The resumptive cycle

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Evidence from Swedish shows that resumptive particles change in a way that reflects the distribution of resumptive particles in the modern V2 languages.

Resumption is an operation characteristic of the Verb Second (V2) languages. It implies that the resumptive element is in second position in the linear string, followed by the verb and (optionally) the subject. The initial element is predominantly adverbial (1), (2).

(1)   AdvP . . . resumptive . . . finite verb

(2)   *Nå   så snør   det*
        Now så snows it
        'Now it is snowing.'   Norwegian

The resumptive structure has evoked much debate over the years, but previous work has been limited to synchronic studies of single languages (see among others Eide (2011) for Norwegian; Ekerot (1998); Nordström (2010); Holmberg (in prep.) for Swedish; Thim-Mabrey (1987) for German – but see Egerland and Falk (2010) for a contrastive study of Swedish and Old Italian). In this paper I will present a novel diachronic study of Swedish based on a corpus of approximately 6700 examples covering six centuries (13th to 18th). During this period, the resumptive particle changes from *tha* to *så*. I will argue that this is in fact a cyclic shift and that three different changes take place simultaneously: (1) A change in the possible constructions with respect to the form of the initial element; (2) a change in the semantic range of the initial element; (3) a change in the status of the resumptive element, both with respect to its semantic component and its form.

There is great variation with respect to what kind of elements may precede the resumptive particle in the modern V2 languages. Comparing the distribution of resumptive structures in ten modern V2 languages, Salvesen (in prep.) finds that there is an implicational hierarchy where all languages permit resumption after an initial adverbial clause, but fewer accept it after an initial adverb. She further makes the distinction between temporal, general and proximal adverbs and describes the hierarchy as a *resumptive cline*. I will pursue this idea and suggest that this is in fact a *resumptive cycle*.

(3) CP $> PP$ $> Adv_{temp}$ $> Adv_{gen}$ $> Adv_{prox}$
        STAGE 1   STAGE 2   STAGE 3   STAGE 4   STAGE 5

In Swedish, the resumptive particle changes from *tha* 'then' to *så* 'so' in the 16th century. While *tha* is a temporal adverb, *så* is a comparative adverb. The change from *tha* to *så* follows the S-curve of linguistic change: *så* accounts for around 0.2% in Early Old Swedish, then increases to 1,3% in Late Old Swedish, before it becomes the most common resumptive in Early New Swedish, with 85,3 %. In the early 18th century resumption with *så* accounts for 93.25% of all resumptive clauses.

In Old Swedish, resumption with *tha* is at stage 3 in the model in (3). Resumption is attested not only after initial adverbial clauses, but also after temporal adverbs (4). However, this option does not seem to be available when the resumptive particle changes. Instead, the use of *så* starts out after initial adverbial clauses (stage 1) (5), then after PPs (stage 2), and then AdvPs (stages 3–5). As such, the shift from *tha* to *så* is not simply a substitution of the form itself, but the turn of a cycle: *tha* has moved so far along the cycle it gets, and then *så* starts from square 1 and follows all the steps of the cline.

(4)   *wil görarin   eig höræ eþin   . höræ þa   borghaþa menninæ eþin   . ok þær*
        will perpetrator NEG hear oath.DEF hear then castle   men   oath.DEF and there
        *æptir **þa** fylli   han fore   domarænom   meþ sinum eþe   hwat han horþe .*
        after ÞA replace he   before judges.DEF.DAT. with his   oath what he   heard

> 'If the perpetrator will not hear the oath, then the men of the borrow should listen to the oath and thereafter under oath tell the judges what he heard.' Bjärköarätten, 14th c.

(5) *Swa sum han war mykin for sic   till alþræ raþhæ . **swa** war oc han goþþær drængær*
     so as he was much for himself to all   councils SWA was also he good   man
     till swærþh
     to sword
     'Just like he was a very good counsellor, he was also a good swordsman' Vidhemsp., 13th c.

In the earliest texts, *så* is almost exclusively used as a resumptive after initial comparative clauses, which is its natural context given its origin as a comparative adverb. Gradually, we find that the semantic spectre of the initial element broadens until it seems irrelevant and *så* may follow any kind of adverb. I will propose that this change is feature driven in that *så* loses its interpretable features (see van Gelderen (2011)). While the interpretable features of *tha* were weakened, they were never lost. I will argue that the loss of interpretable features is a prerequisite for reaching stages 4 and 5 in the cline in (3).

(6) *Å   dermed **så** reste   han öfwer hela Werlden*
     and thus   SÅ travelled he over all   world
     'And then he travelled all over the world.'   Argus, 18th c.

Structurally, the resumptive follows well known grammaticalisation patterns (see Hopper and Traugott (2000); van Gelderen (2004)): it starts out as a phrase but gets reduced to a head, and later a clitic. In the earliest stages of Swedish, an initial adverbial clause may both appear to the left of the V2 scheme or it may be part of it. This indicates that the resumptive at this point may be both a maximal and a minimal category. In the modern language initial adverbial clauses have been moved through SpecFinP, an option which is gradually evolving in Old Swedish. Structurally we see that in Early Old Swedish, there are two competing resumptive structures: (7) and (8). In the former, the adverbial clause has been merged in the Frame of the Left Periphery, while in the latter, the clause has been moved there through SpecFinP, thus fulfilling the V2 requirement. The analysis in (8) is essentially the same as the one proposed in Holmberg (in prep.).

(7) $[_{SSP} [CP_{adv}] [_{SSC^o} [_{FinP} så [_{Fin^o} V_{fin}]]]]$

(8) $[_{AdvP} [CP_{adv}] [_{Adv^o} så [_{FinP} [\overline{CP_{adv}}] [_{Fin^o} V_{fin}]]]]$

While the V2 word order in Swedish has been remarkably stable since the earliest studies, the analysis of the related resumptive structure shows that elements may be subject to change, also within a stable structure. The change in the resumptive structure follows the steps of known grammaticalisation patterns, and the change may be argued to be cyclic in nature.

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