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From Parataxis to Hypotaxis

FUYO OSAWA

1. Introduction

In this paper, I claim that syntactic embedding emerged rather late in the history of English. It does not mean that there was no way of having another proposition embedded in a clause in early English. There have always been variant devices of expressing a complicate idea in languages. What I want to claim is that syntactic embedding presupposes a relevant functional category, and hence, without a relevant functional category in a given language, the language tries to exploit a different device for expressing the complex idea.

One of the widely exploited ways of complementation in earlier languages is nominalization, i.e., nominalized verbal forms such as infinitives, or more precisely, the precursors of Present-day infinitives. This will be dealt with in chapter 4. I claim that there was a diachronic shift from nominalization, or more precisely from nominals which are based on verbal forms, to syntactic embedding in the ways of complementation. The key factor behind this is the presence/absence of a relevant functional category. Another way of complementation in a language without a functional category is loose adjunction of a finite clause, which is traditionally called, as juxtaposition. This will be discussed in chapter 5.

The background assumptions are that the choice of functional categories such as D, T, I, and C is subject to parametric variation and that generally functional categories are introduced at a later stage in a given language. This is discussed in chapter 2 in more detail.

Syntactic embedding, which presupposes the presence of a functional category, is made possible after the relevant functional category emerges

in a given language. I take up English and show that the development of infinitival constructions in the history of English reflects the situation mentioned above.

The above argument that a functional category may be absent and there may be no embedding in a given language is indeed not implausible at all: Kiparsky (1995) argues that the syntactic innovations such as the rise of V-to-C movement result from the rise of embedded finite clauses in Germanic languages. Abraham (1993), although he does not refer to English, also argues that hypotaxis was but poorly developed in Old High German as well as in earlier stages of other Indo-European languages, and the emerging lexical category of COMP brought about a radical change in the categorial status of the clause, i.e. from IP to CP. Although my hypothesis is not always coextensive with their stories, the possibility of the absence of a functional system and its subsequent emergence is well supported in their discussion.

2. Background assumptions: emergence theory

As touched upon above, I assume that the mechanism of functional category maturation (Radford 1990, Tsimpli 1996), which was originally proposed for first language acquisition, is also working phylogenetically, i.e. in the diachronic domain. Languages typically start as lexical-thematic, without any functional categories (i.e. DP, TP/IP, and CP), and the emergence of a new functional category is the characteristic mark of a transition from one stage to the next. This implies that earlier languages have fewer functional categories than their later counterparts. Hence, earlier languages may use devices which do not involve functional categories. See Radford (1990), Tsimpli (1996) and Osawa (2003[a]) for the notion of category maturation/emergence.

The importance of functional categories has long been recognized, and language variation is to a large extent determined by them. Especially in the Minimalist Program framework (cf. Chomsky 1995), where morphological features are at its heart, differences between languages are attributed to differences between the features of lexical items in those languages, and specially between the features of lexical items belonging to the functional categories. I propose that the functional category emergence hypothesis developed in this paper can account for both the diachronic and synchronic differences between languages.

3. Grammaticalization as functional category emergence

My claim that functional categories emerge over time in languages is partly consistent with the notion of grammaticalization (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993, 2003 among others), but, my idea of functional category emergence is not entirely reduced to their notion of grammaticalization. In familiar terms, grammaticalization is described as the process by which lexical items tend to become grammatical function words over time, and this tendency has been observed cross-linguistically. This process is hypothesized to be a unidirectional phenomenon from the diachronic perspective, and the process of grammaticalization is argued to be semantically driven with semantic bleaching playing a primary role. This is not always true, however, if we look at German *haben* 'have'. This verb *haben* has not yet developed into an auxiliary in spite of the semantic bleaching. That is, semantic change does not always trigger grammaticalization. Like this, their notion of grammaticalization cannot deal with the counter-examples or problems raised by many theorists such as 'lexicalization' or 'de-grammaticalization'. Under their notion of grammaticalization, the opposite direction of 'lexicalization' or 'morphologization' such as the development of the inflectional future tense formation in Romance languages cannot be accounted for.

In my terms, grammaticalization should be viewed as the emergence of functional categories heading their own projection in the clause structure. This notion of grammaticalization can give solution to the problems or possible counter-examples, since in my framework true counter-examples should be the cases in which some task, which was done syntactically before, has come to be taken care of morphologically, or in some languages some items started as purely grammatical functional categories without any intrinsic meaning and came to acquire concrete meaning gradually, and ended up as substantive categories. Although there has always been the possibility of counter-examples, as far as I know, no such systematic

changes have been attested.

As a typical example of grammaticalization the grammaticalization of lexical main verbs as modal auxiliaries *(do/will/shall . . .)* in the history of English has often been referred to. Behind this is the emergence of an I-node, under which modal auxiliaries are supposed to be base-generated in Present-day English (hence, PDE). My notion of grammaticalization can provide a better account to the historical fact.

4. The emergence of Infinitival clauses

4.1. Introduction

My main claim in this chapter is that PDE infinitival clauses are a newly introduced construction due to the emergent functional category TENSE/INFL (hence, T/I) in the history of English. The precursors of infinitives in Old English (hereafter OE) are nominalized verbal forms, and hence the emergence of infinitival clauses is a typical instantiation of a diachronic shift from nominalization to syntactic embedding in the ways of complementation. I assume that infinitival constructions having a clausal structure were made possible via the introduction of a functional category, in this case, into the earlier nominal structure. I assume that PDE infinitives are non-finite clauses, the projection of a non-finite T/I containing the features [-Agr, -Tense], although infinitival IPs may be classified into different types. More controversial analyses involving the infinitival clauses in PDE, for example, the assertion that the complement of *believe* type verbs is a CP (cf. Kayne 1981) or the idea of an expanded CP are not discussed here.

I will examine whether this hypothesis that a non-finite T/I was absent in OE and T/I emerged subsequently, matches the historical facts observed in English.

4.2. Nominalization

As discussed in Osawa (2001, 2002, 2003[c]), one of the widely exploited ways of complementation in earlier languages, was nominalization, i.e., nominalized verbal forms such as infinitives, or more precisely, the precursors of Present-day infinitives. Lehmann (1974: 163ff) says, on the basis of examples of Vedic and Hittite, that infinitive constructions were used to indicate a variety of complements in Proto-Indo-European. They were deployed as (nominal) arguments of the predicate verb and then, the whole structure with those derived nominals was not an instantiation of syntactic embedding defined later.

This is not so transparent in OE. However, it is widely accepted that the OE precursors of PDE infinitives are nominals derived from verbs.

Besides these nominalized forms, the loose subordination was to some extent exploited as one way of expressing complementation in OE, as is examined in chapter 5.

4.3. The nominal origin of infinitives

As discussed above, PDE infinitives are non-finite clauses, the projection of a non-finite T/I, containing the features [-Agr, -Tense]. However, it is well known that their ancestors were derived nominals and did not have a clausal status. Although their nominal nature is not so transparent in the available OE texts, their developmental path from the nominal origin to the current clausal status is clear due to a few pieces of evidence: the residual case inflections, i.e. *–an* (nominative/accusative) and *–enne* (dative), the presence of gender (neuter), and their occurrence as arguments of a verb, etc. These nominal forms were used as arguments of a verb:

(1) Romane blunnen ricsian on Breotene
Romans ceased having power in Britain (*Bede* 44.2)
"the Romans stopped having dominion in Britain"

As is well known, in the OE equivalent of 'I can write', 'can' was not a modal but a lexical main verb meaning 'know' and 'write' (OE *writan*) was its object argument.

When, this derived nominal was used after a preposition *to*, the dative form of *writan*, i.e. *writenne* was used. Their nominal status is also shown by the fact that there were no passive and perfective constructions available until Middle English (hence, ME).

Later, this derived nominal phrase acquired the clausal status, that is,

infinitival clauses were made possible. Against my claim, there is a counter-argument:

> . . . although "infinitives must have started as ordinary nominalizations from verbal stems at some stage, their nominal property in OE is overestimated, since these nominalized forms developed into full verbs at a stage prior to recorded OE. (Los 1999).

However, what is relevant to my claim is the developmental pathway of PDE infinitives from nominals. Even though their verbal features were already attested and their nominal nature may be weak in the available OE texts, it does not affect the main claim here. Dative, Genitive and Instrumental case forms are said to have been present in West Germanic. I would like to point out that only one verb *hatan* provides evidence for the presence of an older stage of synthetic passives in English. Besides, in this case, the absence of certain structures in OE and their subsequent emergence, which will be discussed in the next section, cannot be fully accounted for without referring to the change from nominal to verbal.

4.4. The absence of related constructions

The above facts strongly suggest that the precursors of PDE infinitivals are derived nominals and there were no T/I in the earlier stage of OE. It means that the syntactic phenomena related to T/I are predicted to be absent in OE either and this is indeed the case with OE. There are a few pieces of evidence for the non-presence of infinitival clauses.

In PDE, Exceptional Case Marking (ECM) constructions such as *I believe John to be kind* is well-formed and this is an instantiation of T/I, an infinitival clause. In this ECM construction, the NP following a matrix verb *believe* is not thematically related to the matrix verb, but is part of a lower clause and is chosen entirely by the lower embedded clause. This means the presence of an embedded clause. These ECM constructions were absent in OE except in direct translation from Latin texts.

Furthermore, infinitives with a lexical subject like *It is bad for you to yell at your mother like this* were also unattested in OE. Clearly, *you* is the subject of the embedded clause and *for* is a complementizer. Finally, the

absence of subject-raising constructions like *John is certain to win* in OE is well known to historical linguists. A matrix subject *John* is a derived one and this NP obligatorily moves from the subject position of the lower clause into the higher position for case. These facts follow easily if we assume the absence of T/I in OE, while if we assume the presence of T/I these facts are difficult to account for. (see Osawa: 2003[b] for further details).

My hypothesis that there was no T/I in OE and its subsequent emergence can explain not only why the relevant constructions were absent but also why the new constructions rose in the ME period. This emergent T/I made new infinitival clauses possible. It is not accidental that the ME period saw an enormous increase in the number of infinitival constructions, since it is in the ME period that functional categories emerged in the history of English (see Gelderen 1993, Osawa 2000[b]).

5. CP complements

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I claim that a CP complement emerged in the history of English. This suggests that there was no C system and therefore no embedding employing C in OE. This analysis provides a new view on the issue of "Parataxis Hypothesis", i.e., the hypothesis that hypotaxis developed from parataxis, which, although it has been questioned by many researchers, may have some validity on the basis of the discussion in this paper.

5.2. From parataxis to hypotaxis

The above claim implies that there was a shift from a juxtaposition to syntactic embedding in the history of English. This is consistent with the traditional view that hypotaxis developed from parataxis. In Jespersen's analysis (1927: 2.3), both *I think he is dead* and *I think that he is dead* evolved out of original parataxis of two independent sentences. The word *that* in the second sentence was originally the demonstrative pronoun, and is argued to have been a constituent of the matrix clause. Harris and Campbell (1995: chapter 10) criticize this "Parataxis Hypothesis", saying

that this is unlikely to be the origin of all subordinate clauses. If we claim that there was no embedding, then we must answer the question of how complementation was performed in OE or in earlier languages without a C projection, and how to analyze the presence of apparent subordinate clauses in the OE texts. I will address these questions in the next section.

5.3. Subordination in Old English

5.3.1. Subordination and embedding

First we must clarify the distinction between subordination and embedding, since these terms have often been used in an ambiguous way by linguists. Embedding is not identical with subordination. First, syntactic embedding obligatorily presupposes the presence of a functional category, while subordination does not. As argued above, in the case of infinitivals T/I is involved there. Second, in syntactic embedding another clause occupies the argument or modifying positions of main clauses, while subordinate clauses are not always internal constituents of main clauses. Subordination may exist in OE, but they are not internal constituents of main clauses, that is, they did not occupy the argument or modifying positions of main clauses.

5.3.2. No CP in Old English

The OE subordinate clauses may be adjoined at the right or left peripheral positions. Briefly, there was loose subordination, but no syntactic subordination of the kind referred to as embedding in OE. This is consistent with the traditional view that earliest English had no hypotaxis and parataxis was the main device for combining clauses, although it may be difficult to attest the purely paratactic stage in the available texts. The attested OE saw the introduction of subordination, but, it still favored the juxtaposition of clauses called asyndetic parataxis with no formal sign of their relationship, and syndetic constructions where conjunctions such as *ond* "and" and *ac* "but" were often used.

(2) flod blode weol folc to sægon hatan heolfre
flood blood surged people to beheld hot gore
"The water surged with blood, people beheld it, with hot gore."

(*Beowulf*, 1422–1423)

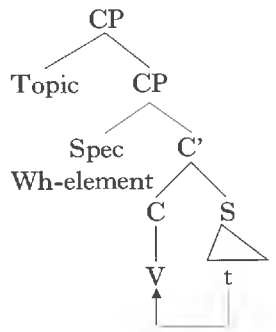
(3) þa hie þa hamweard wendon mit
then they then homewards went with
þære here-hyþe, þa metton hie . . . .
their booty then met they
(Sweet, 1953: 77)
"Then they went homewards with their booty, then they met . . . .
= When they went homewards with their booty, they met . . . ."

(4) 7 he his feorh generede
and he his life saved
7 he wæs oft gewundod
and he was often wounded
(*AS. Chron.* (The Laud MS.) 49, 27–8 (755))
". . . and he saved his life and he was often wounded"

(2) is an example of asyndetic parataxis, where there is no signal to show the logical relationship between the two events described. Sometimes logical relationships are implied by a variety of adverbs such as *þa* 'then', *þær* 'there', although the surface sentence structure is a juxtaposition of two clauses as in (3). The sentence (4) is an example of syndetic constructions.

Kiparsky (1995: 141) argues that the category C itself is optional in OE main clauses, where no principle of grammar requires its presence. The evidence of this optionality comes from the optionality of V-to-C movement in OE main clauses. Assuming the OV order for OE, the finite verb in main clauses is expected to move to the vacant C(omplementizer)-head position since in main clauses the C-head position is empty, while in embedded clauses the position is filled by a lexical complementizer. This is well attested in Modern Germanic languages. If we accept the analysis proposed by Kiparsky (1995), the basic clause structure with CP is given in (5) (Kiparsky 1995: 140):

(5)



Topicalization is assumed to be adjunction to a maximal projection. A wh-element is supposed to be moved into [Spec, CP] position.

Now look at the following sentence (Kiparsky 1995: 143):

(6) He þa his here on tu todælde
he then his army in two divided
"He then divided his army in two." (*Orosius* 116.16)

If the clause is a projection of a C, a finite verb is assumed to move to the empty C-head, that is, verb-second phenomenon should occur. However, as shown in (6), a finite verb remains in a clause final position. Like this, there are main clauses in which finite verbs remain in sentence final positions in OE. This clearly suggests the absence of a C projection. However, there are a few pieces of evidence for the presence of a C projection in OE main clauses at the same time. The availability of a CP-adjoined position for Topics as distinct from Spec-C position for wh/focus elements is demonstrable in OE. The evidence for C is also shown in the presence of verb-second main clauses in the OE texts. Then, Kiparsky concludes that declarative main clauses may or may not be CPs in OE. I will turn to this issue in the next section. Kiparsky's conclusion suggests that the selection of functional categories is subject to parametric variation, against the Structure Uniformity Hypothesis that all clauses in all languages have the same set of functional categories (cf. Thráinsson 1996: 255).

The most relevant discussion is whether there is embedding and CP in OE or not. The evidence that finite subordinate clauses were adjoined and

they are not internal constituents of main clauses is shown in the main clause properties of those clauses such as topicalizaion and verb-second phenomena.

(7) Ic secge þæt behefe ic eom ge cingce
I say that useful I am both kings
& ealdormannum
and chiefs (*Ælfric's Colloquy*. 150)
"I say that useful I am to the kings and the chiefs."
(This examples is cited from Kiparsky (1995: 145).)

In (7) in the subordinate clause *behefe* is topicalized to the initial position after *þæt*. Assuming that topicalization is adjunction to maximal projections, topicalization is assumed in main clauses. This suggests that the subordinate clause in (7) is something like a main clause despite the presence of *þæt*.

Fischer et. al. (2000: 108–109) show that in alleged embedded clauses, where movement of the finite verb is much more restricted, the finite verbs actually moved from sentence final positions as shown in the following examples:

(8) þæt hi mihton swa beadlice Godes geleafan
that they could so boldly God's faith
bodian
preach (*ÆCHom* I. 16.232.23)
"that they could preach God's faith so boldly"

(9) þæt he mehte his feorh generian
that he could his life save
"so that he could save his life" (*Orosius* 2.5 48.18)

The complementizer which is situated in C is supposed to block V-movement in the case of embedded clauses since the landing site of movement is already occupied. Therefore, if in the alleged embedded clauses the finite verb still moved, then it suggests that there is no C, and hence blocking did not work.

5.4. My hypothesis

Now we have observed that there was no embedding in OE, or at least,

no strong supporting evidence for the presence of embedding employing C. Turning to PDE, the presence of embedding and C are unquestionable in embedded finite clauses except so-called Exceptional Case Marking constructions. As touched upon in the previous section, Kiparsky (1995: 141–144) argues that declarative main clauses may or may not be CPs while there is no embedding in OE. Concerning PDE, this optionality is prohibited unless a C projection is required for reasons such as fronting of wh-phrases or focused elements. However, attested facts clearly suggest the contradictory properties of OE main clauses.

I propose that there was no C projection in OE generally. Assuming the mechanism of functional category maturation (Radford 1990, Tsimpli 1996), I argue that languages typically start as lexical-thematic, i.e. without functional categories, and the emergence of a new functional category causes the transition from one stage to the next both ontogenetically and phylogenetically (cf. Osawa 2000[b]). On this hypothesis, it is more plausible to propose that, rather than to admit the optionality of a C projection in OE main clauses, there was no C projection in OE and the subsequent emergence of C brought about the relevant syntactic innovations. Osawa (2000[a]) has already shown that a D-system has emerged in the history of English. In Osawa (2001), the emergence of T/I has been addressed. In this view the apparent variations of CP and TP/IP in the main clauses synchronically observed in OE may reflect the intermediate transitional stage from A to B. The surface word order variations attested in OE may be explained as an instantiation of scrambling.

6. Concluding remarks

In this paper, I have taken up the emergence of embedding and discussed the "Parataxis Hypothesis" in a theoretical framework. Drawing on previous works, I have argued that the choice of functional categories is subject to parametric variation against the Structure Uniformity Hypothesis that all the functional categories are around in all the languages. I have extended this idea to diachronic development, that is, functional categories are supposed to emerge at certain stages of diachronic development, based on the emergence theory. Specifically, I have shown that infinitival complements and CP complement emerged in the history of English.

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An Analysis of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, Seventh Edition, with Special Reference to the CD-ROM

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1. Introduction

This paper is a critical analysis of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*, seventh edition (2005) (hereafter abbreviated as *OALD*7) with a primary focus on its CD-ROM. The dictionary is available either with or without a CD-ROM named the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Compass* (hereafter *OALD*7-CD). Among its innovations, *OALD*7 is the first in its 60-year tradition to mark important words with key symbols in larger type, and the defining vocabulary (hereafter DV) of about 3,000 words used in the sixth edition is now called the keywords of the Oxford 3000. *OALD*7 also features 2,000 new words and has built-in audio-recordings designed to assist users unable to read phonetic transcriptions. Altogether, *OALD*7-CD contains the whole of the seventh edition, the *Oxford Learner's Wordfinder Dictionary* and the *Oxford Guide to British and American Culture*, as well as information on 20,000 word origins, with search and audio facilities. Despite these advances, *OALD* has generally been left a little behind its rivals in the availability of its CD-ROM version. The fifth edition (hereafter *OALD*5), published in 1995, first became available in CD-ROM format with some additional features in 1997 as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary CD-ROM Edition*, and the sixth edition published in 2000 was also made available on CD-ROM the following year as the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*