INTRODUCTION

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Over the last three decades, since the inaugural Diachronic Generative Syntax meeting in York in 1990, DiGS conferences have become a vibrant international forum for the developing field of diachronic syntax. After returning to York in 2018 to celebrate the 20th meeting (Crisma & Longobardi 2021), linguists gathered in June 2019 for the 21st DiGS at Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona. This was a novel venue and the first venture into the western US. Following the tradition started in 2014, the main conference was preceded by a one-day related workshop. In considering the location and the strong research interest in Native American languages, the organisers chose the workshop topic: Comparative approaches to the diachronic morphosyntax of the indigenous languages of North and Central America. The keynote, speaker, Pamela Munro (University of California at Los Angeles), gave a talk on 'Personal DPs in Yuman Languages' followed by seven other speakers presenting on languages ranging from proto-Mayan to Inuktitut and Tsimshianic.

The papers in this special edition of JHS represent a selection of those presented in Tempe, featuring data from a number of languages and language families. As well as the usual suspects, the Romance and Germanic families, Arabic and Greek are featured; additionally, authors bring in supporting examples from several other languages, including those as diverse as Yup'ik and Yao. Grammaticalisation as a process is prominent in many of the approaches, applying generative theories such as upward reanalysis (Roberts & Roussou 2003), economy-based constraints like the Head Preference Principle and Late Merge Principle (van Gelderen 2004) and the Linguistic Cycle (van Gelderen 2011). Several authors take up quantitative methods and, though it is many years since the recognition that more than one grammar can exist in the E-language, the 'grammars in competition model' (Kroch 1994, Pintzuk 1999) remains relevant.

The finer structure of the clausal left periphery is explored in three of the featured papers, two of which focus on topics. Nicholas Catasso, Marco Coniglio, Chiara De Bastiani and Eric Fuß compare Old High German (OHG) and Old Saxon with Old English (OE), while Christine Meklenborg investigates Old and Middle French. Catasso and colleagues conduct a pilot corpus study on constructions of the pattern XP-*þa/tho*-Vfin. They assume three different topic types: shifting topic, contrastive topic and continuing (familiar) topic. While a pronoun XP and shifting topic is the predominant pattern in OHG and OS, there is considerably more variation in OE, both for topic type and XP type (pronoun or full DP). The proposal, in a cartographic approach, is that in OE the particle *þa* is merged directly in the head of low TopP in the I-domain, and remains low, while two different scenarios could explain the higher position of OHG *tho*. Additionally, a possible grammaticalisation path of the particle (*þa/tho*) is proposed, originating with the Proto-Germanic demonstrative *þ*-adverb. Meklenborg takes a quantitative approach in her investigation of topics in Old and Middle French from the 12th to 15th centuries, also centring the discussion around a particle. In Old French, topics can be resumed either by a personal pronoun or by the particle *si*. The development of these two types of topicalisation is traced; the most remarkable change for pronoun topicalisation is the increased use of *ce* as the dislocate and, for *si*, its total decline, which is tied to the loss of V-movement to the Left Periphery (V2). The explanation is that phonological and lexical changes led to the reanalysis of *si* and *ce* as the same form due to input ambiguity. Analysis of the different topic types in Old French (hanging topic, left dislocated topic, list interpretation topic) in conjunction with the CP bottleneck leads to the conclusion that, in a V2 grammar, hanging topics are merged, whereas left dislocated topics and list interpretation topics are moved. The paper ends with the presentation of a model for the diachronic development of topicalisation patterns in French. The clausal left periphery is also the concern of Katerina Chatzopoulou in her investigation of the syntax of adverbial/adjunct conditionals in Greek, which are claimed to involve the movement of an operator to the left periphery of the clause. Again the enquiry centres around a particle, in this case the particle *an*. In a quantitative investigation of Greek texts in five periods ranging from the 8th century BC to the 17th century it is shown that the particle ἄν /an/ functions as a modal in Homeric Greek but is reanalysed exclusively as a conditional particle in Modern Greek, replacing the multiple particles that introduce conditional clauses in earlier Greek. The analysis introduces a Nonveridicality Phrase between the C and T domains. The modal *an* of ancient Greek (Homeric, Attic, Koine), while starting lower in the clause as the head of this phrase, eventually, by the Late Medieval stage,

becomes base generated in its former landing site, as a conditional particle. This is characterised as a modal cycle over 25 centuries.

Continuing in the area of clausal syntax, two of the papers are concerned with the licensing of so-called 'null categories'. Mathew Maddox discusses null referential objects in Romance with a focus on Spanish, while Sophia Oppermann focuses on 'subject gaps', omission of a referential subject pronoun in German coordination structures. Maddox presents data from Old Spanish, conservative Modern Spanish and Rioplatense Spanish, representing three stages of the Object Agreement Cycle, in which full object pronouns eventually become object agreement morphology on the verb (van Gelderen 2011). It is established that null referential objects and accusative clitic doubling are disallowed in Old Spanish while, in the most advanced stage, Rioplatense Spanish, null referential objects, clitic dislocation with epithets and accusative clitic doubling with objects are allowed; conservative Modern Spanish represents a mid-stage between the two. The analysis links these three stages to the categorical status of the clitic, and the availability of a D-feature. Initially, the clitic is a fully phrasal coreferential pronoun merged as verbal complement; in the following stage, the clitic moves out of DP as a D-head to adjoin v; in the next stage, the clitic has been reanalysed as a v-head with a D-feature and either *pro* or a lexical object can be in complement position. The paper concludes by examining a range of Romance languages to test the prediction that, if a language allows null referential objects, it will have developed less restricted accusative clitic doubling first. Turning now to null subjects in German, Oppermann's contribution focuses on subject gaps (the omission of a referential subject pronoun) in coordination structures. In Modern Standard German (MSG), which generally does not permit null subjects, subject gaps still occur, licensed by the coordination. These types of gap construction are attested since the beginning of the written tradition, although there are a number of other types of coordinated gap structures in older stages of German which are no longer grammatical in MSG. Oppermann conducts a detailed corpus search in prose texts of Old High German and Middle High German (i.e. 9th century to the middle of the 14th century) investigating when and how frequently these different types occur. Pre-11th century High German can be considered an asymmetric null subject-language (i.e. null subjects are rare in subordinate clauses) in which null subjects are licensed by the agreement features of the finite verb in C. However, the type found in MSG is licensed by the coordination and the presence of an antecedent for the subject gap in the first conjunct. The claim is that the subject gap types found in the earlier language are subject to different licensing conditions from those in MSG.

With respect to the syntax and semantics of the DP, two contributions investigate the grammaticalisation of Latin *ipse* and *ille*. Building on earlier work on the multi-layered DP, Judy Bernstein, Francisco Ordóñez, and Francesc Roca investigate both the double article systems in Balearic Catalan, in which articles are derived from the emphatic pronoun, *ipse* and the deictic pronoun, *ille*, and also double articles found in varieties of Picard, which are derived from *ille* and the emphatic interjection *ecce*. In conjunction with predictions based on semantic mapping and careful analysis of selected examples from Late/Medieval Latin, Medieval Catalan, present-day Balearic Catalan and present-day mainland Catalan, they trace the stages of evolution from XP to head. The proposal is that initially both definite articles competed for the higher DP position (DP1). In Balearic Catalan this competition was resolved with the retention of both *ipse*-derived articles associated with pragmatic uniqueness as DP1, and *ille*-derived articles associated with semantic uniqueness as the lower DP2. In Old Picard, the data indicate that *ipse* and *ecce* compete for DP1, with *ecce*-derived articles winning out. The prediction for Romance languages with single article systems is that DP1 was filled first and generalised to uniques and generics, which are associated with DP2. As well as being the source for Romance definite articles, *ille* and *ipse* also give rise to 3rd person personal pronouns, as Lieven Danckaert, Liliane Haegeman and Sophie Prévost highlight in their paper. Their investigation into the development of strong and weak 3rd person subject pronouns involves a series of three corpus studies, utilising texts from Early and Classical Latin, Late Latin and (Early) Old French. The main theoretical claim is that it is possible for two functional lexemes to merge, resulting in new functional vocabulary, parallel to the well-documented way in which phonological change involves merger of two previously distinct phonemes. Two types of merger are suggested for combining *ille* and *ipse* (which in Late Latin compete to express third person reference): merger by expansion, the union of the feature sets of *ille* and *ipse* giving rise to Old French strong *lui*, and merger by approximation, the intersection of the feature sets giving rise to weak *il*. These two processes are argued to take place concurrently. Along the way, the data analysis takes in a discussion of topicalisation and concludes with some observations on *pro*-drop in Old French. Jonah Bates and Andrew McKenzie also discuss pronouns, the well-attested diachronic change of first and second person pronouns whereby plural forms are reanalysed as singular, while a new plural takes their place. The authors argue, on empirical grounds, against the common assumption that cycles in meaning change involve an initial stage which extends, leading to a 'gap' stage, followed by innovation to fill the gap. Instead, they argue, an old plural form first loses its plural feature and gener-

alises to cover both singular and plural. In some varieties, the generalised marker shifts to only singular reference. The process is claimed to involve changes in feature specification and has five stages, although only three are apparent on the surface. Taking the position that the plural, not the singular is semantically marked, and that the plural entails the singular, they describe situations in which a pragmatic process could lead hearers to reanalyse the plural as singular. Feature loss of the plural results in homophonous old plural and new general forms. In some languages, speakers form a new plural, which pushes the general form to denote singular.

Myriam Dali and Éric Mathieu illustrate how functional shifts may occur within morphological categories as a result of structural ambiguity, a somewhat less studied type of change. In terms of the theoretical framework employed, Distributed Morphology (DM), a Sub-word (a derivational morpheme) can change into another Sub-word (an inflectional morpheme). The analysis focusses on the specific case of the suffix $-a(t)$ in Arabic, originally a derivational morpheme expressing nominalisation, which is proposed to have changed in the sequence: nominalisation > group/singulative > gender. The suggestion is that language learners reanalysed $-a(t)$ to denote number, adding a feature bundle including the feature [+sg], without losing the original meaning. In a further reanalysis, $-a(t)$ as a feminine gender marker spread, only in the case of animates. Also, by analogy, the suffix started to be used with count nouns to denote plural. Although, traditionally, the distinction between inflection and derivation does not have clear theoretical status in DM, the analysis here provides support for the distinction.

In summary, these representative papers from the main conference attest to the continued interest in diachronic generative research, the range of possible methods and approaches, and the important contribution diachronic research can make to the advancement of theory.

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