GRAMMATICAL ORIENTATION CORRELATED WITH REGISTER: AN ANALYSIS FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Junichi Toyota

Abstract

Languages can be classified into three types, e.g. situation-oriented (e.g. Russian, Chinese, etc.), speaker-oriented (e.g. Bulgarian, Turkish, etc.) and hearer-oriented (e.g. English, Danish, etc.) (Durst-Anderssen 2005, 2006, 2008). In this paper, it is argued that the difference in spoken and written discourse can be compared to different patterns in these classificatory types, and historical changes in register can be explained through changes in these types. Due to gradualness of changes, one can find overlap in features, but orientation types presented here can be a useful indicator of register, especially from historical perspectives.

Key words

Situation-orientation, speaker-orientation, hearer-orientation, word order, inversion

1 Introduction

In this paper, the relationship between register and grammatical changes, especially a shift of grammatical orientation, is studied. Languages in the world show a wide diversity of grammatical structures, but they can be classified roughly into three groups based on their functions and basic organisational features in grammar regardless of differences in structures. This is what grammatical orientation signifies. What is argued here is that they have a similar pattern in diachronic changes which can yield interesting insights into historical changes of languages in general. Interestingly, this change also corresponds to the shift in alignment system. Thus, grammatical orientation is not merely an isolated way of looking at the linguistic structure, but it is closely connected to other grammatical features.

The shift in register may be studied on its own, perhaps as a part of literary studies, but it can also be investigated linguistically, or its general changing pattern over periods of time is, at least, comparable to changes observed in grammatical structures. In order to see this comparison, basic functional motivations of grammatical structures should be taken into consideration. In this way, speakers' world view, their wishes to express their emotion, etc. are considered. This broader perspective allows us to perform our main analysis in this work.

The paper is organised as follows: basic concepts of grammatical orientation are explained first. Then this orientation is considered from historical perspectives, especially in connection with changes in alignment. This suggests that the orientation is not an isolated phenomenon in language, but it is fully integrated into the basic structure of language and language use. After establishing a connection between orientation and alignment, register is studied, focusing on word order and information status. Corpora are employed to study different patterns in spoken and written registers (London-Oslo-Bergen Corpus (LOB) for the written register, and London-Lund Corpus (LLC) for the spoken register). Finally, the paper illustrates how orientation and register can be compared to each other.

2 Grammatical orientation

Each language has its own set of expressions arranged according to how speakers view the world. Depending on them, the same situation in reality can be described differently. For instance, the descriptive account of the world via human perception can show various differences even within the Indo-European languages: French examples in (1) seem to be identical to the English counterparts, but actor and undergoer are reversed in these languages. When expressing what English *I miss you* conveys, French has a structure 'you miss me', which can be literally translated as 'you miss to me (i.e. 'you make me miss you').' Lithuanian in (2) has an actor of sleeping in the dative case. The structure containing so-called dative subject is normally used for expressing spontaneous events such as emotion and perception. This means that the action of sleeping can be considered to happen spontaneously in Lithuanian, actor not being in control of event. In addition, judging from its structure (i.e. experiencer in dative case), one may even argue that the verb 'sleep' is considered as a type of perception verb in Lithuanian. Likewise, Spanish in (3) has a structure with an oblique undergoer (a person who tastes) for a perception verb *gusta* 'taste'. English does not have an overt case marking as Lithuanian does, but the difference among languages as shown in (1) to (3) is not a mere factor of case marking. English has to structure a scene from an undergoer's perspective in an account of perception, which is not the case in a number of other Indo-European languages. These languages can describe the same situation, but not with identical grammatical relations or linguistic means.

French

(1) a.	*Je*	*te*	*manque*
	I.NOM	you.OBL	miss.PRS.1SG

'You miss me.' (lit. 'I miss to you')

b. *Tu* *me* *manques*
you.NOM I.OBL miss.PRS.2SG
'I miss you.' (lit. 'you miss to me')

Lithuanian

(2) *nesi-miegojo* *ir* *Jonui*
NEG-sleep.PST too Jonas.DAT
'Jonas too did not sleep.' (lit. 'to Jonas did not sleep too')

Spanish

(3) *me gusta* *la* *yuca*
I.OBL taste the manioc
'I like manioc.' (lit. 'the manioc tastes me')

2.1 Orientation types

It is common that different packaging of expression units exists, but they can be classified into three groups (Durst-Andersen 1992: 102-105, 2005, 2008: 9-10). The first type is mainly concerned with a model of situations in reality. This type makes a firm distinction between a state caused by an activity and an activity intending to cause a state. This is normally marked by aspect. In Slavic languages, for instance, this distinction has to be made on each verb. In Serbian imperfective has a suffix, e.g. (4b), while in Russian perfective is overtly expressed with a prefix, e.g. (5a). It also distinguishes real world from imaginative one. This type is termed as *reality-oriented grammar*. In this type, a speaker acts as a reporter and speaks with an objective voice.

Serbian

(4) a. *ubiti* 'kill (PRFV)'
b. *ubi**ja**ti* 'kill (IMPRFV)'

Russian

(5) a. ***po**spati* 'take a nap (PRFV)'
b. *spati* 'sleep (IMPRFV)'

The second type functions as a symptom of the speaker's experience of situations. This type involves aspect, but also a complex modal system in order to express explicitly which part of situation is experienced by a speaker. For instance, some languages have a modal construction known as evidential (see Aikhenvald 2004), which explicitly indicates what and how a speaker experienced a situation.

Cherokee examples in (6) and (7) illustrate how evidential actually works. The suffix *-ɪši* in (6) indicates that a speaker has a first-hand (or direct) experience over the event, while *-eši* in (7) shows that a speaker has to rely on information inferable from outside. This type is called *speaker-oriented grammar*. A speaker talks about his/her experience as a basic unit with a subjective voice and acts as a commentator.

Cherokee (Iroquoian)
(6) a. *wesa* *u-tlis-ɪši*
cat it-run-FIRST.PST
'A cat ran' (I saw it running)
b. *un-atiyohl-ɪši*
they-argue-FIRST.PST
'They argued.' (I heard them arguing)
Cherokee (Iroquoian)
(7) a. *u-wonis-eši*
he-speak-NON.FIRST.PST
'He spoke.' (someone told me)
b. *u-gahnan-eši*
it-rain-NON.FIRST.PST
'It rained.' (I woke up, looked out and saw puddles of water)

The third type has an elaborate system of identifying different types of information, such as new and old, referable and non-referable, etc. This is encoded in the simple past tense (as opposed to the perfective aspect) or article (e.g. definite vs. indefinite). These aid the hearer to decode details of information and identify whether a referent is familiar to him or not. This type is known as *hearer-oriented language*. In this type, interlocutors consider information as its basic unit. The speaker is a second-person-oriented speaker, acts as an informer and speaks with an intersubjective voice.

These three different grammatical orientation types are summarised in Table 1. Note that these three types are prototypical cases and there are a number of intermediate stages, which have different types of overlap of features.

	Reality-oriented	Speaker-oriented	Hearer-oriented
Representatives	Russian, Chinese	Japanese, Serbian	English, Danish
Basic unit	Situation	Experience	Information
Speaker orientation	Third person	First person	Second person

Speaker function	Reporter	Communicator	Informer
Identification mark	Aspect prominence	Mood prominence	Tense prominence

Table 1: Grammatical orientation types

2.2 Some specific characteristics

Various differences among these types may be more significant than one may expect them to be. For instance, the presence or absence of article often corresponds to the difference in orientation type. The definite article is an important discourse marker for reference, and it functions as a clear indicator for the hearer that he/she has to be able to trace a referent's identity. Such a subtle difference in discourse is not so significant in describing a situation. Reality-oriented languages might have demonstratives which function quite similarly to the definite articles in hearer-oriented languages, but there is no discourse function in them. With speaker-orientation, it may be useful to have articles, but not necessary, since three is no absolute need for the overt expression of discourse reference as long as the speakers are clear about the referents. And the use and importance of the definite article is also shown in its historical development. The common source for the definite article is the demonstrative pronouns (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 109-111), e.g. English *the* is derived from Old English demonstrative *se* (s.v. OED *the* dem. a. (def. article) and pron.). However, note that there are some cases where the numeral 'one' is turning into a definite article. Irish has a definite article *an*, as in (8b), but not an indefinite pronoun, e.g. (8a). Etymologically, *an* 'the' is derived from the numeral *aon* 'one' in Old Irish. The numeral 'one' is often turning into an indefinite article, but the definite sense can be derived from a numeral via a restrictive sense of 'only' (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 220-221). Nevertheless, the discourse referential system in Irish works in favour of the hearer even without an indefinite article.

Irish

(8) a. *Tá* *leabhar* *agaim*
is book at.me
'I have a book.'

b. *Tá* *an* *leabhar* *agaim*
is the book at.me
'I have the book.'

For another case, we can take a look at possession. English most commonly uses the verb *have* to express possession, although other verbs, such as *belong*

to, *hold*, *own*, etc. can also refer to possession. The lexical verb works very well in English since the main expression unit in English is information (i.e. hearer-orientation), and the lexical verb of possession is a simple way of referring to who owns what. This is not the same in languages with reality-orientation. In Russian, for instance, there is a lexical verb *imet'* 'have'. It may appear to be identical to the English counterpart, but *imet'* 'have' is not normally used to denote possession, as in the case of the English counterpart. Instead, Russian uses another verb *jest'* 'exist' in a phrase 'something exists with possessor'. Those languages with reality orientation are not primarily concerned with experience or information, but an objective description of a situation. With *imet'* 'have', it is obligatory to insert a subject, which can possibly turn a sentence into a structure used for the purpose of showing experience or information (and therefore (9a) and (10a) both sound rather unnatural for expressing possession). Some languages also use the distinction between alienable and inalienable possession for making distinction between the description of the world (alienable possession as something permanent) and the personal experience or information (inalienable possession as something non-permanent and changeable). In order to keep an objective viewpoint over a situation, the use of locative sense and verb denoting state is better suited for the expression of possession in reality-oriented languages, as shown in (9b) and (10b).

Russian

(9) a. ?*Ya* *imeju* *zenu*
I.NOM.SG have.PRS wife.ACC
?'I have a wife.' (it has a sexual connotation)

b. *U* *menja* *jest'* *zena*
with I.ACC.SG exist.PRS wife.NOM
'I have a wife.' (lit. 'wife exists with me')

Russian

(10) a. ?*Ya* *imeju* *knigu*
I have.PRS book.ACC.SG
'I have a book.' (this phrase is hardly used for this meaning)

b. *U* *menja* *jest'* *kniga*
with I.ACC.SG exist.PRS book.NOM
'I have a book.' (lit. 'book exists with me')

The instances exemplified in (9) and (10) illustrate how common phrases or expressions can be a vital clue in identifying the grammatical orientation. Possession has been extensively studied in the past (cf. e.g. Lyons 1977: 722;

Heine 1997) and several patterns have been identified structurally. For instance, Heine (1997: 47) identifies eight possible structures expressing possession. The ones based on a locational sense are shown in (11). These divisions, however, have not been considered from the perspectives of grammatical orientation types. It has been claimed that the most common strategy to express possession is the use of the location schema, i.e. (11i) (cf. among others, Benveniste 1966: 200, Lyons 1977: 722). Structures involving the locational sense are very common in possession, including the Russian examples (9b) and (10b). Locational sense is very useful in describing a situation, and if there is a strong connection between the orientation type and the expression of possession, there is a strong indication found here that the majority of the world's languages have reality orientation. More research has to be done in this area, but one should not overlook such relational possibilities:

(11) i. *Y is located at X* (the Location Schema)
ii. *X is with Y* (the Companion Schema)
iii. *Y exists for/to X* (the Goal Schema)
iv. *Y exists from X* (the Source Schema)

2.3 Historical changes in terms of alignment and orientation type

We have seen different types of grammatical orientation so far. They may appear to stand on their own, but they are in fact intricately connected to alignment, especially in terms of historical changes. The term alignment may not be so commonly used, but it is any one of several grammatical systems for classifying noun phrase arguments in the sentences of a language. The classification is made according to the pattern of treatment of subjects and direct objects, referring to the distribution of morphological markers or of syntactic, semantic or morphological characteristics. It involves nominative-accusative, ergative-absolute and active-stative alignments.

Alignment has been known to shift among these. However, the most common pattern is from active alignment to either ergative or accusative ones. In addition, there is a shift between ergative and accusative ones. Reconstructed ancient languages often demonstrate an aspectual base for the grammar. (See e.g. a grammar of Proto-Indo-European in Lehmann 1993, 2002 and Gamkrelidze & Ivanov 1995). Active alignment seems to be suitable in description of the world around speakers. This alignment has a set of world views, in a sense that some events are considered as active and others stative. These world views are reflections of socio-historical factors passed down from generation to generation

within one speech community, and various distinctions may appear to be arbitrary. Let us take an example: Guaraní (Amerind) operates according to the active alignment, and grammatically treats *-kí-* 'rain' as active and *-aiviruši-* 'drizzle' as stative (Mithun 1991: 513). Compare this with the English counterparts, *rain* and *drizzle*. They are considered rather active in English. Such differences are commonly found across different languages. When active alignment is turned into ergative or accusative ones, the expressiveness of language becomes much richer: in addition to the description of events or state, languages can express how or why it happened. The significance of this difference is that new alignment types imply a chain of causation, which is not clearly implied in the active alignment. Causation forces the grammar to identify and grammatically encode 'who does what to whom' (i.e. actor and undergoer) more clearly. Alignment change has gained much attention in recent years after Harris and Campbell (1995), and various pieces of evidence have been presented. Active alignment seems to be the oldest type, but its developmental path into ergative or accusative has been disputed. In the early 1970s, the stadial hypothesis was promoted, claiming that active alignment becomes ergative first, and then it turns into accusative (Klimov 1974, Schmalstieg 1980: 169-172). However, in recent years, numerous examples that disclaim this hypothesis have been found: Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1995: 267-276), for instance, claim that the Indo-European languages did not go through a stage of ergative alignment, and earlier active alignment became accusative. Other scholars have revealed that accusative alignment turned into ergative in some languages. (See Andersen 1988 on Nilotic languages such as Päri, and Turkana, and Gildea 1992 on Carib languages.)

Interestingly, different types of grammatical orientation seem to correspond to different alignment types. Reality orientation, concerned with the description, is more or less identical to active alignment. The base of active alignment forces speakers to view the world in terms of a binary opposition active and inactive. This distinction normally goes along a general animate and inanimate distinction, but some inanimate objects are even considered based on their usefulness or ability to reproduce. Bloomfield (1946: 94) provides one case of classification concerning wild berries in Ojibwa (Algonquian): 'raspberry' is animate, but 'strawberry' inanimate. (See also Straus & Brightman 1982 for similar examples from Northern Cheyenne (Algonquian).) At first sight, this distinction appears to be completely arbitrary, but once native speakers' world view, beliefs and attitudes are taken into consideration, it is slightly easier to understand the classification (Greenberg 1954: 15-16, Hallowell 1960: 24). Speakers consider referents of active noun class powerful, including animals, sacred objects and various others. Other referents which grow from the earth are intermediate –

intermediate since some are considered animate, others inanimate. Once bearing this in mind, the classification concerning berries can be understandable. Thus in Algonquian languages, as argued by Straus and Brightman (1982: 99), "the gender is definable". In active alignment, only active nouns can be the subject of a clause, naturally because the inanimate objects in nature cannot initiate an action. If an inactive referent becomes a subject, a special suffix should be added, a structure commonly known as inverse voice. (See Anderson 1997 for a case of Fox (Algonquian).) This type of grammatical device is necessary because the world is viewed as it is and the language is used for the purpose of describing speaker's surroundings.

Both speaker and hearer orientations require more than a mere description of event or state, and their concern is how to transfer information, whether subjectively or objectively. By transferring information, speakers can express personal opinions about and affectedness by the events. This matches ergative or accusative alignment system. Grammatically speaking, languages with ergative and accusative alignment have developed complex tense and mood system, which also corresponds to the characteristics of speaker and hearer orientation types (Table 1). Both ergative and accusative alignment are concerned with transitivity, i.e. transfer of energy from actor to undergoer. However, as argued in Toyota (2009b), transitivity can be classified into two types, semantic and syntactic transitivity. In semantic transitivity, degree of transfer of energy is precisely detectable only by a speaker, and it can be graded. With syntactic transitivity, energy transfer is obviously detectable by everyone involved in the communication based on the presence or absence of the direct object. Different structures analysed under the passive voice can illustrate this point: Languages like English can passivise more or less every verb with the direct object, with exceptions like *resemble*. The verb of perception or emotion normally has a direct object, but the degree of energy transfer involved in a clause is very low, i.e. it is semantically intransitive. However, due to the presence of direct object, it is possible to passivise verbs like *see*, *like*, etc. as shown in (12). These languages, on the other hand, do not allow the passivisation of monovalent verbs such as *go*, *dance*, *whistle*, etc. These verbs are semantically, but not syntactically, transitive (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980, Taylor 2003). Therefore, those languages that allow the passivisation of transitive monovalent verbs have semantic transitivity. Some examples are shown in (13) from Dutch and (14) from Icelandic. In addition to these, semantic transitivity often employs different case markings for the direct object for indicating different degrees of the energy transfer. Thus, as exemplified in the examples from Old English in (15), the accusative case in (15a) indicates higher degrees of energy transfer than the dative case used in

(15b). This type of subtle difference cannot be found in syntactic transitivity (see Toyota 2009a for further examples).

English

(12) i. *That actor was seen walking in the city centre.*
ii. *His book was liked by many people.*

Dutch

(13) *Er wordt* (*door de jongens*) *gefloten*
it become.PRS through the young.PL whistle.PST.PRT
'There is whistling (by the boys).'

Icelandic

(14) *Það hefur áreiðanlega verið dansað þá*
there have.PRS.3SG certainly be.PST.PRT dance.PST.PRT then
'There has certainly been dancing.' (lit. 'there has certainly been danced)

Old English

(15) a. *and ða folgode feorhgeniðlan*
and then follow.PST deadly.foes.ACC
'and then he pursued his deadly foes.' (*Beo* 2928)
b *him folgiað fugöas scyne*
he.DAT follow.PRS bird.PL fair
'Fair birds shall follow him.' (*WHom* 11.197)

It seems plausible to claim that speaker orientation corresponds to semantic transitivity since subtle adjustments in expressing degrees of energy transfer can be made. Hearer orientation is comparable to syntactic transitivity, due to the fact that it is clearer to indicate whether there is a transfer of energy or not simply by adding or removing a direct object. Durst-Andersen (2008) argues for a possibility that there is a cyclic change concerning the orientation types, from reality-orientation to hearer-orientation via speaker-orientation (see Figure 1). This can be supported by alignment change, too, e.g. in the cycle, semantic transitivity (the speaker orientation) is first and syntactic transitivity (the hearer orientation) later, as indicated by changes observed in English, e.g. (15) suggests that Old English used semantic transitivity, but the examples in (12) are clear sign of syntactic transitivity. This shift seems to be unidirectional, based on various pieces of evidence from ancient languages, especially reconstructed ones. However, the evidence supporting the change from hearer-orientation back to reality-orientation has not been found in the existing languages, either in modern or in ancient ones. Thus, this claim may be rather speculative. This also corresponds to the changes of alignment (see Toyota 2008 for further details).

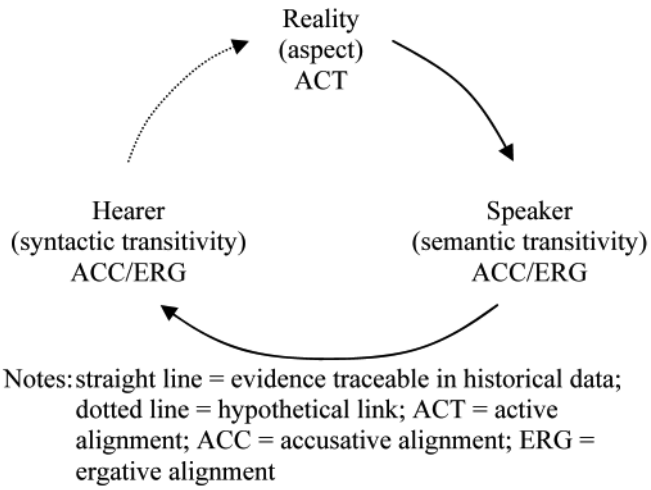

Figure 1: Diachronic shift in grammatical orientation types

Alignment is a core grammatical organisational system in human languages, and the orientation types can be compared to this system. This suggests that orientation can also be a significant grammatical taxonomic parameter in understanding natural language.

3 Historical change of register

Literary genre as well as register also changes over period of time, like the change of alignment or grammatical orientation. From evolutionary perspectives, literature is normally considered to have emerged from earlier mythologies and rituals, as formulated in Segal (2004: 74): "Works of literature are interpreted as the outgrowth of myths once tied to rituals." There is a myth describing the life of the god of vegetation, and rituals often enact his birth and death, as found in modern practices such as the voodoo culture. As Davies (2002: 114) states:

> It is relatively common in myths from most parts of the world to say that mankind was, originally, eternal. … In this sense, myths of the origin of death reinforce the rites which assert that life goes on after death, albeit in a transformed world. The myths express the power of words which are set against the force of nature which brings death to people.

This may explain themes of early literature which in Old English (OE) and Old French (OF) literature, for instance, often involve knights (e.g. *Beowulf* for OE and *Chanson de Laurant* for OF) and they normally follow a specific story line (brave knights serve their king that they are invincible in many battles, but they have to be killed in the end and everyone moans their death). This kind of patterns is a residue of earlier tie to rituals and development of literature involves detachment from rituals and acquisition of freer style, which later became different genres. To our modern eyes, earlier literature may sound odd, and it is possible to interpret that mythology and earlier literature can be the representation or description of the world that speakers observed in those times. This seems comparable to the reality orientation and active alignment, where description of speakers' surrounding was the main purpose of the language. Registers have diversified and this change can correspond to the shift in the grammatical orientation and alignment. This connection also suggests that other kinds of genres can correspond to other kinds of orientation. However, it is easier said than done.

Registers can be various according to different measurement, such as age, dialect, etc. As argued below, one of the basic distinctions among them, i.e. spoken and written, reflects on different stages in the history of languages, i.e. changes in languages are normally first witnessed in the spoken register and newly developed forms are later incorporated into the written register, although there are some exceptions especially in language contact-induced changes. The passive voice in Japanese was fully developed in the 19th century after the contact with Dutch, especially through translating medical books word by word (Kinsui 1997). However, such cases are rare and the majority of cases follow a pattern of a new form in the spoken register and then incorporated into the written register. This pattern is found at different levels, i.e. phonetic, stylistic or grammatical. In what follows, a specific case of the change of word order is used to illustrate this point.

3.1 Word order and topic/subject-prominence

In order to highlight the connection between orientation and register, we examine the word order and how they change historically. Word order normally changes over periods of time, and the most common changing pattern is from SOV to SVO or VSO (see Toyota 2008: 119-122), although there are some exceptions such as a change from SVO to SOV in Mande languages from West Africa. This also involves a change from a freer word order to a more rigid one, and the freer word order is normally related to the information status. This means that earlier structure was discourse-oriented and speaker's intention could

easily be manipulated by alternating constituents' order. This is also known as a shift between topic-prominence and subject-prominence (Li & Thompson 1976). It is generally the case that the topic-prominent languages have a freer word order, while the subject-prominent languages have their subject in a slot where the highest topicality is given and the order of constituents is fixed. Languages historically start with a freer word order, which will be fixed later if there is a change, but it keeps changing patterns, as schematically demonstrated in 0. English was earlier a topic-prominent language with a basic SOV order, but the word order was freer. This turned into a subject-prominent language with a rigid SVO order around the 17th-18th century.

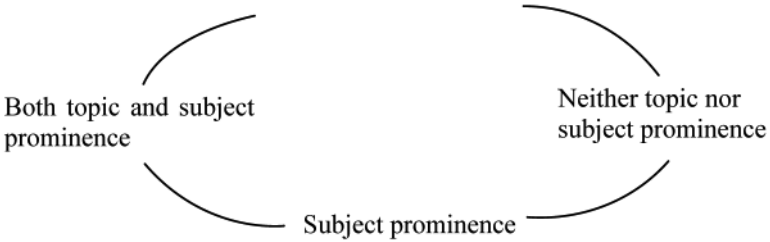

Figure 2: Diachronic shift of subject and topic prominence (Toyota 2008: 122)

Among these changes, something does not change easily. For instance, the word order in the subordinate clause tends to be preserved longer than that in the main clause (Givón 1979: 83ff), and this is still observed, for instance, in Modern German. Another case is inversion. It is arguably only found in languages with the subject-prominent languages, e.g. it requires a fixed word order. Word order alternation in topic-prominent languages is a natural operation due to their information structure and it cannot be considered a typical inversion. In this sense, it is possible to argue that inversion in languages is a residue of earlier grammatical structures based on information status, since earlier English (up until the 17th-18th centuries) was topic-prominent, and the basic word order was freer. In present-day English, inversion between a subject and a verb after the fronting of the negative marker *Never have I seen such a scene* is obligatory and it is more frequent in written discourse. Consider the result taken from the present-day English corpora for both spoken and written data in 0. Examples containing the negation are extracted, but the inversion is observed only in the

written data, although they are fractional (i.e. 0.9% of all the written data).

	PDE	
	Spoken (LLC)	Written (LOB)
Canonical	400 (100%)	753 (99.1%)
Inversion	0	7 (0.9%)
Total	400 (100%)	760 (100%)

Table 2: Word order variation involving the fronting of negation

This is so, since the written discourse tends to preserve structures that were once popular in the spoken discourse in earlier states of the language. In other words, the inversion containing the negation does not happen in the spoken language any more and this will be incorporated into the written language in the very near future. Judging from the result in 0, the process has already started and it has been well-established. This pattern is schematically represented in Figure 3. Note that reality-orientation is not observed in the history of English and therefore, it is omitted in the figure. The *get*-passive is one such case. This structure was grammaticalised in English around the late 18th and the early 19th centuries, but it is mainly found in the spoken register and it is still not favoured in the written register (see Toyota 2008: 148-150; 174-182 for examples). In the near future, the *get*-passive will be used similarly to the *be*-passive, but it has not happened yet.

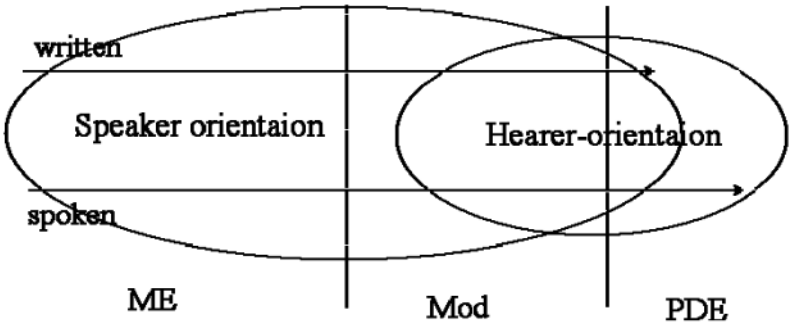

Figure 3: Diachronic shift of register and grammatical orientation

3.2 Relationship between orientation type and register in terms of word order

It may not be so obvious, but the change concerning the word order, including the topic and subject prominence, can correspond to the changes in the orientation, especially between speaker- and hearer-orientations.

Speaker-orientation is derived from the reality-orientation, and both involve speaker's subjective viewpoint on language and surroundings of speakers are described from speakers' own perspectives. A freer word order suits such languages better, since a speaker's own emphasis on events can be expressed by altering the word order. In other words, fewer restrictions on the word order mean that speakers have more choices to express their own view freely. This is closer to speaker orientation. Even in present-day English, some variations such as fronting of adverbials *Yesterday, I saw him* or fronting of direct object *That book, I enjoyed very much* are still common in spoken register, but the majority of the sentence pattern follows the basic SVO word order. This is so, because in hearer-orientation, events have to be described objectively and not much personal viewpoint can be added into description. In this type, the word order is better fixed so that the information conveyed in a sentence is as objective as possible without adding any extra information. This is what is pervasively found in written register of present-day English. When emphasis is made, syntactically-marked constructions such as cleft or pseudo-cleft are used.

As already explained, both orientation and word order types in relation to information structure change over periods of time, from speaker-orientation (with freer word order) to hearer-orientation (with rigid order). This changing pattern is also identical to a shift between spoken and written registers in a historical development, i.e. a new structure appears first in a spoken register and some are incorporated later into a written one. The connection here is that an earlier pattern allows speakers' free will to be expressed, but a later one becomes more focused on structure, and stylistic conventions are enforced on language. In addition, speakers' emphasis is not so significant in hearer orientation. This relationship is schematised in Figure 4. English has seen a change into hearer-orientation and a free word order including inversion is not really suitable in this orientation type. Whether it is word order or register, changes normally follow a more or less identical pattern represented in changes in orientation (see Figure 4). Due to gradualness of changes, one can find different patterns of overlap in features, but orientation types presented here can be a useful indicator of different registers from historical perspectives.

Figure 4: Diachronic shift between register and orientation

4 Conclusion

Languages can be classified into three types**,** i.e. situation-oriented, speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented. In this paper, it is argued that the difference in spoken and written discourse can be compared to different patterns in these classificatory types, and historical changes in register can be explained through changes in these types. It has been shown that diachronic change patterns in register or word order follow an underlying pattern found in orientation, i.e. speakers' emphasis-based organisation to structure-based one.

Language changes are first observed in the spoken register and later incorporated into the written one, and the spoken register normally reflects speaker's inner thoughts directly, which makes a sharp contrast against the written register, where due attention is paid to the structure itself. Register and historical development of languages have not been studied closely, but the relationship between them can reveal something significant in linguistic studies. This result also suggests that more interdisciplinary studies need to be done in order to see a fuller picture concerning register.

References

Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2004) *Evidentials*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Andersen, T. (1988) 'Ergativity in Pari, a Nilotic OVS language.' *Lingua 75*, 289-324.
Anderson, G. D. S. (1997) 'On "animacy maximization" in Fox (Mesquakie).' *Journal of American Linguistics 63*, 227-247.
Benveniste, C. (1966) *Problèmes de Linguistique Générale* [Problems of general linguistics]. Paris: Ballimard.
Bloomfield, L. (1946) 'Algonquian.' In: Hoijer, H. (ed.) *Linguistic Structures of Native America. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 6*. 85-129.
Davies, D. J. (2005) *A Brief History of Death*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Durst-Andersen, P. (1992) *Mental Grammar. Russian Aspect and Related Issues*. Colombus (OH): Slavica.
Durst-Andersen, P. (2005) *Obščie I specifičeskie svojstva grammatičeskix sistem. K postroeniju novoj teorii jazyka* [The general and the specific features of grammatical systems. Towards a new theory of language]. Moskva: RGGU.

Durst-Andersen, P. (2008) *Linguistics as Semiotics. Saussure and Bühler Revisited*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Copenhagen.
Gamkrelidze, T. V. and Ivanov, V. V. (1995) *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans: A Reconstruction and Historical Analysis of a Proto-Language and Proto-Culture* (Part 1): *Text*. (English version by Johanna Nichols). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Gildea, S. (1992) *Comparative Cariban Morphosyntax: On the Genesis of Ergativitiy in Independent Clause*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oregon.
Givón, T. (1979) *On Understanding Grammar*. New York.
Greenberg, J. H. (1954) 'Concerning inferences from linguistic to non-linguistic data.' In: Hoijer, H. (ed.) *Language in Culture: Conference on the Interrelation of Language and Other Aspects of Culture*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. 3-19.
Hallowell, A. I. (1960) 'Ojibwa ontology, behavior, and world view.' In: Diamond, S. (ed.) *Culture in History: Essays in Honour of Paul Radin*. New York: Columbia University Press. 19-52.
Harris, A. C. and Campbell, L. (1995) *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Heine, B. (1997) *Possession*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Heine, B. and Kuteva, T. (2002) *Dictionary of Grammatical Changes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Hopper P. J. and Thompson, S. A. (1980) 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse.' *Language 56*, 251–339.
Kinsui, T. (1997) 'The influence of translation on the historical development of the Japanese passive construction.' *Journal of Pragmatics 28*, 759-779.
Klimov, G. A. (1974) 'On the character of language of active typology.' *Linguistics 131*, 11-25.
Lehmann, W. P. (1993) *Theoretical Bases of Indo-European Linguistics*. London: Routledge.
Lehmann, W. P. (2002) *Pre-Indo-European*. Washington DC: Institute for the Study of Man.
Li, C. N. and Thompson, S. A. (1976) 'Subject and topic: A new typology of language.' In: Li, C. N. (ed.) *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press. 457-489.
Lyons, J. (1977) *Semantics***.** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Mithun, M. (1991) 'Active/agentive case marking and its motivations.' *Language 67*, 510-546.
OED = Simpson, J. A. and Weiner, E. S. C. (eds) (1989) *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Schmalstieg, W. R. (1980) *Indo-European Linguistics: A New Synthesis*. University Park (Penn.): Pennsylvania State University Press.
Segal, R. A. (2004) *Myth: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Straus, A. T. and Brightman, R. (1982) 'The implacable raspberry.' *Papers in Linguistics 15*, 97-137.
Taylor, J. (2003) *Linguistic Categorization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Toyota, J. (2008) *Diachronic Change in the English Passive*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
Toyota, J. (2009a) 'The history of Indo-European languages: Alignment change as a clue.' In: Loudová, K. and Žáková M. (eds) *Early European Languages in the Eyes of Modern Linguistics*. Brno: Masaryk University. 331-340.
Toyota, J. (2009b) *A History of English: Origins of Peculiarities*. Unpublished manuscript, Centre for Cognitive Semiotics, Lund University.