Maximi Planudis in memoriam
[Pt. I]

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0. Introduction

The following remarks are not intended to constitute an argument that generative grammar originates with a thirteenth-fourteenth century Byzantine theologian or even that he represents the first European (?) generative grammarian.[1] I would indeed be somewhat perplexed as to how to interpret global claims of this kind - particularly in view of the ever-increasing diversity of current work that might be characterized in such terms (cf. e.g. Lyons, 1970a). Rather, it seems to me that, on the contrary, it is on account of its exploration of notions as yet ignored (or assumed to be irrelevant) by almost all present day grammarians that the tradition of which Planudes is, as far as I am aware, the earliest extant exemplar, demands our attention.

This situation is not unique. Our knowledge (and acknowledgement) of the work of previous centuries is intensely impoverished. Whole fertile traditions of concepts, hypotheses, arguments, protocols are either not now generally accessible, or, even where readily available, are assumed to be without current relevance.[2] This is particularly the case with traditions whose subsequent immediate influence has been small: such has been the fate of the Byzantine grammarians, and of the remarkable group of linguists who, in the mid nineteenth century, participated in the early meetings of the Philological Society of London. Something of the range of interests and speculations displayed by the latter can be discerned from the contents of the six volumes of the Society's *Proceedings* (1842-53). I am thinking in particular of the essays on general, or universal grammar. Key (1847), for instance, attempts to show the relatedness of demonstratives, definite articles, third person pronouns, and relative and interrogative pronouns,[3] and, incidentally (67-8), a connexion between relative clauses and co-ordinate conjoined sentences.[4]

Garnett (1846) discusses the phenomenon of morphological derivation by 'superdeclension', whereby in Basque, for instance, 'adjectives' can be formed from the oblique cases of nouns and thus become susceptible to bearing a second inflexion,[5] and proceeds (1847) to argue that many (at least) so-called 'participles' have their source in (the oblique case of) a verbal noun, his starting-point being the analysis of the Basque verb offered by Darrigol (1829).[6] In view of my preceding confession of ignorance, I am clearly not primarily concerned in asserting priority for these scholars with respect to all the various hypotheses and arguments they propose; in many instances this is clearly not the case, and they themselves are aware of at least contemporary work originating elsewhere, particularly in Germany. I merely want to indicate the existence of a relatively neglected

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[1] A brief account of the life and works of Maximus Planudes (together with some bibliographical information) is provided in Ziegler, 1950: 2202-53. Texts of two grammatical works are printed in Bachmann, 1828: 3-101, 105-66. I would like to acknowledge here my indebtedness to David Tittensor for his comments on an earlier version of this paper.

[2] It is particularly unfortunate that many such valuable investigations should be dismissed as irrelevant to 'scientific' linguistics (cf. e.g. Hall 1969) on the basis of some eccentric delimitation of what constitutes science. See also note 7.

[3] Compare, for instance, Postal 1966.

[4] Cf. Annear 1967; Lakoff 1967: ch.1.

[5] As an example, consider Basque *etche* 'house'; *etcheko* 'of from the house'; *etchekoak* 'the people from the house' (Lafitte 1962: §146).

[6] For further discussion, see Anderson in preparation. Compare too the discussion in another paper by Key (1853: 69-72).

tradition which generated or assimilated a large number of (what seem to me) insightful interpretations of a wide range of data drawn from a considerable variety of languages. We can benefit, I suggest, from a knowledge both of these hypotheses and of their associated protocols.[7]

It must be admitted that the arguments that could be constructed in the mid nineteenth century were of a limited kind: they were principally notional, morphological and historical. The semantic insights are of unquestionable value: this is what (it seems to me) is outstanding in these volumes of *Proceedings*. Semantic interpretations were supported with observations concerning morphological relationships, as when Garnett (1847) attempts to validate his interpretation of participles (as oblique verbal nouns) with reference to morphological evidence (suggestive of such a structure for participles) from a number of languages. Underlying such arguments is the quite proper assumption that the weakest hypothesis concerning morphological correspondences is the presupposition of coincidence (i.e. that it is accidental, for instance, that participles resemble oblique verbal nouns), and that alternative ('natural') hypotheses are supported by the recurrence of the correspondence in a number of languages. Present-day universal grammarians have been slow to utilize (or at least to explicitly recognize utilization of) this rich source of evidence (but cf. Zwicky 1968) – and its potential extension outside the strictly morphological domain. The following discussion presupposes in part some such assumption (as do a number of the arguments in Anderson 1971b). The proposals made by Key, Garnett etc. are at their weakest in the population of historical developments and relationships. In the pursuit of his hypothesis concerning the relatedness of articles and pronouns, Key is led to suggest some rather wild etymologies and suppose some far-reaching genetic relationships. This is, however, not uncharacteristic of their time.[8] Moreover, in discussing derivation or underlying relationships, only a diachronic and comparative interpretation for such notions was allowed as evidential within the then current methodological framework.[9] Nevertheless, it seems to me that the kind of evidence they adduced is not negligible (where well founded) and that it is unfortunate that the subsequent development of 'firmer' etymologies was not accompanied by the continuation of the universalist concerns espoused by these members of the early Philological Society.

This failure may be partly due to the fact that the increasing variety of evidence was difficult to reconcile with a universalist account which does not allow for a complex relation between semantic representations and their corresponding superficial syntactic structures. I have noted elsewhere (Anderson 1971b: §1.3) the consequences of such difficulties for the localist tradition initiated by Planudes.

The localists (including Anderson 1971b) also in many instances attempted to show the relevance of their claims concerning the character of grammatical relations to various historical (particularly morphological) developments. Such attempts have mainly been mere asides in an argument concerned with the primary, idiosynchronic (in Hjelmslev's sense) evidence. However, in §2 of the present discussion, I shall attempt to characterize

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[7] Thus, it seems to me that books like Pedersen's (1931) render the present-day reader a distinct disservice in their interpretation of what developments in (in this instance) the nineteenth century are significant for posterity, depending (once again) as it does on an arbitrarily limited view of what constitutes 'scientific' linguistics. An almost exclusive concern with the development of methods for genetic comparison and reconstruction results in a misrepresentation of the achievements, of the nineteenth century and of the relationship with earlier work.

[8] Cf. e.g. Pedersen's (1931: 254-7) remarks on Bopp's etymologizing.

[9] In this respect at least the sort of strictures formulated in, for instance, Harris's (1940, 216-7) review of Gray (1939) are appropriate (whatever one might think of the alternative envisaged by Harris).

something of the mechanism underlying certain changes in the Latin/Romance tense/aspect system with reference to the localistic proposals formulated in Anderson 1971b, forthcoming. My assumption is that the elucidation of such changes would provide supporting evidence for a hypothesis consistent with the range of idiosynchronic data.[10]

Before turning to such questions, I intend in §1 to exemplify the consequences of a localistic conception of grammatical relations for a small set of protocols. This draws upon the two works referred to immediately above, but I shall confine our attention to a certain limited area relevant to the concerns of the succeeding section. This involves the grammar of 'having' and 'giving'. Thus, in the following two sections, we shall be concerned with, in the first place, an attempt to re-establish the relevance for linguistic theory of certain traditional concepts, and secondly, with an examination of their pertinence with regard to certain problems of linguistic change. Apart from the overlap in relevant data alluded to above, these two discussions have in common their genesis in a concern deriving from the recent neglect by universal grammarians (in particular) of the content of both kinds of linguistic history, history of language(s) and history of linguistics.

1. 'Datives' as locative
I have tried to show in the course of other discussions (Anderson 1968: 313-5; 1971b: 129-39, 190-5) that the function 'indirect object' is not relevant to underlying representations, and that in general they have their source in a (directional) locative, an allative (see, too, Lyons, 1968a: §8.4.6; Gruber, 1965: ch.3). Thus, the occurrence of both *to* and *from* in (1):

(1)   Egbert sent the bomb to Canada from Australia

and of *from* in (2):

(2)   Egbert sent Seymour the bomb from Australia

is not accidental. Their semantic representations involve in part a directional predication like that in (3):

(3)   The marble rolled from the door to the window

which contains an ablative phrase and an allative. (2) differs from (1) (and (3)) in that the allative phrase has undergone object-forming rules; and the passive in (4) shows the allative in subject position:

(4)   Seymour was sent the bomb from Australia

We shall return shortly to the processes involved in the relevant parts of the formation of (2) and (4).
Notice at this point, however, that the same directional relations are present in (5):

(5)   Egbert sold the bomb to Seymour

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[10] Kiparsky (1968, 1970) has attempted to show the relevance of diachronic considerations to certain theoretical issues. I would like to suggest that naturalness considerations with respect to grammatical change can be relevant to the evaluation of a synchronic hypothesis.

but the ablative is identical with the agent, which occupies subject position (as it does in (1) and (2)). This is also the case in (6)

(6)   Egbert sold Seymour the bomb
in which the allative has become the object; and in (7):

(7)   Seymour was sent the bomb

in which it is subject, and the agent/ablative phrase displaced as such (and deleted). Examples (5)-(7) differ from (l)-(4) in that the agent of the action is 'conflated' with the ablative. In a sentence like (8):

(8)   Seymour bought the bomb from Egbert

it is rather the allative and the agent that are identified; and there is no corresponding sentence with *Seymour* (the allative) as object.[11] In the passives corresponding to both (5) and (8), the phrase which I have described as 'conflating' a directional and an agentive function is marked with the *by* we would expect of a post-verbal agent: *The bomb was sold to Seymour by Egbert*, *The bomb was bought from Egbert by Seymour*.
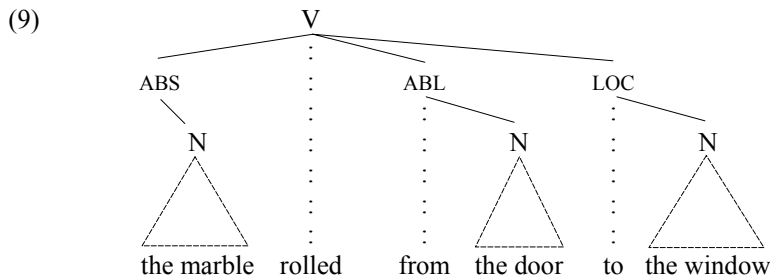
Let us turn now to an attempt to characterize the underlying representations implied by the immediately preceding observations, and to a rather more careful examination of the processes of subject- and object-formation. In the first place, we shall be concerned with the establishment of the underlying relations involved.

I shall term the relation contracted by the noun phrase which becomes the (direct) object in (l)-(2) and (4)-(8) and the subject in the corresponding passives and in (3), the absolutive (ABS): it is neither directional nor agentive. The agentive subjects in (l)-(2), (5)-(6) and (8) are derived from underlying ergative (ERG) phrases. I have already noted the various occurrences of the allative and ablative (ABL). However, in the representations proposed below I shall substitute the term locative (LOC) for allative. This depends on the assumptions that the allative simply equals LOC in a directional predication, and that directional predications necessarily involve both LOC and ABL (cf. Anderson 1971b: §8.2).

We can thus represent the relational structure of a sentence like (3) as in (9), which is a dependency tree with V as governor of and Ns as dependents of, the functional elements, ABS, LOC and ABL.[12]

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[11] However, if the agent and allative are distinct, object- and subject-formation for the allative are possible: *Seymour bought Plumtree the bomb*, *Plumtree was bought the bomb* (Anderson 1971b: §§11.3-4). I shall not be concerned here with instances showing subjects and objects derived from underlying ablatives, as with the sentences containing *rob* (rather than *steal*) noted by Fillmore (1968b: 388); see too, Anderson 1971b: 135

[12] Each predication is a dependency structure with V as governor and immediately dependent case (functional) elements, each of which has in turn a N dependent on it: for discussion, see Anderson 1971a, 1971b, and Tesnière 1959, Robinson 1970, Sgall and Hajičová 1970.

(9)

```
                              V
                              :
        ABS        :        ABL          LOC
         \         :         :    \        :    \
          N        :         :     N       :     N
         /_\       :         :    /_\      :    /_\
      the marble  rolled   from the door  to  the window
```
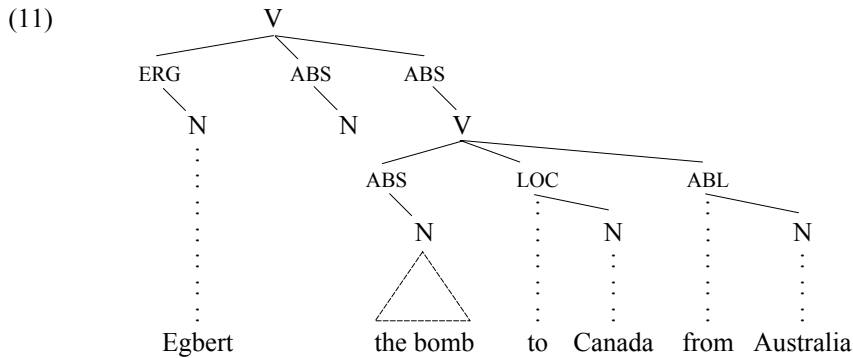
ABS is pruned as part of the process of subject-formation.

Consider now the structure of (1). Clearly, ... *the bomb to Canada from Australia* involves just such a directional predication as is represented in (9). (I ignore here differences in the superficial sequence of LOC and ABL). But in it there is also an ERG present as subject, and there are passive forms in which ERG is realized (in post-verbal position) as *by*. This can be allowed for if we propose that in the case of (1) the directional predication is subordinate to a causative one, containing an ERG and ABS, as in (10).[13]

(10)

```
                    V
        ERG        ABS
          \          \
           N          N
           :           \
           :           ABS
           :            \
           :             V
           :      ABS   LOC      ABL
           :       \     :  \     :  \
           :        N    :   N    :   N
           :       /_\   :        :
         Egbert  the bomb  to Canada  from Australia
```
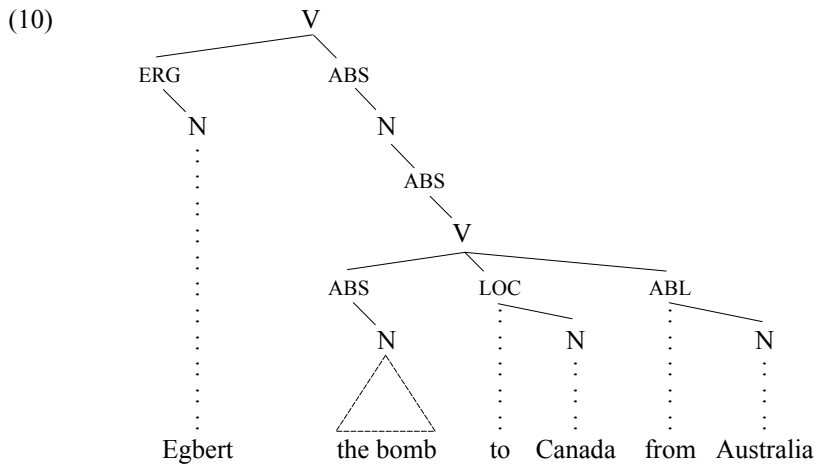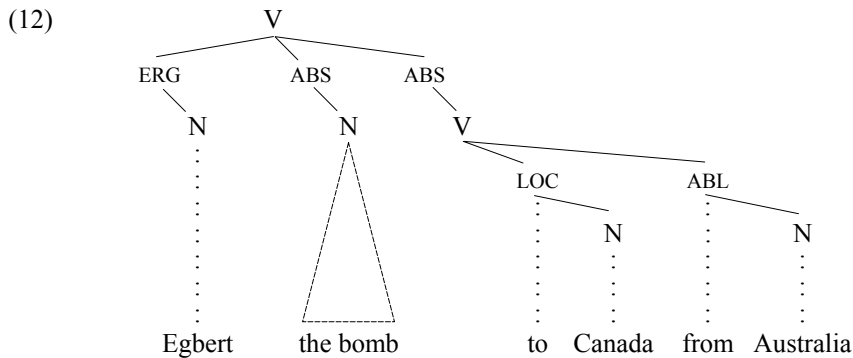
The N governed by the upper ABS is semantically empty; and there is an intermediate stage at which the lower V comes (by abjunction – Anderson forthcoming: §§VIII-IX) to be governed directly by the upper V, as in (11).

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[13] Complex predications are assumed to involve a V dependent on an adnominal case: see Anderson forthcoming; in preparation. In this instance the adnominal case is ABS; in sentences like *Lucinda prevented Boris from coming*, it is rather ABL (*from*): *cause ... to* involves LOC.

(11)

```
                            V
              ┌─────────────┼──────────────┐
            ERG           ABS            ABS
              \             \              \
               N             N             V
               ⋮             ⋮       ┌──────┼──────────┐
               ⋮             ⋮      ABS    LOC        ABL
               ⋮             ⋮       \      ⋮  \       ⋮   \
               ⋮             ⋮        N     ⋮   N      ⋮    N
               ⋮             ⋮       /\     ⋮   ⋮      ⋮    ⋮
               ⋮             ⋮      /  \    ⋮   ⋮      ⋮    ⋮
               ⋮             ⋮     /____\   ⋮   ⋮      ⋮    ⋮
            Egbert              the bomb   to Canada  from Australia
```

I have termed such a part representation as the upper predication in (11) a quasi-predication (Anderson forthcoming): it contains an empty argument with no dependent, on to which a case phrase from the lower sentence can be copied. I shall refer to a non-quasi basic predication and its associated set of higher predications as a global predication. If the quasi-predication is simple (contains only one empty N) then it is the immediately lower subject that is copied. Thus, in this particular instance, the upper absolutive N becomes free for the lower subject phrase to be copied on to it, and the original is deleted, to yield (12).[14]

(12)

```
                            V
              ┌─────────────┼──────────────┐
            ERG           ABS            ABS
              \             \              \
               N             N             V
               ⋮            /|\      ┌──────┼──────────┐
               ⋮           / | \    LOC               ABL
               ⋮          /  |  \    ⋮   \              ⋮   \
               ⋮         /___|___\   ⋮    N             ⋮    N
               ⋮                     ⋮    ⋮             ⋮    ⋮
            Egbert      the bomb     to  Canada       from Australia
```

The originally lower absolutive phrase can thus become the subject in the corresponding passive, since it is at this stage governed directly by the upper V. Finally (for our purposes), the lower V is subjoined to the upper: the concatenation relation between them is obliterated, and form a single complex segment (see Anderson, 1971c; forthcoming). The result is (13).

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[14] I do not necessarily mean to suggest that the actual phonological specification is involved in copying, since these operations may be pre-lexical.

(13)
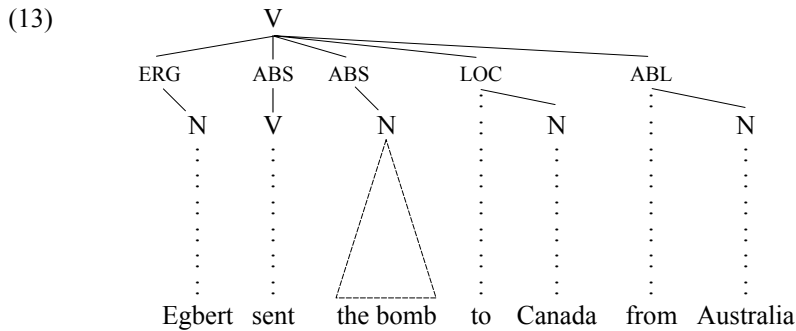
(I have ignored here the operation of the pruning rules associated with subject- and object-formation.)

We must now consider the derivations of the sentences with indirect objects or locative subjects. One or two preliminary observations are in order. Notice firstly that these phenomena are not independent: verbs which take an indirect object also allow the locative to be subject in passives. Compare the examples in (14):

(14) (a) (i)   I said that to John
          (ii)   *I said John that
          (iii)   *John was said that
      (b) (i)   I told that to John
          (ii)   I told John that
          (iii)   John was told that

Secondly, observe that the locatives occur in subject position specifically in passives and as objects in the corresponding actives.[15] Now, this is exactly the distribution of ABS in predications which also contain ERG: subject if passive, object if active. (ERG, on the other hand, is subject in actives, and is not involved in subject- or object-formation in passives.)

Given these two observations, it would appear that it is the locative in the lower sentence that is copied on to the higher absolute phrase in sentences like (2), (4) and (6)-(7), and thus undergoes subject- or object-formation (depending on whether the sentence is passive or active). And this suggests that the locative phrase (rather than the absolutive) is originally in subject-position in the lower predication – as in (15)

(15)

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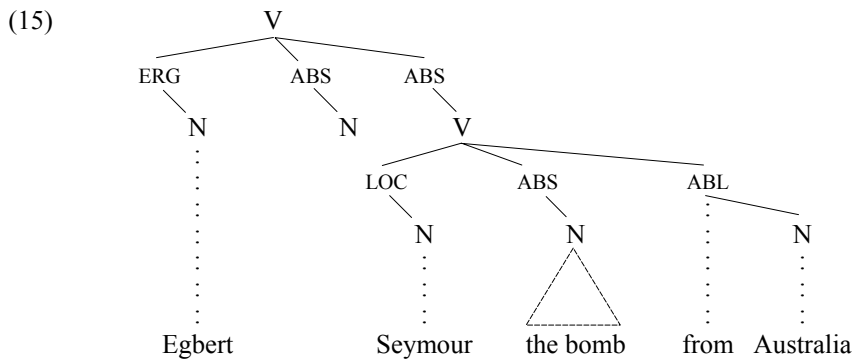
[15] This account is very much oversimplified, see Anderson 1971b: ch.10.

That is, the lower predication is like that required for receive, with locative subject and absolute object: *Seymour received a letter from Silvio*.

However, we also find passive sentences in which the LOC with *receive* is post-verbal and is realized as *by* (and the absolutive phrase is, as we would expect, the subject). *The letter was received by Seymour.* Once again, LOC shows the distributional characteristics we have associated with another function, in this instance ERG – which appears as subject in actives and post-verbal with *by* as its marker in passives. I suggest then that with such verbs the locative function is secondarily categorized as ERG.[16] The structure underlying *Seymour received a letter from Silvio* can therefore be represented as in (16).

(16)
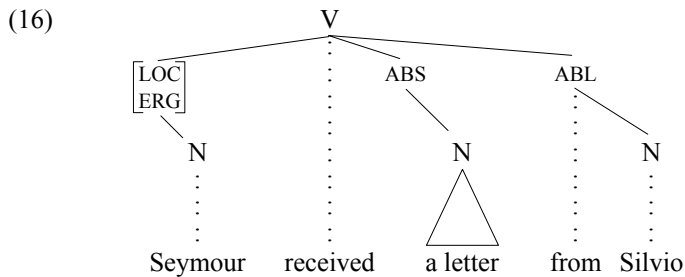
I presume a similar lower predication in (15). In this way, the occurrence of the locative phrase as subject in the lower predication and as object or subject in the upper is allowed for by its association with ERG and ABS. The rules for subject- and object-formation can thus be framed with reference to only these two latter functions: LOC (and ABL) become subject or object via ERG and ABS.[17]

In this fashion, **even the most 'abstract', non-spatial instances of indirect objects can be allowed for as involving a directional predication embedded under a causative.**

In certain instances, the ergative phrase as well as the absolutive in the upper causative is also empty. Consider the structure in (17).
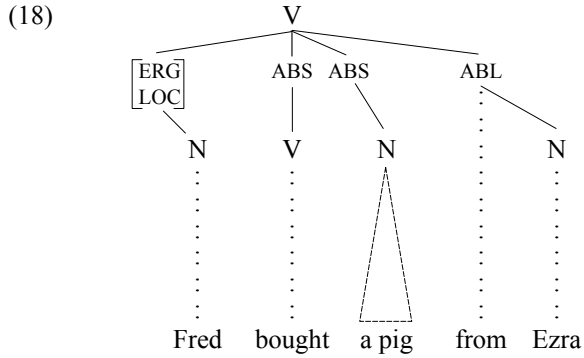
(17)
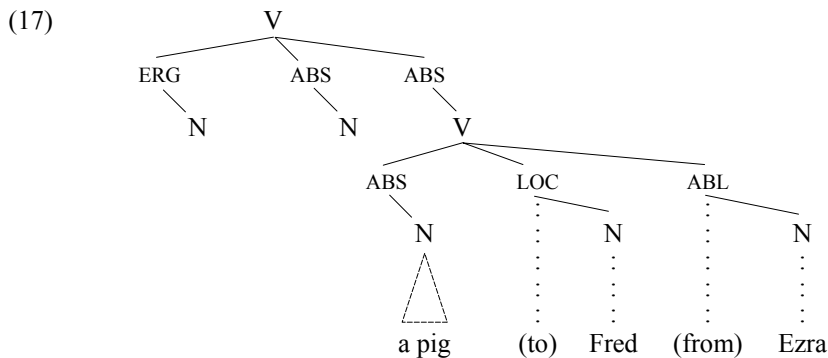
Such a structure underlies (in part) sentences containing *buy/sell.* Once more the lower subject is copied on to the upper absolutive phrase. If the locative phrase is copied on to the
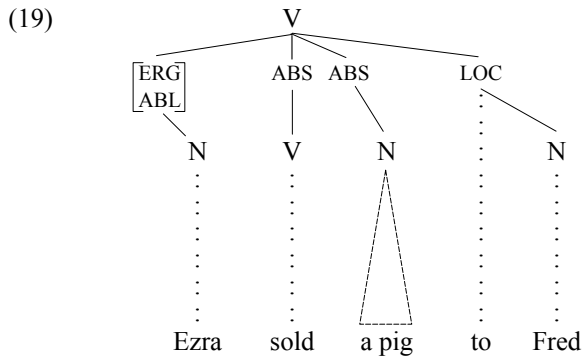
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[16] On this, see Anderson 1971b: §11.44.

[17] Such an account does not allow without some qualification for subjectivization of the LOC with verbs like *contain,* which do not have a corresponding *by*-form (unless they are causative). See also note 19.
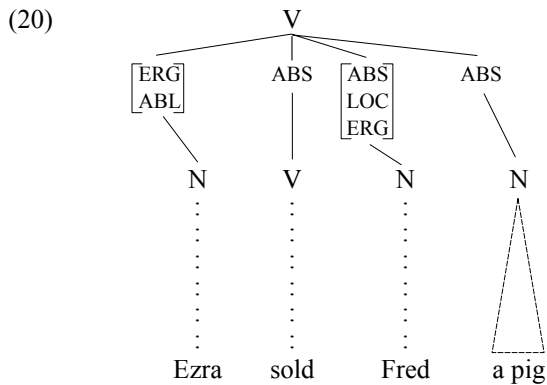
ergative, then the verb is realized as *buy;* if the ablative is copied, then *sell* is the verb. Thus with *buy,* the resulting structure is as in (18) (after subjoining of the lower V).

(18)

```
                         V
          ┌──────────┬────┬──────────┐
        ┌ERG┐      ABS  ABS        ABL
        └LOC┘       │     │          ┊
          N         V     N          N
          ┊         ┊    /\          ┊
          ┊         ┊   /  \         ┊
          Fred   bought  a pig   from  Ezra
```

Compare the structure for *sell* in (19).

(19)

```
                         V
          ┌──────────┬────┬──────────┐
        ┌ERG┐      ABS  ABS         LOC
        └ABL┘       │     │          ┊
          N         V     N          N
          ┊         ┊    /\          ┊
          Ezra     sold  a pig    to  Fred
```

If the locative in the lower sentence is also ERG, then the resulting structure is as in (20).

(20)

```
                         V
          ┌──────────┬────┬──────────┐
        ┌ERG┐      ABS  ┌ABS┐       ABS
        └ABL┘       │    │LOC│         
                    │    └ERG┘         
          N         V     N           N
          ┊         ┊     ┊          /\
          Ezra     sold  Fred      a pig
```

As the locative occupies the lower subject position, only the ablative phrase is available for copying on to the ergative in the higher predication.

Similar to *buy* and *sell* are *teach* and *learn, give* and *obtain,* and in some instances the same lexical items appear whether there is copying of the locative or of the ablative – as *hire* in English.[18]

In some languages, the locative phrase corresponding to the 'indirect object' in (15), (20) and the like has a distinctive superficial marker – the dative inflexion. Cf. Latin *Mihi librum dedit.* This same inflexion also characterizes the locative phrase in corresponding locationals: *Mihi est liber.* Compare English *Ezra has sold the pig to Fred* and *The pig belongs to Fred.* However, the locative in the non-directional instances can also (as in the directional – cf. (16)) be subjectivized. Compare *Habeo librum* or *Fred owns a pig.*[19]

(21)
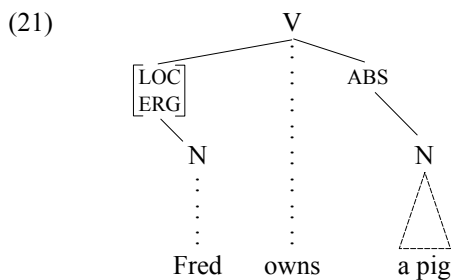
Consider too 'affective' verbs like *know* (compared with *teach/learn)* or *understand* (*explain*), which I would also interpret as taking a locative subject.

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[18] See Anderson 1971b: §§9.2, 11.3-4.

[19] I am ignoring here the distribution of 'definiteness', which is clearly crucial to a full account of such sentences. Observe too that (for the purposes of the present discussion) we are allowing throughout for the subjectivization of LOC in *have*-predications in terms of its subcategorization as ERG. However, there are considerable doubts concerning the appropriateness of this. *Have* is like *contai*n in lacking a 'passive' with *by…* Further, with respect to such an interpretation, the occurrence of examples like *The table has a book lying on it* is in contravention of the principle governing the hierarchy of quasi-predications formulated in Anderson forthcoming: §§VI and X.

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