

## Abstract

Generative Grammar has undergone a paradigm-shift from its early emphasis on Universal Grammar, e.g. Chomsky (1965), to a focus on factors not specific to the Faculty of Language, e.g. Chomsky (2007; 2015). The latter factors are known as third factor principles and “have the flavor of the constraints that enter into all facets of growth and evolution.... Among these are principles of efficient computation” (Chomsky 2007: 3). Third factor principles include Minimal Search, Determinacy, and Economy and can be seen at work in specific syntactic structures and restrictions on them. In this talk, I argue that they can also be detected in how language changes: because labeling {XP, YP} through Minimal Search is impossible, {X, YP} emerges instead, and the need for determinate derivations eliminates superfluous movement. In addition to cases where third factors are responsible for different choices by the language learner, i.e. for language change, there are also cases where third factor principles leave options for cross-linguistic variation: CP-TP sequences are problematic for determinacy and some languages have restricted C to-T-inheritance, or lack a T(P), or delete the C(P).

Language change involves a cyclical dynamic between economy and elaboration or, as von der Gabelentz (1901: 256) put it, language history moves between comfort and clarity. Innate, third factor principles bias the acquisition of a specific grammar in economical ways but external factors, such as pragmatic strengthening, can complicate the grammar of a language. In this talk, I mainly examine the comfort side of the linguistic cycle by considering the role of third factor principles in language change, in particular determinacy and labeling. The current talk offers a theoretical and empirical update to earlier work (van Gelderen 2004; 2011), where I consider structural Economy Principles, such as the Head Preference Principle, Late Merge, and Featural Economy as influencing change. Although third factor in nature, Structural and Featural Economy still depend on linguistic information and, if less emphasis is placed on these, they should be reformulated as non-linguistic, i.e. genuine third factor principles. The main emphasis is on the changes due to economy, but renewal of the ‘eroded’ elements will be discussed where relevant. This renewal reintroduces uneconomical structures and keeps cyclical change going.