his book’). In particular, examples have been adduced purporting to show that in earlier Dutch, the possessive pronoun sometimes did not agree with the possessor, as it must in Modern (Standard) Dutch, where we have for example Marie d’r boek (lit. ‘Marie her book’). CRLC member Jennifer Hendriks demonstrated (in Hendriks 2003) that in fact the examples which have been presented as showing non-agreement have been misanalysed. For example, the context of the cited example mevrauwe zine gheselneide ‘madam his companion’ clearly shows that it is an appositive (‘Madam, his companion’) rather than an example of possessor doubling (‘Madam’s companion’), and therefore does not bear on the question of agreement. It turns out that every single example which has been adduced to show non-agreement evaporates under scrutiny. This is an important finding; for example the facts bear on claims that have been made about the nature of grammaticalisation, as Jennifer discusses in her forthcoming paper in the CRLC’s Studies in Language Change series (the fruit of the 2006 CRLC workshop). The facts need to be published in a prominent forum where they will come to the attention of a larger audience of historical linguists. Alas, few referees of linguistics journals would be able to appreciate what an achievement it was simply to track down these examples, which are cited in the literature without sufficient information for a reader to check their validity. Having worked closely with Jennifer, I know how resistant to discovery some of the examples proved to be—astonishingly, it turns out that even some standard handbooks of early Dutch didn’t bother to provide good information about the sources for the examples found in them. Sorting the facts out in such a situation is not something any old hack can do. A recitation of the trials and tribulations which preceded the ultimate triumph of finding and debunking a particular example is unlikely to impress referees of linguistics journals, however, who will in my experience see a paper as ‘too negative’ if its main point is to establish that people have been attempting to account for an array of facts which is not supported by the evidence. By the way, it is clear that the situation for an investigator of the Dutch diachronic morphosyntax is more difficult than it is for those working in the history of English, where no one could get away with such poor citations and we have recently been blessed with parsed electronic corpora, starting with the first edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English in 1999. I am happy to say that the use of these parsed corpora have greatly improved the empirical base that theoretically-oriented linguists have to draw on in their discussions of the history of English, but linguists working with texts in other languages are as yet mostly not so fortunate.

More disturbing than the disinclination of theoretical journals to publish corrections of the data is the way myths get perpetuated in sources without an obvious theoretical axe to grind. A case in point is the received version of the history of like and other verbs which have undergone a shift in grammatical relations. The usual view of the history of like, promulgated by Jespersen (1927), has literally become a textbook example of reanalysis, used for example in Trask’s highly respectable Historical Linguistics, and still there in the recently revised edition of 2007. Jespersen used a made-up sentence þam cynge licoden peras ‘the king:DAT,SG liked:PL pears:Nom,PL’ to illustrate how the loss of morphology could lead to a reanalysis of grammatical relations. The idea is that the Experiencer of lician in Old English, although an object in the dative case, was, for whatever reason, normally in the preverbal position more typical of subjects. Then when case and agreement morphology was lost, this object was reanalysed as the subject because speakers couldn’t tell that what they were hearing was a fronted object. Thus him licoden peras turns into he liked pears.
The historical record does not support this story, however, for more reasons than can be enumerated here. What I find particularly disappointing is that this textbook makes an empirical claim which was demonstrated to be false more than twenty years ago. Specifically, it presents Jespersen’s made-up sentence as embodying the typical sort of sentence using this verb. The truth is that sentences of this sort are hard to find (albeit not entirely lacking) in Old English texts (and there is no reason to believe that writing would have been different from speech in this respect). The Experiencer was usually a pronoun (and therefore not ambiguously marked), and when it was not, it was most often postverbal, making it hard to mistake for a subject. What’s worse, Trask went beyond Jespersen’s original mistake. While Jespersen only presented the Experiencer-first order as the more typical one, Trask actually supplies an asterisk to *peran liceden þam cynge, which suggests that this order is unattested. This order is in fact the overwhelmingly most common order in the fairly unusual situation in which both arguments of the verb were NPs rather than pronouns (for figures see Allen 1986 and Allen 1995). I leave aside here the theoretically very interesting question of whether a reanalysis might have taken place on the basis of a type which was not in fact robust. My point here is simply that we will not improve our understanding of linguistic change if we start from a bad empirical base.

How do myths like the like story arise, and why are they so hard to quash? They both arise and survive mainly because of their inherent plausibility. Jespersen never counted the number of examples of like in different patterns—it would have been hard for him to do so without the corpora that we have today, not to mention the fact that his remarkable work attempted to encompass all of English grammar. He just assumed that it must have been the case that an ambiguity-driven reanalysis held the key, since reanalysis was one of the few mechanisms of syntactic change that historical linguists had in their tool kit. And if this was reanalysis, then it must have been the case that the most commonly occurring pattern was one in which the Experiencer would have become ambiguous at some point. The account still seems immensely plausible if you don’t look more closely into the facts, and a simple story like this is perhaps more appealing than an account which sees the change as a resulting from a complex interaction of both syntactic and semantic factors. The author of a general textbooks of historical linguistics cannot be a specialist in every area covered by the textbook and it would not have been realistic to expect Trask to check out the evidence supporting every factual claim, especially when they are made by someone of Jespersen’s stature—not to mention the fact that the author of a textbook needs a simple example of reanalysis which is easy to understand!

Of course, what I have just said about Jespersen does not detract one bit from his towering achievements. Most of us could not dream of remaining a respected authority so long after our deaths. I have named names only to reinforce what we already know—the best of scholars are mere mortals too, subject to the occasional error. Errors made by respected authorities have a way of getting passed on and on without proper scrutiny. This is why the re-evaluation of the evidence for widely held beliefs about historical facts needs more recognition as an essential activity in our quest for understanding the nature of historical change.

And please don’t use the king and his pears to teach your students about reanalysis. Unless, of course, you are giving them a lesson about how they can’t believe everything they read, even in a textbook.

References

**Events**

**Honouring Harold Koch**
The CRLC contributed sponsorship of the presentation of a festschrift to Harold Koch on 2 July 2008 at the Australian Linguistic Society meeting, Sydney. This collection of 25 papers by colleagues (in the widest sense), former classmates, and former students was compiled in honour of the impact of Harold’s teaching and scholarship on the field of historical linguistics (especially involving morphology). The 30 contributors are from universities in Europe, North America, Asia, as well as 10 Australian universities and language families from Australia, the Asia-Pacific region and Europe are represented. Reflecting Harold’s wide-ranging interest, the contributions covered various aspects of historical morphology, language reconstruction, discussions of processes of change, and the determination of linguistic relationships. Well over half of the contributors are members or affiliates of CRLC. See publications by members, above. Despite a number of near misses, the reception and launch plans were successfully kept secret from the Honorand, who was reduced (somewhat uncharacteristically) to speechlessness at the presentation! Andy Pawley and Alan Dench were the masters of ceremonies and a very enjoyable evening was had by all. For more details about the volume, see the entry on the Benjamins website.

**Forthcoming Conferences/Events**

**The 11th International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics (11∙ical)** will be held in Aussois, France, 22-26 June 2009. For more details see the conference website.

**Historical Language and Literacy in the North Sea Area**
A conference on **Historical Language and Literacy in the North Sea Area** will be held at the University of Stavanger, Norway, 26-28 August 2009. The conference website is promised to be available very shortly.

**DIGS 11**
The 11th Diachronic Generative Syntax meeting (DIGS11) will take place at the University of Campinas (Brazil), from July 22 to July 24, 2009. The call for papers and other information are available on the website.

**Middle and Modern English Corpus Linguistics**
An International Conference on Middle and Modern English Corpus Linguistics, convened by The English Department, The University of Innsbruck will be held **1-5 July 2009** at Innsbruck. For more details see the conference website.

**Joint meetings of FGLS 8, GLAC 15, and SHEL 6**
Banff, Alberta, Canada will be the location of joint meetings **April 30–May 3, 2009** of these three conferences:
- Forum for Germanic Language Studies (FGLS 8)
- Germanic Linguistics Annual Conference (GLAC 15)
- Studies in the History of the English Language (SHEL 6)
Further information can be found at the conference website.

**Workshop: Reconstructing Alignment Systems**

**International Conference on Historical Linguistics**
The XIXth International Conference on Historical Linguistics will be held at Radboud University Nijmegen, Centre for Language Studies, **10-15 August 2009**. Conference e-mail address: ICHL19@let.ru.nl. More details on the website.

**Linguistic Institute**
The 2009 Linguistic Institute, with plenty of courses and events to interest CRLC members, will run from 6 July to 13 August at the University of California at Berkeley. More details on the conference website.

**CRLC Seminar Series**
26 August 2008: Professor Dany Adone (University of Cologne) “Grammaticalisation in Kriol”

16 September 2008: Professor Joan M. Maling (National Science Foundation, USA) “How ambiguous can morphology get? Evidence from a syntactic change in progress”

**Education: Courses taught in 2006 at ANU:**
2007 2nd semester: Study of a Language Family (Pama-Nyungan) by Harold Koch, with guest lectures by Patrick McConvell, Claire Bowern, and Jane Simpson

2008 1st semester: History of the English Language by Cynthia Allen.


Recent theses completed:

Rachel Hendery: The diachronic typology of relative clauses. (Passed Feb 2008)
Abstract: This thesis investigates the diachronic behaviour of relative clauses across a broad sample of constructions from genetically and geographically diverse languages. Previous studies of change in relative clause constructions have most frequently been restricted to individual languages or language families. By comparing such studies with each other and with the historical records of languages that have less commonly been the focus of diachronic syntactic works, I examine the strength of evidence for developments that are predicted by earlier literature to be "natural" or even "universal" pathways of change (for example, various sources of relative clause markers, the development of hypotaxis out of parataxis, shift from prenominal to postnominal relative clause position). I also look for evidence of changes that synchronic typological studies of relative clause constructions might lead us to expect to find (i.e., diachronic variation in the same parameters by which relative clause types distinguish themselves synchronically).

I conclude that the sources of relative clause markers and the results of the extensions of these markers into other constructions are more varied than has generally been thought to be the case, including, for example, such sources as classifiers and discourse markers. Changes in other features of relative clauses, however, such as verb forms, embeddedness, and the relative position of the relative clause and its head tend to be remarkably stable over long periods of time.

The factor that appears to have the greatest influence on whether changes in these otherwise stable features do occur is language contact. Features of relative clauses, markers, and even entire constructions can be copied from other languages, competing with pre-existing constructions until in some cases one replaces the other, and in others the two are redistributed according to considerations such as restrictiveness, animacy, case role or similar.

These results point to the importance of incorporating the effects of language contact into models of language change rather than viewing contact situations as exceptional. There are also implications for the definition of relative clauses, their syntactic structures, and the relationships between the different "subtypes" of this construction.
Manuscripts are solicited for series “Studies in Language Change”, the CRLC’s publication series produced in cooperation with Pacific Linguistics —see [http://pacling.anu.edu.au/CRLC.html](http://pacling.anu.edu.au/CRLC.html). The SLC series aims to publish high-quality works on aspects of historical linguistics or related subjects, especially, but not exclusively, works on languages of Australia and the Indo-Pacific region. Potential contributors should contact Pacific Linguistics in the first instance, enquiring whether their manuscript would be suitable for publication in the SLC series.

Two volumes which you can look forward to seeing sometime soon in the SLC series are the volume of CRLC workshop papers edited by Rachel Hendery and Jennifer Hendriks which is referred to above in mentions of forthcoming papers by several members and a volume *Worroran Revisted: The Case for Genetic Relations among Languages of the Northern Kimberley Region of Western Australia*, by William McGregor and Alan Rumsey.

### CRLC Advisory and Management Committee

**Chair of Management Committee:** Professor Peter Veth, FAHA, MAACAI, Deputy Director, National Centre for Indigenous Studies, ANU

**Director:** Dr. Peter Hendriks, Japan Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU. e-mail: [peter.hendriks@anu.edu.au](mailto:peter.hendriks@anu.edu.au)

**Associate Directors:**

- Professor Malcolm Ross, FAHA, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU
- Dr. Cynthia Allen, FAHA, School of Language Studies, Faculty of Arts, ANU

**Other Management Committee members:**

- Dr. Harold Koch, School of Language Studies, Faculty of Arts, ANU
- Bevan Barrett, Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, ANU (*Graduate Student Representative*)