

Workshop at the 22nd International Conference on Historical Linguistics
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Habituality and Genericity in Flux

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Workshop description

Habituality and Genericity refer to regularities of eventualities, as opposed to episodic descriptions of eventualities (cf. Krifka *et al.* 1995, Carlson 2005). Views diverge as to whether habituality and genericity are two separate categories, underlying two separate operators Hab and Gen, at work in natural languages, or should the former be subsumed under the latter. Some of those who consider the terms as separate see habituality as aspectual expressing iteration over a long period of time (cf. e.g. Xrakovskij 1997, Lenci & Bertinetto 2000, van Geenhoven 2004), whereas genericity is taken to be a modal notion (cf. Dahl 1985, Carlson 1977, Schubert & Pelletier 1987, Krifka *et al.* 1995, Landman 2008). Others separate construction expressing a regular recurrence of events into bare or modified by a quantificational adverbial expression (Boneh & Doron 2013, Vogleer 2012, Ferreira 2005, Rimell 2005, Scheiner 2002, Lenci 1995), noting that the former differ semantically from the latter, for a recent proposal see Boneh & Doron 2013, who suggest that bare habituales feature the operator Hab defining it as modalized existential quantifier over sums of events, whereas quantified habituales feature Gen, a modalized universal quantifier, in the sense of Krifka *et al.* (1995). The fact that habituality and genericity are not overtly expressed in many instances (cf. e.g. Dahl 1995) is an impediment for settling the existing debate and establishing a shared understanding of the nature of habituality in language. Additionally, the question has not received a varied enough empirical coverage, synchronically and diachronically.

In this respect, the proposed workshop is intended to create a forum for the discussion of habitual and generic expressions from a diachronic point of view. Its aim is twofold: first, to shed light, from a diachronic perspective, on the question whether habituality and genericity are two distinct categories or not; second, to investigate the nature of changes with respect to various habitual/generic forms and their interactions with (A)spect-(T)ense-(M)ood categories. Accordingly, we invite

contributions dealing with various historical aspects of habitual and generic expressions.

The issues we would like to address include, but are not limited to, the following ones:

Genericity and habituality in flux

How could genericity/habituality be expressed in older stages of natural languages? Under which circumstances and how do generic/habitual expressions evolve in general? What are necessary/sufficient conditions for an expression to develop into a generic/habitual? Which semantic properties of the source construction facilitate the development into a generic/habitual expression? Do their sources differ from those of iteratives and frequentatives? How do forms overtly expressing habituality/genericity with dedicated forms differ from those covertly expressing these categories? Is there historical evidence for distinguishing two operators Hab and Gen underlying expressions of regularly recurring eventualities?

Interaction with ATM-categories

To what extent is genericity/habituality as a grammatical category related to other aspectual, temporal and/or modal categories from a diachronic point of view? What are common patterns of interaction? Specifically, with respect to tense, why do there seem to be more habitual/generic expressions in the past tense, compared to the present/future tenses? With respect to aspect, why are habitual/generic expressions strongly related to imperfectivity (cf. Comrie 1976, Lenci & Bertinetto 2000, Ferreira 2005, and for a minority opposing Boneh & Doron 2013, Vogeleeer 2012, Filip & Carlson 1997)?

Periphrastic constructions

Cross-linguistically, there exist various periphrastic structures encoding habitual meaning, e.g. *used* + *to*-infinitive in English, a tensed form of the root *hyy* 'be' + participle in Modern Hebrew, *pflagen* + *zu*-infinitive in German, *zwyknać* + bare infinitive in Polish, *bruka* + infinitive in Swedish, etc. Bybee *et al.* (1994: 155) point out that little is known about how lexical verbs develop into habituals. Here we would like to pursue the question about their emergence circumstances. Did all periphrastic habitual means undergo a grammaticalization process? What role do inanimate subjects play? What are their common interpretative traits? In particular, what is responsible for the fact that some of habituals are restricted to a past tense form (cf. e.g. Tagliamonte & Lawrence 2000 for English)? What kinds of restrictions do habituals impose on the predicates they combine with? How do these

constructions differ interpretatively from simple forms expressing habituality/genericity (Boneh & Doron 2010, 2013 have shown for English and for Modern Hebrew that periphrastic forms are always imperfective and that they express actualized habituais)?

Covert patterns of genericity/habituality in non-finite contexts

Speyer (2014) has recently observed that in older stages of German object control verbs selecting *to*-infinitives, the complement clause may give rise to a habitual interpretation, contrasting with a bare infinitive complement, which tends to be episodic. Similarly, in Romanian it is reported that the Supine is a verbal-noun dedicated to the expression of event plurality and habituality (cf. Soare 2006, Iordăchioaia & Soare 2008). We would be interested in better understanding how this context of habituality/genericity can help shed light on the initial questions of the Hab/Gen distinction, what is their interaction with other ATM categories and in general? And whether this type of covert habituality/genericity differs from the one found with fully inflected verbal forms.

The aim of this workshop is to bring together scholars interested in habitual and generic expressions in general, and from a diachronic perspective in particular so as to adduce new insights for a better understanding of how habituality and genericity as grammatical categories are encoded in natural language. The workshop is of interest to both historical linguists, typologists and formal linguists working on syntax, semantics, pragmatics and their interfaces.

Word count: 902

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Workshop program

9:50 - 9:55	Nora Boneh & Łukasz Jędrzejowski Workshop Introduction
9:55 - 10:50	Hana Filip <i>Remarks on the Grammaticalization of Characterizing Genericity</i>
10:50 - 11:20	Coffee break
11:20 - 11:50	Łukasz Jędrzejowski <i>'Somebody that I used to know', or: How Do Habitual Verbal Heads Emerge? The Case of German pflegen 'use(d) to'</i>
11:50 - 12:20	Rammie Cahlon <i>The Evolution of Past-Hab in Cuzco Quechua</i>
12:20 - 12:50	Alexey Kozlov <i>Habitual and Avertive: One Polysemy Pattern in Moksha</i>
12:50 - 13:20	Oleg Belyaev <i>Habituals and Generics in Dargwa: A Cycle of Innovation and Displacement</i>
13:20 - 14:30	Lunch
14:30 - 15:00	Remus Gergel, Cunha Conceição & Daniel Ferguson <i>The Development of Invariant Be in African American English</i>
15:00 - 15:30	Christian Huber <i>Habituality, Progressivity, Continuativity and the Development of Imperfective Constructions in Shumcho</i>
15:30 - 16:30	Regine Eckardt <i>Genericity in Middle German: The Sachsenspiegel and Schwabenspiegel</i>
16:30 - 17:00	Coffee break
17:00 - 17:30	Nora Boneh & Łukasz Jędrzejowski Final Discussion

ABSTRACTS
(in alphabetical order)

**Habituals and Generics in Dargwa: A Cycle of Innovation
and Displacement**

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Dargwa languages¹ (East Caucasian) possess a very rich array of habitual and generic forms. This paper concerns the present-tense system, where there are up to four finite forms (both synthetic and periphrastic).

Converbal present This periphrastic form consists of the combination of the imperfective (simultaneous) converb with the clitic person-number marker or copula (in the 3rd person, omitted in some varieties). The converbal present is the least marked and most polyfunctional present form:

- (1) **du-dil ʔaki b-irq'-u-l=da**
I-ERG work N-DO.IPFV-SIM-CVB=1
'I am doing the work.' (progressive, Shiri)
- (2) **dam b-ak'-ul=da murad sa-q'-un**
me.DAT N-KNOW.IPFV-PRS=1 M. HITHER-COME-ANT[CVB]
'I know that Murad has come.' (durative, Ashti)
- (3) **har baj ta-j-ulh-un=da**
every day ANTE-EL-[M]SEE.IPFV-PRS=1
'I see him every day.' (habitual, Ashti)
- (4) **ul-b-ad-ij kam-mi b-ulh-un=da**
eye-PL-OBL-DAT little-OBL N-SEE.IPFV-SIM=1
'My eyes see little.' (generic, Ashti)

Existential present Existential present is formed exactly as the converbal present, but with the person marker/copula replaced by one of the existential verbs indicating the spatial location of the action:

- (5) **murad-li ʔaki b-irq'-u-l k'e-w**
I-ERG work N-DO.IPFV-SIM-CVB exist.above-M
'Murad is working up there.' (Shiri)

In most dialects which possess this form, e.g. Shiri and Kubachi, it has a progressive

¹ Traditionally treated as dialects, but in fact divergent enough for each to be treated on its own.

meaning; moreover, it must describe an action that is happening in the direct vicinity of the speaker (hence the use of the deictic existential). However, in some dialects, notably in Megeb, the existential present has completely replaced the converbal present in all functions:

- (6) *sija b-iq'-uwe le-w=ra hu?*
 what N-do.IPFV-CVB COP-M=1 thou
 'What are you doing?' (Megeb, Sumbatova, 2008)

Synthetic present The synthetic present is a typical “old present” (REF). It seems to go back to an earlier periphrastic form that has become morphologized, as seen e.g. from the fact that the 3rd person ending in *-ar* also serves as a participle ending in some fossilized forms. The functions of the synthetic present are quite varied. In all varieties, it expresses gnomic meanings, i.e. “general truths” (in proverbs and similar expressions):

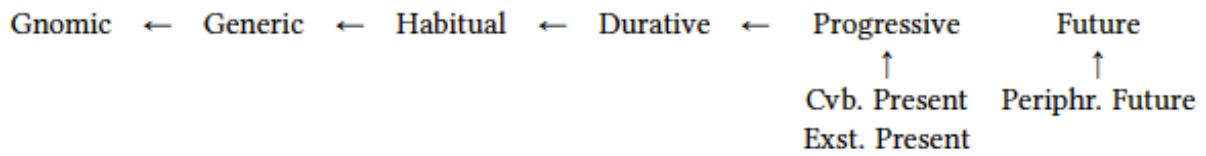
- (7) *ic-i gu-d-ubk:-u, q^wil-i ic:-u*
 OX-PL SUB[LAT]-NPL-yoke.IPFV-PRS.3 COW-PL milk.IPFV-PRS.3
 'Oxen are yoked, cows are milked.' ['Each thing has its own purpose'] (Icari, Sumbatova and Mutalov, 2003)

This is the only function of this form in Ashti. In Standard Dargwa and other northern varieties, e.g. Tanti, it additionally has a future meaning. In certain other varieties, e.g. Shiri, the synthetic present has no future function, but has a more general habitual meaning in addition to the gnomic meaning. There are also some relic uses of the potential present: with the verb ‘to know’ (where it competes with the converbal present) and as the historical present.

Participial present Finally, the so-called participial present, found in some varieties, represents a typologically unusual kind of habitual, the so-called qualitative (Shluinsky, 2009). It is similar to a generic but, unlike the latter, is participant-oriented, i.e. expresses some action as a typical property of the subject. Importantly, the use of this form does not imply that the action is performed repeatedly, or has ever been performed at all.

- (8) *iχ-til mašin b-i:s-u-zi-w=sa-w*
 that.below-ERG car N-sell.IPFV-PTCP-ATTR-M=COP-M
 'He's such a man that he sells cars.' [He cannot use the same car long enough, he sells it and buys a new one.] (Ashti)

Discussion The variation in the use of present-tense forms in Dargwa suggests that it is a result of a thorough remodeling of the original system. We may hypothesize that the Dargwa present-tense paradigm originally consisted only of the synthetic present. Later on, newly grammaticalized forms have repeatedly displaced certain functions, so that the use of the old present has significantly narrowed: to habitual + future or to the gnomic present. In a rather simplified way, this can be represented as follows:



This idea is also confirmed by the way the endings of the synthetic present, accompanied by additional suffixes, are used in conditional and subjunctive forms, as well as in the present forms of the negative auxiliary *ak:u*. In Ashti, the synthetic present endings also appear in the limitative form (‘while’, ‘until’), which clearly does not imply any kind of habituality or genericity:

- (9) **ʔaʔci taman-b-uχ-a-ži, kiž-ib kat-ilž-in**
 work end-N-be.PFV-PRS.3-until DOWN:3M:sit.PFV-ANT[CVB] DOWN-remain.PFV-PRET.3
 ‘He remained at work (lit. sitting) until he finished the job.’ (Ashti)

Thus I believe that the displacement account in the spirit of Haspelmath (1998) is preferable in Dargwa to the habitual -> future account of Tatevosov (2005). However, the way the semantic evolution of the present in Dargwa has proceeded raises the question of whether all the functions we find in modern varieties necessarily correspond to distinct semantic notions. Is there, for example, a semantic notion of a gnomic present distinct from the generic? Alternatively, one may say that the use of the “old present” is conventionalized in a particular range of contexts which does not necessarily have to correspond to any coherent semantic notion.

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The Evolution of Past-Hab in Cuzco Quechua

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In Cuzco Quechua, a periphrastic construction composed of an agentive nominalization in conjunction with the copula, which is optionally marked for the past tense (ex. (1)), is said to serve as a past habitual marker (Cusihuamán 1976, Hintz 2008). The present study focuses on the evolution of this periphrastic construction in Cuzco Quechua, which embodies one possible trajectory for the grammaticalization of PAST-HAB.

A corpus comprising texts from three periods was analyzed in order to check the construction's morphosyntactic behavior as well as its semantic compatibilities. The corpus includes myths and penitential texts from 16th and early 17th century, *testimonios* dated to early-mid 20th century, and transcripts from Xavier Ricard Lanata's fieldwork around Mt. Ausangate from the early 2000's. The diachronic development of the construction in question replicates the cline suggested by Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca, 1994, based on actual historical documentation, and hence supports their findings but, interestingly, not fully: though the habitual marker in Cuzco Quechua is restricted temporally to the past, it does not require past tense marking. The case of PAST-HAB in Cuzco Quechua is a particularly interesting for two reasons. The first is that the different stages along the cline manifest themselves incrementally in other Quechuan dialects of the immediate vicinity. The second is that PAST-HAB has further grammaticalized into an imperfective and increased in scope, thereby not only shedding light on its emergence but also on its later development (ex. (2)).

Examples

- (1) a. Ñoqa-qa tiro-pe-qa iskay chunka punto-ta-puni-n
I-TOP shooting-LOC-TOP 20 point-ACC-indeed-EV.1
rura-q ka-ra-ni
do-*q* AUX-PAST-1.B
As for me, in shooting I would score twenty points.
- b. Sapa tuta-manta-n las seis
every night-ABL-EV.1 at six
alojado-kuna-q mikhuna puchu-n-ta horqo-mo-q ka-ni.
guest-PL-GEN food rest-3.B-ACC gather-CIS-*q* AUX-1
Every morning at six I would gather the food leftovers of the guests.
- (2) a. Qosa-n-pas huk diablo-lla-taq ka-q.
husband-3.A-ADD a devil-DEL-CONT COP-*q*
And her husband was just a devil too.

b. Khayna-n gente waño-q.
like.this-EV1 people die-q
Like that, people were dying.

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Genericity in Middle German: The *Sachsenspiegel* and *Schwabenspiegel*

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Law books are a promising source for generic expressions and the phrasing of rules and habits. The *Sachsenspiegel* (SaS, c. 1220) is the oldest law book written in German (Middle Low German); the slightly younger *Schwabenspiegel* (SchwS, c. 1275) was written soon after the northern model, in Middle High German. Aims, addressees and structure of the texts are similar and taken together, the two sources offer reliable evidence for how speakers around 1250 would phrase generic statements.

My paper has two aims. First, I survey the patterns of generic statements in SaS and SchwS and compare them to their modern descendants and related patterns in other Germanic languages. Second, I will zoom in on the interplay of conditionals and generic DPs in SaS and SchwS. The writers carefully distinguished between generic statements about a type of *episode* and generic statements about a kind of *object/person*. An analysis of the full range of grammatical patterns allows new insights in the nature of generic statements.

Patterns of generic statements. If we look at generic DPs, what we find is similar to ModHG. There are generic uses of definite DPs, indefinite DPs, singular

indefinites with *ieglich/jewelk* (\approx ‘whatever’); I moreover include free relatives of the *whichever* type because these provide an interesting link to ModHG conditional *wenn*.

1. *Sleit die jode eynen kerstenen man, oder dûth her yme ungerichte, dâ her mede begriffen wird, man richtet uber ine also uber eynen kersten man.* (SaS III, 7 §2)
Kills the jew a christian man, or does he him unjustice, if he amid caught gets, one judges over him as over a christian man.
2. *Daz ist da von, daz ein gerihte wiser liute niht enberen mac.* (SchwS C.237, §3; p.157)
This is there from, that a court wise_{genitive} men_{genitive} not miss may
3. *Ein ieglich man, uf den man klaget, der sol antwurten nach sîner geburt und nach sînem rehte ...* (SchwS Cap. 246; p.160)
a whatever man, on that one sues, that shall answer after his birth and his right
4. *Swer umbe ungerihte wirt beklaget, der sol des ersten eines fürsprechen gern ...* (SchwS Cap. 223; p.152)
Whoever for unjustice gets sued, he shall firstly an_{genitive} advocate_{gen} demand
5. *Swen eyn man wîph nimt, sô nimt her in sîne were al ir gût* (SaS I, 31 §2)
when-ever a man wife takes, so takes he in his possession all her goods

Conditional clauses are mostly expressed as V1, preceding their main V2 clause. Another frequent pattern are *ob*-clauses which can precede or follow the main clause. Finally, *swa* and occasionally *als* and *dâ* are used as conditional complementizers.

6. *(und) vindet ein man gut uf der frien straze ob der erden, daz sol er dem nâhsten pharer (...) geben.*
(and) finds a man goods on the free street above the earth, that shall he the next priest (...) give. (SchwS C.286, §1; p. 185)
7. *swa ein stumme ist, der niht antwurten mac, und vordert er einen fürsprechen mit geberden: den sol man im geben.* (SchwS C.280; p. 180)
where a tumb is, who not answer may, and asks he an advocate with gestures: that shall one him give
8. *Ob die man an sînis vorsprechen wort nicht ne jêt, di wîle blîbt her sunder schaden sînis vorsprechen wordes.*
if the man to his advocate’s word not (ne) says (= agrees), the while stays he without damage of-his advocate’s word (SaS III 14 §1)

Functions of conditionals. V1-conditionals are used to make generic statements about a kind of situation. They are the typical opening of paragraphs, raising a case for which proper legal reactions are then described. *ob*-conditionals, in contrast, are systematically used to describe hedges, sub-cases and exceptions in a scenario already given. For instance, in a description of what happens to lost and damaged goods, we

find *wirt iz yme virstolen (...) oder stirft iz, ob iz veh is* (“is it him stolen, or dies it—if it is an animal”). In terms of discourse structure, V1-conditionals raise a global QuD (what happens if ...) whereas *ob*-conditionals are used in subquestions (in case that SubQ arises...). This impression can be substantiated by a count of local presuppositions triggered in clauses of either type.

Generic vs. episodic indefinites. All conditional clauses can contain indefinite DPs (e.g. 6, 7) which get bound by a universal/generic quantifier. For instance, (6) talks about any normal man who finds any kind of good on the street. However, (6) is intuitively not a rule about the generic man. If the Spiegel want to convey special laws for a group, the writers put the generic indefinite outside the episode-setting conditional, which leads to complex syntactic patterns:

9. *Paphen unde joden de wâfen vûhrent (...), dât men ine gewalt, men sol ine bezzeren alse eynen leyen (...)* (SaS III,2)
Priests and jews who carry arms (framesetting generic), does one them hurt (V1-cond), one shall them refund like a lay person (would be refunded).

The difference between generic and episodic indefinites is hard to capture, and most current analyses of genericity and conditionals treat them on a par. German medieval law books exhibit systematic grammatical patterns to distinguish these two. These newly available minimal pairs shed new light on the nature of genericity and generic quantifiers.

Quoted source editions:

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Remarks on the Grammaticalization of Characterizing Genericity

Hanna Filip

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It is undeniable that there are close affinities between (*characterizing sentential genericity* (in the sense of Krifka et al 1995), and habituality as its special case, on the one hand, and imperfectivity, on the other hand. This view is supported by both *synchronic* and *diachronic* arguments. Synchronically speaking, since Comrie (1976), it has been taken for granted that genericity/habituality is a subcategory of

imperfectivity. Comrie's (1976, p. 26) main argument in support of this view is that "a large number of languages (...) have a single category to express imperfectivity as a whole, irrespective of such subdivisions as habituality and continuousness." His examples include Romance (Italian and French) and Slavic languages (Russian) as well as Modern Greek and Georgian. Subsequently, most attention has been paid to the observation that imperfective forms alternate between progressive and habitual (generic) interpretations in dependence on context. Given that these two interpretations are tied to a single imperfective form, at first blush it is desirable to tie them to a single unified concept covering the whole imperfective domain (see also Comrie 1976:26, 1985). Diachronically speaking, the expression of genericity/habituality is tied to markers that become grammaticalized on the path from (present) progressive markers to imperfective ones (see Bybee and Dahl 1989), during which various intermediate stages arise and only "a certain form may come to be more or less exclusively used for generic contexts" (Dahl 1995, pp. 417-8). However, the tendency for it to develop into a generic marker is never too strong (see *ibid.*, p.425). In fact, it is taken for granted that it is the lack or extreme scarcity of dedicated generic markers that is a hallmark property of (characterizing sentential) genericity/habituality.

It is the goal of this talk to explore one salient example of a form that falls under imperfective aspect, in so far as it forms imperfective verbs, but that has undergone a process of grammaticalization of exclusively marking a generic interpretation of a whole sentence. To this goal, I will examine the properties of the Czech suffix *-va-* that Dahl (1975, 1985, 1995) uses as a paradigm example of a significant class of markers in a number of typologically distinct languages that are variously labeled as "habituals", "iteratives", "frequentatives" and the like, but to which he denies the status of grammaticalized generic markers. Some examples are: Arabic (Classical), Akan, Catalan, Didinga, Guarani, Sotho, Swedish, Yucatec Maya, Zulu (Dahl 1985; 1995, p.421, fn.8). Contrary to the common view of such markers, most clearly formulated in Dahl (1995), I will show that the Czech "habitual" (aka "iterative") suffix *-va-* has a number of properties prohibiting its classification as an imperfective marker simpliciter, and that clearly indicate that it is best viewed as a bona fide generic marker.

To the extent that the Czech suffix *-va-* can be taken as a paradigm case of a type of a "habitual" marker attested in a number of typologically distinct languages (following Dahl 1975, 1985, 1995), this leads me to the following conclusions. First, we need acknowledge, or at least take seriously the possibility, that such markers are bona fide generic markers, and not markers of imperfective aspect. Second, if it is correct that there are bona fide markers of characterizing (sentential) genericity, but no "generic" articles or other markers within an NP/DP consistently enforcing its kind interpretation, this would seem to indicate that linguistic means for the expression of *characterizing (sentential) genericity*, but not *kind-reference (characterizing (sentential) genericity* and *kind-reference* in the sense of Krifka et al

(1995)) undergo a process of grammaticalization. This provides a new independent formal argument for kind-reference and characterizing (sentential) genericity being distinct in the grammar of natural languages.

Such insights provide further independent evidence to the arguments made elsewhere that *characterizing (sentential) genericity* (including habituality as its special case) is not only orthogonal to both imperfective and perfective aspect (see Boneh and Doron (2010)), but also is best viewed as a category in its own right, independent of other categories of TMA systems (see e.g., Carlson 1977, Krifka *et al.* 1995, Pelletier and Asher 1997, Filip and Carlson 1997, Filip 2009, among others). Moreover, it may take us further in our understanding of genericity, if we shift our attention to languages that have formally marked (characterizing sentential) genericity, rather than focusing on the question why in languages like English generic sentences (e.g., *Birds fly*) may be devoid of any overt (tense-aspect) marking (*pace* Dahl 1995). This research strategy is also in line with the work in genericity (see e.g., Pelletier 2010, Boneh and Doron 2010, and references therein) that aims at identifying different patterns in the expression of genericity, what kind of ontological commitments they entail, and what they reveal about the sort of knowledge that we use in everyday reasoning. The semantic properties of markers of characterizing (sentential) genericity, indicating that they encode weak descriptive generalizations, also raise the fundamental question about whether a single unified analysis for all characterizing generics is possible, which has been discussed since Carlson (1995).

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The Development of Invariant *Be* in African American English

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At the center of the present inquiry lies the historical development of the habitual and generic markers of African American English (AAE) together with the way they behave in the structure, meaning and prosody of the variety from a diachronic point of view. We focus on investigating habitual *be* (and we compare it somewhat in the process to the development of the more widely studied form *used to*, which is also available in Mainstream American English, MAE). We draw primarily on historical materials in this talk, viz. the so-called slave recordings, i.e. sources stemming from the 1930s and 1940s featuring elderly speakers at the time. Subsequently, we compare these sources to recent interviews.

The rich aspectual system of AAE has been noticed several times (cf. e.g. Green 1998 for some of the major combinatorial possibilities). We capitalize here on the fact that AAE is a dual-component variety which incorporates (as a proper subset) the aspectual system of MAE, but at the same time shows a number of specialized markers, viz. in addition to the better known standard items (cf., e.g., Labov 1998 on the view). Capitalizing on the relatively broad range of (relevant) markers allows us to observe the interaction between other aspectual forms and the two respective candidates for habituality - e.g. *be* vs *used to*, which display certain telling differences with respect to their scopal properties.

We raise two major questions with respect to the phonological and syntacticosemantic properties of invariant *be* with respect to its diachronic development. First, while a number of factors are known about the remote-past marker *bin* and the perfect marker *done* (e.g. the former is claimed to obligatorily bear stress today, while the latter is claimed to mandatorily avoid it, i.e. contrary to

the way *done* has developed in creole varieties), the properties of habitual *be* appear as elusive in the literature and not less so from the historical perspective on which we focus in this talk (cf. Cunha, Gergel & Ferguson forth. for the synchronic phonology of AAE auxiliaries). We propose that stress assignment is not fixed on habitual invariant *be*, but that it can be deduced from its diachronic development. More specifically, we follow the hypothesis that - in terms of structure and meaning - a key developmental component in the raise of *be* was the co-occurrence with modals, which could be not only reduced, but altogether silent in the variety. (Compare the modal *would* in MAE on its habitual meanings.) The diachronic extension we investigate is how *be* came to be used in a variety of contexts beyond those allowing a habitual *would*. The prediction we investigate is that the silent-auxiliary hypothesis for the historical data correlates with the flexible stress properties of the emerging marker.

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Habituality, Progressivity, Continuativity and the Development of Imperfective Constructions in Shumcho

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The language of Shumcho is a small, endangered and hitherto un(der)documented West Himalayish (Tibeto-Burman) language spoken in a handful of villages in the district Kinnaur of Himachal Pradesh in the Indian Himalayas. Although the language had been detected by Western explorers in the early 19th century, systematic research began only in most recent times (see e.g. Huber 2009, 2011, 2013). Based on my fieldwork (ongoing since 2002), I will present a descriptive account of the expression of progressive, habitual, repeated, iterative or continuous action in Shumcho as emerging from the currently available data. I will discuss

possible diachronic developments and effects with different verb types, and consider the role of the non-mirative and mirative, resp., copulas *to* and *taš*, 'be'.

Shumcho has a number of means for expressing progressive, habitual, repeated, iterative or continuous action. Progressive constructions feature a marker *-u* on the lexical verb and a copula, see (1a). A marker *-u* is also found in continuative constructions such as (1b). Habitual constructions such as (1c) involve the imperfective marker *-i* (see 1d) and a copula.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------|------|-----------|---------------|--|--------------------------------|
| (1) | a. | rinku: | len | la-u | taš | | 'Rinku is working.' |
| | | R. | work | do-PROG | be.MIR.PRES.3 | | |
| | b. | rinku: | len | la-u-o | pos-min | | 'Rinku (had) kept on working.' |
| | | R. | work | do-?-EMPH | sit-PERF | | |
| | c. | rinku: | len | la-i | taš | | 'Rinku usually works.' |
| | | R. | work | do-IMPF | be.MIR.PRES.3 | | |

Apart from using adverbs such as *gop phe:ra:* "many times" or *he:(-li)* "again", repeated action can also be expressed by repeating the converbial verb form in a converb construction:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|--|-----------|-----------|------|--------------------|--------------|
| (2) | ni:la: | ti | gja-u | gja-u | bjai | tš ^h op | la-ro-Ø |
| | N. | water | fill-CONV | fill-CONV | thin | soup | do-FUT-3NHON |
| | | 'By adding (lit. filling in) water again and again, Nila will make a thin soup.' | | | | | |

Unlike many other languages, however, reduplication or habitual, iterative etc. constructions cannot serve to express pluractionality, which in Shumcho requires a separate marker (see Huber 2014).

The fact that the elements involved in the expression of progressivity, continuativity and habituality in (1) are also found in other constructions raises questions of grammaticalization. Thus, the continuative construction in (1b) appears to have evolved from a converb construction (3a) whose main verb, the stative verb *pos-ma* 'sit, live, stay', developed into an auxiliary, and the emphatic marker *-o* (otherwise: focus, 'only') became a (quasi-obligatory) additional feature:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|----|--------|------|-----------|----------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (3) | a. | rinku: | len | la-u | pos-min | | 'Rinku (had) sat/stayed by working' |
| | | R. | work | do-CONV | sit-PERF | | |
| => | b. | rinku: | len | la-u-o | pos-min | | 'Rinku (had) kept on working' |
| | | R. | work | do-?-EMPH | AUX-PERF | | |

This makes continuative constructions look similar to progressive constructions such as (1a), which also feature an imperfective marker *-u* ("progressive") on the lexical verb but require the presence of a copula verb. The fact that /u/ also serves as a perfective or past marker when not followed by an auxiliary or copula verb, as in (4), suggests that there are two distinct markers surfacing as *-u*, which has consequences also for the broader analysis of converb constructions.

- (4) rinku:-s len la-u (*COP) 'Rinku worked'
 R.-ERG work do-PERF (*was working, *kept on working, etc.)

The imperfective marker *-i* is also found outside habitual constructions, then expressing a general property of the subject or used as a future, see (5b).

- (5) a. rinku: len la-i taš 'Rinku usually works.'
 R. work do-IMPF be.MIR.PRES.3
 b. rinku: len la-i i) 'Rinku works.'; ii) 'Rinku will work'
 R. work do-IMPF

I will argue that diachronically, constructions such as those in (5) are derived from an imperfective participle where *-i* functions as an imperfective nominalizer and suggest that interpretative differences have to do with the evidential properties of the copulas *to* and *taš*, (both) 'be'.

- (6) len la-i mi: 'working person'
 work do-IMPF(Nom) person

Based on the emerging picture I will outline some consequences for the development of the Shumcho TAM-marking system.

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Somebody that I used to know, or: How do habitual verbal heads emerge?
The case of German *pfliegen* 'use(d) to'

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Introduction. In this talk, we will examine emergence circumstances and the development of the habitual verbal head *pfliegen* (lit. 'maintain') 'use(d) to' in the history of German and show that *pfliegen* grammaticalized into a functional head in the transition from OHG (750-1050) to MHG (1050-1350). We will provide diachronic evidence showing that *pfliegen* in its habitual usage (i) emerged out of the pattern *pfliegen* + DP and (ii) requires a Hab operator restricting the domain of quantification.

Phenomenon. In Modern German (1900 -) the predicate *pfliegen* can be used in two different ways. It can select either for DPs marked for the Accusative case (cf. [1]) or for infinitive complements headed by the infinitival marker *zu* 'to', as exemplified in [2]:

- [1] *Sie pfliegen [DP die Tradition [der Zunft]]*
they maintain.3PL the tradition of.the craft
'They cultivate the tradition of the craft.'
(DeReKo, *Rhein-Zeitung*, 8/2/2013)

- [2] *Bilbaos Parks und Gärten sind nun so grün, weil [INF es in Spaniens*
Bilbao's parks and gardens be.3PL now so green because it in Spain's
*viertgrößter Stadt ausgiebig *(zu) regnen pflegt]*
fourth.biggest city extensively to rain.INF use.3SG
'Bilbao's parks and gardens are now so green because it has been raining extensively in the fourth largest city in Spain.' (DeReKo, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 4/12/1999)

Analysis. To begin with, we will outline the basic properties of *pfliegen* used as a Hab-head in Modern German. In brief, we assume *pfliegen* to be a Hab-head merging in AspP between VP and CP, which requires a Hab operator binding the event variable and presupposing the plurality of events quantified over (cf. Boneh and Doron 2012). Contrary to Colomo (2011), we argue that a Gen operator cannot restrict the quantification domain of *pfliegen*. Arguments provided for this view come from: (i) different kinds of quantification of events, (ii) the (in)compatibility with punctual adverbial modifications, and (iii) scope relationships between Gen and Hab. Syntactically, we analyze *pfliegen* as a subject-to-subject raising predicate allowing embedding of weather predicates like *regnen* 'rain' (cf. [2]) and triggering an A-movement of the embedded subject into the matrix subject position. As the TP layer is supposed to be absent in German (cf. Haider 2009), we claim that the raised subject occupies [Spec-AspP] as its target. The structural high of AspP, in turn, imposes syntactic restrictions on dependent infinitives disallowing extraposition and, simultaneously, gives rise to restructuring effects, e. g. to the IPP-effect in older stages of German (cf. Hinterhölzl 2009). Diachronically, we shall illustrate that the pattern *pfliegen* + infinitive occurred already in early MHG and that its

compositional meaning has remained unchanged until today. We can reanalyze the grammaticalization of *pflegen* as follows

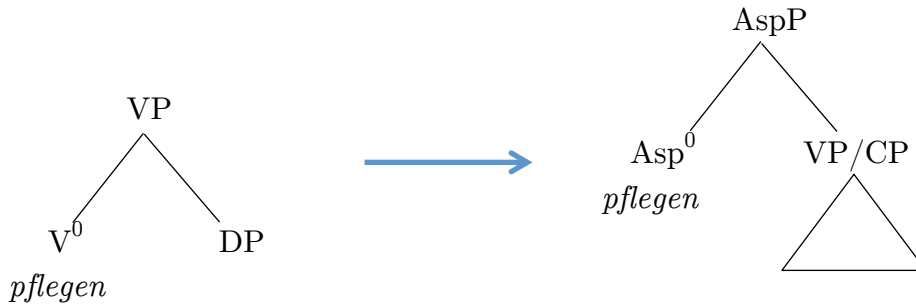


Figure 1: The grammaticalization of *pflegen*

and assume two different lexicon entries:

- a. $pflegen + DP \rightarrow [[pflegen]] = \lambda x \lambda y [pflegen'(x,y)]$
- b. $pflegen + infinitive = \Phi_{Hab} \rightarrow \lambda P \lambda s \lambda w [INIT (P,s,w) \ \& \ \forall w' \in MB_{\tau(s),w} \ \exists e [\tau(s) \subseteq \tau(e) \ \& \ ITER (P,e,w')]]$ (based on Boneh & Doron 2008, 2012)

When employed as a transitive lexical V-head, *pflegen* is a two-place predicate quantifying over a set of objects (cf. [1]). We will show that embedded DPs could be marked for the Genitive, Dative and Accusative case in older stages and that only Accusative prevailed. Having undergone a grammaticalization process, *pflegen* became one-place subject-to-subject raising predicate. Following the Late Merge Principle (merge as late as possible) proposed in van Gelderen (2004), *pflegen* merges higher in the structure, i. e. in AspP, extending its quantification domain to events. Here, we will illustrate that the propositional argument could be realized in two different ways: either as a consecutive clause headed by the complementizer *dass* 'that' and with a silent correlate *so* 'so' (= CP) or as an infinitive (= VP). With regard to the first strategy, we will show that finite *dass*-clauses disappeared from the use in late ENHG (1600-1700). As for the latter, we will outline how bare infinitives suppressed their counterparts headed by the infinitival marker *zu* 'to'. The following example with a bare infinitive from the 19th century illustrates that this process was completed first in the 20th century:

- [3] *Die Leitung solcher Arbeiten haben französische Genieoffiziere, wodurch*
 the leadership of.such works have.3PL French genius.officers by.what
dieselben weit rascher gefördert werden, als sonst dergleichen hier
 the.same far quicker sponsor.PTCP PASS.AUX.INF than usually of.that.kind here
 [INF *geschehen pflegt*] (DeReKo, KHZ, *Mainzer Journal*, 13/10/1849)
 happen.INF use.3SG

'French genius officers are leading such works, whereby they are sponsored quicker than it usually happens.'

Conclusion. As it turns out, *pflegen*'s development provides new insights into how functional heads develop in general. It clearly demonstrates, contrary to what Traugott (1997) claims, that subject raising verbs embedding infinitives can emerge

out of the pattern *predicate* + DP and that a control structure as a linking bridge is not required for this development at all.

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Habitual and Avertive: One Polysemy Pattern in Moksha

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The study focuses on diachronical relations of two very distinct functions of one verbal affix, which is traditionally called Habitual, in Moksha Mordvin (< Finno-Ugric < Uralic). Apart of habituality, it can sometimes have a totally different meaning, namely avertive ('P was about to occur but did not', cf. Kuteva 1998). The data are based on our own fieldwork.

Its interpretation depends on its interaction with another verbal derivational category, namely Imperfective. The last one has a wide range of meanings - including progressivity, different kinds of pluractionality and habituality itself. In the last case Imperfective marking is obligatory, so each verb must have an Imperfective correlate, choosing only one from three possible allomorphs:

Most often, *-kšn'*, the affix under the scope of this study, is attached after an Imperfective marker. Such uses of *-kšn'* narrow range of possible meanings of a verb, excluding everything except habituality:

(1) *mašīna-n'əka s'id'əstə lotk-s'-i*
car-1PL often stop-IPFV-PRS.3SG
'Our car often stops { during our current trip / every day in this place }'

(2) *mašīna-n'əka s'id'əstə lotk-s'ə-kšn'-i*
car-1PL often stop-IPFV-HAB-PRS.3SG
'Our car often stops { *during our current trip / ^{ok} every day in this place }'

Some morphologically complex or loan stems use *-kšn'* as an imperfective marker

(3). In that cases it can have all the interpretations that Imperfective usually can have; furthermore, such stems regularly attach *-kšn'* (carrying the 'pure habitual' meaning, as in (2) for the second time (4).

- (3) *šis' šobdә-l-gәt-kšn'-i*
 day-DEF dark-VBZ-INCH-HAB-PRS.3SG
 'It is getting dark.'
- (4) *t'en'i š'i-s' ranajstә šobdә-l-gәt-kšn'ә-kšn'-i*
 now day-DEF dark-VBZ-INCH-HAB-HAB-PRS.3SG
 'It gets dark early now.'

Finally, when modifying telic stems, it can obtain avertive meaning ('P was about to occur but did not', cf. Kuteva 1998). This use of *-kšn'* is for clear reasons restricted to past tense forms.

- (5) *maša pra-kšn'-әs'*
 'Maša almost fell.'

The three functions of *-kšn'* are related diachronically. The spread of *-kšn'* from purely habitual to other Imperfective context is presumably connected with grammaticalization of Imperfective: Moksha seems to have created a new Imperfective subparadigm from four etymologically unrelated affixes with close meaning, using the most productive of them, *-kšn'*, for the stems which were in a sense 'weird' (morphologically complex, loan etc.).

The coexistence of both habitual and avertive meanings in one and the same affix presents a greater problem. We will argue that the intermediate notion linking them is the notion of prospective -- 'X is about to do P'. It is by no means typologically rare for past prospective to evolve in an avertive gram: the step from 'X was about to do P' to 'X almost did P (but not actually)' is due to conventionalization of a scalar implicature.

The connection between prospectivity and habituality resembles that which links the last one and future (Haspelmath 1998, Tatevosov 2005). Remaining still somewhat mysterious, it possibly has pragmatic nature, too. In the talk we are going to present a more thorough analysis of this based on data of some Moksha dialects as well as closely genetically related language Erzya.

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