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## Book of Abstracts

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# Abstracts

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Workshop proposals

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## Plenary speakers

### Shifts in English modal verb usage in recent times

Aarts, Bas  
(University College London)

Recent research has shown that the use of modal verbs in English has changed, in some cases quite dramatically (Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Millar 2009, and especially Leech *et al.* 2009). Whereas Close & Aarts (2010) and Aarts, Close & Wallis (forthcoming) discussed the changing use of *individual* modal verbs and semi-modals in spoken British English, in this paper the focus is on how modal verb usage has changed within the various modal verb phrase *patterns* (e.g. modal+main verb, modal+adverb+main verb, etc.). The incidence of these patterns, and how their use has changed recently, has never been investigated in depth before. In my presentation I will introduce the *Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English* (DCPSE; Aarts & Wallis 2006), and show how it has been used as a database for the research.

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### Anaphoric Dependencies and the Quest for Universals

Martin Everaert  
(Utrecht University)

In this talk I will discuss some of the misunderstanding surrounding the notion universal in formal theorizing, and how it relates to the notion universal in typology. In doing so, I will try to shed light on the recent discussions in this area initiated by the work of Levinson & Evans (2009). Apart from misunderstandings, this work and reactions to it, made clear that there are deep divisions on appropriate methodology, which make it almost impossible to bridge the theoretical divide. Despite this, I will try to look for common ground.

I will concentrate on ‘anaphoric dependencies’. I will try to separate fact from fiction and discuss some ‘universals’ that are in need of an explanation, leading us, perhaps, to a better understanding of the design principles language, or to put it differently, the language blueprint (Hengeveld 2002).

Binding theory (cf.1), a theory of anaphoric relations taken as syntactic dependencies (Chomsky 1981), is one of the most discussed theories in generative grammar.

- (1) a. An anaphor (= *herself*, *each other*,...), is bound in a local domain D
- b. A pronominal (= *him*, *she*,...), is free in a local domain D

Binding Theory as originally formulated has been substantially changed and augmented over the years, in order to respond to many empirical challenges. All in all, binding nowadays is taken as modular, distributed over the lexicon, syntax, semantics and discourse, and the partitioning of elements is more intricate than a simple anaphor-pronominal divide given in (1). Taking (1) as the basis of discussion I will discuss three empirical domains:

- a. Local binding of pronouns (Everaert 1986, Reuland 2001)**
- (2) a. Max<sub>i</sub> wasket him<sub>i</sub> (/himsels) Frisian  
 b. Jan<sub>i</sub> was hom (/h<sup>o</sup>mself) Frisian  
 c. Max<sub>i</sub> wast \*hem<sub>i</sub> (/zichzelf) Dutch  
 'Max washes him/himself'
- b. Non-local binding of what appear to be anaphors (Annemalai 2000):**
- (3) kumaar<sub>i</sub> umaa tann<sub>i</sub>-e tiTTunaaNNU sonn-aan. Tamil  
 Kumar uma self-ACC scold:PST:AGR:COMP say:pst-agr  
 'Kumar said that Uma scolded him.'
- c. Subject reflexives (Amiridze 1998)**
- (4) a. [tavisma tavma]<sub>i</sub> Ø-i-xsn-a president<sub>i</sub> Georgian  
 head's:ERG head:ERG him-i-saved-he president:NOM  
 'It was the president who saved himself, no one else is responsible for saving him'  
 b. prezidentma<sub>i</sub> Ø-i-xsn-a [tavis<sub>i</sub> tavi]<sub>i</sub>  
 president:ERG him-i-saved-he head's:NOM head:NOM  
 'The president saved himself'

Taking these three domains I will argue that theoretically-informed cross-linguistic work can help us detect universals of language.

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### Meaning in form: converging methodologies

Adele E. Goldberg  
 (Princeton University)

This presentation offers evidence based on various methodologies—theoretical, behavioral, and neural—that converges on the idea that argument structure constructions are directly associated with contentful meanings. The theoretical arguments are based on avoiding implausible and unconstrained verb senses, as well as on the appeal of capturing broader generalizations (Goldberg 1995; 2002; 2006). Behavioral work demonstrates that Jabberwocky-type sentences prime related verb senses in an on-line lexical decision task; for example, *She jorped him the miggy* primes *gave*, *handed* and *transferred* (Johnson and Goldberg, forthcoming). Neurolinguistic work using MVPA on fMRI data demonstrates that the ditransitive and the dative constructions can be distinguished neurally, even though lexical items, propositional content, and complexity are controlled for; this work implicates brain areas associated with both basic combinatorics and semantic combination, consistent with the idea that the two constructions differ subtly in terms of form and function (Allen, Pereira, Botvinick, and Goldberg, forthcoming).

### Constructivist Approaches to Style-Shifting: An Interactional Sociolinguistic Perspective

Juan Manuel Hernández Campoy  
 (Universidad de Murcia)

Traditional variationist conceptualizations of style shifting as a primarily responsive phenomenon, conditioned by matters external to the speaker such as audience and formality of the situation, are inadequate to account for all stylistic choices. The present paper focuses on the unexpected (and controversial) use of features of the local dialect by a female former President of the Local Government of Murcia, in southeastern Spain. The Murcian dialect is stigmatized within Spain but also carries covert prestige for Murcians as a marker of local identity and solidarity. The President's broadcast speech is compared with that of other Murcian female politicians, Murcian male politicians, Murcian non-politicians, and non-Murcian politicians quantitatively with eight salient consonantal features of the local dialect. The comparison of the President's broadcast speech with that of other local (and non-local) speakers shows, surprisingly,

that she has higher usage levels for dialect features than any of the other groups. Her use and hyper-use of Murcian dialect features indicates that she is *not* shifting her speech in reaction to formality, or even in accommodation to the many Murcians in her audience. Rather, she is purposely designing her speech to project an image that highlights her Murcian identity and her socialist ideals, since the Murcian dialect is associated with working class as well as regional identity, and also with progressive ideas. Thus, more recent conceptualizations of stylistic variation as creative and strategic, and as essential to identity projection and creation and the furthering of one's specific situational goals, can be used to explain people's stylistic choices even in seemingly stylistically constrained settings such as publicly broadcast political speech.

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### **Integrating Sociolinguistics and (Critical) Discourse Studies: Multilingual Practices in European Union Institutions**

Ruth Wodak  
(Lancaster University)

Taking the 6. EU framework project DYLAN as point of departure (see [http://www.dylan-project.org/Dylan\\_en/index.php](http://www.dylan-project.org/Dylan_en/index.php)), I will discuss the different theoretical and methodological approaches which are deemed adequate in analyzing, understanding and explaining social phenomena as complex as multilingual policies and practices (and their history) in the European Union. In linking macro, meso and micro levels of investigation – hence recursively integrating structural conditions and spontaneous interactions in specific contexts –, it is worth first reflecting on the current scope of linguistics (and sociolinguistics as well as discourse studies). Does it make sense to draw distinct boundaries between different paradigms, schools, and approaches? Or would it make sense to transcend traditional boundaries in order to arrive at the best possible analysis and explanation?

In my lecture, I thus first present the various theoretical and methodological approaches employed in analyzing *multilingual practices* in interactions inside European Union (EU) institutions as well as the *policies* which regulate and govern such practices and the *language attitudes and ideologies* underlying both regulations and practices. On the basis of vast fieldwork conducted in EU organizational spaces throughout 2009 (with the project team located at Lancaster), I then explore different types of communication in order to illustrate how Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) and officials at the European Commission practise and perform multilingualism in their everyday work (Wodak et al. 2011; Krzyżanowski & Wodak 2011). Here, I draw on existent sociolinguistic ethnographic research into organisations and interactions, and integrate a multi-level (macro) contextual and sequential (micro) analysis of manifold data (observations, field notes, recordings of official and semi-official meetings, interviews, and so forth). In this way, a continuum of context-dependent multilingual practices becomes apparent which are characterised by different patterns of language choice and which serve a range of both manifest and latent functions.

As research on bi- or multilingualism has recently moved away “from an emphasis on languages and their different codes towards an account which describes the individual as engaged in meaning-making and identity work” (Blackledge & Creese 2010:31), Code-Switching (CS) is increasingly defined as a discursive practice which is influenced by existing power relations such as the distribution of (linguistic) resources and the legitimacy of various knowledges in different discursive spaces (Heller 2007a; Gal 2010; Duchêne 2008). I believe that the peculiarity of the complex institutional spaces of the EU necessitates a closer look at CS, especially in terms of its performative aspects and “speakers draw[ing] on linguistic resources which are organized in ways that make sense under specific social conditions” (Heller 2007b:1). For this reason, I move away from a reified notion of code and code-switching and suggest an approach that views CS as dynamic manifestation(s) of power and other related phenomena in institutional spaces.

By integrating the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with sociolinguistic ethnography, the intricacies of the increasingly complex phenomenon of multilingualism in transnational-organizational spaces, which are frequently characterised by diverse power-related and other asymmetries of communication, can be adequately coped with.

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## Discourse structure and its explicit model.

Abdullayev, Afgan & Valiyeva, Nigar  
(Azerbaijan University of Languages)

This paper examines the relationship between sound structure and discourse structure in English. In English, phrases are marked by edge tones which have discourse functions. A high edge tone indicates that the phrase is to be interpreted with respect to a subsequent phrase, while a low edge tone means that the phrase does not form an interpretive unit with the subsequent phrase. How the tones in a phrase marked by a low edge tone are implemented phonetically conveys how complete a sub-topic is. Thus the choice of edge tone conveys local discourse relationships between pairs of phrases while the phonetic implementation conveys global discourse relationships— the grouping of sets of phrases into topics and sub-topics.

These hypotheses about the discourse functions of edge tone categories and phonetic implementation are tested experimentally while teaching the English language using pairs of discourses with at least two sub-topics in which the sub-topics occurred in different orders. The expectation is that the phrase at the end of a sub-topic will have the same choice of edge tones in both orders of occurrence, but that the tones in the phrase will be implemented differently in the two cases. During the experiment we involved short discourses which were recorded, transcribed tonally, played to listeners to see if they could distinguish the utterances by discourse position, and analyzed acoustically.

The results show that the same edge tones were used in a large proportion of the utterances, verifying the prediction that edge tones mark local discourse relationships. In the utterances which were identifiable by listeners as to discourse location and which had the same or similar sequences of tones, the phonetic implementations of the tones vary in systematic ways between the two utterances in a pair, thus verifying the hypothesis that phonetic implementation of tones signals global discourse relationships.

In sum, this paper explores how phonological and phonetic aspects of the intonational structure function as linguistic cues to local and global information structure in discourses.

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### Make short answers shorter: support for the in-situ approach.

Abe, Jun  
(Tohoku Gakuin University)

Under the methods of analysis taken by Chomsky's generative grammar, this paper aims to address the question of how such a short answer as illustrated in (1b) below should be derived in the syntactic component:

- (1) a. Who did she see? b. John.

The standard analysis for such a construction is the one, like Merchant's (2004), in which the remnant phrase undergoes focus movement to a peripheral position before deletion takes place. Thus, under this analysis, (1b) will have the following derivation (here the angled brackets mark the position from which movement takes place and FP stands for Focus Phrase):

- (2) [<sub>FP</sub> John [<sub>TP</sub> she saw <John>]]



Alternatively, this paper gives support to the in-situ analysis of this construction, according to which the remnant phrase does not undergo focus movement to a peripheral position but rather simply stays in its original position. Under this approach, we will assign the following simple derivation to (1b):

(3) [<sub>TP</sub> ~~she saw~~ John]

The data most relevant for the plausibility of this analysis would be those which show island sensitivity, but in a language like English in which a question demands overt movement of a *wh*-phrase, it will be impossible to make relevant examples, since if we try to embed the remnant phrase of a short answer within an island, it always gives rise to the situation in which the corresponding question violates such an island condition due to overt movement of a *wh*-phrase. For this reason, this paper investigates the comparable construction in such a *wh*-in-situ language as Japanese. Under the in-situ approach, it is predicted that short answers in this language are immune to island conditions. Nishigauchi and Fujii (2006) observe that this is indeed the case:

- (4) a. Minna-ga [Akira-ga doko-de totta] syasin-o mita ka osiete.  
everyone-Nom -Nom where took picture-Acc saw Q tell  
'Lit. Tell me Q everyone saw a picture [Akira had taken where].'  
b. Tokyo-de desu.  
-in be  
'It is in Tokyo.' = 'Everyone saw a picture Akira had taken in Tokyo.'

Based upon such data, I argue that the in-situ analysis is more appropriate even for such an English short answer as given in (1b). I provide counterarguments to Merchant's (2004) claim that short answers are sensitive to island conditions. He provides the following data to make his point:

- (5) a. Does Abby speak *Greek* fluently? b. No, *Albanian*.  
(6) a. Does Abby speak the same Balkan language that *Ben* speaks?  
b. \* No, *Charlie*.

I argue that such a question-answer pair as in (5) is a different kind from the one in (1), and that such an apparent short answer as (5b) is in fact a species of stripping:

- (7) No, Abby spoke *Albanian* fluently, not *Greek*.

Following the standard assumption that stripping involves focus movement, hence exhibiting island effects (cf. Reinhart 1991), I propose that the surface form of (5b) is derived by applying focus movement to *Albanian* to a left peripheral position and then deleting the following material.

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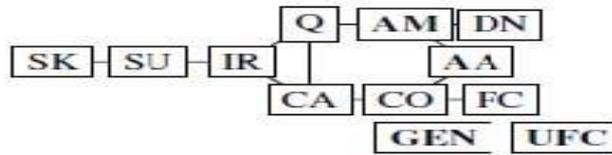
## Emerging indefinites.

Aguilar-Guevara Ana, Aloni Maria, de Vos Machteld & Zeijlstra Hedde  
(Utrecht University, University of Amsterdam, Cambridge University, University of Amsterdam)

**Research questions.** Both Spanish *cualquiera* ('which + wants\_3PresSubjunctive') and Dutch *wie dan ook* ('who then too') are regular indefinites that developed from complex *wh* constructions. This raises the question as to how and why these developments have taken place. More specifically, as it is known that such grammaticalization processes do not take place in one single step fashion, it should be explored what the exact pathway is that these constructions underwent before they turned into a regular indefinite and what triggered these changes.

**Approach.** In order to capture the exact usages of each stage of the development of *cualquiera* and *wie dan ook* we first identified which functions on Aguilar-Guevara et al's (2010) modification of Haspelmath's (1997) semantic map for indefinites these constructions exhibited. Under this approach the process of grammaticalization can be considered in terms of a number of subsequent changes in the functions these indefinites could be used to convey.

- (1) The semantic map of indefinites according to Aguilar-Guevara et al's (2010)



Abbr	Label	Example
SK	specific known	<i>Somebody</i> called. Guess who?
SU	specific unknown	I heard <i>something</i> , but I couldn't tell what it was.
IR	irrealis	You must try <i>somewhere</i> else.
Q	question	Did <i>anybody</i> tell you anything about it?
CA	conditional antecedent	If you see <i>anybody</i> , tell me immediately.
CO	comparative	John is taller than <i>anybody</i> .
DN	direct negation	John didn't see <i>anybody</i> .
AM	anti-morphic	I don't think that <i>anybody</i> knows the answer.
AA	anti-additive	The bank avoided taking <i>any</i> decision.
FC	free choice	You may kiss <i>anybody</i> .
UFC	universal free choice	John kissed <i>any</i> woman with red hair.
GEN	generic	<i>Any</i> dog has four legs.

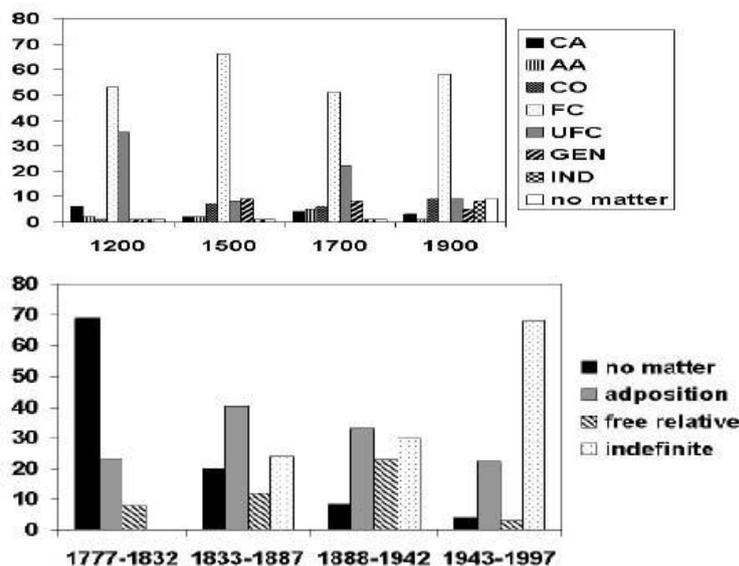
**Method.** For the study of *cualquiera*, we used El Corpus del Espanol created by Mark Davies. We randomly selected 100 occurrences of *cualquiera* from four phases, namely 1200s (7.9 millions of words), 1500s (19.7 millions of words), 1700s (11.5 millions of words), and 1900s (22.8 millions of words), which represent the four periods in which the history of Spanish has traditionally been divided (cf. Lapesa 1964).

For Dutch *wie dan ook* the study consisted of the analysis of occurrences of this item in written Dutch historical corpora (CD-ROM Middelnedderlands (270 texts before 1300), DBNL (4458 texts from 1170-2010)). The first occurrence found is from 1777; the period of this item's existence was therefore divided into four phases, each covering 55 years of the item's evolution.

In order to identify all semantic functions, we used the tests and decision tree in Aguilar-Guevara et al. (to appear).

**Data.** The data for Spanish and Dutch are depicted in the following tables:

- (2) The development of Spanish *cualquiera*
- (3) The development of Dutch *wie dan ook*



**Results.** *Cualquiera* has arguably emerged as result of a process through which free relative clauses were reanalyzed as indefinite noun phrases (cf. Company-Company and Pozas-Loyo 2009). This development presumably occurred in early stages and therefore the indefinite use of the construction is already recurrently found in the first documentations of Spanish. The distribution of the on-map functions that *cualquiera* covers throughout its history has remained pretty stable. Interestingly, two off-map functions, namely, *indiscriminacy* and *no-matter*, appeared relatively late (in the 1500s), and gain presence only by the 1900s.

On the other hand, the process of grammaticalization of *wie dan ook* roughly followed four stages, starting off as a *no-matter* construction in a separate *wh*-clause, slowly evolving into an adpositional modifier on its own, while also turning into a part of the main clause with predicate, eventually yielding to a true and plain indefinite as part of a sentence.

The fact that *cualquiera* showed a late emergence of the *no-matter* function combined with the phases of development of *wie dan ook*, constitutes evidence that the acquisition of new functions is not unidirectional: while the Dutch item was born with the *no-matter* function, the Spanish item starts its development from a free relative into a

plain indefinite and only later allows the *no-matter* function to emerge.

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## Gender differences in lexical availability.

Agustin Llach, María Pilar & Fernández Fontecha, Almudena  
(Universidad de La Rioja)

Gender is generally acknowledged as an important variable influencing language learning. Different studies have shown that male and female learners perform differently regarding the language areas researched. However, research has found inconclusive results as to the direction of these differences, for instance, in general language achievement (Schaer & Bader 2003; Al-Othman 2004; Andreou et al. 2004), listening comprehension (Boyle 1987; Bacon 1992; Lin & Wu 2003), or reading comprehension (Young & Oxford 1997; Brantmeier 2003). Studies investigating the effect of gender in foreign language vocabulary acquisition show female advantage in types of words and semantic fields known (Jiménez & Ojeda 2010), and in productive vocabulary (Fernández Fontecha 2010; Jiménez & Ojeda 2008). Non-statistically significant differences were reported concerning the number of lexical errors produced (Agustin Llach 2009), or receptive vocabulary size (Jiménez & Terrazas, 2005-2008; Agustín & Terrazas 2008). Scarcella and Zimmerman (1998), however, concluded that males perform better in vocabulary learning and use. Despite the bulk of studies examining gender differences, research devoted to lexical availability is scarce. While some studies identify lexical variation in the performance of males and females in most of the topics contained in lexical availability tasks others report either no differences or restrict them to specific topics.

In the present study, we explored the relationship between gender and productive vocabulary through a lexical availability test. The responses of a group of Spanish EFL learners aged between 12 (6<sup>th</sup> grade) and 15 (9<sup>th</sup> grade) were analysed for gender differences. The test consisted in cuewords from different semantic fields and learners had to generate as many related content words or expressions as possible for each cueword. Participants were allotted 2 minutes for cueword. Number of words produced, as well as semantic fields were looked at. Results are examined in light of gender differences, evolution of differences along three years in a longitudinal way, and interpretation will include lexical availability studies in English and Spanish as well.

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### **Argument vs. adjunct wh-phrases and adjacency in Old Basque wh-questions.**

Aldai, Gontzal  
(University of the Basque Country)

Unregistered participant when the book of abstract went to press.

### **Automatic Detection of English Inclusions in Mixed-lingual Data.**

Alex, Beatrice & Wentland, Wolodja  
(University of Edinburgh)

The influence of English continues to grow to the extent that its expressions have begun to permeate original forms of other languages. It has become more acceptable, and in some cases fashionable, for people to combine English phrases with their native tongue. This language mixing phenomenon typically occurs both in conversation and in written form. The automatic identification of foreign expressions, be they words, phrases or named entities, remains a challenge for existing language identification. This has inspired a recent growth in the development of new techniques capable of processing mixed-lingual text.

In this talk I will presents a classifier designed to identify English inclusions in other languages (Alex 2008). This classifier consists of four sequential modules, pre-processing, lexical lookup, search engine classification and post-processing. These modules collectively identify English inclusions and are robust to work across different languages, as is demonstrated with German and French. The classifier's major advantage is that it does not need any training, a step that normally requires an annotated corpus of examples. The English inclusion classifier is evaluated using unseen data, performing well in two languages and in different domains. It is also shown to have significant advantages over a trained machine learner.

Furthermore, this work has quantified the difficulty that a state-of-the-art treebank-induced parser (Dubey 2005) has in dealing with English expressions occurring in German text. It is shown that interfacing the parser with the English inclusion classifier results in a significant improvement in performance. It is argued that English inclusion detection is a valuable pre-processing step with many applications in a number of fields, the most significant of which are parsing, text-to-speech synthesis, machine translation and linguistics and lexicography.

In the case of German, the influence of English has been the focus of language contact research, reflected by the numerous studies and major lexicographic works in the last few decades (cf., among others, Carstensen 1965; Busse 1993; Carstensen & Busse 1993, 1994, 1996; Glahn 2002; Görlach 2001, 2002; Spitzmüller 2005 & Yang 1990). Previously, such research has relied on labour-intensive and time-consuming manually detection of anglicisms in German discourse. Automatic detection of non-native entities and structures as enabled by the English inclusion classifier can tackle this challenge. As it allows analysis of substantial amounts of electronic text data, it is a promising method for investigating the amount and usage of anglicisms in German. This talk will conclude with an overview of work done to automatically recognizing English loan-influences in German on a corpus of the German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel* (Alex & Onysko 2010). Following the theoretical framework of anglicisms proposed by Onysko (2007), the output of the automatic detection is compared to that of the human analysis revealing both the potential and limitations of the English inclusion classifier. The results show how human and machine differ in their analyses and pave the way for large-scale future language analyses to study the influence of English on German and other languages.

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### **Cholón - Yaneshá, a case of language contact?**

Alexander-Bakkerus, Astrid  
(AFLC. University of Amsterdam)

Cholón, a North Peruvian language, is now possibly extinct. The area in which it was spoken is rather vast. It reaches from Juanjui in the north down to Huanuco in the south (ca. 600 km.), and from the valley of the River Huallaga up to the eastern slopes of the Andes. Cholón has been classified in a small language family together with Híbito, a neighbouring language, which is also extinct now. Yaneshá is a member of the Arawakan languages of the Pre-Andine subgroup (Adelaar 2004:22). It is spoken in the central Peruvian forest slopes, south of the Cholón habitat.

A comparison between the Cholón and the Yaneshá language reveal a number of remarkable resemblances which could point to a relationship between both languages. However, Cholón and Yaneshá are not related to each other. In addition, some of the correspondences appear to come from a third, non-related, language. A possible explanation of the occurrence of these resemblances could be language contact by which borrowing took place. We therefore have to find out if and to what extent the speakers of Cholón, Yaneshá, and the third language were in contact with each other.

In this talk we first, (a), show the resemblances between Cholón and Yaneshá; (b), sort out those that should have been derived from a third source; (c), analyze the nature of these resemblances: lexical, phonological or grammatical. We subsequently examine, (i) the contacts which possibly have occurred between the speakers of Cholón and Yaneshá; (ii), the contacts between them and the speakers of the third language; (iii), the extent of these contacts. We may then conclude if and how borrowing took place.

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### **Are we attending to the linguistic needs of young language learners?**

Amengual-Pizarro, Marian & Herrera-Soler, Honesto  
(Universidad de las Islas Baleares, Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

Over the past decade, the political will to introduce foreign languages in primary schools has gradually increased. According to the recommendations of the Common European Framework for modern languages (Council of Europe, 2001), the learning of foreign languages should be encouraged and promoted at a very early age. The implementation of this Framework has placed new demands on L2 primary teachers regarding their linguistic competence. However, the language training of primary teachers has too often been a neglected issue in teacher training programmes for prospective L2 primary teachers, in spite of the fact that most teachers have expressed a clear need for improving their formal competence in the foreign language.

Furthermore, the restructuring of the new Primary Education Degrees in Spanish Universities, in accordance with the new European Space for Higher Education (Declaration of Bologna, 1999), has favoured a generalist orientation as opposed to any specialist training (i.e. foreign language teaching, musical education teaching, etc.) in teacher education programmes. However, to what extent can the linguistic needs of young language learners be catered for by primary teachers in Spanish schools? The main aim of this paper is to investigate the opinion of future primary teachers regarding their role as teachers of English. To this aim, a questionnaire was designed and implemented to 106 first-year prospective primary teachers at the University of the Balearic Islands. The questions sought to uncover students' level of satisfaction towards the remodelling of the new Primary degree, the meeting of their linguistic as well as pedagogic needs in the new education programmes, their command of the English language and the use of English they would make in their future classes. Surprisingly, results showed that the majority of students, independently of their formative itineraries, oppose to the generalist orientation of the new degree. Students also believe that their linguistic knowledge of the English language is deficient and that their pedagogic training in English does not equip them to attend to the special needs of young language learners. Among the four main skills (listening, speaking, reading and writing), speaking is marked as the most critical area. This finding is a concern since in communicative methodology, speaking has a high profile. In fact, the reason students gave for willing to make "little" or "very little" use of English in their future classes was their deficient command of English oral skills. It can be concluded that the results of this study indicate that the new linguistic and pedagogic demands being placed on primary teachers are not being matched by their training.

### **Beyond basicness: contextual constraints on the use of basic color terms in advertising.**

Anishchanka, Alena & Speelman, Dirk  
(University of Leuven)

**Purpose and background** - As a refinement of current color categorization research, the proposed analysis addresses language internal variation in color conceptualization. More specifically, we focus on the conceptual and contextual factors that affect the use of basic color terms (BCT) in modern American advertising.

The study brings together two lines of research in color semantics, i.e. the universalist color categorization studies in the Berlin and Kay tradition and studies of color words used in advertising. The first is predominantly represented by cross-linguistic analyses of decontextualized referential meanings of the most salient (basic) color terms in an idealized speaker-hearer, whereas the second (Stoeva-Holm 1996; Bergh 2007; Graumann 2007; Wyler 2007) focuses on the evocative potential of color words in advertising and often points at the non-popularity of BCT in this context. From a usage-based perspective this raises the question whether the generalizations made in BCT studies can be applied beyond the handful of the most salient color words, and how color terms behave in real-life usage contexts such as advertising.

Following the multivariate model of semantics (Geeraerts et al. 1994; Geeraerts 2010; Geeraerts & Speelman 2010), we propose a quantitative onomasiological analysis of the variation patterns in the usage of basic color terms relative to contextual factors.

**Data and study design** - The study is based on an extensive self-compiled dataset of color names and color samples (over 65 000 observations) including the linguistic, sociolectal and referential parameters of color terms. The data were manually and semi-automatically extracted from websites used by US manufacturers and retailers for online marketing in four product categories (automobiles, clothing, make-up, and house paints).

We present two series of analyses based on multivariate (logistic regression) techniques that address two aspects in the usage of BCT in advertising. The first series explores the usage of BCT as independent color names focusing on the factors that determine a speaker's preferences for BCT like *red* or *black*, rather than derived color names like *martini olive*. The second series investigates the usage of BCT as heads in compound names like *revolution red* or *school bus yellow*.

**Results** - The preliminary results confirm that the use of BCT in advertising is not uniform and is affected by contextual factors. The analyses reveal the fine-grained effects of several contextual product-related factors such as product category, prestige status of the brand, country of origin, and product sub-category.

Our study contributes to the existing body of research in color semantics in two ways. From a theoretical perspective, we propose a usage-based approach to color categorization that takes into account the effects of speaker-related and context-related factors on color semantics. From a methodological perspective, we develop a rigorous data-driven methodology based on multivariate statistical techniques. This approach allows us to give an integrated multifactorial account of the interaction of conceptual and contextual factors that determine the choice between basic and non-basic color terms.

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### On the grammatical marking of diminution and augmentation in Akan.

Appah, Clement K. I. & Amfo, Nana Aba A.  
(Lancaster University & University of Ghana)

The aim of present paper is twofold. First, we show that Akan (Kwa, Niger-Congo) has a morpheme (-*ba*, with an allomorph -*wa*) for expressing the concept of diminution. Tmorpheme (and its associated meanings) can be recognised in two groups of words – Group A and Group B. Group A consist of an isolable base (a noun) and the diminutive morpheme. Those in Group B are unanalyzable in that the putative diminutive morpheme cannot be delineated from the base. For those in Group A, then, their form-meaning association seems well motivated. For those in Group B, we believe that the form-meaning association is not totally arbitrary since we see aspects of diminutive meaning running through the Group. We, therefore, argue that the words in Group B are formally complex words with bound bases.

#### (1) Group A

a.	<i>anomaa-ba</i> bird-DIM 'baby/small bird'	b.	<i>a-dua-ba</i> NOM-tree-DIM 'fruit'	c.	<i>ade-wa</i> thing-DIM 'trifle'	d.	<i>bɔtɔ-wa</i> sack/bag-DIM 'small bag'
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#### Group B

a.	<i>apereperewa</i>	'a kind of small musical instrument'
b.	<i>dwordworba</i> (Fa.)	'smallish/shortish'
c.	<i>mpokuwa</i>	'developing breast (of a teenage girl)'
d.	<i>apakyiwa</i>	'a small calabash with a cover'

Secondly, we show that Akan presently has no morphological device for marking augmentation. Speakers may, however, expresses the idea of augmentation through compounding of one of two words (*son* [sɔn] from *ɔsono* [ɔsɔnɔ] 'elephant', and *kyen* 'to exceed') with a nominal base, (2 & 3).

(2)	a.	<i>adwuma-son</i> work-elephant 'a huge task'	b.	<i>ntɔkwa-son</i> battle-elephant 'formidable battle'
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(3)	a.	<i>adwuma-kyeneɛ</i> work-exceed 'a daunting task'	b.	<i>ntokwa-kyeneɛ</i> battle-exceed 'formidable battle'
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We present preliminary arguments for the view that *son* [sɔn] is developing into an augmentative morpheme. That is There are reasons for one to believe that the form *son* [sɔn] is undergoing grammaticalization. For example, in the Asante dialect, the word is realized as *ɔsono* [ɔsɔnɔ], with a prefix and final back high vowel. However, when it occurs as a marker of augmentation, neither the prefix nor the final vowel can occur. So that, *adwumasono* [ædʒumasɔnɔ] 'work-elephant' is unacceptable, (or at least, awkward), but *adwumason* [ædʒumasɔn] 'a huge task' is acceptable.

We attempt to explain the motivation for such a development. We argue that because augmentation has the ultimate goal of showing that the referent is big beyond a certain standard, there can be no better standard of measurement than the elephant, since the Akans see the elephant as the ultimate measure of size as witnessed by the saying that *ɔsono akyi nni aboa* to wit, 'there is no animal beyond the elephant'.

(4)	<i>ɔsono</i>	<i>akyi</i>	<i>n-ni</i>	<i>a-boaa</i>
	elephant	behind	NEG-exist	SG-animal
	'there is no animal beyond the elephant'			

## On the distinction between arguments and adjuncts in Balinese: the case of locatives.

Arka, I Wayan  
(ANU/Udayana University)

The paper will discuss the distinction between arguments and adjuncts in Balinese, focussing on the realisation of locatives. Locatives are of great interest because of the indeterminacy of their syntactic status. They can be either oblique arguments or adjuncts, or in certain cases having an intermediate status between arguments and adjuncts. They also often marked in the same way. The analysis will be based on corpus data taken from on-line Balinese newspaper. Patterns will be identified, examined and further tested with native speakers' judgment for degrees of acceptability to sort out certain properties. I propose an argument-index analysis, an extension of the idea of core-index analysis discussed in Arka (2005) as a means to distinguish adjuncts from arguments. The analysis makes use of a battery of morphosyntactic and morphosemantic tests. The morphosyntactic tests include general and language-specific items such as subcategorisation, obligatoriness, categorical expressions and verbal-voice marking. The morphosemantic tests include specific semantic marking attributed to properties such as 'specific vs. general' and 'human/animate vs. non-animate' as well as locative nominalisation. For example, preposition *sig* in Balinese 'at, to' typically requires a specific locative/goal, preferably with human association. However, it is attested with a non-human locative, provided that it is understood as a specific spatial point belonging to a particular person as in (1a). Acceptability would be degraded if such interpretation is difficult to get as in (1b).

- (1) a. *makejang ... apang teka ja sig/ka ruang kerja déwékné*  
all so.that come PART to room work sef.3POSS  
'.. all...(to) come to his own office'
- b. *la teka ka/?\*sig pempatan-né*  
3 come to intersection-DEF  
's/he came to the intersection.'

Morphosyntactic tests show that specific/human locatives are treated more as argument obliques than as adjuncts. In the following example, the specific location signifying the place to sit on e.g. *dampar* 'bench' is part of the meaning of *tegak* 'sit' (2a). It should be analysed as an argument because it can alternate with subject as seen in the applicative verb (2b). The locative nominalisation with *-an* (2c) selects this specific location as the reference, not the general space (which corresponds to an adjunct).

- (2) a. *la negak di dampar-e / di paon-ne*  
3 AV.sit LOC bench-DEF LOC kitchen-3POSS  
'He sat on the bench /in his kitchen.'
- b. *Dampar-e/paon-ne tegak-in=a*  
bench-DEF/kitchen-3POSS UV.sit-APPL=3  
'He sat on the bench/his kitchen'
- c. *Tegak-an-ne dampar-e / \* paon-ne*  
sit-LOC.NOMLZ-DEF bench-DEF kitchen-3POSS  
'the seat is the bench'  
'\*the seat is his kitchen.'

Oblique-core argument alternations of the type shown in (2a-b) include a change in affectedness associated with the locative. Other meanings noted in literature include aspects (completed vs. non-completed), animacy, and (temporary/permanent) transfer of ownership, i.e., trivalent 'give-like' verbs of the type found in Kimaragang (Kroeger 2005: 420-421) and other languages (Kittilä 2007, 2008; Peterson 2007, and the references therein). Further relevant examples will be given from Balinese. The full paper will also further discuss the application of the argument-index analysis. It will be demonstrated that that the argument-index evidence shows that the distinction of argument and adjunct is a matter of degree. The implication of such evidence for any syntactic theory that posits discrete classes of relations will be also discussed.

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## The role of referential hierarchies in ergative allomorphy.

Arkadiev, Peter

(Russian State University for the Humanities)

The effects of the referential hierarchies on the case marking of core grammatical relations are well-known (see Silverstein 1976; Dixon 1979; Aissen 1999 among many others), though the validity of certain generalizations has been recently challenged (see Filimonova 2005; Bickel & Witzlack-Makarevich 2008; Bickel 2008).

In my paper I investigate the little-studied phenomenon of ergative allomorphy, i.e. the situations when the ergative case is expressed by different markers distributed according to non-phonological and non purely lexical features such as declension class. Since this phenomenon is not widespread, my sample includes only a score of languages from the North Caucasian, Chukotko-Kamchatkan, Austronesian and several Australian language families.

Surprisingly or not, it turns out that the ergative allomorphy cross-linguistically obeys the referential hierarchy (1), in the form of the generalization (2)

(1) local pronouns > non-local pronouns/demonstratives > proper names and/or kinship terms > humans > non-human animates > inanimates

(2) If a language possesses several ergative markers distributed according to the lexical-semantic class of nominals, different markers cover contiguous areas on the hierarchy (1).

Thus, in Adyghe and Kabardian the borderline between the domains of application of different ergative markers lies between demonstratives and nouns, in Chukchee and Niuean between proper names and common nouns, in Tsakhur between humans and non-humans, in Kuku-Yalanji between animates and inanimates. More intricate systems involving three and even four different ergative markers (Bzhedugh Adyghe and Jingulu) also seem to obey the generalization (2).

Interestingly, in some of the languages the distinction between the ergative markers associated with more resp. less “animate” nominals is employed for marking definiteness resp. indefiniteness, and it is not surprising that animacy and definiteness mutually correlate in this domain, like in the more well-studied phenomenon of differential object marking (Comrie 1979; Bossong 1985; Aissen 2003). Also not surprisingly, use of the “more animate” resp. “less animate” ergative markers for personification of lower animate/inanimate entities or, respectively, for conveying depreciative connotations when talking of humans, is also attested.

Whether the cross-linguistic effects of the referential hierarchy on ergative allomorphy can be regarded as supporting the validity of this hierarchy as an explanatory device in the typology of case marking and grammatical relations is not obvious. Since ergative allomorphy always results from diachronic changes in individual languages and language families, it might well be the case that observed hierarchical patterns are merely epiphenomenal to a more general tendency to group together cognitively salient lexical-semantic distinctions such as animate vs. inanimate, human vs. non-human etc., reflected in the referential hierarchy.

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## Vocalic diasystems in open and closed syllables in Faroese and Icelandic.

Arnason, Kristjan

(The University of Iceland)

Modern Icelandic (MI) and Modern Faroese (MF) provide good cases of a well known phonological phenomenon, namely the change from a length correspondence, ideally distinguishing two isomorphic systems into a more

melodically based opposition with differences in vowel qualities. In early MI and MF the regular distribution of long and short vowels is defined by a length rule: “long” V’s in open syllables and “short” V’s (monophthongs or diphthongs) in closed syllables, easily represented in terms of syllabic structure and STRESS-TO-WEIGHT. But difficult chicken vs. egg problems arise, when melodic differences start to accompany the metrical characteristics (such as lowering or laxness in short vowels or tensing or diphthongization in long vowels.) The question is: to what extent are the variable melodic differences derivative of the prosodic character or conversely: are the prosodic differences (or moraic characteristics) somehow to be represented as “inherent” in the different types of vowel?

I will demonstrate that for the vowel structure of MF, the latter story is the only option. MF has a diasystem for stressed syllables, defining different sets of vowels, one for open syllables and the other for closed syllables. This means that the vocalic length correlation is somehow lexicalized, and the short vowels are clearly the marked class (meaning less natural, e.g. in loanwords).

Although different in detail, MI shows a similar structure, and I will show that the shortness of vowels can be manipulated morphophonemically in analogy (faithfulness to inputs or related outputs).

I propose a rather unorthodox method of representing the lexicalized difference in vocalic prosody, namely to represent short vowels as “non-moric”, so that they tend to reject moras in the output in the manner of less sonorous segments. The non-moricness or shortness is a stigma representing a value on the (hierarchical) scale of segmental sonority, ranked below normal vowels. It also serves as a check on melodic propensity, leading to melodic bleaching.

Output length, as a function of stress, is a truly metrical or linear property and is not lexicalized.

### **Language deficits across populations: the case of SLI and agrammatism.**

Arsenijević, Boban & Martínez-Ferreiro, Silvia  
(Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

The informativeness of language deficits in brain circuitry demarcation is undoubtful nowadays. Based on previous results and our investigations of the patterns of deficit in handling phi-features in verbal agreement, the use of clitics and the use of the article in Spanish and Catalan, we make generalizations about agrammatic aphasics (AA) and children with Syntactic-Specific Language Impairment (SSLI), and propose a formulation of a general difference between the two grammars. We argue that while AA show a more diverse range of impairments, which either pertain to a truncation of higher domains of functional structure, or to difficulties in maintaining syntactic items such as traces and complex feature bundles, in line with the proposal of Tsimpli & Stavrakaki (1999), SSLI children require to have relevant interpretable features on every item, and face problems with features when they are uninterpretable.

Verb agreement. SSLI tend to have impaired use of verb agreement described as overgeneralization of the third person singular forms (Bedore & Leonard 2001; Sanz-Torrent et al. 2008). We interpret this as a deletion of marked features of person and number, considering that third person and singular are the unmarked values for the features of person and number. In AA, the use of verb agreement is either unimpaired, or impaired in such a way that they relatively randomly choose wrong features (Martínez-Ferreiro 2010). Clitics. SSLI show two types of errors with clitics: omission and replacement by the form with the wrong phi-features (Simón-Cerejido & Gutiérrez-Clellen 2007). Similarly as in verb agreement, they favor the unmarked feature values of singular and, in this case, the masculine value of the gender feature. AA rarely show the use of a wrong gender or number in clitics and their mistakes either involve omission, or the replacement of a clitic with a full DP (Martínez-Ferreiro 2010). Articles. SSLI prefer the marked forms of gender and number. They err far less on plural than on singular clitics and they tend to replace the singular masculine article with its feminine counterpart significantly more than any other pattern of replacement (Anderson & Souto 2005; Restrepo & Gutiérrez-Clellen 2001). This gives a fully inverse picture compared to verb agreement and clitics, which cries for explanation. AA produced replacement errors of the same pattern: feminine singular substituted for masculine singular forms.

We generalize over the processing of phi-features in SSLI as a tendency to avoid (marked values of) uninterpretable features, and at the same time, favor exactly the marked values where they are interpretable. We hypothesize that SSLI show a decreased sensitivity to phi-features: when they need to be processed (when interpretable), this makes the more marked values also more visible; when uninterpretable, they are rather weakened, or deleted. This differs from AA, in which the use of phi-features seems to simply be part of a more general syntactic impairment, especially in more complex syntactic environments. If this explanation is correct, the use of phi-features in SSLI provides evidence for the cognitive reality of the theoretical syntactic notion of interpretability of features.

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### **The pragmatics of proclitic and enclitic double object clusters in Medieval Florentine.**

Aski, Janice M. & Russi, Cinzia  
(The Ohio State University & The University of Texas at Austin)

Aski and Russi (2010) argue that the variable order of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine proclitic clusters comprising 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative (ACC) and 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person dative (DAT) clitics (i.e., *lo mi desti* ~ *me lo desti* 'you gave it to me') was pragmatically constrained, with the DAT-ACC order triggered primarily by topicality (Myhill 1992) and enhanced participation (i.e., degree of affectedness) of the referent of the DAT clitic, whereas the ACC-DAT order controlled by the discourse saliency (i.e., the element's urgency or importance to the plot and/or the interlocutors; Givón 1988, 1995) of the referent of the ACC clitic.

The present study extends Aski & Russi's (2010) pragmatics-based analysis to the enclitic counterparts of the clusters they examine (i.e., *volle darmelo* and *volle darlomi* 's/he wanted to give it to me'), thus further evaluating the interaction between the linear distribution of information at the sentence level and its more abstract organization at the discourse level (among others, van Dijk 1977; Reinhart 1981).

The analysis of additional data from the *Opera del Vocabolario Italiano* (OVI) database, which were collected following the same selection criteria employed by Aski and Russi (2010), reveals that for the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (i) the ACC-DAT order is the preferred (more frequent) order in enclisis; (ii) unlike the original findings of Aski and Russi (2010), the ACC-DAT order also appears to be preferred (more frequent) in proclisis; and (iii) no conclusive claims about the proclitic and enclitic clusters can be put forward concerning the degree and extent of operativeness of the pragmatic factors that according to Aski and Russi (2010) constrain proclitic clusters throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the second half of the century, however, the DAT-ACC order begins to be employed more frequently in both positions, but Aski and Russi's (2010) pragmatic constraints apply only to the proclitic clusters. The fact that pragmatic factors would have little influence on word-final elements is expected since initial position is pragmatically salient (among others, Givón 1988; Gundel 1988). Furthermore, the data suggest that the switch from the original ACC-DAT order to the current DAT-ACC order affected proclitic clusters first, and that the new order was analogically extended later to enclitic clusters, whose alternations were never governed by the pragmatic factors that constrained proclitic clusters during the transition.

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### **A usage-based approach to borrowability.**

Backus, Ad  
(Tilburg University)

Borrowability has been a topic in language contact research since the field began. It has been approached from various angles, and has led to borrowability hierarchies that rank parts of speech according to the ease with which they can be borrowed. Such hierarchies provide a starting point for explanatory efforts: why is it, for example, that nouns are eminently borrowable, and why is inflectional morphology rarely borrowed? Various theories ask the question in some form or another, for example conceptualizing it as a question of attractiveness. One suggestion is that an underlying dimension of semantic specificity governs borrowability: the more specific the meaning of a word, the more attractive it is for other languages, as there is a good chance it would add to that language's expressive richness.

Several methodological problems plague the investigation of borrowability. One is the availability of sufficient data. Most hierarchies are based on reported summaries in the literature and relatively small corpora. It is not so easy to see how this situation can be remedied, since funding agencies will not easily fund the building of corpora of sufficient size for analyzing bilingual speech the way they nowadays do for major languages. Monolingual corpora can be mined for loanwords, of course, but we should bear in mind that most spontaneous borrowing takes place in bilingual speech. This creates a second methodological problem: how widespread is a particular case of borrowing? When an individual, say, Turkish-Dutch speaker in The Netherlands uses a particular Dutch word, we do not know to what degree that word is an established loanword in that person's Turkish, let alone in Immigrant Turkish. This occurrence will normally be analyzed as a case of codeswitching, but that says nothing about the degree of conventionalization. Borrowing is a diachronic process while codeswitching is a synchronic event. The Dutch word can thus be both: synchronically a codeswitch to Dutch, and diachronically a more or less established loanword in this particular variety of Turkish. To assess its status as a loanword, we would ideally have information on its degree of entrenchment in the idiolect of the speaker, and its degree of conventionality in the speech community of which the speaker is a member.

The paper will go over the theoretical background to these issues, in an attempt to solidify the links between contact linguistics and cognitive linguistics, thereby contributing to 1) a better understanding of the phenomenon of borrowing; 2) the account of language contact phenomena in a Cognitive Sociolinguistics framework (more specifically a usage-based account of contact-induced change); and 3) a further appreciation of the methodological issues involved in researching borrowing from these perspectives. Empirical data will come from 1) a Turkish-Dutch spoken corpus, to illustrate what can and cannot be done with small corpora; and 2) a small pilot on attitudes towards English loanwords in France, Holland and the Dutch- and French-speaking parts of Belgium, to illustrate what other types of data can be brought to bear on these issues.

### **Computational homology.**

Balari, Sergio & Lorenzo, Guillermo  
(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Universidad de Oviedo).

Evolutionary reconstructions crucially depend on the concept of "homology": "The same organ in different animals under every variety of form and function" (Owen 1843: 379; Hall 1994). In this sense, the case of the evolutionary study of language seems somehow exceptional, because it is customarily assumed that language has no true homologues (Chomsky 1968; Bickerton 1990), an idea that we reject. This (false) problem of continuity is due to the fact that, in the case of language, the comparative method has been applied to observable behaviors (namely, the so called "communicative behaviors") almost unexceptionally from Darwin (1871) to Hauser (1997), just to mention two milestones of evolutionary linguistics. We start our presentation by arguing that, contrary to the premises of this method, behavior is a level of analysis whose units do not constitute true natural kinds and at which no true homological relations can be established. To put it mildly: The very idea of "behavioral homology" is conceptually idle.

We argue that in order to apply the homological method to language we need to focus on its core computational machinery, with the exclusion of the peripheral components more directly connecting it with observable behaviors. This is very much in the spirit of Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch's (2002) proposal. However, we contend that, as a result of this move, we gain access to "the same computational organ" that, under a rather constrained variety of forms, subserves very disparate functions in different animals. We thus predict that putative homologues of language will proliferate in unexpected behavioral domains and in connection with activities remotely related (if at all) to communication. We illustrate this idea with the particular case of knot-tying activities of certain species of weaver birds.

As for the diversification of this organ in different species, we defend that comparisons must be established at a computational level of analysis and suggest the introduction of the notion of "computational homology". At this level of analysis, systems are deemed homologous if they show the same degree of computational complexity, using the Chomsky Hierarchy as a point of reference (Chomsky 1956, 1957, 1963). We thus propose to naturalize the Hierarchy, so that each particular formal type refers to a discrete or discontinuous cognitive phenotype within a highly constrained range of variants, along the lines of Alberch's (1980, 1982, 1989) concept of "morphospace". Within this framework, both the range of possible variants and the possible evolutionary paths connecting different phenotypes are emergent properties of the system of development shared by them all. This is an important aspect of our model, because it clarifies the connection between the modern "biological homology concept" (Wagner 1989a, 1989b) and our own concept of "computational homology", both established on the grounds of factors and constraints acting during development.

We conclude that, by adopting this set of well-motivated assumptions, the evolutionary explanation of language becomes a task comparable to that of explaining any other biological character along the lines of current Evolutionary Developmental Biology (Hall 1999; Minelli 2009).

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### Reintroducing a Davidsonian criterion for the Argument/Adjunct distinction.

Bar-Asher, Siegal Elitzur  
(Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

According to the standard semantic analysis the adjunct is a predicate with a saturated predicate, an event denoted by the verb, as its argument. The argument of this saturated predicate is in turn the verbal argument. This analysis, however, has been, indirectly, challenged by the Neo-Davidsonian approach (*inter alia*, Castañeda 1967; Dowty 1989; Parsons 1990), as this approach removes the distinction between arguments and adjuncts from the semantic representation of events. Compare (2a), the Davidsonian representation of (1), with the Neo-Davidsonian representation of (1) in (2b):

- (1) Brutus stabbed Caesar with a knife
- (2) a.  $(\exists e)$  [Stabbing(e,Brutus,Caesar)&with(e, knife)]  
b.  $(\exists e)$  [Stabbing(e)&Agent(e Brutus)&Theme(e,Caesar)&with(e,knife)]

The main goal of this paper is to address the question whether the argument-adjunct distinction matters at the semantic level. The following set of sentences provides a problem for a strong Neo-Davidsonian approach (a theory which rejects the notion that thematic roles are part of the meaning of the verb):

- (3)
- a. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back with a knife  
b. Brutus stabbed Caesar in the back  
c. Brutus stabbed with a knife  
d. Brutus stabbed Caesar  
e. Brutus stabbed a knife into Caesar's back

It seems to be the case that sentences (a-c) can be inferred from (e)<sup>1</sup>, while clearly “Caesar” and “knife” should be represented with different thematic roles in the various sentences. Thus, if the participants of the events are not arguments of the event-predicate but rather asserted separately, it is hard to explain these deductions. [In the paper a list of theoretical problems for a weak Neo- Davidsonian approach (a theory which accepts the notion that thematic roles are part of the meaning of the verb, such as Fillmore 1968) will be provided as well]. Accordingly a standard order-argument theory would be preferable, and thus it seems to be necessary to spell out a criterion for what is included as a verbal argument.

Davidson 1967, 1985 and Dowty 1989, 1991 proposed lexical entailments (whatever is entailed by the predicate) as such as a criterion. However, there are various problems with this approach (to be demonstrated in the paper), and therefore I submit the following alternative proposal:

- (4) If a phrase must be true under every possible description of an event *e* then it is an adjunct, if it is true only for some (and not all) descriptions of the event *e* then it is either an argument of the predicate or modifies it.

This approach is also relevant for the representation of events with various regular alternations between constructions (discussed *inter alia* by Anderson 1971; Verkuyl 1972; Givón 1984; Goldberg 1995; Wasow 2002 & Beavers 2006), as it provides a clear criterion for the identity of a predicate. Consequently I will show the contribution of my proposal to the

syntactic distribution of these alternations in various types of languages.

<sup>1</sup> It seems also the (d) can be inferred from (e), however we also need a theory about inference from body parts to their owner.

### **The relevance of Neandertal and sapiens interbreeding for language evolution\***

Barceló-Coblijn, Lluís  
(University of the Balearic Islands)

Current theories on language evolution have assumed that *H. sapiens* is the only species that have reached the Language Faculty (LF) as we understand it today. The discussion has been focused on whether the evolution of this trait was abrupt or gradual (Bickerton 2007).

On the one hand, a theory of an early emergence of LF sustains that the elements that configure LF have evolved slowly. It would have been at the cladistic node of *H. sapiens*, when modern syntax would have reached the current state. On the other hand, a theory of a late emergence of LF argues that this faculty firstly serves our mental capacities and thought and that a more or less abrupt biological accident would have brought the connection between linguistic interfaces, giving birth to the current LF. Thus, according to the latter, *H. neanderthalensis* would have also been excluded from this evolutionary novelty.

However, nowadays we know that both modern humans and Neandertals interbred (Green et al. 2010). The current percentage of Neandertal genes some current human populations bear in their genomes, forces us to realize that this was not a single isolated event, but a practice carried out sufficiently, for the genetic contribution not to be easily erased by genetic drift. Today only the Sub-Saharan populations have no trace of Neandertal genes. All this brings us to the first conclusions: the descendant of interbreeding were not sterile nor linguistically handicapped. Otherwise, such a practice would have been rapidly banned by the community. If hybrids were unable to make use of LF as the rest of the community, this would have been easily noted.

Additionally, it seems that, if there was some kind of effect, this was minimal, since the genetic similarity between both species is greater as previously thought regarding some aspects, FOX-P2 included (Burbano, Hodges, et al. 2010).

Thus, it seems necessary to reformulate some ideas about the emergence of LF. Today, there isn't any significant difference in linguistic skills between Sub-Saharan and non-Sub-Saharan people, neither in auditory perception, or in computational / sequential capabilities. How deep does this affect the theories about the capabilities of *H. neanderthalensis*? Should we posit an emergence of LF before these species split off? Can we still affirm that *the lack of speech* was the factor that finally led the Neandertal man to die out (Lieberman 1992)? These fundamental questions will be reviewed in the light of the biolinguistic perspective.

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### **Is the oblique subject construction inherited in Indo-European? The issue of cognateness.**

Barðdal, Jóhanna & Smitherman, Thomas  
(University of Bergen)

Constructions with noncanonical subject marking have been regarded as marginal within the ancient languages considered more central to the reconstruction of the proto-language, such as Greek, Sanskrit, or Hittite, and the non-nominative argument is generally regarded as having developed from objects (Cole et al 1980; Haspelmath 2001). In contrast, this paper will argue that there is a sound foundation for the reconstruction of oblique subjects as early as in Proto-Indo-European (following Barðdal & Eythórssón 2009), on the basis of form–function correspondences, i.e. on the basis of both semantic and morphological or etymological evidence.

We employ the Construction Grammar concept of *constructions*, i.e. form–function pairings, as an input for the correspondence set needed for the Comparative Method. That is, we will compare both form and meaning in our

attempt to reconstruct syntax, exactly as phonemes and word forms have formerly been compared. In order to do this we work with lists of predicates instantiating the oblique subject construction in various ancient and archaic Indo-European languages. At the current tally, there are more than 150 PIE roots forming the nuclei of predicates selecting for the oblique subject construction in at least a subset of two different Indo-European branches (where Balto-Slavic is considered as single unit). This is in contrast with previous claims that there are only two cognates found across the IE language branches (Bauer 2001). There are, so far, more than 70 roots that are found in more than three subbranches.

Of course, the reconstruction of a grammatical construction is not as simple as finding a shared etymological root and case frame. Most of the aforementioned cognate sets do not contain the same exact etymological word formation for the predicates in question, though more than a few do, as shown in examples (1–2).

(1) EXP<sub>DAT</sub>+\*g'neh<sub>3</sub>-to/no- (+STIM<sub>NOM</sub>) (+ COP<sub>3SG</sub>)

Greek	<i>μοι<sub>DAT</sub> γνωστων εστι(v)</i>
Latin	<i>mihi<sub>DAT</sub> notus est</i>
Old Slav.	<i>m(i)nE<sub>DAT</sub> znanU</i>
Gothic	<i>miS<sub>DAT</sub> is kunþs</i>

‘I am aware of, I know of’

(2) EXP<sub>DAT</sub>+\*wai (+ COP<sub>3SG</sub>)

Avestan	<i>aebii<sub>DAT</sub> auuoi</i>
Latin	<i>mihi<sub>DAT</sub> vae est</i>
Old Slav.	<i>m(i)nE<sub>DAT</sub> ouvy</i>
Gothic	<i>miS<sub>DAT</sub> is wai</i>

‘I/they are woe’

While sorting through the diachronic history and reconstructability of the aforementioned PIE roots is a work in progress, it is clear that there are far more such form–function correspondences that may be reconstructed as selecting for the oblique subject construction in the proto-language than the two that Bauer (2001) discusses. A preliminary comparison of the semantic field occupied by the construction across the early and archaic Indo-European languages also reveals a major semantic overlap between the different branches. The reconstruction of an oblique subject construction common for PIE not only influences our understanding of the alignment typology of the proto-language, suggesting a subsystem of semantic alignment (cf. Donahue 2008), but it also implies that oblique subjects were subjects all along and need not have developed from objects. The use of constructions as form–function pairings, in this case the predicate with its case frame, as an input to the correspondence set fed into the Comparative Method to reconstruct syntax presents a methodological improvement upon previous attempts to post non-nominative typology for Indo-European (e.g., Gamq'relidze & Ivanov 1983; Lehmann 2002; inter alia), which were partly attempts to reconstruct typological systems based on the presence or absence of certain features considered characteristic of active languages by Klimov (1977).

### Constructional load of the "PATH schema".

Barnabé, Aurélie  
(University Bordeaux 3)

The PATH schema, first defined by Lakoff and Johnson (1987), is investigated in the present study through 300 journalistic occurrences extracted from British and American newspapers. This schema consists of three subschemas, namely *source*, *path* and *goal*. This analysis aims at demonstrating that the conceptual complexity of this image-schema is reflected in its grammatical encoding since the inherent directionality it involves is expressed in various ways: the PATH schema delineates effective motion and fictive motion (Talmy 2000) pertaining to the physical realm and it also reports temporal shifts and causal patterns. These constructions highlight the notions of physical movement and abstract progress, and their counterparts, i.e. stationariness and constancy, depending on the objective or subjective construct of the conceptualizer. The frequent use of the PATH schema in language led us to explore its constructional load through a corpus-based analysis that investigated three phenomena:

(i) First: the verbal lexical semantics contributing to partially encode the structure of this schema. While recurrent motion verbs profile the relationship of futurity (ex.(1)), others depict the notion of stationariness (ex.(2)). Conversely, localisation verbs suggest a movement resulting from the subjective construal of the conceptualizer (ex. (3)):

- (1) *He is going to open the door.*
- (2) *The fence runs down to the river.*
- (3) *The cliff wall faces toward the valley.*

The corpus-based analysis evidences that the motion and localization verbs encoding the PATH schema are seldom used in their prototypical sense (i.e. the spatial one), which led us to assess the degree of subjectification and imagery of the conceptualizer.

(ii) Secondly, the interaction of prepositional semantics and the PATH schema reveals the degree of spatial complexity prepositions can carry to trace a path. Indeed, two prepositional groups can be distinguished: one-

dimensional prepositions (e.g. *to*, *against*) mostly identify the *goal* subschema. They are contrasted with two-dimensional prepositions (e.g. *near*, *behind*) which encode more complex spatial configurations: their relevant goal actually targets a search domain (Langacker, 1991) associated with the landmark. A search domain is the space to which a locative predication confines its trajector. Consequently, our analysis reveals that one-dimensional prepositions tend to be more meaningful than two-dimensional prepositions to display the *path-goal* schema.

(iii) Finally, the participant-setting interactions that involve energy transfer are particular manifestations of the *source-path-goal* schema. The most prominent clausal participant usually represents the figure while the ground designates a setting. In some constructions, this figure/ground asymmetry is reversed, making the setting function as the figure, which has semantic repercussions: it heightens the prominence of the setting-process itself. Non grammatical examples demonstrate that these setting-subject constructions disclose a failure to be passivized since the figure/ground reversal defocuses the experiential relationship and necessarily affects the prototypical semantic meaning of the verb.

The results of this study reveal the need to adopt a holistic view to interpret the constructions underlain by the PATH schema, constructions whose components do not individually carry meaning pertaining to the path. The inherent directionality of the PATH schema reveals a process corresponding to specific constructions whose constructional semantics partially results from the integration of the components above mentioned in addition to the subjective load of the conceptualizer.

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### **Differences in metaphorical processing in the group of depressive and non-depressive people. Metaphorical conceptualizations of PAST , FUTURE, JOY, SADNESS, and HAPPINESS.**

Bartczak Marlena  
(University of Warsaw)

The poster presents the final results of research on metaphorical conceptualizations of five notions: PAST, FUTURE, JOY, SADNESS, and HAPPINESS, obtained in three 30-person groups: a group of patients with depression, of patients during remission, and of non-depressive individuals.

#### **Research Questions, Approach, and Hypothesis**

This interdisciplinary research project aims to determine if (and how) the intensity of depression variable (cf. BDI, Beck 1973) correlates with formation of cognitive representations of notions and if its potential influence recedes during the periods of remission (for theoretical perspective, see Bartczak 2009b). The number of created metaphors and their characteristics (valence and the degree of conventionality) are treated as indicators of the shape of a given notion's cognitive representation.

Research hypotheses were derived on the basis of (a) theoretical premises (e.g., the cognitive theory of depression, Beck 1963, 1967; neuropsychological theories of metaphor, e.g., Schnitzer & Pedreira 2005; theories emphasizing strong connections between metaphor and cognition, cf. e.g., Tendahl & Gibbs 2008); (b) results of studies indicating that working memory become disordered during depressive states (e.g., Fossati et al. 1999; von Hecker & Sędek 1999); (c) conclusions from research stating that efficient working memory mechanisms are indispensable for efficient metaphorical processing (e.g., Chiappe & Chiappe 2007); and (d) results of studies suggesting that even those who have recovered from depression demonstrate a specific pattern of information processing (e.g., Atchley et al. 2007).

The following predictions were made: (1) The intensity of depression correlates with changes in cognitive representations of notions, in particular: (a) depressive people will create fewer metaphors of a given notion than healthy (non-depressive) individuals, (b) patients suffering from depression, in comparison with healthy subjects, will create relatively more metaphors of notions with negative meaning, (c) depressive people will create (and prefer) relatively more negatively-characterized metaphors for each notion, independently of its valence (positive or negative

characterizing); and (2) the depressive pattern of cognitive representation will be maintained also during periods of remission.

### Method and Data

The results obtained in the first stage of the research (narratives and the Unfinished Metaphorical Sentences Test, UMST) were not univocal (for details, see Bartczak 2008). The analysis did not reveal the existence of any general regularity, common for all notions and independent of the task. Nevertheless, there was a tendency to create a smaller number of metaphors by depressive people (especially concerning the notion of FUTURE), what might be interpreted as a result of difficulties with metaphorical processing, evoked by depression.

Participants in the second stage of research are asked to complete the UMST (see Bartczak 2008) and the Questionnaire of the Metaphorical Conceptualization of a Notion (QMCN, see Bartczak, 2009a). Additionally, a word association test and a projective method (relying on imaging analyzed notions as “guests” who come to a party and sit at a table) will be used. Methods used in this stage are – comparing with the first stage – enriched with new tools (e.g., QMCN) and additional, third group (patients in remission). Obtained results are to be presented in the poster.

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## VN and NV compounds: A comparative overview.

Basciano Bianca & Melloni Chiara  
(Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore & Università degli Studi di Verona)

In this paper, we will develop a comparative analysis of VN (nominal) compounds in Romance, Bantu languages (especially Bemba) and Mandarin Chinese:

Table 1.

BANTU	ROMANCE	CHINESE
Be. <i>lúbùmbá-nóngó</i> 'mud-building hornet' lit. 'mould-clay pot'	It. <i>apribottiglie</i> 'bottle-opener'	领事 <i>lǐngshì</i> 'consul' lit. 'lead-business'

VN compounds generally convey an agentive/instrumental meaning and they can refer to humans, animals and objects in all the languages at issue. The languages examined show many similarities, mainly differing in the presence or lack of declension markers (final vowel on V / number morphology on N) - arguably related to the morphology of the individual languages - and in the (un)productivity of the phenomenon.

Table 2.

	ROMANCE	BANTU	CHINESE
ARGUMENTHOOD	N direct object of V (also subject or locative)	N direct object of V (also locative or complement licensed by applicative)	N direct object of V; also locative or subject (NV order)

N CONSTITUENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plural or mass noun / also singular</li> <li>No determiner</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Plural or mass noun</li> <li>No augment</li> </ul>	Root
V CONSTITUENT	Verb stem + final vowel	Verb stem + final vowel	Root
HEADEDNESS	Exocentric	Exocentric	Exocentric
DETERMINER ON N	No	No	No
RECURSION	Limited	No	No
PRODUCTIVITY	Only with agentive / instrumental interpretation	No (Bemba, but cf. Chichewa a.o. Bantu languages)	Limited

With respect to standard synthetic compounds attested in Germanic, e.g. *truck-driver*, this kind of compounds do not have overt marking of nominalization. However, there are some cases of Bemba compounds taking overtly realized prefixes such as *ka-* and *mu-* (e.g. *kámíná-mísà* ‘swallow-gulps = drunkard’). On the basis of synchronic, diachronic and comparative evidence, we will show that *ka-* and *mu-* are fully derivational, differing from the homonymous class prefixes. These compounds are very common in other Bantu languages, e.g. Gykuyu (Mugane 1997, Bresnan & Mugane 2006). While in Romance languages synthetic compounds are not attested (with a few exceptions), in Chinese there are compounds akin to those found in Germanic languages (e.g. 展览主办者 *zhǎnlǎn zhǔbàn zhě* ‘exhibition (to)sponsor SUFF = exhibition sponsor’; cf. He 2004, a.o.). Interestingly, there seems to be a connection between the degree of productivity of VN compounds and the presence/absence of synthetic compounds, which seem to represent in fact a more sophisticated word formation strategy, arguably featuring an incorporation (the NV order) and a derivational (the suffix) phenomena.

Recent analyses have proposed that VN compounds are fossils of simpler stages of the syntax of modern languages (cf. Progovac 2006, 2009). According to this view, this kind of compounds are in most languages (e.g. English and Slavic languages) only preserved as fossils, mostly referring to names, nicknames and derogatory expressions, e.g. English *pickpocket*, *daredevil*. We believe that a proto-linguistic analysis can hardly account for the productivity of VN compounds in Romance, where, in addition, the meaning of this kind of compounds is not confined to (derogatory) nicknames and phytonyms (see also Chinese). Another interesting issue concerns the influence of the syntactic word order of a language on the order of the constituents of VN compounds. As a matter of fact, the languages at issue are all VO languages and have nominal exocentric compounds with the VO order. Interestingly enough, Japanese, which is a OV language, has similar compounds, but with the NV order. To this respect, Chinese compounds where N is the external argument of V are quite interesting: the order is NV (e.g. 海啸 *hǎixiào* ‘sea + scream = tsunami’) vs. Romance (e.g. Italian *bollilatte* ‘milk kettle’), where the order is VN.

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## The ethical pronoun “me” in Brazilian Portuguese.

Bastos-Gee, Ana  
(University of Connecticut)

**Definition and example:** the term *ethical constructions* is used here to refer to sentences in which a pronoun is used to express that someone is (negatively) affected by the content of the main assertion.

- (1) a. Scenario: Mary spent a whole week organizing a surprise birthday party for John. On the day before, she found out that John went to São Paulo.  
b. Mary: o João ME foi pra São Paulo!  
the John me went to São Paulo  
'John went to São Paulo (and the speaker disapproves of it)  
Alternatively: 'John went to São Paulo ON ME!'

**A constraint on co-reference:** ethical pronouns cannot co-refer with referential elements in the same clause in Brazilian Portuguese (BP). Co-reference with adjuncts is possible (originally observed by Borer and Grodzinsky 1986).

- (2) Indirect Object x ethical pronoun  
O João (\*ME) apresentou a Maria para mim!  
The John (\*ME) introduced the Mary to me  
'John introduced Mary to me (and the speaker disapproves of it)'
- (3) Adjuncts x ethical pronoun  
O João (ME) apresentou a Maria pro Paulo antes de mim!  
The John (ME) introduced the Mary to-the Paul before of me  
'John introduced Mary to Paul (on me) before me'

**Goals:** a. provide a structure that captures the main properties of these constructions, and b. explain how the constraint on co-reference arises.

**Structure:** ethical pronouns start in a low projection in the VP system and move to a higher A'-projection in the split IP system, which I call OrientP, in order to check a feature [+S] related to the sentential force and speaker orientation. Evidence for the ethical pronoun base-generation in the VP system, not vP, comes from their compatibility with unaccusative constructions, as shown below.

- (4) Unaccusative constructions  
a. As flores (ME) caíram no chão!  
The flowers (ME) fell on-the floor  
'The flowers fell on-the floor (and the speaker disapproves of it)'

Evidence for this movement comes from the fact that ethical pronouns cause relativized minimality effects (Rizzi 1990) blocking all kinds of A'-movement, for instance, wh-movement, as shown below.

- (5) Wh-questions involving **internal arguments**  
a. *Pra quem* que o João (\*?ME) vendeu a casa da Marta?  
*To whom* that the John ME sold the house of-the Martha?  
'To whom did John sell Martha's house?'

**Crossover:** Strong crossover is a violation involving A'-movement of one phrase over a co-indexed phrase (see Postal 1971; Wasow 1972; Lasnik 1976). My proposal is that, when the ethical pronoun undergoes A'-movement to the specifier of OrientP, if it crosses a co-indexed phrase, it causes a strong crossover violation (against Bastos 2007, which analyzed this phenomenon as a Lethal Ambiguity violation in the sense of McGinnis 1997). In addition to symmetries between strong crossover and the constraint on co-reference, I also discuss one case that can potentially be analyzed as a weak crossover violation in BP.

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## The Use and Function of Metaphor in Academic Discourse.

Beger, Anke  
(Flensburg University)

Unregistered participant when the book of abstract went to press.

### A constructional approach to grammatical constituency: A case study from Dutch.

Beliën, Maaïke  
(Delft University of Technology)

The aim of this presentation is to show how a constructional approach to language can be used to shed light on grammatical constituency. In particular, I would like to present my work on constructions such as (1), whose grammatical constituency has puzzled linguists for decades.

- (1) *hun fietspontje*                      *[vaart]*                      *het kanaal*                      *over*  
their bicycle-ferry sails                      the canal over  
'Their bicycle ferry sails across the canal'
- (2) *We*                                      *varen*                                      *over het Haren-Rüttenbrockkanaal*  
we    sail    over the Haren-Rüttenbrock-canal  
'We are sailing along the Haren-Rüttenbrock canal'

(Both examples are from the '38 million word corpus' of the Institute for Dutch Lexicology.)

Just as (2), example (1) consists of a subject nominal, the motion verb *varen* 'sail', the adposition *over*, and a second nominal. Yet while the adposition in (2) can uncontroversially be analyzed as a preposition, the grammatical status of the adposition in (1) is unclear.

Using constituency tests such as passivization and topicalization, previous studies have not resolved the issue. Some analyze the adposition in (1) as a *postposition*, which forms a constituent with the nominal that precedes it. Others consider it to be a *particle* that forms a constituent with the motion verb, i.e. a separable complex verb, with the second nominal functioning as a direct object. A third group of studies allow *both* possibilities: the adposition is essentially a postposition but can be reanalyzed as a particle.

My study offers a new perspective on this long-standing problem. Using corpus data, it seeks to determine the grammatical constituency on the basis of a *semantic* analysis. The theoretical background for this is the cognitive-grammar view of grammatical constituency, defined as "the order in which simpler symbolic structures are successively integrated to form progressively more elaborate ones" (Langacker 2000: 149).

In particular, the study analyzes the grammatical constituency of the construction illustrated in (1) on the basis of three semantic parallels with other constructions. First of all, like particles in ordinary Dutch separable complex verb constructions (Blom 2005), the particle in this construction is understood as the *result* of the event. Secondly, like direct objects of certain motion verb constructions in other languages (e.g. Muehleisen & Imai 1997), the second nominal in this construction designates an entity that is partially or completely *traversed*. And finally, like argument/oblique alternations (Levin 1993, Beavers 2006), pairs such as (1) and (2) show a *holistic/partitive effect*. On the basis of these parallels, the study concludes that constructions such as (1) consist of a separable complex verb that takes a direct object.

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## Genes do not work that way: Why a direct link between genes and linguistic features should be avoided.

Benítez-Burraco, Antonio & Longa, Víctor M.  
(Universidad de Huelva & Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)

Many generative analyses of the development of some linguistic features (i.e. finiteness, clitics, etc.) have argued that those features are directly rooted in the genotype (Lightfoot 1999; Wexler 2003). In addition, genetic analyses of (inherited) language disorders have suggested a bunch of “language genes” allegedly involved in the emergence/acquisition of specific linguistic features (for a review see Benítez-Burraco, 2009). However, we contend that such a direct link between genotype and phenotype is a simplistic and inaccurate depiction of how genes actually contribute to the emergence of biological traits, and accordingly, that it misrepresents how genes are engaged in implementing a Faculty of Language (henceforth, FL). We will discuss several reasons which make such a view untenable.

To begin with, while discovering a correlation between a specific genetic mutation and a linguistic disorder might suggest that the mutation is causally involved in the impairment, the correlation by itself does not tell us whether (and in what way) that region of the genome plays a role in normal linguistic development (Balaban 2000; Bateson & Mameli 2007). More crucially, genes merely contribute to the synthesis of certain biochemical products, which will be subsequently engaged in particular physiological functions. Moreover, the extent to which a particular gene ultimately contributes to such a biological process heavily depends on the precise place, time, and amount in which is expressed and in which its product(s) become(s) synthesized, with many layers of (pre- and post-transcriptional) regulatory complexity being implicated. As a consequence, not only the same gene usually contributes to different physiological functions in diverse moments and body tissues during ontogeny (pleiotropy), but also many genes contribute (to a different extent) to the development and functioning of the neural substrate of the FL (polygenism), ultimately making a one-to-one correlation between genes and traits unrealistic. Likewise, as the cell is not either an isolate system, multiple internal and external factors ultimately modulate gene expression. Moreover, diverse physicochemical parameters and properties crucially condition basic dimensions of tissue organization, thus ultimately channelling developmental processes (Newman *et al.*, 2006). Finally, development itself is, to some extent, a stochastic phenomenon; accordingly, two identical developmental processes can actually lead to different phenotypic outputs (Balaban 2006). Incidentally, such a complex regulatory mechanism would essentially determine just the basic interconnection patterns among the diverse types of differentiated neurons involved, with fully operative neural structures being generated only after the feedback effect exerted on the whole systems by neural activity during language processing (Ramus 2006).

To summarize, development is the outcome of a synergistic (i.e. nonadditive) interaction among the whole set of involved factors (Robert, 2008), which are equally necessary (Griffiths & Gray 1998). Therefore, genes are not blueprints. The take-home message is clear: biological analyses of language should seriously consider how development really proceeds.

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### Clarifying the notion of 'fossil of language.'

Benítez-Burraco, Antonio, Sergio Balari, Víctor M. Longa and Guillermo Lorenzo  
(Universidad de Huelva, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona,  
Universidad de Santiago and Universidad de Oviedo)

The search for the evolutionary history of language is routinely based on (1) anatomical remains of vocal and auditory systems, (2) archaeological vestiges of symbolic practices, and (3) isolated sequences of fossil DNA. We claim that this record is of little (if any) help to the task, because its informative import is fully assumed without taking into account the distinction between 'core' vs. 'peripheral' aspects of language (1-2) nor the actual functioning of developmental systems (3). Once these concerns are taken into the evolutionary agenda, a surprisingly different base of anatomical, archeological and genetic evidence emerges, which can more reliably be deemed "fossils of language" (see Balari *et al.* forthcoming).

The shift of focus we argue for relies (a) on emphasizing computational aspects of language (in the line of Hauser *et al.* 2002), and (b) on dropping communication from the evolutionary equation as well. Accordingly, we take the Faculty of Language to be a natural system of computation which resides in the mind/brain of every human being, and which has as an accidental property the fact that it interfaces a Conceptual-Intentional system and a Vocal-Auditory component (Faculty of Language in the broad sense). Since traditional 'fossils of language' of type (1-2) are mainly related to the 'peripheral' components of language (thus becoming substantially uninformative), we propose:

(a) to reassess the existing 'fossils' by putting special emphasis on computational aspects (evidence from the Vocal-Auditory system should be discarded; evidence of symbolic behavior is not worth considering *per se*, if it has not to do with combinatorial semantics, since symbolic cultural systems lack linguistic compositionality and productivity)

(b) to consider certain 'fossils' not customarily related to language (evidence of non-static prehistorical techno-complexes, suggesting an enhanced working memory), and

(c) to search for new fossil evidence, such as knot tying (Camps & Uriagereka 2006). The ultimate objective is to concentrate on 'fossil evidence' of 'core' properties of language, i. e., of natural computational system equivalent to a context-sensitive system (type 1) in the Chomsky Hierarchy (Chomsky 1956, 1959).

Concerning (3), our proposal is twofold. Traditional DNA 'fossils of language' analyze ancient versions of 'language genes', i.e., genes mutated in individuals affected by language disorders (for a review, see Benítez-Burraco 2009). However, as developmental biology tells us, genes are not blueprints; instead, development is the outcome of a synergistic (i.e. nonadditive) interaction among diverse (even non-genetic) factors (Robert 2008). This makes a one-to-one correlation between genes and traits unrealistic, also in the evolutionary arena. Moreover, it has been argued (Balari & Lorenzo 2008, 2009) that the emergence of a type 1 natural system of computation (the crucial milestone in language evolution) could be associated with the development of an enhanced working memory, itself a by-product of the evolution of cortical growth in humans. Consequently, the evolutionary path of other (perhaps unexpected) genes should also be considered, especially those involved in the regulation of neuronal proliferation (but also neuronal differentiation, migration and interconnection).

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### The place of the ethical dative in the grammar of Latvian.

Berg-Olsen, Sturla  
(University of Oslo)

I take *ethical dative* to mean a dative-marked nominal where the dative-marking is not required by any word or construction in the given context and which can be omitted without rendering the sentence ungrammatical. The ethical dative is used to express relations in the speech-act domain, and is thus only realised by personal pronouns in the first

and second person and the reflexive pronoun. Taking a cognitive and constructionist approach, I will argue that the Latvian ethical dative represents an integral, motivated part of the semantic network of the Latvian dative as a whole. The paper is a contribution towards a more systematic approach to ethical datives in general.

In all of its core uses, the Latvian dative can be analysed as expressing a target person, defined by Dąbrowska (1997:16–17) as ‘an individual who is perceived as affected by an action, process, or state taking place within or impinging upon his personal sphere’ (Berg-Olsen 2005). The element of affectedness is present in a range of constructions with the dative, in which the dative-marked nominal can express semantic roles such as experiencer, benefactive, recipient, malefactive, possessor and debtor (i.e. someone affected by an obligation). I will argue that the ethical dative represents an extension of the target person role into the speech-act domain. By using a dative-marked pronoun, a speaker can assert or claim that another person, an object or an abstract matter is located within his personal sphere. Depending on which pronoun is used and on the person and object or matter involved, several subtypes of ethical dative can be discerned. Two common subtypes with the first person are the self-assertive command (‘I have power over you, therefore you must do this when I tell you to’, seen in (1)) and the empathic utterance (‘you are so close/dear to me that when this happens to you, it affects me as well’, seen in (2)).

(1) Nestaipi **man** to kaklu un neskaties apkārt!  
 not-stretch me.DAT that neck andnot-look around  
 ‘Don’t stretch your neck and don’t look around!’  
 (Vilis Lācis: *Uz jauno krastu*, cited in MLLVG II:293)

(2) Tēti ... Tu **man** esi tāds neuzmanīgs ...  
 daddy youme.DAT are such inattentive  
 ‘Daddy ... You’re so inattentive ...’  
 (<http://www.workingday.lv/ka/joki/index.php?id=134>)

I will also discuss the existence of examples where the ethical dative borders on an ‘ordinary’ benefactive, malefactive or possessive dative, such as (3). Such borderline examples are to be expected given that the ethical dative is semantically akin to other uses of the dative.

(3) kaut arī softs pirkts legāli, tas nav **tev** legāls un derīgs  
 even though software bought legally, it is-not you.DAT legal andvalid  
 ‘even though the software is bought legally, it’s not legal and valid’  
 (<http://www.boot.lv/forums/index.php?/topic/83-kas-iisti-ir-oem-licence-softam/>)

The scope of situations where the ethical dative can be used is primarily delimited by pragmatic factors, thus e.g. an order such as (1) is only appropriate when the relationship between the speech-act participants is asymmetrical.

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## Sense-contingent lexical bias in the Dutch dative alternation.

Bernolet, Sarah & Colleman, Timothy  
 (Ghent University)

In semantic studies of argument structure alternations, the concept of *lexical alternation bias*, i.e. the lexical preferences of individual verbs for one of two (or more) alternating constructions, plays a crucial role. For instance, with regard to the English dative alternation, it has been observed that verbs of refusal such as *refuse* and *deny* consistently prefer the double object (DO) construction over the so-called prepositional dative (PD) construction (i.e., the *to*-dative), and this observation is often mentioned in support of the semantic hypothesis that the PD construction basically encodes ‘caused motion’ rather than ‘caused reception’ (e.g. Goldberg 1995). Recently, the concept of alternation bias has drawn a fair amount of attention in psycholinguistic research, too, for instance with regard to syntactic priming, where priming effects have been shown to be sensitive to the verb-specific preferences of both *target* verbs and *prime* verbs (Gries 2005; Jaeger & Snider 2007; Bernardo & Hartsuiker 2010).

However, in existing linguistic as well as psycholinguistic studies, the alternation biases are typically measured at the level of the verb lexeme, abstracting away from issues of verbal *polysemy*. While this rather coarse-grained approach has of course produced interesting results in the past, it is somewhat at odds with the intuitively appealing hypothesis that the proper locus of subcategorization probabilities may well be the verb *sense* rather than the verbal lexeme (see, e.g., Roland and Jurafsky’s 2002 Lemma Argument Probability hypothesis).

The present paper investigates the effects of verbal polysemy on the subcategorization probabilities of Dutch verbs partaking in the dative alternation illustrated in (1) below, as reflected in frequency data from (i) natural language corpora and (ii) elicitation experiments (on the dative alternation in Dutch, see, e.g. Colleman 2010).

- (1) a. *De man heeft zijn broer een boek gegeven / verkocht/ beloofd / aangeboden.*  
 the man has his brother a book given sold promised offered  
 'The man has given/sold/promised/ offered his brother a book.'
- b. *De man heeft een boek aan zijn broergegeven /verkocht /beloofd/ aangeboden.*  
 the man has a book to his brother given sold promised offered  
 'The man has given/sold/offered/promised a book to his brother.'

The corpus data are drawn from both the CONDIV corpus of written Dutch and the CGN corpus of spoken Dutch. The elicitation experiments involve a combination of picture description and sentence completion tasks, the latter of which enables the inclusion of verbs describing more abstract ditransitive scenes in the experiment. A detailed comparison of the data drawn from these various sources on the subcategorization probabilities of polysemous dative alternating verbs will allow us to investigate the extent to which lexical biases can be said to be sense-contingent.

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## Orality in Writing: the Absence of Agreement of the Participle in Compound Tenses In Medieval Catalan Texts.

Berta, Tibor  
 (University of Szeged)

Lately, linguistic researches are paying more attention to the examination of the characteristic features of orality. The examination of its relationship to written texts offers possibilities to historic linguistics from the point of view of language varieties and linguistic changes; at the same time, however, objective obstacles make a direct analysis of old time orality impossible.

By the analysis of the texts of a medieval corpus, I wish to justify in my presentation that the historic change that occurred in the syntax of Catalan compound tenses – i.e. the disappearance of the agreement of the originally variable form of participle – probably spread more quickly and earlier in the spoken version of Old Catalan than in more conservative written language varieties.

In structures of a compound tense containing a direct object (*he escrit la carta*; I have written the letter) the participle is usually invariable in modern Catalan: it appears in the singular masculine form. According to the standard, in case the direct object is a third-person unstressed pronoun, the participle has to agree with it in both gender and number: (*la carta*) *l'he escrita* (the letter (fem sg)) I have written.

According to medieval texts, in the Old Catalan – as well as in other New Latin languages – in this type of transitive structures the agreement of the participle inherited from Latin alternated with the absence of agreement. Earlier researches showed that the proportion of the use of participles without agreement was quite small up until the 16<sup>th</sup> century and only after this time became dominant. This is interesting since the same change was in a more advanced state in the neighboring Spanish, where by the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century the absence of agreement was part of the written norm.

The aim of my researches was to determine the presumable frequency of the mentioned syntactic innovation in the oral version of early Catalan. Therefore, a corpus of peculiar contents was needed. The extracts of the corpus compiled date back to the period between the 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, which made the follow-up of the direction and chronology of incidental changes possible. The peculiarity of the corpus lies in the fact that typologically the selected texts show heterogeneous features. Some of them are chronicles, other relations or essays and represent the more educated written version of the language. The other part is taken from minutes based on testimonies of witnesses questioned during medieval court-proceedings and thus these, within limits, are convenient for the examination of the phenomena appearing in the oral version of the contemporary language. The analysis of the corpus has shown that the

proportion of the non-agreement innovative structures is much higher in the minutes-texts than in the others. Thus we can draw the conclusion that the absence of agreement may have been a more widespread and popular syntactic alternative in oral Catalan than in the written version of the language.

### Generally speaking, connectivity and conversation management combine.

Birzer, Sandra  
(University of Regensburg)

Discourse structuring elements (DSE) are usually distinguished into elements with connective function (in Fraser's terminology discourse markers (Fraser 1999: 944), for Slavonic connectives cf. Mendoza 2009) and non-connective elements with functions regarding conversation management (in Fraser's terminology pragmatic markers (Fraser 1999: 942-943)). These two groups of elements are considered to oppose each other as poles of a continuum (cf. Fischer 2006: 9), although there exist hints that some originally connective DSE may also occur in ambiguous contexts (cf. Fraser 1999: 943-944).

Drawing on corpus data (from the respective National Corpora) for the Russian DSE *voobshche govorja* 'generally speaking' and the Polish DSEs *ogólnie mówiąc* 'generally speaking' and *najogólniej mówiąc* '(lit.) most generally speaking', we will show that

- a) one DSE may occur in connective and various conversation management functions;
- b) the realization of the respective function depends on the construction the DSE occurs in and text type (written vs. spoken);
- c) the distribution of functions over text types and languages suggests an evolution path.

#### 1. Functions in written language

- a) reformulating connective
  - Semantics: 'from the specific to the more general' (cf. Baranov et al. 1993: 106).
  - Syntax
    - anaphoric construction (in both RUS (1) and POL (2)): preceding conjunct (PC) contains more specific information and its size may vary; second conjunct (SC) contains generalization from the information given beforehand and consists of one sentence with the DSE in sentence-initial position.
    - cataphoric construction (only in POL (3)): The first conjunct (one sentence), introduced by the sentence-initial DSE, contains a generalization that bases on the information given in the second conjunct, whose size may vary.
- b) pragmatic marker introducing an (irrelevant for the narration) generalized classification of one aspect of the discourse topic (only RUS (4))
  - Semantics: 'from the specific phenomenon to a generalized classification of such phenomena'.
  - Syntax: The first sequence refers to a specific phenomenon. The second sequence gives its place in a generalized classification; the DSE has sentence-initial position in the first sentence of the second sequence. Size of both sequences is not constrained.
- c) commentary pragmatic marker conveying speaker's stance (only POL (5))
  - Semantics: 'in the following segment the speaker uses a generalizing label for reference to a complex situation'
  - Syntax: DSE forms a parenthesis and directly precedes the segment the commentary aims at. The scope of the DSE ranges from the attributive part of a NP up to a clause.
- d) pragmatic marker with downtoning hedging function (only POL (6))
  - Semantics: the original meaning of both components of the DSE has largely bleached out: 'the speaker happens to share a general judgement'.
  - Syntax: DSE forms a parenthesis preceding the constituent conveying the judgement.
- e) pragmatic marker introducing the judgement of the preceding situation (only RUS (7-8))
  - Semantics: the original meaning of both DSE components has bleached out.
  - Syntax: size of the text unit describing the situation to be judged may vary (cf. 7 vs. 8); judgement itself consists of one clause. The DSE has clause-initial position in the judgement clause.

#### 2. Functions in spoken language

The following functions and corresponding constructions already known from written texts also appear in oral language:

- a) anaphoric (RUS (9), POL (10)) and cataphoric (RUS (11), POL (12))
- b) only RUS (13)
- c) only POL (14)
- d) RUS (15) and POL (16)
- e) only RUS (17)

Two functions occur only in spoken language:

- f) pragmatic marker signaling the resumption of an antecedent topic (only RUS (18))
  - Semantics: speaker presents the resumption as the generalized essence of the antecedent topic
  - Syntax: DSE has sentence-initial position in the first sentence of the resumed topic
- g) pragmatic marker signaling a new topic (only POL (19))
  - Semantics: the original meaning of both DSE components has bleached out
  - Syntax: DSE has sentence-initial position in the first sentence of the new topic

### 3. Conclusions

The reformulating connective function is central to the investigated DSEs. The implicational scale for the realization of functions in text types is

spoken language > written language

The functions form a continuum with respect to connectivity and semantic weight. Therefore we may assume the following path of evolution:

reformulating connective > speaker's stance > topic management

## Complexity, areality and the necessity of a multilevel approach to typology.

Bisang, Walter  
(University of Mainz)

Morphosyntactic structures never fully express the meaning they have in a concrete speech situation. This well-known fact of informational incompleteness can be accounted for in terms of Levinson's (2000) "articulatory bottleneck". Since human speech encoding/decoding is by far the slowest part of speech production/comprehension and since inference runs at a much higher speed, "inference is cheap, articulation expensive" Levinson (2000: 29). This asymmetry is reflected by the two competing motivations (Haiman 1983) of explicitness (articulation) vs. economy (inference).

Typological research on complexity concentrates on the explicitness-side of grammar, i.e., on obligatory grammatical categories that are overtly marked and that can be quantified in terms of the number of distinctions and rules in a language (McWhorter 2001; also cf. Dahl 2004, Miestamo et al. 2008 and others). But complexity also has an economic side, which is characterized by the lack of obligatory grammatical categories and by the high relevance of inference. This contrast between "overt complexity" and "hidden complexity" creates cross-linguistic differences concerning the importance of syntax vs. pragmatics (Huang 1994).

High relevance of "hidden complexity" might be associated with isolating languages and their reduced morphological markedness. But data from isolating structures in East and mainland Southeast Asia (EMSEA), Yoruba (Kwa; West Africa) and various Creoles reveal that there are big differences. The analysis of pro drop, tense-aspect systems and clause combining shows that hidden complexity is much more prominent in EMSEA. The following example is on clause combining. Since the semantic relation between clauses needs no overt expression in Chinese, various relations can be inferred:

(1) Li/Thompson (1981: 595):

Wo# ma#i pia~o j~n-q• .

I buy ticket enter-go

a. *Consecutive action*: 'I bought a ticket and went in.'

b. *Purpose*: 'I bought a ticket to go in.'

In Yoruba, the speaker is forced to select a specific marker. (1a) is expressed by coordination as in (2), (1b) by a purpose-marker as in (3). Mere juxtaposition as in (4) is possible but with a highly specific meaning:

(2) *Mo ra t'keeč~s* "wočle!.

!čt", mo

I buy ticket I and enter

'I bought a ticket and went in.'

(3) *Mo ra t'ke!čet"č~lāti* wočle!.

I buy ticket PURP enter

'I bought a ticket to go in.'

(4) *Mo ra t'ke!če~t"čwočle!* ni. I buy ticket enter FOC 'I entered by buying a ticket.' [an answer to the question of how somebody got access to a soccer game, by buying a ticket or by political connections']

In Creoles, overt complexity is generally higher than in EMSEA (pace McWhorter 2001).

The motivations of cross-linguistic differences in the balance of overt vs. hidden complexity is due to

acombination of factors which are area-specific. The comparatively high hidden complexity in EMSEA is determined by specific phonological properties (Ansaldo/Lim 2004), the predominance of syntax over morphology and the syntactic multifunctionality of lexical items. This shows that fundamental typological properties can only be accounted for in terms of the interaction between different levels of grammar.

### Linking elements in compounds and their role in compound recursiveness.

Bisetto, Antonietta  
(University of Bologna)

Linking elements (=LEs) are, notoriously, meaningless elements characterising the compounded words of some languages. They can be found in several languages such as, for example, the Germanic Dutch and German (in both of which the LE appears as *-s-* or *-e-*: cf. Dutch *schap-e-vlees* 'mutton', *scheid-s-rechter* 'referee' (data from Booij 1992: 42) and German *Land-s-mann* 'compatriot' and *Tag-e-buch* 'diario', data are from Becker 1992:11), the Scandinavian Danish and Swedish (where the LE also appears as *-s-* or *-e-* as in Danish *fred-s-conference* 'peace conference' and *jul-e-gave* 'Christmas present' and Swedish *bord-s-lamp* 'desk lamp', *ort-s-namn* 'place name', the first of the two examples is Mukai's 2008:190), the second is from S. Niemi 2009:262) and Modern Greek where the linking element appears as *-o-* (cf. *sime-o-stolizmos* 'bunting', *elafr-o-petra* 'pumice' from Ralli 1992: 145-6). Though originating from grammatical entities (e.g. plural markers, case endings, etc.) such elements have lost their original function and are presently considered to be compound markers whose occurrence depends on the presence of a rich paradigmatic inflectional system characterising the language having them (cf. Ralli 2008).

Linking elements are found not only in two-member compounds but also in those having three - or more - constituents, either when the compound expansion occurs on the head side of the compound or on the non-head one, viz. in so called recursive compounds. Recursion, however, is not instantiated by both the expansion processes, at least on the basis of the notion of recursion proposed by Parker (2006) and applied to compounds in Bisetto (2010). According to these proposals, expansion on the head side of the compound instantiates recursion while expansion on the non-head one instantiates, instead, iteration of the compound.

Languages differ with respect to the compound expansion side: while some languages have compounds that expand on the head side and thus instantiate true recursion (for example Scandinavian languages: cf. Swedish *fofboll-s-domare* 'football referee', Norwegian *fodbald-s-plan* 'football pitch', Danish *land-mand-s-forening* 'farmers' association' (Mukai 2008: 188)), compounds of some other languages expand on both sides (e.g. German *Leben-s-mittel.punkt* 'center of life', *Leben-s.mittel-punkt* 'maker on groceries' (Neef 2009:622) and Dutch *weer-s-voorspelling-s-deskundige-n-congres* 'weather-forecast-experts-conference' (cf. Don 2009: 370), *zomer-broed-gebied* 'breeding area for the summer' (Booij 2009: 328)) and consequently are instances of both recursion and iteration. Other ones, like Modern Greek and Turkish (cf. Ralli 1992, 2009a, 2009b and Göksel & Hasnedar 2007; Göksel 2009 respectively) have compounds that expand exclusively or near exclusively on the non-head side and thus are instances of the iteration process.

In my presentation I will suggest that the possibility for a language to have recursive vs. iterative compounds is tied to a particular role played by LEs in the different languages. That is to say, I will suggest that in languages such as Modern Greek and Turkish, with near only iterative compounds, linking elements have a role different from that played by the linking elements of the languages where compounds are mainly recursive, as in Scandinavian and Dutch.

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### The emergence of a new construction of pain in Lithuanian.

Bjarnadóttir, Valgerður  
(Stockholm University)

Recent comparative work on verbal semantics of constructions with non-nominative subjects in the ancient and archaic Indo-European languages, i.e. Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Russian, Old Icelandic and Lithuanian, has revealed a major consistency between these languages across semantic field (cf. Barðdal et al. 2010). Lithuanian, however, deviates from this pattern in one major respect; verbs of physical discomfort or pain are considerably higher in type frequency in Lithuanian than in the other IE languages, an aberration that merits further investigation.

Verbs denoting physical discomfort such as pain, itching, cramping and swelling seem to make up a very productive constructional pattern in Lithuanian, occurring with Dat-Acc in Standard Lithuanian. These seem to have developed from a merger of a Dat-Nom and Nom-Acc constructions, and are a clear example of how two different argument structures can give rise to new constructions with a different meaning.

The original Lithuanian Dat-Nom verbs denoting pain are *skaudėti* 'hurt', *sopėti* 'hurt', *persėti* 'itch' and *niežėti* 'itch'. These are all stative verbs, with *-ėti* being a stative suffix. Additionally we have a more recent group of pain verbs, shown in the table below. These have developed from a pattern of dynamic, Nom-Acc transitive verbs. They seem to have gained the dative from the Dat-Nom construction, while maintaining the accusative from the Nom-Acc construction, giving rise to the new DAT-ACC argument structure. When used in the Dat-Acc construction, they have gained a different and a more abstract meaning, i.e. a metaphorical meaning of pain:

	Nom-Acc: Concrete Meaning	Dat-Acc: Metaphorical Meaning
<i>badyti, durti, smaigyti</i>	'prick, butt, poke, stick'	'ache'
<i>diegti, daigyti, daigstyti</i>	'plant, dig down'	'ache'
<i>gelti</i>	'bite'	'ache'
<i>raižyti, skelti</i>	'cut, cleave, split'	'ache'

In Standard Lithuanian the argument structure in the new construction is DAT-ACC. The experiencer is in the dative case and the body part in accusative, like in the original Nom-Acc construction. However, in Lithuanian dialects, as well as in Latvian, Russian and Polish the argument structure of pain verbs is DAT-NOM. In the oldest Lithuanian texts only examples with DAT-NOM can be found :

- (1) *Sópa galwa ... įkaūft ingftai* (Daukša's Postille, 422 33, 1599)  
hurt.PRES.3 head.NOM.SG hurt.PRES3 kidneys.NOM.PL  
"Head hurts ... kidneys hurt "

I consider these facts to be evidence that the DAT-NOM is the older argument structure and in my paper I will show that the rise of the new construction affected the argument structure of the original stative constructions denoting pain.

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### Cognition by description as a possible offshoot of language.

Bolender, John  
(Middle East Technical University)

Although non-human primates plan for the future, thinking about unperceived entities appears to be uniquely human. A chimpanzee may hide rocks for future use as weapons, but a human thinks about gods, literary characters, atoms, and the children of their unborn children. While the simian may conceive of unperceived events or states of affairs, evidently only the human conceives of unperceived objects or entities. What makes this possible? According to Bertrand Russell, thinking about entities that one has never perceived requires operator-variable constructions as per his theory of descriptions. Russell refers to this sort of cognition as "knowledge by description," but "cognition by description" is a better term for current purposes; as the relevant cognition includes mythology, fiction, and suchlike, "knowledge" is not the best word. Although Russell's theory of descriptions and his discussion of cognition by

description are usually relegated to philosophy, they suggest an empirical hypothesis about the cognitive processes underpinning at least some human uniqueness. Specifically, they suggest an hypothesis about the role of operator-variable structures in human cognition: in lieu of a name, i.e. a simple symbol designating an object of immediate experience, the human being uses a bound variable to restrict the range of a predicate to precisely one individual, e.g. *There is precisely one  $x$  such that  $Fx$ .* That is, the human uses the combined semantic properties of variables and predicates, thus obviating the need for name-like representations when thinking beyond immediate experience. This links work on human uniqueness to familiar syntactic theory. On trace theory, for example, variable binding requires Internal Merge. Combining trace theory with Russellian notions, we have an hypothesis about one important component of human uniqueness: cognition by description requires mental representations featuring operator-variable constructions, and such constructions in turn require Internal Merge. Questions arise. Is Internal Merge unique to humans? What is its neural basis? Piattelli-Palmarini and Uriagereka have argued that Internal Merge places a greater demand on procedural memory than does External Merge alone, this being an attempt to relate generative grammar to Michael Ullman's work on the procedural cognitive system. Something as simple as a boost to the procedural system might account for Internal Merge being uniquely human. This is a promising hypothesis given evidence that other species are capable of recursion in cognition, i.e. they might be using Merge in some forms of cognition but not Internal Merge in particular due to the extra demands it places on the procedural system. Given research into the neural circuitry most directly involved in procedural memory, we have here a foothold into understanding the neuropsychology of human uniqueness. There is also the potential for testing. One predicts that damage to the procedural system will impair the ability to think about objects which the individual has not perceived. One also predicts crucial differences in the relevant neural circuitry between humans and simians. Further, one predicts a connection between relevant cognitive deficits and grammatical deficit involving Internal Merge.

### When come and go go deontic.

Bourdin, Philippe  
(York University, Toronto)

The proliferation of futures involving 'come' or 'go' has obscured grammaticalization pathways which are less travelled, but for which the cross-linguistic evidence is nonetheless real. The deontic pathway is one of these. The term "pathway" here calls for some heuristic caution, as the unitary path of development that it suggests is belied by a considerable range of morphosyntactic and semantic variation. Nearly all the attested instances of a "deontic pathway" to be found in the literature fall into three distinct groups.

In Godie, Dehu and Finnish there is a clear linkage between the deontic and future pathways. This is most evident in Godie where the verb 'go' can encode single-handedly futurity, deontic modality and abilitative modality:

[Godie (Niger-Congo, Kru); L. Marchese (1986: 126)]

- a)         $\acute{c}$  *yí* *sisi*~ *yí*  
          he **come** soon **come**  
          'He will come soon.'  
          Or : 'He must come soon.'
  
- b)         $\acute{c}$  *yí* *nɔnɔ* *zle*  
          he **come** work do  
          'He is able to work.'

To the second group belong Hindi, Italian and dialectal Rumanian, where a ventive or itive construction co-encodes deontic modality and passive voice:

[Hindi (Indo-European, Indo-Aryan); A. Davison (1982: 159)]

*bacc*>>-*koo is tarah bigaaR-aa nahĩ jaataa*  
children-DAT DEM way spoil-PST.PTCP.M.SG NEG **go**.IPFV.M.SG 'One should  
not spoil children like this.'

Languages in the third group are members of the Baltic Sprachbund (Stolz 1991; also Kehayov & Torn-Leesik 2009):

[Finnish (Uralic)]

a) [L. Hakulinen (1961: 354)]

*lai-n tule-e ol-la lyhyt*  
law-GEN **come**-PRS.3SG be-INF  
brief  
'The laws ought to be brief.'  
b) [F. Karlsson (1999: 191)]

*tule-n lšhte-mš-šn pois*  
**come**-PRS.1SG leave-INF.3-ILL far  
'I will leave.'

With regard to ventive deontics, circum-Baltic geography is mirrored exactly by the observed grammaticalization patterns, with Swedish at one end of the continuum and Russian at the other. Finnish is in the centre as it shares with Swedish the property of having a ventive future and with Estonian, Latvian and Russian that of having a ventive deontic. Kashmiri and Sahidic Coptic have itive deontics that elude classification. Each of the three subtypes raises specific issues which the paper will address in turn. It will be shown in particular that the contrast between subject-anchored modality (e.g. volition and ability) and speaker-anchored modality (e.g. obligation) is relevant, though in different ways, to the dynamics at play in the first and second subtypes. The notion of “modal drift” will also be discussed: it will be shown that it may be useful when dealing with the facts of Hindi (and other Indo-Aryan languages), but that it is problematic in the case of Italian.

When accounting for the grammaticalization of ‘come’ and ‘go’ into future markers, there are compelling reasons for invoking a metaphorical transfer from the domain of space to that of time and/or a succession of metonymic processes (Heine *et al.* 1991). It is doubtful whether the emergence of ventive and itive deontics is amenable to any such “grand narrative”. This paper assumes that it is more realistic to aim instead for “localized” and hopefully incremental accounts.

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## Characterizing the elaboration discourse relation.

Bourse, Sarah & Saint-Dizier Patrick  
(IRIT-CNRS)

Discourse structure is in general accounted for by means of rhetorical relations. The hypothesis is that the overall conceptual structure of a text is structured by means of a variety of rhetorical structures: if a component of a text cannot be related to the others by means of a rhetorical relation then it is probably not understandable w.r.t. that text. Rhetorical relations emerged several centuries ago; their contemporary formulation was initiated by (Mann & Thomson 1988: 92).

In this paper, we address probably one of the most complex, but frequent, rhetorical structure: the elaboration relation. By elaboration we mean adding various types of information to a kernel structure in order to make it more understandable. Considering these types of information, we postulate and show on the basis of linguistic data that the Elaboration relation is a kind of meta- or proto- relation which covers a large number of relations. Among these (sub-) relations, we have identified: illustration, development (or extension), precision, clarification, and dedicated relations such as support for kernels of type argument. However, relations such as cause, concession or reformulation are not considered as elaborations: they do not really add any information.

Our analysis is based on several types of documents. From a methodological point of view, we first concentrated on types of documents where elaboration is very prototypical and the writing style is of high quality: procedural texts, didactic texts, scientific publications and technical reports. The goal is to get a well-grounded, stable and prototypical analysis. We then considered other types of texts with a looser style to evaluate our analysis: blogs, emails, consumer evaluations, etc.

By analysis we mean first providing a clear definition of these relations, with their precise boundaries and then identifying the linguistic marks and the other elements that contribute to their identification and contrast. It is well known that linguistic marks are not sufficiently discriminative and that additional criteria need to be developed that include a number of pragmatic aspects. We investigate in this paper how lexical data can be used to more accurately identify these relations. By lexical data we mean in particular: various forms of word classes or categories (verb semantic classes (Levin 1986), WordNet semantic classes, classes of adjectives and adverbs (e.g. Longacre 1982), lexical semantics relations (Cruse 1986), speech act structures (Wierzbicka 1987) and a few morphological factors.

We show that these criteria have an internal coherence and cohesion and that they constitute various facets of the conceptual features of the proto-notion of elaboration. Each of its sub-relation deploys a precise conceptual facet based on the lexical criteria advocated above. We show some forms of generalizations, leading to revised classes of linguistic data, dedicated to discourse analysis, with some cognitive basis, following principles of e.g. (Talmy 2001). Another more concrete goal is to allow for an automatic recognition of such structures (see Gardent 1997, Webber

2004) within the framework of natural language processing, in our case, using the <TextCoop> discourse analysis platform, based on logic and logic programming.

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## Complementizer deletion in spoken Danish.

Boye, Kasper & Mads Poulsen  
(University of Copenhagen)

The literature on so-called complementizer deletion suffers from two biases: 1) it is to a large extent focused on English *that*; 2) it is to a large extent based on written language data. This paper tries to remedy the situation by studying complementizer deletion in Danish, and based on a large corpus of spoken data.

Research on English has revealed that presence vs. absence of the complementizer is influenced by a range of factors, including 1) type of complement-taking element, 2) type of subject of superordinate clause, 3) type of subject of complement, 4) presence vs. absence of intervening linguistic items between complement-taking element and complement clause, and 5) presence vs. absence of disfluency symptoms (e.g. pauses) between complement-taking element and complement clause (e.g. Elsness 1984; Kaltenböck 2009, Shank & Cuyckens 2010; cf. Jaeger 2005, and Wasow et al. in press on relativizers).

The present paper tests the impact of these factors on presence vs. absence of the Danish complementizer *at*, a cognate of English *that*. By means of statistical analysis and a fine-grained empirical framework, each factor is evaluated in isolation from the other factors. Subsequently, the results of the test are related to the following three hypotheses about what functionally motivates presence vs. absence.

- 1) The clause-marking function of complementizers  
Garden-path ambiguities like *I know this man...*, where the initial elements of a clausal complement can be interpreted as belonging to an NP rather than as belonging to the complement, are resolved by the presence of complementizers, as in *I know that this man...* In so far as garden-path ambiguities are bound up with processing difficulties, complementizers thus alleviate processing difficulties. Accordingly, we expect complementizers to occur more frequently in garden-path contexts than outside such contexts (e.g. Elsness 1984).
- 2) The subordination-marking function of complementizers  
As subordination markers, complementizers become unmotivated when the clauses they mark as complements lose their subordinate status. This is the case when matrix clauses like Afrikaans *ek glo* ('I think') undergo grammaticalization into particles or other kinds of grammatical items like Afrikaans evidential *glo* (e.g. Thompson & Mulac 1991; Boye & Harder 2007, 2009). Accordingly, we expect complementizers to occur more frequently in complements of non-grammaticalized matrix clauses than in complements of grammaticalized matrix clauses.
- 3) The function of complementizers as fillers  
As optional elements, complementizers may be inserted to "alleviate production difficulties" (Kaltenböck 2009: 56). Accordingly, we expect complementizers to appear more frequently in contexts where production difficulties can be expected than outside such contexts.

The study is primarily based on the LANCHART corpus, a 6 million-word corpus of spoken Danish, but it also involves a comparison of the spoken language data with data from a 56 million-word corpus of written Danish.

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### Spanish auxiliary *ir* 'go' as a focus particle.

Bravo, Ana  
(Universidad Complutense, Madrid)

1. There are three constructions in Spanish with the auxiliary verb *ir* 'to go' plus an infinitive. The most well known of the two of them expresses prospective aspect and is quite close in form and meaning to the English construction «*be going to* + infinitive» and the French one «*aller* + infinitive»:

- (1) a. Va a llover.  
b. It is going to rain.  
c. Il va pleuvoir.

The second and third ones are exemplified in (2) and (3). An approximate gloss is offered:

- (2) a. La pelota fue a dar contra la ventana.  
The ball go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to hit-INF the window  
'The ball ended up hitting the window'
- (3) a. Fue a llover el día de mi boda.  
go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to rain-INF my wedding day  
'Of all the days of the year, it had to rain my wedding day'

2. Although both of them have hardly received any attention in the literature, in this talk I will be concerned just with the third one. It will be demonstrated that the verb *ir* functions as a focus particle with the same meaning of focal adverbs such as Spanish *precisamente*, lit. *precisely*, *justament*, lit. *just*. If our analysis is on the right track, it will be expected to find a focal constituent with which the focus marker associates (Hoeksma & Zwarts 1991). This prediction is born out as the contrast in (4) shows:

- (4) a. \*Juan fue a saberlo.  
John go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to know it  
b. Fue a saberlo JUAN.  
go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to know it John

*Precisamente* shows the same behaviour:

- (5) a. \*Juan fue a precisamente a saberlo.  
John go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to precisely know it  
b. Fue a saberlo precisamente JUAN.  
go-3SG.PAST PERFECTIVE to know it precisely John

(a) examples are ungrammatical due to the fact that there is no focal constituent with which the focal marker (*ir* in (4) and *precisamente* in (5)) can be associated. In (b) examples, on the other hand, with the word order VS and the appropriate intonation, the subject is focalized and the sentence is well formed.

The odd sentences in (4) and (5) show as well that *ir*, in parallel with *precisamente* and opposed to *solo* 'only', may not be a sentence focus marker. It has just scope over constituents, which, on the other hand, may be of any category and function.

3. Secondly, it will be argued that, as a focus particle, the verb *ir* triggers the construction of a set of alternatives (Rooth 1996, Ramchand 1997) ordered in a scale (Hoeksma & Zwarts 1991), such that the referent of the focal constituent is situated toward the end of the scale.

4. Finally, it will be defended the syntactic and semantic properties derived from the focal value allows us to keep this construction apart both from the resultative one (in (2) above) and the dispositional one, expressed by «*acabar* + *gerund*», 'end up + *-ing*', (Dietrich 1973. a.o.), against the commonest assumption.

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### The semantic basis of indefinite determiners in English.

Breban, Tine  
(University of Leuven)

The aim of this paper is to further explore the emergence of indefinite determiners in English. Several studies have dealt with the development of the indefinite article *a(n)* from the quantifier *one* (amongst others Rissanen 1967; Traugott 1982; Hopper & Martin 1987). The development of other elements which are proposed to convey indefinite reference, such as *some*, *(a) certain*, and *this* for indefinite first mentions, have not been described in similar detail so far. For example, Heine's (1997) discussion of the different steps in the development of indefinite articles mentions just one source: the quantifier *one*. As a result of this restriction of attention, the question about the underlying semantic motivation for the selection of the indefinite determiners found in English has not been asked. Cognitive and functional studies of definiteness markers have posed this same question and have proposed that indexing (see amongst others Diessel 1999; Langacker 2004; McGregor 1997) is the semantic basis of definiteness. The semantics of definiteness constitute an attenuation of the indexing meaning and markers of definiteness are "recruited" among elements that express these source semantics. In this paper, I propose that a similar source semantics (of which the quantifying meaning "one" is merely a possible realization among others) can be identified for indefiniteness. My claim is that this underlying semantic motivation is "selection of one or more individuals from a larger set". This meaning is present in the elements that are selected to become indefinite determiners, that is to say the quantifier *one* (see Rissanen 1967) and the demonstrative *this*. On the basis of new data studies describing the semantic development of *some* and *certain* in English, I will show that the same claim is borne out for these two elements. Indefinite *some* developed from an earlier use with a proportional quantifier meaning ("part of a set"). The adjective *certain* underwent a semantic change from "fixed or determined", e.g. *a 1300 Cursor M. 8933 Ilk dai a certain hore! þar lighted dun of heuen ture Angels. ("every day at fixed hour (set by God), the darkness of heaven is lighted by angels")* (OED, s.v. certain) to "specific instances among a set", e.g. *1393 Gower Conf. II. 16 A certain ile, which Paphos Men clepe. ("a specific island, that people call Paphos")* (OED, s.v. certain). The latter meaning appears to have been the source for its indefinite determiner use. I further argue that the development of *one* as described by Heine can be interpreted as describing the attenuation of selection of a specific instance to merely singling out a (random) instance. The attenuation process of *one* has led to the contrast between unstressed *one*, i.e. *a(n)*, with attenuated semantics, and stressed *one* with the original selection meaning and to the multiple renewal of the selection semantics by *(a) certain* and later, in the twentieth century, by *this* (Denison 1998).

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### Pronominal indexing and referential hierarchies: evidence from the Alor-Pantar languages.

Brown, Dunstan & Fedden, Sebastian  
(Surrey Morphology Group)

Referential hierarchies determine a threshold beyond which a particular set of distinctions is realized. One type of construction for which they are potentially relevant is agreement, where such hierarchies may impose conditions on the realization of morphology, for example the indexing of animate arguments, rather than inanimate ones. An important issue at stake is whether semantic or syntactic factors alone constitute a complete explanation, in essence whether accounts based on referential hierarchies are sufficient.

The non-Austronesian (Papuan) languages of the Alor and Pantar islands in eastern Indonesia, which constitute a recognizable family, are a fertile ground for investigating such questions. They have verb prefixes which typically index person and number of object arguments, but they exhibit a wide range of variation, with semantic conditions differing in prominence across the languages, and some degree of lexical stipulation of the verbs involved. In this paper we discuss both published and recent fieldwork data elicited using new video stimuli which systematically manipulate properties of the arguments (animacy, volitionality) and properties of the predicate (telicity and active-stative), based on Arkadiev's (2008) typology of semantic alignment systems.

Teiwa (Klamer 2010), a member of the Pantar subgroup (Holton Klamer and Kratochvíl 2009), has a single set of prefixes indexing objects. There is a strong correlation between animacy of the object and the presence of a prefix. This is demonstrated in (1), where the animate object is indexed by a prefix on the verb. In (2), on the other hand, the log is inanimate and no prefix appears. The animacy of the object is, however, not always a sufficient condition, as prefixation is dependent on the choice of verb. Moving to the east into Alor, languages have more sets of prefixes. Adang (Haan 2001) and Abui (Kratochvíl 2007) have three sets each. Kamang has as many as five sets, a proper subset of which is sensitive to animacy. In Kamang each prefix series is associated with either animate or inanimate object arguments. Consider examples (3), (4), and (5) (A. Schapper, p.c.) from a single Kamang speaker. The prefixes *ga-* and *ge-* are used with animate object arguments, whereas *go-* is used with an inanimate object. Looking at the distribution of the prefixes *ga-*, *ge-*, and *go-* in a single speaker, all of which index third person object arguments (table 1), the prefixes *ga-* and *ge-* appear to be particularly associated with animates, with *ge-* showing the strongest tendency in indexing animate object arguments. The prefix *go-*, on the other hand, is mainly used with inanimates. While there is some variation, the profiles for the other Kamang speakers follow a similar pattern.

Arguing on the basis of example frequency, we show that there is a potential competing explanation in which the prefix form is determined by the verb, and the correlation of the prefix choice with object animacy is an indirect consequence of the typical object choice of the verb. The different prefix sets are then the result of lexical stipulation, and morphology has a greater synchronic role.

#### Appendix (Examples 1-5, table 1, references)

Teiwa:

(1) Name ha'an [n-oqai g-unba']  
sir 2SG 1SG-child 3SG-meet  
'Sir, did you see (lit. meet) my child?' (Klamer 2010: 159)

(2) bif eqar Kopang Nuk [tei baq kiri]  
child female Small One tree log pull  
'A little girl is pulling a log.' (Response to video clip C18\_pull\_log\_29)

Kamang:

(3) lami saak nok [ge-dum ga-buh latsi]  
husband old(of.people) one 3.POSS-child 3I-lift.up stand  
'An old man stands holding his child.'

(4) lami saak nok Sue [ge-nok ge-beta]  
husband old(of.people) one Arrive 3.POSS-friend 3III-push. away  
'An old man comes and pushes away his friend.'

(5) nok gal koo [ping go-sire]  
one 3SG stay plate 3II-wash  
'A person washes a plate.'

Prefix	Indexing animate objects	Indexing inanimate objects	Total
<i>ga-</i> (set I)	3	1	4
<i>go-</i> (set II)	2	4	6
<i>ge-</i> (set III)	2	0	2
<i>no prefix</i>	2	2	4
Total	9	7	16

Table 1. Video stimuli results for two-place predicates (Kamang, SP12)

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## Typological change in the expression of motion events from Latin to Romance languages.

Brucale Luisa, Iacobini Claudio & Mocciaro Egle  
(University of Palermo, University of Salerno  
& University of Palermo)

Romance languages differ from other Indo-European languages (e.g. Germanic languages) in the expression of motion events. In a broad typological perspective, they are classified as Verb-Framed languages, in contrast with Latin, which is considered Satellite-Framed (Talmy 2000); however, recent proposals tend to refine this classification in terms of preferred constructions (in given contexts) rather than global types (Beavers et al. 2010).

The rich documentation of both Latin and Romance varieties allows us to evaluate this typological change within its synchronic and diachronic contexts and variation factors. Moreover, although the encoding of motion events has recently drawn a great deal of attention (cf. Guo et al. 2009; Croft et al. in press, among others), a pertinent in-depth analysis identifying a range of possible causes of the above-mentioned typological shift has not yet been addressed.

Some facets of the shift from (Late)-Latin to the early stages of Romance languages have already been outlined (Schøsler 2008; Stolova 2008; Iacobini 2009; Kopecka in press); among them:

- a) decrease in the number of both prefixed derivative verbs and manner of motion verbs;
- b) semantic bleaching of spatial prefixes;
- c) reinterpretation of manner of motion verbs as directional verbs (e.g. Lat. *salire* 'to jump' > Port. *sair*, Sp. *salir* 'to exit'; It. *salire* 'to go/come up');
- d) formation of novel denominal and deadjectival verbs implying direction (e.g. Fr. *monter*, It. *montare*, Cat. *muntar* 'to mount, to ascend' from Lat. \**montare* from *mons*, *montis* 'mountain, mount');
- e) progressive loss of ways to encode the distinction between stative and directional meanings (e.g. nominal cases: *in* + ablative 'location' / *in* + accusative 'direction, goal', and prepositions, adverbs: *apud* 'at' / *ad* 'to', *intus* 'on the inside' / *intro* 'to the inside').

Nevertheless, a comprehensive descriptive survey of the strategies used in encoding direction of motion both in Late and in Classical Latin is still lacking in the relevant literature.

In this talk we aim at addressing some preliminary issues regarding the expression of motion events in Classical Latin in order to:

- i) sketch a first inventory of the motion-encoding strategies in different contexts;
- ii) identify the features constituting the ideal background from which the tendencies determining the typological shift from allegedly Satellite-Framed Latin to Verb-Framed Romance developed.

For this purpose, a corpus of Classical Latin has been analyzed on the basis of the insights of the main cross-linguistic investigations concerning the encoding of motion events (cf. Berman & Slobin 1994; Slobin 1996, 2005). More specifically, the corpus consists of:

- i) a selection of passages describing displacement events. This allows a comprehensive description of the various strategies employed in Latin and, at the same time, a comparison with the

corresponding translations in the main Romance languages (cf. Ibarretxe Antuñano 2003; Cifuentes-Férez 2009; for methodological criteria).

- ii) a selection of contexts in which manner verbs are used to describe displacement events. This sub-corpus allows evaluating in further detail the peculiar usage of such verbs in Latin, starting from the assumption that both their great amount and high frequency in use are strongly correlated to the satellite-framed linguistic type.

The results reported, based on solid empirical evidence on the strategies and contexts of use, provide a fresh perspective on the subsequent changes in (Late Latin and) Romance languages, thus contributing to a better understanding of the lines and features of this typological shift.

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## Do the German modal particles form a grammatical paradigm?

Brünjes, Lena  
(Leibniz Universität Hannover)

The present paper deals with the German modal particles, a frequent and typical German word class but also a category whose function is highly controversial. Examples are the underlined elements in the following corpus records:

(1) *Bitteschön, nehmen Sie doch Platz.*

~Why don't you have a seat?

(2) *Was fehlt Ihnen denn?*

~So, what's bothering you?

(IDS Mannheim: Dialogstrukturen, DS 011)

I will argue that the modal particles are grammatical elements and that they form a grammatical paradigm. Paradigmatic structure is regarded as a constitutive feature of grammatical elements, next to relational function and obligatory realisation. In a working definition, the term *category paradigm* is defined as the inherent structure of grammatical categories which is organized as follows: The category members form a closed class with a common grammatical function, a common position and obligatory realisation. The different values are specifications of the common function, stand in opposition to each other, are (mostly) organized in subcategories and are centred around one formally and semantically unmarked value. The theoretical background of the study is provided by grammaticalization theory (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994; Diewald 2010; Hopper & Traugott 2006; Lehmann 2002),

findings in modal particle research (Diewald 2007) and Wierzbicka (1996; Goddard & Wierzbicka 2002) *Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM)*.

The present paper makes a contribution to a definition of the term *grammar* which is compatible with results of grammaticalization theory and deals with a central problem of modal particle research. It stands in explicit contrast to studies which ascribe modal particles a merely pragmatic function: as means to express the speaker's attitude (cf. Weydt 1969; Hentschel & Weydt 2002), modifiers of the illocution type (cf. Jacobs 1991) or metapragmatic instructions (cf. König 1997). Besides, it argues against seeing pragmatic meaning and grammatical function as incompatible phenomena (cf. Molnár 2009), taking up the actual debate on grammaticalization and pragmaticalization.

The presentation will be structured as follows: At first, I will briefly describe the characteristics of the German modal particles. Then, I will define the terms *grammar* and *paradigm* and propose applied *paradigm tests*. Based on this, I will present a corpus-driven study of the current modal particle system, which tests its paradigmaticity. The synchronic corpus study encompasses all central modal particles and is based on the corpus *Gespräche im Fernsehen*, provided by the *Institut für deutsche Sprache Mannheim*. It contains about 100 television shows (talk shows, discussions and interviews), broadcasted between 1989 and 2003. Finally, a consistent model based on the *NSM* for the semantic description of the modal particle members is proposed.

Based on the corpus-driven study, it will be shown that the modal particles do form a grammatical paradigm and thus fulfil one central condition for the classification as grammatical elements. The paper concludes with a short outlook on the positioning of this category in the overall system of grammatical categories.

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#### Sociolinguistic markers in translation: Italianisms in *The Sopranos*.

Buccione, Alessandra & Russo, Valentina  
(La Sapienza Roma & L'Orientale Napoli)

This paper means to describe some of the linguistic phenomena implied in the broadcasting process of cultural models through Tv series productions and their translations for foreign countries. The analysis was conducted on the language used in episodes 13-21 of the sixth season of the American series "The Sopranos", by building a corpus of selected borrowings occurring in the texts.

The use of fictitious dialogues, strictly connected to the genre of fictional stories for Tv, is modelled on the basis of stereotypes and common usages. It will be herein interesting to investigate the interplay process between language and culture, by highlighting translational choices where significations and meanings received from reality are newly offered to a foreign public and destined to influence it again.

The research especially takes into account the use of Italianisms as a characterizing element for the cultural identity perception and the construction of the Italo-American community in two versions of the Tv series: the original American and its German transposition.

Through the analyses of the relationship between specific diastatic and social features of the speaking character and the semantic field of the Italianisms, the study will clearly show the differences in the characterization of the community in the two versions and the way each country would perceive and represent the Italo-American identity.

In particular, we classified all the Italo-American speaking characters on the base of their belonging to one of three specific immigrant generation with different social and diastatic characteristics. The results were then compared with the ones obtained for the German translation.

Crossing data concerning word class, syntactic category, semantic field, interference degree and generation bear out evidence of interesting phenomena of intermutal relationship between the abovementioned classes, which will be presented and exemplified by the authors.

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## Moving ahead of the ship: the metaphoric extensions of ahead in late modern English.

Calvo Cortés, Nuria  
(Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

The present study aims at explaining the reasons why the term *ahead* has acquired some metaphorical meanings and also when this situation occurred, as well as in which contexts the new meanings arose.

The term *ahead* was originally used in a literal physical sense in the nautical jargon by the special social group of the sailors. The new more abstract and metaphorical meanings, such as the concept of *time that is to come*, seem to have begun to be common in the period of Late Modern English, i.e. 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when there were many social events that contributed to the enlargement of the British fleets, like the Napoleonic wars. Also, there were other changes that influenced the people's way of life motivated by the Industrial Revolution. All these aspects had an effect on language and on the expansion of some technical terms that began to be used in other contexts with new meanings.

A comprehensive set of examples containing the word *ahead* was extracted from the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts Extended Version (CLMETEV) in order to analyse how the new meanings evolved and in which semantic and syntactic contexts this happened. The number of examples amounts to more than 200, among which we can find ambiguous contexts at the beginning of the period, whereas towards the end the meanings seem to be clearer. Following a cognitive approach, the analysis of the examples will show how apart from the metaphorical extension of time, which is pervasive in language, there can also be found instances of fictive motion, as well as other meanings that

might have evolved from the metaphorical extension of time, for instance the idea of progressive or modern, found in the collocation *go-ahead*.

The conclusion will show how the relationship between sailors and other social groups was a key element for the expansion of this particular sea term, which followed some typical patterns of language change that can be easily observed in the statistical results of the examples taken from the corpus.

### Ethical Datives in Maltese.

Camilleri, Maris  
(Surrey Morphology Group)

Maltese distinguishes between two enclitic forms: a default ACC form and a DAT-marked one (Camilleri 2009). The latter form follows rather closely the *la* discussion for Hebrew in Borer & Grodzinsky (1986), and is syncretic for both an indirect, or DAT-marked OBJ grammatical function, and an affected dative (Berman 1982). Facts on the distribution of Maltese ethical datives suggest that, contra Anderson's (2005) claim, such forms are not limited to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, as the 3<sup>rd</sup> person ethical dative form in (1) suggests:

1. Swieti-l-hom      ta'      ġid  
cost-DAT-3PL      of      well  
'It served them well' (Lit: It cost to them well)

It appears that in Maltese, possessive dative interpretations override ethical dative ones when there is a definite nominal expression following the non-indirect object DAT-form. This is also the case when construct state constructions, which are inherently definite, follow the DAT-form. Thus, in (2), unless the conditional clause which includes the affected dative form is qualified within the larger clause, the speaker of the utterance is taken to be the mother of the men, hence suggesting a possessive interpretation.

2. Jekk      j-iżżewġ-u-l-i      kollha      l-irġiel,      ma      j-ibqa-x  
if      3-marry-PL-DAT-1.SG      all      DEF-men not      3.SG.M-lef-NEG  
  
wieħed      għal-ija  
one.SG.M      for-1.SG  
'If all the men marry, there will not be one left for me'

Some uses of the ethical dative forms in Maltese within idiomatic expressions have become lexicalised, and reanalysed as part of the word-form itself. This is due to their obligatorily presence within the word-form, which is not the case with non-lexicalised ethical datives, and which as a result has led to form's meaning and function to be no longer recognisable.

Another interesting use of ethical datives in Maltese is when these are encliticised on passive verb forms, which renders what for Hebrew Doron (to appear) calls a 'dispositional interpretation'. In Hebrew, however, this interpretation is achieved through the encliticisation of the ethical dative, which she calls the 'agentive  $\bar{\lambda}$  l-phrase' on a middle-voice verb form. The passive vs. dispositional interpretation in Maltese merely relies on the presence or absence of the ethical dative form itself, since the verbal morphology is passive in both. A true passive interpretation can only allow the agent to be expressed via a by-phrase, and never with an ethical dative. What is interesting here is that a dispositional interpretation involves a morphological valence decrease via passivisation, which runs simultaneously with a valence increase, by adding a non-thematic argument.

The whole set of affected dative forms is somewhat problematic for a theory such as Lexical Functional Grammar, as these pose a mismatch between the verb's extended argument-structure and its subcategorisation-frame, where they are treated as non-thematic grammatical functions, very much like the analysis for expletives, but which assign their own theta-role onto the verb.

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## **Linguistic and cultural factors in the usage of (pseudo-)anglicisms in Spanish fashion magazines.**

Campos Pardillos, Miguel Angel & Balteiro, Isabel  
(University of Alicante).

Despite the expansion of English and its use as an international language worldwide, the influence of English over Spanish contexts is not so strongly felt in Spanish as in some other European languages, where it has become a second language and is even becoming prevalent in some contexts (such as higher education). However, its prestige and its global status can still be felt quite strongly in the Spanish language both in general and specialized contexts. Even though the Academia has been reacting against the use of English words, so-called English borrowings or anglicisms, these have been entering the language quite extensively and rapidly. The attractiveness that the English language has for Spanish speakers, as for other international ones, has had important consequences not only concerning the borrowing, acceptance and/or adaptation of English words, but also to the extent that pseudo-anglicisms or words with the appearance of English items have been created in general language use and specialized jargons. In this study, we focus on the use of English loan words and pseudo-anglicisms in the field of fashion or textiles. This jargon seems to be particularly rich in anglicisms and English-like forms in oral and written contexts. Especially interesting are the pragmatic, socio-linguistic and socio-cultural implications behind the selection (or not) of English forms or pseudo-anglicisms in news and articles in fashion magazines written in Spanish, and also how these lexical items are used to provoke a certain reaction in the reader. Therefore, our research questions in the present study are the following: (1) are there any factors motivating the choice of anglicisms in fashion contexts?; (2) are there any prominent patterns in the adaptation (or the non-adaptation) of anglicisms in these contexts?; and (3) is there room for creativity in the use of anglicisms in fashion contexts?

The study will look at samples from both specialized fashion magazines and fashion sections from general magazines published in Spain in 2010. We shall follow a descriptive approach, looking at both lexical categories and adaptation, and shall evaluate whether the anglicisms used coincide in meaning and usage with their counterparts in the source language. We hope that conclusion may be enlightening, both regarding the reasons for codeswitching in specialized domains, but also concerning the way English and other languages (mutually) influence one another.

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## **Show me your translation and I'll tell you what source language it comes from: Motion verbs in English translated from French vs. German.**

Cappelle, Bert  
(University College Ghent - Ghent University and Free University Brussels).

In translation studies, ever since the availability of large computer-searchable text corpora, there has been huge interest in 'translation universals', supposedly general laws of translation which should be observable in any language pair (Baker 1993). A useful distinction has been made between S-universals and T-universals (Chesterman 2004), i.e. hypothesized universal features of translated texts in contrast to their source texts and in contrast to similar texts in the target language, respectively. One of the proposed T-universals is the 'Unique Items Hypothesis', which states that items which are specific to the target language (compared to the source language) will be underrepresented in translations into that language (Tirkkonen-Condit 2004). This study aims to find out whether this hypothesis can be borne out with respect to motion verbs in English translated from either French or German. Indeed, Talmy's (1985) well-known typological dichotomy between verb-framed (e.g. Romance) and satellite-framed (e.g. Germanic) languages predicts that manner-of-motion verbs will be under-represented in English translated from French. No major difference is expected for English translated from German. As such, these hypotheses are meant not just to support the Unique Items Hypothesis but also to corroborate findings reported in Slobin (2004).

We used the Intersect Corpus, a parallel corpus developed at Brighton University by Raphael Salkie, from which we selected texts originally written in French or German along with their English translations. The British National Corpus served as a comparable reference corpus for non-translated English. We ran searches for 18 different inherently directed verbs (e.g. *leave*) and 122 different manner-of-motion verbs (e.g. *stagger*), all of them taken from Levin's (1993) classification. We found a highly significant difference ( $p < .0001$ ) between English translated from French and original English with respect to the distribution of manner-of-self-motion verbs and inherently directed verbs, the latter

being used more than twice as likely in translated English than in original English (odds ratio: 2.5, 95% c.i. from 2.14 to 2.81). Our preliminary data for German as source texts do not point to a similar difference, which is in line with the predictions. Further corpus investigation of 27 manner-poor and 123 manner-rich caused-motion verbs revealed a difference (though not reaching full significance) between original English and English translated from French.

Our study illustrates the viability of simply comparing translated and non-translated texts of a single language to reveal large structural differences, if any, between that language and diverse source languages of the translations.

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## Spatial Location in French: between Argument and Adjunct.

Carlier, Anne & Sarda, Laure  
(Université de Lille 3 - UMR STL & UMR Lattice)

In comparison to its Latin ancestor (Meillet & Vendryes 1948; Lehman 2002), French is characterized by a rather clear-cut distinction between arguments and adjuncts. Firstly, the presence, the position and the formal expression of arguments are highly constrained. Moreover, the tendency towards the head-marking on the verb of the argument structure under the form of clitics (cf. Nichols 1986, e.g. *Marie, ce livre, il le lui a donné, Pierre. (Mary, this book, he it to.him has given, Peter)*, observed in the oral register, highlights the borderline between arguments and adjuncts. However, with respect to this distinction between arguments and adjuncts, the status of constituents expressing spatial location is unclear. Though often considered on a par with temporal constituents, which are adjuncts, they can have argumental features.

- (i) They are subject to clitic marking:  
e.g. *Moscou, j' y ai été souvent.*  
Moscow, I there have been often.
- (ii) Although their form is not strictly determined by the verb, their presence is sometimes required and their position is often constrained.

These superficial observations led us to undertake an extensive corpus research. Two research questions have been addressed.

(i) Which verbs have an argument position for spatial location? In this perspective, we examined verbs of motion encoding either the path (a) or the manner of motion (b).

(ii) Are there constructions endowed with an argument position for spatial location? This hypothesis has been taken into consideration for the locative inversion (a) and for the impersonal construction (b).

(i-a) In the perspective of the typological division between *verb-framed* and *satellite* framed languages (Talmy 2000), French has with respect to its verbs of motion been classified as *verb-framed*. It largely makes use of verbs like *entrer, sortir* ('go in, go out'), which directly encode the path. In the French grammatical tradition, the only verb of this group commonly associated with a spatial argument position is *aller* 'to go'. It will be shown, on the basis of syntactic tests, that all the verbs encoding the motion path or directed motion have an argument position of spatial location which can however be left uninstantiated. In this case, we have definite null instantiation (Fillmore & Kay 1996): although not expressed, this silent argument is associated with a definite interpretation.

(i-b) The class of verbs encoding the manner of motion (e.g. *nager, courir*, 'swim, run') has never been associated to a spatial argument position. It has however been observed that, when combined with a spatial constituent, these verbs can acquire a meaning of directed motion (Lamiroy 1983, Kopecka 2009). The sentence *Pierre court dans la cuisine* (litt. Peter runs in the kitchen) is indeed ambiguous between a stative ('in') and directional meaning ('into'). The rather systematic correlation between the presence of a spatial constituent and the emergence of an interpretation of directed motion leads us to postulate the existence of a **construction** endowed with an argument role for spatial location. This construction expressing directed motion is deviant from the *verb-framed* pattern, dominant in French.

(ii-a) As to the locative inversion construction (e.g. *On the table has been placed a tarte Tatin / Sur la table a été mise une tarte tatin*), the constituent in the initial position of the equivalent construction in French is not necessarily

spatial (Erteschik-Shir 1997, Lahousse 2003) and can have the status of either argument or adjunct (Fuchs 2006). Hence, the French locative inversion construction has no argument position for spatial location.

(ii-b) In the impersonal construction, the obligatory presence of a constituent expressing spatial location has been often observed (Jones 1996, Cummins 2000).

e.g. *Il sauta du sang \*(sur sa barbe).*

It jumps blood on his beard.

The status of the spatial constituent in impersonal constructions, argument or adjunct, is a difficult question. It will be argued that its obligatory expression is linked to the existential meaning of the impersonal construction, since it is also observed in sentences predicating the existence of an entity without impersonal construction. (e.g. *Du sang sauta \*vigouusement / sur sa barbe* but *Le sang sauta vigouusement*)

Existential predication is often expressed by means of localization in space (Freeze 1992): because entities corresponding to nouns are prototypically conceived as delimited or discontinuous in space but continuous with respect to the temporal dimension, localization in space can have an individuating role and contribute to existential predication. Since the constraint of the obligatory expression of spatial location is however pragmatic rather than syntactic, the spatial constituent can be considered as an obligatory adjunct, in the sense of Goldberg & Ackerman 2001.

In conclusion, in accordance with the insights of construction grammar (Goldberg 1998, 2006; Croft 2001), it proved necessary to distinguish between the level of the verb and the level of the construction: whereas verbs encoding directed motion can be analyzed as endowed with a spatial argument position, verbs expressing manner of motion do not have an argument position for a spatial constituent. They are however often integrated in a directed motion construction that contributes a spatial argument position, *i.e.* directional, not associated with the verb as a lexical item. Secondly, arguments can be optional, as is the case with verbs encoding directed motion, whereas adjuncts can be obligatory, as has been shown for the spatial adjunct in existential predication.

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## The grammaticization of “go” as a verbal intensifier and focus marker in Supyire.

Carlson, Robert

(Africa International University; SIL)

Supyire (Senufo, Gur, Niger-Congo) has two verbs which are usually translated 'go': *kare* (imperfective *kεεge*) and *shya* ~ *shye* (imperfective *sí*). The former is used more than twice as frequently as the latter. In current Supyire these verbs are not semantically distinguished, though comparative evidence suggests that perhaps in the past *kare* meant 'go away' or 'depart' (from a deictic center), whereas *shya* was goal-oriented, meaning 'go to [a place]'. Cauvin, for example, translates the Minyanka cognates *kari* and *še* as 'partir' and 'aller' respectively (Cauvin 1980). Based on internal reconstruction, the proto-Supyire form of *shya* was most likely *saa* or *sεε*. This form gave rise to a grammaticized and phonologically reduced form *sa* which is roughly three times as frequent as its parent verb *shya* in the text corpus on which this research is based—a collection of texts recorded and transcribed over the past 30 years by the author. The corpus currently contains 60,000+ clauses. The grammaticized form *sa* occurs 1,739 times in this corpus.

*Sa* now occurs only as the initial verb of a serial verb construction in Supyire (Carlson 1994). In this construction it has a deictic motion meaning in well over 90% of the occurrences: the subject of the clause physically changes location, frequently in order to accomplish the action cued by the second verb (V2). The remaining, non-locative uses of *sa* include the following: (i) an inceptive (marking entry into the state cued by V2), (ii) an “eventuative” (indicating a more or less unexpectedly long time before the event cued by V2: ‘eventually V2’, ‘at length V2’, ‘V2 after some time’), (iii) a purpose marker after *kare* ‘go’ and occasionally after *shya* ‘go’. This results in a 3-verb construction with the meaning ‘go in order to V3’.

Two further non-locative uses of *sa* form the chief subject of this paper. (a) With stative verbs encoding a gradable quality, *sa* may function as an intensifier, indicating an unexpectedly high degree of the quality: *U a sà a t...h*. ‘He is very tall.’ *Baŋ’á sà a nì*. ‘The river is very full.’ (b) In certain discourse-pragmatic contexts, *sa* functions to indicate focus. In the following example, the focus reinforces the interrogative focus (on the subject) already present: *Ntɛɛncw...jò u a sà à mu jyille ye?* ‘Ntɛɛncw...jò, who really took you across (the swollen river)?’ More frequently, *sa* puts increased predicate focus on V2: *Mɛɛ ù mú sá á yì lógó*. ‘But he really did listen to it (=the warning I gave him).’ *Bà mii a sà a yì jwò mu á mɛ, àmuni mii a ù tà*. ‘Like I told you, that’s how I got her.’ (Lit. Like I *sa* it said to you ...)

In addition to describing the facts of the current distribution and functions of *sa* in the text corpus, this paper proposes a plausible scenario for the development of intensifying and focus meanings from the original locative meanings currently associated with *shya*.

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## Varieties of English: what foreign learners believe, know and practise.

Carrie, Erin  
 (University of St Andrews)

It is a well-established fact that the English language has been expanding rapidly throughout the world, acquiring greater status, and generating in the process so much variation that some linguists have deemed it necessary to pluralize its name by employing the designation ‘world Englishes’ (see, for example, Strafella 1998; Kachru 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Mesthrie 2008; Hans-Georg 2009; Jenkins 2009). Undoubtedly, native speakers of English across the globe have had to grapple with the ever-increasing diversity of their language and with the stereotypes associated with such variation. In the circumstances, it becomes self-evident that there should be similar implications for foreign learners of English, given that language learning is ‘socially and culturally bound’ (Dörnyei 2003: 4). For non-native speakers, then, these implications are likely to manifest themselves particularly in terms of the following: (a) the extent to which their attitudes towards, and perceptions of, varieties of English and their speakers affect or determine their use of the language, (b) their knowledge of and ability to recognize the major varieties of English and (c) the variety of the language that they would prefer to learn and imitate, were they given the choice.

Drawing on the works of Lambert (1967), Gardner and Lambert (1972), Trudgill (1974, 2003), Giles and Powesland (1975), Ryan and Giles (1982), Gardner (1985) and Labov (2001, 2006), the present research is designed to test the extent to which the insights already provided about intra-linguistic attitudes (focusing on native speakers’ attitudes to other varieties of their own language) might apply to cross-linguistic attitudes (with a focus on foreign learners’ attitudes towards varieties of the L2), and the implications thereof. Preliminary findings from fieldwork undertaken with native Spanish speakers living and studying in Edinburgh would indicate that gender, learner motivation/orientation and length of time in the learning environment are significant factors in determining these learners’ attitudes towards, perceptions of and practice of English, and also highlight other potentially influential factors. Overall, the investigation focuses on what foreign learners believe and know regarding the major varieties of English, and attempts to ascertain the choices that they make, consciously or otherwise, when faced with such an increasingly diverse language as English. It is envisaged that the findings will also allow inferences to be made regarding the status of competing ‘world Englishes’ in a global context.

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### Verbs of motion and the complement-adjunct continuum in Italian.

Cennamo, Michela & Lenci, Alessandro  
(University of Naples Federico II & University of Pisa)

In this paper we will carry out a corpus-based investigation of the morpho-syntax of verbs of motion in Italian, both bounded, i.e., directed motion – e.g., *andare* 'to go', *arrivare* 'to arrive', *venire* 'to come' – and unbounded, i.e., manner of motion – e.g., *nuotare* 'to swim', *galleggiare* 'to float', *rotolare* 'to roll', *correre* 'to run' – in relation to the argument-adjunct status of the directional/locative phrase optionally co-occurring with them.

More specifically, we will explore the *interplay of syntactic criteria* (e.g., obligatoriness, latency (Matthews 1981)/Definite Null Instantiation (Fillmore & Kay 1993, in Croft 2001: 276-277), different order constraints) *with semantic parameters* such as (i) the degree of lexicalization of the direction of movement in the verbal roots, (ii) the event structure template of predicates, (iii) the inherent and relational characteristics of the subject, (iv) the semantics of the preposition(s) and the characteristics of the filler of the location (Beavers et al. 2010, Iacobini forthc., int. al.).

We will also highlight the difficulties with widely accepted tests such as obligatoriness, as illustrated in (1)-(2), where the obligatoriness/optionality of the directional phrase appears to reflect the animacy of the subject, rather than stemming from the predicate:

- |  |                                |
|--|--------------------------------|
| (1) a. <i>Mario è venuto da lì</i>     | b. <i>Mario è venuto</i>       |
| Mario is come from there               | Mario is come                  |
| 'Mario has come from there'            | 'Mario has come'               |
| (2) a. <i>il rumore è venuto da lì</i> | b. * <i>il rumore è venuto</i> |
| the noise is come from there           | the noise is come              |
| 'The noise has come from there'        | *'The noise has come'          |

We will argue that a gradient view of the distinction (Langacker 1987; Croft 2001: 272-280) proves to be a useful tool for understanding and capturing the extent and the limits of the variation encountered in the argument/adjunct space in the domain of Italian motion verbs. Adopting a “usage-based” approach, we will also show that the co-occurrence statistics of verbs with directional/locative phrases (semi-automatically extracted from a large corpus of written Italian) provides an interesting distributional correlate of the proposed complement-adjunct continuum.

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## Ethical datives in Standard Modern Greek: No escape from the PCC.

Chatzikyriakidis, Stergios  
(King's College London)

Ethical datives (EDs) have been traditionally assumed to escape the Person Case Constraint (PCC, see Bianchi, 2006; Joutiteau & Rezac, 2007 among others). Within minimalism, the PCC arises as the result of feature checking failure (see Anagnostopoulou, 2003, 2005; Adger & Harbour, 2007; Nevins, 2007 among others). EDs are then assumed not to participate in this feature checking with various formalizations across accounts (e.g. EDs are situated above T in Albizu, 1997).

An interesting variation to this state of affairs comes from Standard Modern Greek (SMG), in which EDs like all other dative clitics do not escape the PCC (Michelioudakis, 2007; Chatzikyriakidis, 2010; Chatzikyriakidis & Kempson, 2010). In that sense a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> (even 3<sup>rd</sup> person in some cases) person ethical dative clitic cannot co-occur with a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person argumental clitic, while combinations of an ethical dative plus a 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative clitic are licit:<sup>1</sup>

2) Mu to arostisan to pedi  
you.ETH me-it.cl-acc hit.3pl the child  
'They made the child sick (and I'm unhappy or upset)'

2) \*Mu se arostisan  
you.ETH me-it.cl-acc hit.3pl  
'They made you sick (and I'm unhappy or upset)'

In this paper, I will provide evidence to support the claim made in Michelioudakis (2007) and Chatzikyriakidis (2010), according to which EDs in SMG should be treated as optional arguments rather than adjuncts. ED doubling data are going to be looked at, arguing that the productivity and range of ED doubling is far greater than reported in Michelioudakis (2007), with instances of ED genuine clitic doubling also being possible besides the reported Left and Right Dislocation cases:

3) (Emena) den mu troi (emena) to fai tu (emena)  
me NEG me.cl-acc eat.3sg me the food his me  
'He does not eat his food (and this makes me unhappy)'

Lastly, two *sui generis* cases are going to be discussed. The first case involves sequences of dative clitics, in specific Michelioudakis' (2007) finding, according to which sequences of a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person ED and a 3<sup>rd</sup> person feminine clitic are definitely better in terms of grammaticality compared to sequences of a 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> person ED and any other 3<sup>rd</sup> person dative clitic, while the second presents a new finding (Chatzikyriakidis, 2010, forthcoming), which shows that strong pronouns in SMG, at least in some cases, can also function as EDs.

5) Den mu tis/ ???tu/ ???tus edose tipota  
NEG me.ETH her.cl-dat/him.cl-dat/them.cl-dat gave.3sg nothing  
'S/He did not give anything to her/him/them (and I'm affected by this)'

6) Emena den to edose se kanenan o Giorgos  
me NEG it.cl-acc gave.3sg to no-one.acc the George.nom  
'George did not give it to anyone (and I'm somehow affected by this)'

As regards the former construction, it will be argued that a stipulatory solution might be unavoidable in this case whereas as regards the latter, its exact syntactic distribution will be investigated, in particular the status of strong pronoun EDs with respect to locality and their behaviour as regards the PCC.

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<sup>1</sup> The data presented come from two sources: a) The existing literature on SMG ethical datives or b) From my own ongoing collection of ED data from 3 native speakers of SMG, using pre-constructed questionnaires. Some of these data have already been reported in Chatzikyriakidis, 2010.

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### **'What are you talking about?'**

#### **Topic continuity/shift and the choice of anaphoric expressions in Modern Greek**

Chiou, Michael  
(Independent researcher)

Topic continuity refers to the discourse phenomenon whereby a topic entity is maintained across discourse. By contrast, topic shift is quite the opposite, i.e. the topic entity of the current sentence or discourse is different from the topic of the previous sentence or discourse. Topic continuity or shift is linguistically encoded, among others, by the use of anaphoric expressions. According to the distance-interference model (Fletcher 1984, Givón 1983) the less predictable/accessible a topic is, the more coding material is used to represent it in language.

The present research attempts to contribute to the study of topic continuity/shift and the choice of anaphoric expressions by addressing and discussing three major questions namely, a) is the above prediction borne out in the case of Modern Greek?, b) given the choice among a zero, a full pronoun and the anaphor *o iðios*, which is used as a topic continuity and which as a topic shift device? And c) are the predictions made by the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles constrained by topic continuity/shift in Modern Greek?

In order to address these questions a group of 20 adults (all native speakers of Modern Greek) were tested. Subjects were presented with a range of pieces of discourse in which a certain topic was introduced; at first, they were asked to identify this topic. In that piece of discourse there was a gap presented which should be filled by one of the following anaphoric expressions: a zero pronoun, a full pronoun and the anaphor *o iðios*. Subjects had to pick one of these anaphoric expressions as an answer to the question 'which of the above expressions would you use in order to maintain or shift the topic of the discussion respectively?'

The data illustrate, that there is a very strong preference for zero pronouns, when topic continuity is intended. By contrast, reversion to the full pronoun showed a tendency for a topic shift. What is interesting enough is that when the anaphor *o iðios* is used, though a marked expression topic continuity is preserved. Moreover, it appears that anaphoric interpretations generated by the neo-Gricean pragmatic apparatus (Huang 2000, 2007 and Levinson 2000) are subject to the requirement of consistency with the notion of topic continuity/shift.

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## Code-switching in Russian American children.

Chirsheva, Galina  
(Cherepovets State University)

The paper deals with pragmatic and structural aspects of American Russian children's bilingual speech. These children, who were born in Russian families, speak both English and Russian, but English had become their dominant language by the time the data were collected.

The data (625 utterances) were obtained from the speech of twelve children at the age of four to eleven years old. Bilingual speech was tape-recorded or written down immediately after it had been fixed once a week for six months at classes and during breaks between classes in Russian school "Znaika" (North Carolina, USA). These children went to English-medium school five days a week and to Russian-medium school only once a week (on Saturday). According to their parents, they tried to use only Russian in their home family conversations and make their children follow this tradition as well.

Child code-switches have been considered in a number of works (Bolonyai 1998; DeHouwer 1995, 2009; Lanza 1997; Schmitt 2000, 2008; Zabrodskaia 2009 among others), but few of them deal with Russian-English code-switching in the situations of Russian language attrition and imperfect acquisition in the USA.

The objective of the present paper is to find out why and how American Russian children code-switched from Russian to English in the situations when they were expected to speak only Russian, i.e. when they had to be in a monolingual mode.

The structure of code-switches will be studied within the framework of the Matrix Language Frame model, Abstract Level Model, 4M model (Jake 1994; Jake and Myers-Scotton 1997; Myers-Scotton 1997, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006).

Some pragmatic functions of code-switching coincide with those in monolingual speech but vary due to the interaction of two codes and specific characteristics of children's communication.

It has been found out that code-switching can be both conscious and unconscious choice of the children. The switches from Russian as the Matrix Language to English as the Embedded Language are especially numerous during the breaks when children play games or have meals; at classes they tend to code-switch when they describe their everyday activities, comment their pictures while drawing them or express their emotions.

It will be shown that there is some interrelation between pragmatic and structural characteristics of American Russian children's code-switches. Explanations on how such code-switches differ from those in adult bilingual speech will also be demonstrated.

The research into children's code-switches may contribute to the study of bilingual speech, L1 attrition processes and young immigrants' communication nowadays.

## Korean free choice items built with the particle *-na*.

Choi, Yoonhee  
(University Paris 7)

**Overview** The Korean FCIs *wh-(N)-na* and *amwu-(N)-na* have different indefinite sources *wh-* and *amwu-* in the first part, and share the particle *-na* in the second part. I adopt approach where FCIs trigger domain-alternatives (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002 and Chierchia 2006), and propose that *wh-(N)-na* and *amwu-(N)-na* have different quantificational behavior due to the different domain of alternatives they build.

**Wh-words vs. *amwu-*** Let's start from the first part of the items. Wh-words can occur with case markers, being interpreted either as indefinite or interrogative determiners/pronouns. I adopt Hamblin semantics for question, and propose that wh-words trigger domain-alternatives by themselves. In contrast, *amwu-* cannot occur with case markers, from which I conclude that *amwu-* cannot select an individual or individuals in a single world. In addition, *amwu-* does not introduce the semantics of question, thus cannot trigger domain-alternatives by itself. This is where the contribution of the particle *-na* comes into effect.

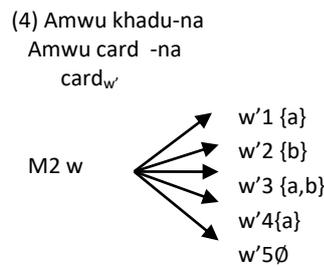
**The particle *-na*** In the literature, the particle *-na* has been analyzed as a disjunction 'or' as in (1), but its subjunctive-like behavior as in (2) has not been much explored.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| (1) Sakwa- <b>na</b> pay-lul mek-ela.<br>Apple or-pear-ACC eat-IMP<br>'Eat an apple or a pear.' | (2) Pi -ka o - <b>na</b> sip -ta.<br>Rain -NOM come-Subj. seem-DEC<br>'It seems that it might rain.' |
|---|--|

I argue that the function of *-na* should be split into two parts: a disjunction and a subjunctive marker

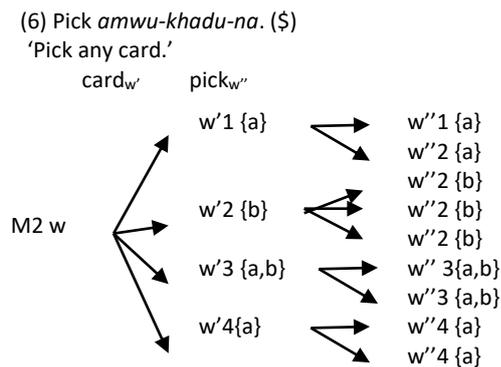
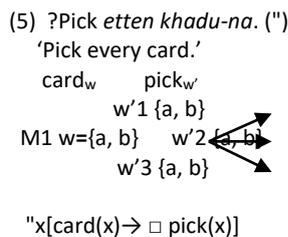
**Compositional analysis of the FCIs** The subjunctive component in *-na* introduces epistemic modality. I propose that *amwu-* in combination with *-na* triggers epistemic alternatives. This hypothesis bears a similarity with Izvorski 2000 in that non-interrogative pronouns require the subjunctive mood to appear in free adjuncts, and work like *wh-ever* free relatives. The domain alternative of wh-words and *amwu-(N)-na* are respectively given in (3)-(4).

(3) Etten khadu-na  
 What card -na  
 card<sub>w</sub>  
 M1 w={a, b}



Here a question arises: what is the contribution of *-na* in *wh-(N)-na*. I propose that for *wh*-words (M1), *-na* functions only as a disjunction, and conveys anti-exhaustivity implicature (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002; Chierchia 2006), which says that no alternatives in the domain should be excluded. For *amwu-*, *-na* has two functions: i) as a subjunctive-marker, it introduces epistemic alternatives, conveying that each alternative is false in at least one world (no winner), and ii) as a disjunction, it implicates that for each alternative there is at least one world where it is true (no loser) (Jayez and Tovena 2005a; Dayal 2010).

**Quantificational behavior** I have two issues to discuss. First, *wh-(N)-na* and *amwu-(N)-na* show different quantificational behavior in imperatives: " for *wh-(N)-na* as in (5) and \$-like for *amwu-(N)-na* as in (6). (The models M1, M2 for (5), (6) are adopted from Dayal 2010). I assume that the difference is due to an extra layer of epistemic modal of *amwu-(N)-na*. While *wh-(N)-na* is involved in one modal (imperative) as in (5), *amwu-(N)-na* is involved in a double layer of modals which are introduced by the subjunctive (epistemic modal) and imperative (deontic modal) as in (6). Second, the \$-like behavior of *amwu-(N)-na* does not require mutual exclusivity as shown by the fact that the hearer can pick more than one card as *w'3* in (5). *Amwu-(N)-na* challenges proposals of getting \$-force for FCIs discussed in literature, where mutual exclusivity is the first requirement (Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002; Chierchia 2006). My analysis correctly predicts the number of choice options of *amwu-(N)-na* without forcing mutual exclusivity requirement.



$$M_{\text{epist}} \$x[\text{card}(x) \wedge \square \text{pick}(x)]$$

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## On the development of *come* and *go* as discourse regulators.

Coker, Kelsey  
(Illinois State University)

In recent years much research has been done on the grammaticalization of the deictic verbs “come” and “go” as future markers while little research has been done on other paths of grammaticalization for deictic verbs of movement. Recent studies have analyzed their development into discourse connectors (Ebert 2003) and their function as textual connectors (Bourdin 2008). Following the discourse cline of “propositional > textual > expressive” (Traugott 1982), I analyze the grammaticalization of *come* and *go* as markers that regulate discursive interactions in this paper.

Using data gathered from the Corpus del Español (CE), I begin with an in-depth analysis of the Spanish deictic verb *venir* and its development as a discourse regulator of interpersonal expression in peninsular Spanish. Following Traugott (1995) and her list of the properties of grammaticalization exemplified in the evolution of adverbs into discourse markers, I argue that *venir* has undergone a similar process in which it shows evidence of:

- 1) decategorialization (weakening of verbal morphology),
  - a) *Ven -ga, no te enroll -es.*  
Come on IMP:3:SG, NEG REFL PRO:2:SG babble NEGIMP.  
Come on, stop babbling.
- 2) generalization of meaning (use in contexts not referring to physical movement through space),
  - a) *Ven -ga, piens -a.*  
Come on IMP:3:SG, think IMP:2:SG.  
Come on, think.
- 3) bonding within the phrase (common occurrence at the beginning of phrases),
  - a) *Ven -ga, otra cosa, Rafa. Ven- ga-*  
Come on IMP:3:SG another topic, Rafa. Come on- IMP:3:SG  
Come on, another topic, Rafa. Come on-
- 4) increase in pragmatic function (expression of disbelief, guidance through discourse, to encourage solidarity between interlocutors),
  - a) Speaker 1: *...ten-go que sal -ir ahora con mi coche, a ese lío.*  
... Have PRES:1:SG to leave INF now with my car, to that mess.  
Speaker 2: *Venga, hombre, yo me que -do aquí.*  
Come on, man, I REFL:1:SG stay PRES:1:SG here
- 5) subjectification (expression of agreement and understanding of the speaker with the interlocutor).
  - a) *Bueno, como quier -as, si la verdad - Venga, sí. Si te hac -e ilusión.*  
Good, as wish PRES:SUBJ:2ps, if, the truth -Alright, yes. If IO2ps makes -3:SG happiness.  
*Bueno, yo qué sé. Venga, sí. Venga, sí. Sí, vale.*  
Well, I what I know. Alright, yeah. Alright, yes. Yeah, okay.

In the spirit of grammaticalization studies, I further broaden my argument by providing a typological map of “come” and “go” used as discourse regulators in a variety of languages including German (Heine 2002: 69), Baka (Heine 2002: 70,160), Japanese, and Romanian to suggest that the path of development from deictic verbs of motion to discourse regulators is universally available.

I conclude that the imperative expressed by the discourse marker is a command on the interlocutors’ language behavior or opinions rather than their physical actions, thus involving semantic change and expansion in terms of subjectification and intersubjectification (e.g. Traugott 1989). Another essential part of my argument is that certain elements concerning the semantics of these deictic verbs make them susceptible for the specific paths of development that they undergo (e.g. source determination, Bybee et al. 1994). Thus I offer that the semantic mechanism at play is a shift from the physical meaning of “come” and “go” as movement to the text world, wherein “come” and “go” are predicated on the discursive practices or assumed epistemological stance of the interlocutor, indicating that the interlocutor should “come” or “go” toward or away from the speaker in terms of aligning discourse with the expectations of the speaker.

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### The constructional semantics of the Dutch *krijgen*-passive: a diachronic account.

Colleman, Timothy  
(Ghent University)

This paper zooms in on the Dutch construction with *krijgen* (lit. ‘get, receive’) exemplified in (1), which is known as the *krijgen*-passive or *semi-passive* and which presents a fairly recent addition to Dutch grammar, the earliest examples dating from around 1900. The *krijgen*-passive is an alternative for the active ditransitive construction in (2a), differing from the regular passive in (2b) in that not the theme but the recipient participant is linked to subject position.

- (1) *Ik kreeg het boek overhandigd van/door de hoogleraar.*  
lit. ‘I got handed the book from/by the professor.’
- (2) a. *De hoogleraar overhandigde mij het boek.*  
‘The professor handed me the book.’  
b. *Het boek werd mij overhandigd door de hoogleraar.*  
lit. ‘The book was handed me by the professor.’

Opinions differ on the grammatical status of *krijgen* in (1), i.e. whether it is a full passive auxiliary on a par with *worden* in (2b), or functions as the main verb of the construction with the participle added to specify the nature of the denoted ‘receiving’ event (see, e.g., Hoekstra 1984; Landsbergen 2006; Broekhuis & Cornips 2010). A key issue in this debate is the nature and extent of the lexical and semantic constraints on the use of the *krijgen*-passive.

The present paper addresses this matter from the perspective of diachronic construction grammar. Using a 20 million word sample from the 1900-1935 volumes of the periodical *De Gids* as a corpus, we will reconstruct the lexical and semantic range of the *krijgen*-passive in its very first decades of life: it will be investigated which (semantic and/or morphological) subclasses of ditransitive verbs played a pathbreaking role in the development of this new construction from other *krijgen* + participle constructions. Then, we will document the subsequent spread of the emerging construction towards more subclasses of ditransitive verbs, on the basis of data from the diachronic CONDIV-corpus, which includes newspaper language from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s. The results present a mixed picture. It will be shown that in the more recent data, the *krijgen*-passive is not limited to verbs denoting a volitional transfer of possession anymore, so that it need not denote an actual ‘receiving’ event but is associated with a more general meaning. On the other hand, although the *krijgen*-construction has expanded its semantic range in the course of the investigated period, it still combines with a *subset* of the verbs which can be entered in the active ditransitive construction only: it cannot be used with the basic transfer verb *geven* ‘give’ and some of its hyponyms, for instance, nor with certain verbs of communication, verbs of dispossession, etc. These remaining constraints will be argued to present effects of “persistence” in terms of Hopper (1991). Time permitting, we will also look into the emerging competition between the prepositions *van* ‘from’ and *door* ‘by’ as markers of the agent/giver role, which can be considered another sign of the construction gradually developing a more general “passive” meaning.

### Notes on overt and covert modality in Italian and Romanian.

Coniglio, Marco & Zegrean, Iulia  
(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin; Università Ca' Foscari Venezia).

Cross-linguistically, there is evidence that modality can either be lexically explicit, or it can be interpreted even in the absence of overt material. In this paper, we will provide some patterns of overt and covert modality in two Romance languages, namely Italian and Romanian.

Firstly, we will concentrate on one case of overt modality, namely discourse particles in Italian and Romanian. Modal particles (and, more generally, discourse particles) express the Speaker’s attitude, opinion or belief with respect to the propositional content of the utterance (cf. Abraham 2009; Thurmair 1989). Generative literature on such elements in Romance is scarce in comparison to Germanic languages. However, see Bazzanella (1995), Cardinaletti (2009), Coniglio (2008, t.a.), Coniglio & Zegrean (t.a.) for Italian and Romanian. Two examples of such particles are given below:

- a. Lascia *pure* l’articolo sul tavolo. (Italian)  
*leave Prt the article on-the table*

- ‘(You may) leave the article on the table.’
- b. *Doar* a luat examenul. (Romanian)  
*Prt has passed exam-the*  
 ‘(Obviously) He DID pass the exam.’

It is a well-known fact that modal/discourse particles can occur in main clauses (Coniglio t.a., Thurmair 1989). This is expected, since root contexts are endowed with illocutionary force (cf. Austin 1962; Searle 1969, among others). What is crucial is that these particles also occur in certain subtypes of subordinate clauses, namely in embedded contexts which may have independent illocutionary force (i.e., ‘peripheral’ adverbials in the sense of Haegeman 2002 and further work, and non-factive complement clauses):

- c. *Portami qui il libro, mentre l’articolo lascio pure sul tavolo.* (Italian)  
*bring-me here the book while the article leave-it Prt on-the table*  
 ‘Bring me the book, while... (you may) leave the article on the table.’
- d. *Bănuiesc că doar a luat examenul.* (Romanian)  
*(I) suppose that Prt has passed exam-the*  
 ‘I suppose that he (obviously) DID pass the exam.’

We can thus claim that the possibility of inserting modal/discourse particles can be taken as a test for distinguishing root-like from true embedded structures (also cf. Coniglio t.a., Abraham 2008).

Secondly, apart from overt elements, i.e. modal verbs and adverbs, particles (cf. Abraham & Leiss 2009), modality can also be expressed covertly (as shown in Bhatt 2006, for example). Two examples of constructions which have a modal reading are *da*+infinitive / *de*+participle (supine mood) in Italian and Romanian, respectively (cf. Bhatt 2006 for English infinitival clauses).

- e. *I libri da leggere sono quelli sul tavolo?* (Italian)  
 the books to read are those on-the table
- f. *Cărțile de citit sunt acelea de pe masă?* (Romanian)  
*books-the read.SUP are those from on table*

‘The books to be read are those on the table (, aren’t they)?’

Although the deontic reading is not explicit in (5) and (6), they can be paraphrased by ‘the books *that must be read* [...]’. We will take into account the aforementioned and other constructions which can/may have a modal reading in Italian and/or Romanian, such as infinitival relatives, middle constructions, *si/se* and *andare*-structures.

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## Modal auxiliaries and modal adverbs: a semantic and pragmatic interface.

Conradie, Jac  
(University of Johannesburg)

The epithet “modal” which is applied to both a small set of modal auxiliaries and a somewhat larger set of adverbials, suggests a certain similarity in meaning and use between these sets. Nuyts (2006: 6), for instance, compares epistemic *will* and *maybe*. The object of this paper is to determine to what extent both share in the same kind of “modality” or at least have compatible characteristics. The comparison will be based mainly on (a) the applicability of semantic classifications such as deontic/ dynamic/ epistemic, subjective/ intersubjective/ objective, and categories such as “evidential”, “interactive” and “attitudinal” to both types, and (b) the interchangeability of auxiliaries and adverbials in certain contexts. Furthermore, in as far as both types may occur in concatenated form in the languages under study, the comparison will be extended to their combinatorial characteristics on a syntagmatic level.

The comparison will be supported by means of examples mainly from Dutch and Afrikaans corpora of the spoken language and textual examples. The object will be to identify frequently occurring collocations between specific auxiliaries and adverbials and the relationship between them, which may for instance be tautological, i.e. a relationship of synonymy, or synecdoche or semantic overlap. Examples of collocations are: **Could you perhaps close the door**, in a request, and **You should certainly see that show – it is a must**, as a motivational comment. An important question is whether the adverbial merely qualifies (strengthens, mitigates) the request, or whether auxiliary and adverbial are interchangeable, as seems to be the case in a Dutch request to ‘close the door’: *Doe de deur even dicht. Wil je de deur dicht doen? Wil je de deur even dicht doen?* Similarly in Afrikaans, compare *Honde kan seer byt* ‘Dogs can bite painfully’, *Honde byt nogal seer* ‘Dogs bite rather painfully’ and the combination *Honde kan nogal seer byt*. The warning, typically directed at a child, **Netnou val jy!** ‘You (are to) fall in a short while’ or **Jy sal val!** ‘You will fall’, are in both instances mediated by future reference.

The corpora may indicate whether certain adverbials more frequently co-occur with certain auxiliaries than others and for which auxiliary a particular adverbial has a preference. Given that both auxiliaries and adverbials are graded for degree of likelihood, e.g. *She might/ may/ could/ can/ must/ will be allergic*, and *perhaps/ probably/ definitely/ certainly/ doubtlessly*, we may expect *She may perhaps be allergic* to be more acceptable than *She might definitely be allergic* or *?She must perhaps be allergic*.

Expected outcomes are inter alia a considerable semantic overlap in the epistemic area, and that adverbials – the larger set – are semantically more specific than auxiliaries.

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## Lexical splits and morphosyntactic complexity.

Corbett, Greville  
(University of Surrey)

A key notion in understanding language is ‘possible word’. While there are words (lexemes) which are internally homogeneous and externally consistent, we also find others with splits in their internal structure (morphology) and inconsistencies in their external behaviour (syntactic requirements). I begin by exploring the characteristics of the most straightforward lexemes, adopting the approach of Canonical Typology. In this approach, we push our definitions to the logical limit, in order to establish a point in the theoretical space from which we can calibrate the real examples we find. By defining canonical inflection, we can schematize the interesting phenomena which deviate from this idealization, including suppletion, syncretism, deponency and defectiveness. We can then look at the different ways in which lexemes are ‘split’ by these phenomena.

Consider the French verb *aller*, which is split by suppletion. Some of its forms are based on the stem *all-* (as in *allons*), some on *v-* (as in *vont*) and some on *ir-* (as in *irons*). These splits demonstrate that a lexeme’s forms need not have any phonology in common. In this respect, the split is as radical as it could be; in certain other respects there are more remarkable examples. I therefore set out a typology of possible splits, along four dimensions:

- (i) form versus composition/structure of the paradigm: in the French example the split concerns forms only and does not affect the structure of the paradigm; contrast this with the split in the Slovak verb, where different parts of the paradigm are sensitive to different featural requirements (gender is marked in the past: *niesol* ‘he carried’, *niesla* ‘she carried’ but not in the present: *nesie* ‘he/she carries’).
- (ii) motivated versus morphomic: the Slovak split follows a boundary motivated from outside the paradigm (it follows tense), while the French split is purely morphology-internal (morphomic).
- (iii) regular versus irregular: splits may be fully regular, extending across the lexicon (all Slovak verbs share the featural split), or they may be lexically specified, as we find with personal pronouns in

- Archi (Daghestanian), where particular cells of individual pronouns must be specified as taking agreement (while the remaining cells do not).
- (iv) externally relevant versus irrelevant: we would expect such splits to be internal to the lexeme, as with French *aller* 'go', but some have external relevance, in that they lead to different syntactic behaviours. Instances include the different alignments found with certain periphrastic forms in Archi, and lexemes whose splits bring with them different gender values, as in Czech, Scots Gaelic and the Tromsø dialect of Norwegian.
- (v)

The typology recognizes these four dimensions individually. They are orthogonal to each other, so that the unexpected patterns of behaviour may overlap in particular lexemes, giving rise to some remarkable examples. These examples show that the notion 'possible word' is more challenging than many linguists have realized.

### **On the importance of discourse traditions in diachronic corpus research. The case of the Spanish epistemic adverbials**

Cornillie, Bert  
(University of Leuven)

Spanish has several epistemic adverbials, e.g. *a lo mejor, igual, tal vez, acaso* and *quizá*, meaning 'perhaps, maybe', which, historically, became part of the Spanish language in different centuries and competed with other ones that do not exist anymore. Several questions arise: how come that there are several expressions to express more or less the same qualification? Has the reading of the adverbials changed over time? What were the original contexts of use? My main claim will be that the modal adverbial paradigm renewed itself on an intersubjective basis. I will have recourse to the concept of discourse traditions to explain the survival of the different modal adverbials.

Within the realm of cognitive-functional linguistics, it is common practice that the synchronic variation of linguistic forms is dealt with in terms of different conceptualizations attributed to the conceptualizer/speaker. In line with this view, language change is often approached as being guided by cognitively motivated mechanisms. Yet, from a historical point of view, the current state of a language --and the linguistic variation it witnesses-- rather seems to be the result of a complex process of language evolution, in which modes and arbitrariness are very much present.

A look at medieval and renaissance Spanish texts indicates a lot of non-motivated variation that in contemporary Spanish does not exist anymore. The question why a certain form makes it to the linguistic system whereas other do not, can often be explained by means of the specific discourse contexts/modes/traditions in which an expression appears. Thus, the concept of "discourse traditions" allows the analyst to examine whether these contexts do or do not contribute to the success of expressions within the linguistic system. An important dimension of "discourse traditions" is the communicative immediacy or distance (cf. Koch & Oesterreicher 1985, 1990, Kabatek 2005, 2008, Octavio de Toledo 2006). In my paper, I will elaborate on the different discourse traditions and focus on the interactive and intersubjective contexts that give rise to alternative modal expressions (cf. Cornillie 2010).

Although the integration of communicative interaction into historical analyses of emergent grammar is still a big challenge, my paper suggests that diachronic corpus research which takes into account discourse traditions in terms of communicative immediacy/distance can help us unravel the dynamics of competing forms that have the 'same meaning'.

On the basis of data from the on-line *Corpus del Español* and the *Corpus diacrónico del Español* (CORDE), the paper gives an explanation for the fact that during several centuries *quiza(b)/quizá(s)* did not compete with other epistemic adverbials. It will be shown that, in line with its sentential origin, *quizá(s)* combined subjective and intersubjective uses for many centuries. Subjective uses refer to the speaker's evaluation of the proposition, whereas intersubjective uses also hint at the interlocutor's evaluation. When the intersubjective uses of *quizá(s)* start to decrease, *tal vez* fills the gap (18<sup>th</sup> century). *a lo mejor*, in turn, increasingly appears in intersubjective contexts since the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, in contemporary peninsular Spanish being challenged by *igual* in informal interaction. Nowadays *quizá(s)* is more common in written non-fiction such as newspapers and encyclopedias. One of the conclusions is that the group of Spanish epistemic adverbs dynamically renews itself and witnesses a cyclical evolution from subjectification to intersubjectification to subjectivity again.

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### Meaning Construction Mechanisms within the Complex Word.

Cortés Rodríguez, Francisco José & Sosa Acevedo, Eulalia  
(Universidad de La Laguna)

One defining feature of several linguistic models, including Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) and the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) (Mairal y Ruiz de Mendoza 2008, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2007a, 2007b), is the weight of lexical semantic information, as it is the basis of meaning construction. Furthermore, one topic of special interest for many researchers is the ascertainment of the precise nature of the semantic structure of words. However, most studies on lexical semantics often overlook a fundamental factor of the semantic structure of lexical units, namely that it is already the result of semantic construction insofar as many words are the result of word formation processes. In this regard, we believe that an adequate theory of meaning construction/ representation must also pay attention to the lexical semantics of word formation (cf. Lieber 2004, chapter 1).

Although it is undeniable that a word-formation product is the outcome of a number of operations at different levels of grammatical description (from phonology to pragmatics through morphology, syntax and semantics), the main leitmotif of lexical derivation and compounding is the creation of a new semantic structure that takes the shape of a lexical unit. Therefore, word formation is primarily an onomasiological phenomenon (cf. Stekauer 2005a, 2005b) and a proper treatment of word formation must be based on a solid theory of semantic representation. Only after such a theory is put forward, the syntagmatic aspects of word formation (i.e. word formation as a kind of lexicalization of grammatical structures) can be rightly considered.

In this presentation we will focus on the lexicological side of word formation processes. We aim to broaden the scope of the proposal for lexical representation as described in the LCM, which in turn is a development of RRG's system of semantic decomposition, by extending it into the domain of lexical creation, i.e. derivation and compounding. In this regard, we believe that the Lexical and Constructional Templates as devised in the LCM offer a very adequate representational system for both the semantics of derivational affixes and morphological constructional patterns, once they are expanded to incorporate some aspects of Pustejovsky's Theory of Qualia Structure. (Pustejovsky 1995; Batiukova 2008; de Miguel 2009) We will show how some mechanisms acting on Qualia structure together with co-indexation (as proposed by Lieber 2004) endows our model with a solid device to account for fine-grained meaning construction mechanisms.

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## Cross-linguistic variations in the treatment of beneficiaries and the argument vs. adjunct distinction.

Creissels, Denis  
(University of Lyon)

Recent studies over the last thirty years show that the arbitrariness of gender assignment is not a tenable hypothesis, notwithstanding classical caveats from Bloomfield on. One moves from the 13 classes for assignment proposed for Spanish some 30 years ago (in Bergen 1980) to the ten classes for Italian above and beyond lexical assignment in our mental lexicon or encyclopedia, which, of course, is subject to internal rules. Some of these have been suggested by discussions in recent work (Thornton and others). Classes can be listed as:

(1.) grammatical, historical, political and medical Latin classes (Latin lexicon) keep their Latin gender (*la captatio [benevolentiae]*), notwithstanding class marking; (2.) 20<sup>th</sup> Century psychology and medical technical lexicon keeps its Latin gender, in spite of class marking (*la libido*); (3.) [+ egg-producing, + milk-producing] farmyard birds and animals are by default feminine (*anitra/papera, gallina, oca; capra, pecora, mucca*), otherwise the general rule operates as below; (4.) clippings, abbreviations, acronyms keep the gender of the full form (*la moto, la foto, la bici, la tivù, la FIAT vs., say, il frigo*), clipped NP's the gender of the head e.g. *il cellulare < il telefono cellulare*; (5.) endocentric compounds choose the gender of the head (*il capotreno*: where sex-differentiation may occur in a modern society, the usual strategy is to use a f. article with an invariable compound, i.e. *la capotreno*); (6.) exocentric compounds are either sex-gendered or unmarked; (7.) nominalized non-noun categories are default cases; (8.) potentially genderless nouns are also default cases; (9.) V + V, V + N → fem. /<sub>i...j</sub> for the relatively few lexically marked cases in the encyclopedia (*la giravolta, la lavastoviglie*); (10.) V + V, V + N → [O gender] (unmarked: the otherwise case of 9.).

Unmarked (default) gender is governed by a general rule of the type:  
(rule) [O gender] → Masculine ≥ Feminine [≥ Neuter].

A number of questions need to be answered:

A. Do flexional classes take precedence over gender classes and in what way? Do Romance languages present completely different morphological strategies in this respect vis-à-vis the parent language (< Latin < Italic LL)? B. Does metaphorical extendibility limit gender assignment or does it necessarily take us to the unmarked gender case, say Italian *buco, cesto, legno, tavolo vs. buca, cesta, legna, tavola* or Spanish *madero vs. madera* etc.? C. Can the general problem of deleted heads be adequately resolved? In some cases one can retrieve, say, in car-naming, a more general MACCHINA in *la fuoriserie, la jeep, la Panda, la Tipo, la Cinquecento, la Fiat*, as opposed to a more marked MACCHINONE in *il fuoristrada, il SUV, il Mercedes, il BMW*. Football clubs are more problematic. D. How are loans, whether historical or recent, to be treated in the general model? The long-term contact between dialects and Italian apparently creates more and more marked classes in colloquial Italian. The –A masculine class is particularly problematic. Experiments will be carried out with native-speakers (the definition of this category raises problems) from NI and SI, using frames where gender is to be supplied and in which lexical items which may be of doubtful gender, real loans and non-sense words are the test cases. Results will be discussed and attempts made to come to grips with some of the questions raised, in particular whether language- or dialect-specific trends are seen to emerge.

## Primitive operations and relations unique to FLN?

Csirmaz, Aniko  
(University of Utah)

**Faculty of language.** Since language is unique to humans, there must be some component of language which is restricted to humans, and it may be specific to language. This component is labeled the *faculty of language in a narrow sense* (FLN) ([1], a.o.) and it is often equated with the core syntactic component. FLN is independent of other systems it interacts with, such as the sensory-motor and conceptual-intentional systems, which are part of the faculty of language in a broad sense (FLB). Clearly, it is desirable to determine what FLN contains. **Recursion.** [1] adopt a particular view of FLN, noting that FLN must contain (at least) recursion, since syntax can generate infinitely long strings from a finite set of lexical items (LIs). Recursion is not specific to language; successive application also yields natural numbers. Even though recursion is not language-specific, it may be restricted to humans. However, recursion in general is not so constrained; recursion allowed by finite state grammars is available to humans and nonhumans ([2], [3]). It is possible that other types of recursive processes are specific to humans and are included in FLN. [3] argue that phrase structure grammars (which allow center embedding) cannot be learned by cotton-top tamarins. thus the recursive operation that yields such phrase structure / context free grammar (CFG) patterns may be specific to humans. [4] argue that starlings can discriminate between CFG and non-CFG patterns ([5] note some objections to [4]'s conclusion, but they note that it is a challenge to design experiments which exclude simpler explanations (e.g. the 'primacy rule') and force a center embedding analysis). In absence of conclusive evidence to the contrary at this point, it appears possible that some nonhuman species do have CFG, which therefore cannot be a part of FLN. **Merge.** The operation Merge is also a

candidate for FLN ([6]). [6] argues that Merge yields hierarchical and endocentric structures: Merge involves grouping/concatenation (which yields hierarchical organization) and copying (copying an element of the group as a label). [6] notes that it is possible that neither grouping nor copying is linguistically specific. It is also possible that these operations are not specific to humans. This is clearly true for grouping, so grouping cannot be a part of FLN. Copying, in the specific sense given above, may be uniquely human; I am not aware of any clear instance of an item of a group serving as a group label in non-human species. Other aspects of copying/labeling, including group classification and asymmetrical relations are not human-specific (cf. [7], [8], [9] on variation in the ability to detect asymmetries in European starlings). **FLN?** Human-specific FLN may consist of copying/label-formation alone. Naturally, the lexicon is also crucial in determining properties specific to language or humans more generally. Longdistance relations (driven by features of LIs) and categories of LIs and complex elements (which allow establishing syntactic identity) are determined by LIs and are uniquely human.

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## Causals in speech.

Cuenca, María Josep  
(Universitat de València)

Causal relationships are one of the most basic linking relations in language. However, presenting two contents as cause-effect is neither a simple or straightforward discourse operation. Previous research has identified different types of causals. The dominant distinctions are binary (see Knot, Sanders & Oberlander 2001; Pander & Degand 2001), e.g. external vs. internal (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1992) and semantic vs. pragmatic (van Dijk 1977; Moeschler 1989; Sanders 1997; Sanders et al. 1997). In binary dichotomies, the first type holds between the propositional contents of discourse segments whereas the second type involves the illocutionary meaning of one or both segments. A ternary distinction has also been proposed by Sweetser (1990), who distinguishes three domains, namely content, epistemic and speech-act.

These classifications are mainly based on written texts and stem from a sentential perspective. But focusing on speech and taking a discourse perspective, other types can be identified and various factors arise as relevant for the classification.

In this presentation, causal constructions are analysed in three types of oral texts in Catalan:

- (i) A corpus of casual conversation containing 10 spontaneous conversations among 3 or more participants. The texts are informal and dialogical.
- (ii) A corpus including oral texts obtained through a semi-structured interview protocol that consisted of 5 tasks designed to elicit different types of text. The texts are relatively formal and mostly monological, since the interviewers limits their interventions to a minimum.
- (iii) A political debate with the participation of a moderator and 5 politicians. The text is formal and combines monologue (long individual turns) with dialog with the moderators and the other politicians.

The examples are classified considering two criteria:

- (i) Linking level or domain: content, epistemic, speech-act, 'discourse'
- (ii) Modal charge: low (objective causals) or medium or high (subjective and intersubjective causals).

The analysis focuses on 'discourse' causals, which involve presuppositions and are subjective or intersubjective as for modal charge. The 'discourse' causals identified in the corpora correspond to prototypical causals including a modal

marker either preceding a discourse segment (*és que* S, 'it is that S') or added to a basic connective (*perquè clar* S 'because of course S'). The modal particle *clar* turns a neutral causal into a qualified or subjective one in the second case, whereas a causal relation at the presupposition level is activated in the case of *és que*. *Perquè clar* indicates that the cause is obvious, i.e. part of the shared knowledge (Cuenca & Marín fc.; Freites 2003, Fuentes 1993; Maldonado 2010). *Es que* presupposes a previous content, whether explicit or implicit, to which the following utterance is a justification (Delahunty & Gatzkiewicz 2000; Fuentes 1997; Marín & Cuenca fc.).

The main hypothesis to be tested is to what extent the contextual conditions of oral texts have an influence on the use and frequency of causal constructions and markers, considering, in the lines of Pander and Degand (2001), that the modal charge (speaker involvement in their terms) is scalar and context-dependent.

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## A Construction Grammar analysis of the expansion of verb-initial word order in Early Modern Welsh.

Currie, Oliver  
(University of Ljubljana)

Although Modern Welsh is well known as a VSO language, it has not always been so throughout its history. Middle Welsh (c.1200-c.1500) prose had a verb-second word order in positive declarative main clauses (PDMCs) and during the Early Modern Welsh period the use of two verb-initial constructions – one with the finite verb in absolute clause-initial position and the other with the finite verb preceded by a dummy subject – increased significantly. This paper will present an overview of the changing word order patterns in Early Modern Welsh in the period c.1550-c.1750 based on a corpus of texts.

The corpus analysis brings to light quite extreme patterns of word order variation, with some authors showing dominant absolute-initial verb order and other contemporary authors almost avoiding the construction altogether. Top-down, formalist approaches to word order description, which take as their starting point a maximally general and abstract grammar or word order type and seek to impose it on the data, cannot adequately deal with such variation. This is not a problem, however, for a Construction Grammar approach, which being usage-based and bottom-up, takes as its starting point individual constructions, where the actual locus of the variation and change is (Currie 2000). A Construction Grammar approach can also capture generalisations, drawing on the conception of the construction as a *continuum* (the lexicon-syntax continuum) (Croft 2001: 17). The corpus analysis shows variation in use of constructions

both at a schematic and idiomatic level: certain authors show a general preference for the absolute verb-initial construction, while others tend to use it in specific syntactic contexts and others in specific idioms.

The concept of *motivation* (Goldberg 1995: 70; Lakoff 1987) – as inheritance relationships between constructions – can further be used as a tool in understanding diachronic change in word order patterns. We can analyse the relative frequency of certain constructions in terms of their being more weakly or more strongly motivated than competing instructions. The expansion of absolute-initial verb order can be partly explained by the fact that it appears to have been perceived as functionally equivalent to the Pronominal Subject+Verb and dummy subject constructions and came to be used in all the contexts where these other two constructions were used. We also observe statistical correlations, both synchronic and diachronic, in the frequency of use of constructions which are formally motivated, i.e. Adverb+Verb and Absolute-initial verb constructions, on the one hand, and Adverb+XP+Verb and XP+Verb constructions, on the other hand.

In addition, we propose that the concept of “motivation” in Construction Grammar is understood more broadly to include not only “structural motivations” (the form and meaning relations between individual constructions) but also the complementary notion of “usage motivation”, that is a construction is motivated by the fact it is used by speakers and is perceived by other speakers. Factors which motivate the use of a construction are the frequency and context of its use in discourse, including any sociolinguistic and stylistic associations. In this way we can fully integrate sociohistorical/linguistic analysis in diachronic Construction Grammar approaches.

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### Where is the direction? Indefinite's semantic map revisited.

Cysouw, Michael  
(LMU München)

The classical semantic map of indefinite pronouns in Haspelmath (1997) does not include any notion of diachronic direction. In this paper I will revisit Haspelmath's ground-breaking investigation into typological diversity with to goal to add some notion of directionality to the map.

First, I will recreate the semantic map from Haspelmath using massively parallel texts. For this goal I am using parallel texts from the OPUS project (<http://urd.let.rug.nl/tiedeman/OPUS/>) and the Jehovah's Witnesses pamphlets (<http://watchtower.org>). From these texts, a large collection of context is compiled in which indefinites are used, and the formal language-specific encoding of the indefinites in these contexts is extracted.

Using characteristics like length of forms, internal constituency and recognizable subparts it is possible to define a notion of similarity between indefinites within each language. On this basis one can quantitatively infer a semantic map, in which the individual contexts of the parallel texts are the functions (i.e. 'the points' of the map). Ideally, these contexts should form groups similar to the functions proposed in the map from Haspelmath.

Second, I will use differences between forms within each language to show that it is possible to make probabilistic statements about preferred diachronic developments of indefinite pronouns. Basically, the principle used here is that when one form in a language is (or appears to be) derived from another form, than the contexts in which these forms are used are linked asymmetrically. Such a situation is interpreted as indicating that the derived-encoded function is diachronically derived from the other function. By averaging such indications of directionality over many language, a probability of diachronic direction between the functions can be inferred.

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## Arbitrariness in grammar: Palatalization effects in Polish.

Czaplicki, Bartłomiej  
(University of Warsaw)

The study of palatalization effects in Polish has led many researchers to argue for a phonological basis of the processes. Two lines of research can be identified within this view: (i) purely phonological, claiming that phonology is sufficient in accounting for palatalization (Gussmann 1980 and Rubach 1984), and (ii) morphophonological, which argues that a phonological account must be supplemented with lexical specifications Gussmann (2007).

It is argued that neither the model placing emphasis on phonological rules and representations (generative tradition) nor on representations (GP) yields the desired results. Major shortcomings of the phonological approach are identified: (i) a high level of abstractness of underlying and/or intermediate representations is necessary to account for the data; the analyses implicate phonological contrasts that are never realized phonetically (against Kiparsky 1973); (ii) phonetic facts must be purposefully suppressed; (iii) the role of natural classes (generative tradition) and elements (GP) is undermined; and (iv) despite a high degree of complexity, a significant portion of the data cannot be handled. It transpires that whether palatalization occurs in a given context or not is largely due to arbitrary (historical) factors. What is more, the choice of palatalization type cannot be fully predicted, as the same context may trigger different processes (as many as four representations of *e* are necessary). Individual words have to carry information about the applicability of palatalization, the type of palatalization, the consonant undergoing palatalization, and the triggering context. This amount of lexical marking and abstractness is tantamount to denying the process a phonological basis.

The discussion of allomorphs suggests that their selection cannot be stated in terms of phonological universals such as natural classes or elements. The patterning of some consonants is contingent on morphological factors (a specific suffix), rather than on the immediate phonological environment. Given the unpredictability and variation in allomorph selection, minimization of lexical storage (principle of economy) cannot play a significant role in shaping grammar. Rather, redundancy pervades natural language and linguistic patterns are arbitrary (Anderson 1981). The theorem originally voiced by Roman Jakobson that human language is based on the optimization of the use of its information channel has a potential flaw. "While it may well be a desirable engineering goal to exploit the communicative capacity of a given channel to its fullest, it is by no means obvious that the empirical facts of human language are founded on the same considerations" (Anderson 1985).

In view of accumulating evidence indicating that the lexicon contains rich-memory inputs it is argued that phonology is word-specific, that is entire words (to be precise, constructions) are stored (Goldinger 1996; Bybee 2010) and palatalization effects are directly encoded in them. It is proposed that the regularities as well as deviations surrounding palatalization effects in Polish testify to the lexical storage of entire words, while the productivity of the arbitrary patterns points to an analogical, rather than phonological, basis of the processes (Mańczak 1980).

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## Ukrainian in its relation to a central European Sprachbund.

Danylenko, Andriy  
(Pace University, New York)

Since Skalička and Lewy scholarly tradition has taken for granted that the cultures and languages of Central Europe constitute a contact areal commonly identified as the *Donausprachbund* (Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, German, and Serbo-

Croatian) (Skalička, Décsy, Haarmann) or Central European *Sprachareal/Sprachbund* (Skalička, Kurzová). An idea about cultural and linguistic interrelationships in Central Europe has been recently reexamined by Skála (1992), Newerkla (2002), and especially Kurzová (1996). Whilst contrasting the Central European (CE) languages with the Standard Average European (SAE) clustering of morpho-syntactic features, Kurzová (1999) contended that German, as a transmitter of the SAE features to the CE area, as well as Hungarian, Czech, and Slovak are the focus languages, and Polish and Slovak are peripheral.

The lack of scholarly consensus today extends, however, not only to the grouping of corresponding languages but also to the identification of possible parameters of a Central European *Sprachbund*. Disregarding sampling procedures as employed in Auwera (1998), Thomas (2008) proceeded from the geographical delineation, while positing for this areal two layers of languages that have been in close contact for a considerable length of time. The first comprises those languages spoken within the former Habsburg Empire, and the second consists of the languages spoken within the above boundaries before the acquisition of Galicia, Bukovyna, Bosnia, and Dalmatia in 1772. Thus, Polish, Ukrainian, and Rusyn [?] came to be extracted from the second layer since they were not spoken “for more than a millennium” in the Carpathian Basin.

Establishing a Central European area of linguistic convergence, Thomas posited five phonological and six morphosyntactic features that allegedly satisfy the minimal conditions for the existence of a *Sprachbund*. Following Kurzová’s hypothesis about Polish as a peripheral language in a Central European *Sprachbund*, there are grounds for adding Ukrainian as another (peripheral) player. This language, especially its southwestern, in particular Transcarpathian, dialects, seems to serve as a transmitter of the *Sprachbund*-forming features to (North-)East Slavic. To take the morphosyntactic features, singled out by Thomas, they are all attested cross-dialectally in Ukrainian: 1) a basic three-tense feature, 2) perfect as a simple preterit, with no connection to the Romance periphrastic perfect (Danylenko 2005) 3) periphrastic future, especially with the inceptive phasal verb *jati* ‘take’, erroneously identified with the modal verb *imati* ‘have to’ by (Dahl 2000), thus having little to share with the Balkan de-modal construction or the Romance future, 4) double perfect as a pluperfect; of interest is a Transcarpathian archaism derived with the help of an aorist ending in place of the preterit tense suffix, 5) demonstratives, used contextually as the definite article, 6) a sporadic use of the numeral ‘one’ in the function of an indefinite article (Heine, Kuteva 2006, 119ff.).

The convergent features in (Southwest) Ukrainian seem to be commensurable with those of the languages of the Central European *Sprachbund*, though the degree of convergence is likely to testify to its historically peripheral status (see Danylenko 2009).

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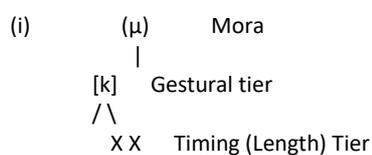
## Refining a composite representation of geminates.

Davis, Stuart  
(Indiana University)

This paper focuses on the moraic representation of geminates offering both support and challenges for the view of Hayes (1989) that geminates are underlyingly moraic. Hayes argues for a weight representation of geminates in which a geminate is underlyingly a single consonant linked to a mora, arguing against a skeletal (length) representation of geminates where a single phoneme is linked to two C-slots. We consider a number of phonological issues that point to conflicting evidence regarding the representation of geminates. One issue concerns whether geminates pattern like a sequence of consonants. Here the evidence is conflicting depending on the language. For example, in the Hadhrami dialect of Arabic (Bamakhramah 2009) consonant clusters are avoided in word-final position (eg. [bínit] ‘girl’ from

underlying /bint/); yet, word-final geminates are allowed (eg. [ʔaxáff] ‘lighter’). Moreover, word final geminates in Hadhrami Arabic differ from singleton consonants in that a word-final geminate attracts stress onto the last syllable of the word, but a word that ends in a singleton does not (e.g. [ʔaxáff] ‘lighter’ vs. [[ʔákbar] ‘greater’). Under the length representation of geminates it would be difficult to explain why word final geminates are allowed when word final consonantal sequences are avoided. On the other hand, Ringen & Vago (2009) show that Hungarian has parallel patterning between geminates and sequences of two consonants. For example, in some verb stems ending in two consonants, an epenthetic vowel occurs after the two consonants when a consonantal suffix is added (eg. /önt-s/ -- [öntEs] ‘pour, 2<sup>nd</sup> sg.’). No epenthesis occurs if the verb stem ends in a single consonant when the suffix is added (eg. /kap-s/ -- [kaps] ‘receive, 2<sup>nd</sup> sg.’). This suggests a constraint for these forms that disallows a word-final sequence of three C-slots. As Ringen & Vago observe, epenthesis does occur in verb stems ending in geminates (eg. /függ-s/ -- [függEs] ‘depend, 2<sup>nd</sup> sg.’), indicating that a geminate patterns like a sequence of two consonants with respect to the CV-tier and is unexpected under a strictly moraic representation of geminates.

Similar conflicting behavior of geminates occurs in weight sensitive stress systems. There are languages such as San’ani Arabic (Watson 2002) and Cahuilla (Hayes 1995) in which syllables closed by geminates pattern with syllables containing long vowels in being stress attracting (as opposed to other syllable types). But Tranel (1991) points to weight sensitive languages where syllables closed by geminates do not attract stress, and Baker (1997) has shown that, in the Australian language Ngalakgan, closed syllables normally attract stress unless they are closed by a geminate, in which case they resist stress. In order to account for the wide variety of geminate patterning, I develop a nuanced composite view of geminates, building on Baker (2009) as in (i).



As I will argue, the variable patterning of geminates can be accounted for given that languages may focus on one or another aspect of this representation.

### No/nothing and Squat: syntactic negation vs. negative scope.

De Clercq, Karen  
(Ghent University)

1. Main claims. This paper discusses *squatitive negation* (Postal 2004; Horn 2001), comparing it to *no* and *nothing* with respect to question tags and its negative scope. I argue that syntactic sentential negation (SSN) and sentential negative scope (SNS) are two different processes that both give rise to sentential negation. SQUAT can only instantiate SSN, whereas *no/nothing* can instantiate both SSN and SNS.

#### 1. Squatitive negation

SQUAT is a general term to refer to taboo-words that express negative meaning and that can be used as bare nouns as in (1), or as determiners, as in (2).

- |     |                             |                                  |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) | John bought fuck-all.       | Bare noun-SQUAT = <i>nothing</i> |
| (2) | John bought fuck all books. | Determiner-SQUAT = <i>no</i>     |

#### 2. Syntactic sentential negation: question tags

SSN can be diagnosed by question tags (Klima 1964): an affirmative tag signals a syntactically negative sentence. SQUAT always gives rise to affirmative sentences, cf. (3).

- (3) a. Janet read squat, \*did she?/ didn’t she?  
 b. Sod all happens, \*does it/ doesn’t it? (McCloskey 1993)

With *no/nothing* in object position, negative tags are preferred (no SSN), but affirmative ones are not completely ruled out (Moscati 2006).

- (4) a. Janet bought nothing, ?\*did she?/didn’t she?  
 b. Janet bought no books, ??did she?/ didn’t she?

*No/nothing* in subject position always takes affirmative tags, indicating SSN, cf. (5).

- (5) No student will come to the party, will they?/\*won’t they?

In sum, SQUAT never gives rise to SSN, whereas *no/nothing* does in subject position, but not necessarily in object

position.

### 3. Sentential negative scope: interaction with modality

Although SQUAT does not give rise to SSN, it does to SNS. This becomes apparent in the interaction with modality, in particular deontic *could* (Iatridou&Sichel 2010; Iatridou&Zeijlstra 2009).

(6) He could use fuck-all credit cards in that shop.

≠ He was given permission not to use any credit cards.

\*Mod>Neg

= He was not permitted to use any credit cards.

Neg>Mod

We now face a paradox: SQUAT and *no/nothing* in object position yield a syntactically affirmative sentence, suggesting low scope for the negation, but lead to an interpretation where negation has higher scope than the modal, i.e. sentential scope, cf. (6).

### 4. Analysis

SSN arises when the clause is typed as negative (Moscati 2006): via Agree between an [iPol:\_] on Force° with a [uPol:Neg] on *no/nothing* (Pesetsky & Torrego 2007; Penka 2007; Tubau 2008). This Agree relationship can only apply locally with the subject, but not with the direct object, following the PIC (Chomsky 1998). This accounts for the different tags in (4) and (5). SNS arises through a different mechanism: QR (May 1985). SQUAT and *no/nothing* are numeral (zero) quantifiers (Déprez 1997) that undergo QR (Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2009) and thus give rise to SNS. *No/nothing* and SQUAT in object position can scope over deontic *could* and give rise to SNS, but are not local enough to Force° to give rise to SSN. SQUAT is not endowed with [uPol:Neg] and can therefore never type the clause as negative.

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### Main clause fragments.

De Vries, Mark  
(University of Groningen)

This talk addresses the question to which extent clausal fragments show signs of root phenomena, and why. Specifically, it investigates appositions and afterthoughts (building on findings in O'Connor 2008; De Vries 2009; Heringa *fc.*, and others). The method of study involves theoretical and comparative syntax based on native speaker judgments. Data are mainly from Dutch, English and Turkish. The results suggest a number of conclusions. First, sentence fragments can indeed be classified as 'main clauses' or not. Thereby, we must distinguish between a number of different types,

resulting from the potential interaction of parenthetical construal, coordination and ellipsis. Furthermore, it becomes clear that ‘main clause status’ is a somewhat problematic notion, since structural, phonological, semantic, and pragmatic criteria might diverge (see also Heycock 2005). Even where they correlate, it needs to be explained what causes what. Thus, a decomposition of the phenomenon is essential. For instance, what is needed next to a ‘cartographic’ exploration of the left periphery of the clause (e.g., Haegeman 2010) is an analysis of scopal independency effects and speaker orientation, which, it is argued, cannot be explained merely by the ‘size’ (projection status) of the clause itself; rather, these can be the result of parenthetical construal between clauses or phrases (Potts 2007; De Vries 2007).

Afterthoughts often relate to a constituent in the matrix, very much like (non-restrictive) appositions. Unlike right-dislocation of the backgrounding type, they receive an independent pitch accent and can be viewed as detached from the matrix, at least phonologically (see also Averintseva-Klisch 2008). For ease of exposition, the examples below are in English.

- (1) a. Johnny Smith, *a jolly good fellow*, came along yesterday. (apposition)  
 b. Johnny Smith came along yesterday, *a jolly good fellow*. (afterthought)

In fact, there are two propositions here; the primary one is “Johnny Smith came along yesterday”, and the parenthetical one is “He (Johnny S.) is a jolly good fellow”. The attributive fragment can therefore be considered an elliptical main clause. This is corroborated by a number of tests, such as the possibility of adding a ‘high’ adverb, which shows that the fragment is not just a noun phrase.

There is a superficially similar construction that is identificational instead of attributive. This is illustrated in (2):

- (2) Johnny saw a nice person in the mirror, *himself*.

However notice that the second, elliptical proposition cannot simply be interpreted as “A nice person is himself”. Rather, what is implied in this case is “(namely) Johnny saw himself in the mirror”. Thus, the fragment does not represent a parenthetical attributive clause but a coordinated elliptical main clause that in some way replaces the matrix. This strategy can be compared to what is happening in question–answer pairs: “Who did Johnny see in the mirror? Himself.” Further proof that (2) is structurally different from (1) is the fact that binding is possible, and also that the fragment can be directly denied in a discourse.

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## Towards an interface account of root phenomena.

DeCat, Cecile  
 (University of Leeds)

This paper argues that syntax alone cannot account for root phenomena satisfactorily, and that a heavy involvement of the interpretive component is required.

Root phenomena are those that typically occur in matrix clauses but are also allowed in a restricted set of embedded (“root-like”) clauses (Heycock 2005). I focus on root phenomena with an interpretive import, and argue that the gradience in acceptability these phenomena manifest in different types of clause can only be captured by an interface approach. Gradience is shown to result from the interaction of the interpretive properties of root phenomena with the properties of their host clause. Two types of interpretive properties (affecting the root phenomena themselves as well as their host clause) are involved: (i) those that indicate speaker involvement and (ii) epistemic/ information structural properties. All root phenomena are argued to involve epistemic/ information structural properties; speaker involvement is only required in a subset of cases.

Two empirical facts tip the balance in favour of an analysis in which syntax is not responsible alone for the licensing of root phenomena. The first is the variable behaviour of peripheral adverbial clauses (Hooper & Thompson 1973; Larson & Sawada 2010): such clauses can only host root phenomena if they (the clauses) are sentence-final, not sentence-initial, as illustrated below.

- (1) a. Mildred drives a Mercedes [because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox].  
 b. \*[Because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox], Mildred drives a Mercedes.

This eludes current syntactic analyses (or any analysis that attempts to capture root phenomena as a syntactic property of clauses), but can be captured by the interaction of syntax and the interpretive component (Larson & Sawada 2010). The second is the existence of root phenomena in utterances that are not propositional syntactically (and hence without syntactic Force) but nonetheless endowed with pragmatic Force. I present original data from Japanese consisting in "fragment" utterances (as in (2b), uttered after (2a) as a context) that cannot be analysed as full syntactic structures (according to Merchant's 2004, 2008 sluicing account) and hence lack syntactic Force, and show that these fragments can host a type of politeness marker (-*des*-) that is otherwise restricted to root and root-like clauses.

- (2) a. Kanozyo-wa dare-no sake-o nondei-ta no?  
 she-top who-gen sake-acc drinking-past Q  
 'Whose sake has she been drinking?'  
 b. Kanozyo-no hahaoya-no(-o) desu.  
 3p.sg.-gen other-gen des  
 'Her mother's.'

On the basis of these facts, I argue that root phenomena cannot be captured by syntax alone, and require a heavy involvement of the interpretive component, including Information Structure.

**A lexical-constructional approach to requests:  
 construal operations and social conventions.**

Del Campo Martínez, Nuria  
 (University of La Rioja)

The present contribution studies the semantic base of requests at level 3 of the *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM henceforth) as originally propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008) and Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2009). The primary concern of the LCM is to develop a comprehensive theory of meaning construction that accounts for all facets of meaning. The model consists of four descriptive levels, which refer to argument structure representations (level 1), implicated and explicated meaning captured by low-level situational models (level 2), implicated and explicated illocutionary meaning (level 3) and discourse structure and relations (level 4). Meaning derivation takes place on the basis of conventionalized constructions and inferential activity at the four levels. Representations can be subsumed into a higher level as licensed by a number of cognitive and pragmatic constraints. Within this theoretical framework, our study attempts to develop the description of level 3 constructions and provide evidence of the explanatory power of the LCM. Level 3 illocutionary constructions result from the interplay between construal operations and general social conventions captured by the *Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model* (Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi 2007). In this presentation I examine the conceptual grounding of a number of constructions carrying request values. The formal part of the type of constructions studied here includes a vast array of linguistic mechanisms such as sentence types, lexical items and grammatical properties. The semantic part is structured in the form of high-level situational cognitive models, also known as illocutionary scenarios. I argue that the realization of requests is based upon linguistic devices that exhibit different degrees of instantiation potential for relevant parts of the semantic base of requesting. For example, interrogative constructions have a broad instantiation potential in requests. A case in point is the *Can You X<sub>VP</sub>* construction, which gives access to the request high-level cognitive model by activating the addressee's ability to carry out the action. This realization achieves moderately high degrees of politeness by giving the addressee some degree of optionality in formal contexts. On the basis of real data drawn from the British National Corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English and *WerbCorp*, I offer a systematic description of the most common conventional realizations of requests and determine the relationship between their form and meaning. I then explore the conceptual structure that provides the addressee with access to the cognitive model of requesting and see how different linguistic mechanisms may make an expression a more explicit instance of a request by means of instantiating some or all the semantic features of the corresponding cognitive model. In application of the tools provided by the LCM, I discuss how illocutionary meaning imposes different degrees of codification on its production and understanding. It is further argued that the LCM provides adequate analytical tools for a unified account of illocutionary phenomena.

## Pseudo-copular use of the Spanish verbs *hacerse* and *volverse*: two types of change.

Delbecque, Nicole & Van Gorp, Lise  
(K.U.Leuven - Research Foundation Flanders)

This paper is concerned with the way the verbs *hacerse* 'make-refl' and *volverse* '(re)turn-refl' are used to convey a pseudo-copular relation of change in Spanish. Previous studies (e.g. Porroche Ballesteros (1988), Morimoto & Pavón Lucero 2007) invoke the following criteria to distinguish between these two change-of-state pseudo-copulas:

- a) [+volitional] / [-volitional]. While *hacerse* underlines active and intentional participation, *volverse* rather suggests a passive, non-intentional participation.
- b) [+gradual] / [-gradual]. *Hacerse* expresses the idea of a gradual change (of overcoming) (*poco a poco* 'bit by bit', *cada vez más* 'more and more'), *volverse* evokes a rapid, sudden or brutal change (*de repente* 'all of a sudden', *de pronto* 'suddenly').
- c) [+positive] / [ $\pm$  positive]. Whereas *hacerse* tends to appear in positive contexts (of progress, promotion or development), *volverse* is also found in contexts of regression or demotion, i.e. in negative contexts.

The appropriateness of these oppositions is corroborated in such typical examples like (1) and (2) but not in (3) and (4).

- (1) Juan *se hizo rico*, trabajando mucho. 'Juan became rich, working a lot.'
- (2) Al tocarle la lotería, Juan *se ha vuelto rico*. 'By winning the lottery, Juan got rich.'
- (3) Cuando un futbolista *se hace viejo*, el aviso lo recibe de su entrenador, pero el boxeador lo recibe de los puños del contrario. (*La Vanguardia*, 22/11/1994)  
'When a football player gets old, he receives the announcement from his trainer, but the boxer receives it from the fists of the opponent.'
- (4) Me recordó bastante a César Romero, que no *se vuelve viejo* ni a tiros. (E. José, 1991)  
'This reminded me a lot of C. Romero, who does not get old, no way.'

In view of the many counterexamples, the criteria proposed in the literature (a, b and c above) have to be acknowledged not to permit to satisfactorily capture what motivates the selection of *hacerse* or *volverse*. Adopting a conceptual semantic framework, we hypothesise that each verb has developed a proper schematic conceptualization, in accordance with the basic meaning the verb has outside the pseudo-copular construction (by virtue of the "lexical persistence" principle, cf. Hopper 1991). On the basis of the conceptual metaphor that 'change is movement in time' each verb can be assumed to be associated with a different representation of kinesis and evolution.

For the empirical validation of the hypothesis we turn to a modern prose corpus drawn from CREA. The data show that the change profiled by means of *hacerse* represents if not the passage 'from nothing to something' at least some upgrade, echoing the notions of 'creation' and 'production' that characterise the meaning of *hacer* 'make'; the image associated with *hacer* is one of progression in continuity. *Volver*, on the other hand, supposes an orientation reversal or the abandoning of the previously followed direction. *Volverse* profiles a change that interrupts the continuity in time and yields a regressive dimension. The analysis will also highlight the role of the conceptualiser, showing that the established relation can be approached from a variety of perspectives, some more objective others more subjective.

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## The grammaticalization of negation in Greek.

Deligianni, Efrosini  
(Lancaster University)

As in any case of diachronic development, the transition from Ancient Greek (AG) to Modern Greek (MG) is marked by sweeping linguistic changes. A series of grammaticalization processes takes place, which gives rise to function words extensively used in MG. One case in point is the realis negator *den* 'not', which originates from the negative indefinite pronoun *ouden* 'nothing'. This grammaticalization path is of the 'negative polarity item (NPI) to negator (NEG) type', generally known as Jespersen's cycle (after Jespersen 1917, 1924). This continuous process involves the weakening of the sentence negator and its subsequent reinforcement by an NPI, which will eventually evolve as the standard negator in the language. Other than rather sketchy descriptions (e.g. Kiparski & Condoravdi 2005, 2006), there is no systematic treatment of this process in the literature. In this paper, I intend to follow the trajectory of the negative particle *den* from its first attestation up to its present-day usage. Data analysis falls back on material which approximates the

vernacular at each historical stage. The primary goal is to identify the accompanying formal, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes within the context of the grammaticalization theory.

The first attestations of the emphatic use of the NPI interpreted as ‘none, not at all’ in Greek date back to Homer’s epics. The posterior classical and postclassical literature also includes such manifestations. In the Early Middle Ages, (partial) loss of that emphatic function is attested. It is now used interchangeably with the AG NEG. During this transitional period, a phonological process triggered by analogy led to the formation of the truncated *den*. From the 12<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, the literary ‘revival’ of the vernacular uncovered the next stage in the process, where all variant forms tend to co-exist. The choice is occasionally motivated by the context but it remains to a large extent arbitrary. From the 15<sup>th</sup> c. onwards the innovative form occupies more and more ground until it eventually figures as the sole NEG in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when AG NEG retreated behind it. Concerted attempts to reverse the drift ever since were doomed to failure.

Cognitive and pragmatic factors have been put forward as plausible explanations for it, like the role of pragmatic inferences in downward-entailing contexts, and the logical operation *modus tollens* (Veloudis 1995). There are also further questions concerning aspects of the process that still remain to be assessed, like the notion and role of ‘psychological proclivity’, external influence and so on. Evidence from other languages might pave the way to their resolution.

A number of theoretical issues are raised in the context of this study. First, diachronic typology can significantly contribute to the examination of any intra-lingual diachronic process by putting it into a cross-linguistic perspective. Second, external factors such as diglossia can significantly hinder the progression of a grammaticalization process by ‘freezing’ it at a stagnation state for centuries. It can only reassert itself when the right conditions are met. Third, the dialectal diversity can throw light to alternative grammaticalization paths and possibly lead to the prediction of subsequent developments either in the standardized form of the language in particular, or any other language variety in general.

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## Quantitative measures of cognitive synonymy and subjectivity: a corpus study of English moderators (rather, quite, pretty, and fairly).

Desagulier, Guillaume  
(UMR 7114 MoDyCo & Université Paris 8)

In this paper, I focus on four degree-modifiers of adjectives: *rather*, *quite*, *fairly*, and *pretty*. These adverbs form a subclass of intensifiers (Bolinger 1972; Lyons 1977) known as ‘compromisers’ (Quirk et al. 1985) or ‘moderators’ (Allerton, 1987; Paradis, 1997):

- (1) *I think it’s **fairly easy** for anyone to get anything they want (...).* (COCA)
- (2) *He seemed in **pretty good** form.* (COCA)
- (3) *Obama’s whole pitch is **quite different**.* (COCA)
- (4) *I heard a **rather odd** conversation.* (COCA)

Paradis (1994: 160; 1997: 71) contends that moderators are cognitive synonyms (after Cruse, 1986) because they all serve to fix the properties that gradable adjectives denote to a moderate level. Although moderators are not interchangeable in all contexts, cognitive synonymy is nevertheless evidenced in corpus by a significant amount of overlapping collocational preferences. I want to test the claim that moderators are cognitive synonyms by contrasting them in their distinctive collocational preferences. I thus hope to avoid the problems faced by previous corpus-based approaches to degree modifiers, which rely too much on raw frequencies or coarse-grained relative frequencies, and therefore underestimate significant context-related differences (Paradis 1997; Lorenz 2002; Kennedy 2003; Simon-Vandenbergen 2008).

I extract all <moderator + adjective> combinations from the 410M-word Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008-) and implement two techniques from collocation analysis. First, I conduct a collexeme analysis to determine which adjectives are most strongly attracted to each moderator (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003). My results show that some adjectives, such as *good*, *large*, *different* or *clear*, display collocational preferences with more than one moderator (Table 1). At this stage, the cognitive synonymy of moderators is partly verified and cannot be dismissed. Then I perform a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis to determine the adjectives that are distinctively associated with each moderator (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004). It turns out that moderators attract different classes of

adjectives (Table 2). For example, *fairly* attracts adjectives that denote novelty (*new, recent*), commonness or constancy (*common, constant, consistent, regular*), whereas *rather* attracts adjectives that denote problematic identification (*odd, unusual, strange, bizarre*, etc.) By examining how moderated adjectives fall into distinct semantic classes, my corpus study eventually undermines the claim that moderators are cognitive synonyms.

Conversely, my results substantiate and refine two other assumptions. The first assumption is that moderators have undergone subjectification (Nevalainen & Rissanen 2002; Athanasiadou 2007). Indeed, not only do moderators index the speaker's assessment of intensity on an abstract scale, but they also index the speaker's perspective differently depending on what property is moderated. For instance, speakers tend to modify easiness with *fairly* and difficulty with *pretty* or *quite*. The second assumption is that moderators are intersubjective (Paradis 1997: 69). My data confirm that moderators typically hedge epistemic assessments of scalar properties in contexts where their absence would be face-threatening (e.g. *rather simplistic/lengthy*) or where the speaker lacks evidence for an objective statement (e.g. *quite correct, pretty smart*).

FAIRLY		PRETTY		QUITE		RATHER	
ADJ	coll.strength	ADJ	coll.strength	ADJ	coll.strength	ADJ	coll.strength
EASY	2686,55	GOOD	61820,34	DIFFERENT	15082,43	LARGE	1025,19
COMMON	2078,88	SURE	8148,39	SURE	8231,32	DIFFERENT	709,26
SIMPLE	1883,49	CLEAR	4764,46	CLEAR	4923,96	UNUSUAL	705,49
LARGE	1751,18	BAD	4734,36	POSSIBLE	2216,18	SMALL	521,34
GOOD	1523,30	TOUGH	3635,13	SIMILAR	1614,27	DIFFICULT	480,60
STRAIGHTFORWARD	1433,43	COOL	3628,34	GOOD	1482,02	ODD	436,50
CERTAIN	1326,03	AMAZING	2848,64	READY	1480,81	REMARKABLE	415,88
TYPICAL	1315,09	BIG	2604,22	SIMPLE	1357,46	LIMITED	413,37
HIGH	1250,31	CLOSE	2531,19	REMARKABLE	1297,76	VAGUE	400,68
CONSISTENT	1112,44	STRONG	2139,59	COMMON	1259,48	STRANGE	384,69

Table 1. Top 10 collexemes of *fairly, pretty, quite, and rather* in the COCA.

FAIRLY		PRETTY		QUITE		RATHER	
ADJ	pbin FAIRLY	ADJ	pbin PRETTY	ADJ	pbin QUITE	ADJ	pbin RATHER
COMMON	76,852	GOOD	Inf	DIFFERENT	Inf	ODD	38,985
EASY	83,940	BAD	201,754	RIGHT	238,718	UNUSUAL	30,399
NEW	88,581	COOL	144,612	POSSIBLE	216,960	STRANGE	21,543
CONSTANT	84,155	TOUGH	122,016	READY	120,325	VAGUE	24,745
RECENT	72,497	BIG	113,655	TRUE	70,286	DIFFICULT	13,886
CERTAIN	48,997	HARD	83,524	LIKELY	69,123	SIMPLISTIC	18,314
TYPICAL	61,990	SCARY	52,784	SIMILAR	66,103	LENGTHY	13,810
CONSISTENT	45,980	SMART	48,173	CAPABLE	66,867	PECULIAR	17,211
STRAIGHTFORWARD	44,942	AMAZING	44,893	WILLING	56,313	BIZARRE	17,459
REGULAR	40,512	CLOSE	40,521	CORRECT	45,218	CURIOUS	14,906

Table 2. Top 10 distinctive collexemes of *fairly, pretty, quite, and rather* in the COCA.

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## Towards a corpus-based identification of linguistic structure in learner language.

Deshors, Sandra  
(University of Sussex)

This work investigates empirically second language variation and the expression of modality in non-native English. I explore the uses of *may* and *can* by French and Chinese English learners. Specifically, I assess to what extent the expression of modality in French- and Chinese-English interlanguage (IL) reflects learners' different linguistic backgrounds and I investigate how the grammatical contexts of *may* and *can* in French- and Chinese-English IL affect the structure of both IL varieties. I discuss to what degree:

- semantic and morpho-syntactic structures contextually interact with *may* and *can* in French- and Chinese-English IL;
- to what degree such interaction affects the uses of *may* and *can* in both IL varieties;
- to what degree the uses of *may* and *can* by French and Chinese English learners yield similar semantic profiles characteristic of non-native language.

Assuming the existence of cross-linguistic transfer phenomena\*, it is reasonable to envisage the dissimilarity between the uses of *may* and *can* in native English and Chinese-English IL: although both English and Chinese have a group of modal verbs indicating POSSIBILITY and although such verbs share morphological properties, they also show "little resemblance in their morpho-syntactic behavior" (Li 2004: 275). For instance, English and Chinese modal verbs are reported to behave differently with regard to passive voice. Crucially, this type of dissimilarity can cause *may* and *can* to behave differently in native and learner English. Recent corpus-based work (Deshors forthcoming) in interlanguage indicates that grammatical contexts trigger non-native use of *may* and *can* in French-English IL. Deshors's study applies Gries and Divjak's (2009) Behavioral Profile approach to a corpus of native and learner English and investigates 3444 occurrences of *may* and *can* on the basis of 22 semantic and morpho-syntactic variables. By using a multifactorial statistical approach and by computing a binary logistic regression, the study demonstrates that grammatical contexts constrain learners' lexical choices in French-English IL and singles out six grammatical components that systematically trigger use of *may* and *can* in a non-native fashion: *clause type, verb semantics, subject number, referent animacy, type of animacy and negation*.

In a first step, the current work investigates over 3000 occurrences of *may* and *can* from the Chinese subsection of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) using both monofactorial and multifactorial (i.e., binary logistic regression) statistical techniques and in a second step, both types of results are compared to those found in Deshors's analysis. This study predicts a wide range of monofactorial differences between the uses of *may* and *can* in native English and Chinese-English IL. From a multifactorial perspective, it predicts a high degree of similarity between French and Chinese modal choices, thus suggesting that (i) the six above-mentioned variables constrain learners' modal choices across IL varieties and (ii) that those variables contribute to the emergence of linguistic structure across IL varieties.

Overall, this study highlights the slippery nature of L2 modality by showing how grammatical contexts contribute simultaneously to the emergence of linguistic structures characteristic of learner language in general as well as co-occurrence patterns characteristic of individual IL varieties.

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\* For the purpose of this study, I assume Gilquin's (2008: 5) definition of the term transfer, namely "the influence, within an individual's linguistic system, of one or more languages over another."

### Fossils in language?

Di Sciullo, Anna Maria  
(Universite du Quebec à Montreal)

According to the gradualist view of language evolution, proto-language, involving Proto-Merge, is an intermediate step in the evolution of language (Bickerton 1990, 1998, and the Continuity Paradox). Proto-Merge involves flat concatenation adjunction (Jackendoff 1999, 2002) and not hierarchical structures, as it is the case for Merge:

- (1) Merge = recursive binary operation deriving hierarchical binary branching structures
- (2) Proto-Merge = recursive *n*-ary operation concatenating *n* elements and deriving a flat structure

It has been recently argued that exocentric VN compounds—such as *daredevil*, assumed to be used for ritual

insults and possibly related to evolutionary forces such as sexual selection, were living fossils of the very beginning of syntax or Proto-Merge (Progovac & Locke 2009). According to the emergent view of language (Chomsky 2005, 2011; Chomsky & Berwick 2011; Di Sciullo 2011), Merge did not evolve from Proto-Merge. In addition to showing that this holds, I also show that exocentric compounds cannot be living fossils of Proto-Merge. They do not have a flat structure, and thus they cannot be derived by Proto-Merge. I bring empirical, theoretical, and experimental evidence to substantiate this claim, and I draw support for the biolinguistic approach to language evolution.

1. I discuss cross-linguistic evidence showing that the internal structure of exocentric compounds is asymmetrical, in the sense that the V is hierarchically prominent with respect to the N. For example, this is the case for the French compound *coupe-gorge* in which the N can only be interpreted as the internal argument of the verbal predicate and not as the external argument. Such exocentric compounds with hierarchically prominent V are most commonly observed in contrast with those, such as *daredevil*, where the nominal constituent could also be interpreted as the external argument of the predicate. 2. That compounds including a phrasal constituent—such as French *crève-la-faim*, discussed in Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), are also observed in other languages brings empirical evidence in support of exocentric compounds as hierarchically structured. Hence they and cannot be derived by concatenation or Proto-Merge. 3. The fact that functional categories like ADV can be part of these constructs—such as in French *lève-tôt*, lends additional support in favor of the internal hierarchical structure of these compounds. The difference between complement and adjunct structure cannot follow from a concatenation operation. It does follow from the difference between Set Merge and Pair Merge, as defined in Chomsky (1993, 2011). 4. I argue that the hierarchical structure of exocentric compounds is that of a relative clause, and thus it is derived by the recursive application of Merge (External and Internal). If this is the case, it is expected that the V has inflectional features and that a complement or an adjunct as well as a phrasal constituent can be generated in these constructs. 6. I discuss experimental results bearing on the difference in the acceptability of novel complement-V vs. adjunct-V compounds in English. These results support the hypothesis that hierarchical rather than linear proximity is relevant in the processing of compounds. 7. If language is an organ of our biological system, which evolved to express thoughts, then the communicative import of exocentric VN compounds, viz., ritual insults beneficial for sexual selection, is irrelevant to language evolution.

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## Referential hierarchy effects on diachronic changes with the German noun system.

Diedrichsen, Elke  
(University of Vechta)

Referential Hierarchies are models that display correlates of case marking or other morphosyntactic information about grammatical relations on the one hand, and semantic/pragmatic/semiotic/ontological features of noun phrases on the other hand. Since the establishment of the first „feature hierarchy“ by Michael Silverstein in 1976, this hierarchy has been used for typological research in various perspectives, among them Functional Typology, but also Optimality Theory and Generative approaches.

Bickel and Witzlack-Makarevich (2008) have recently discovered, however, that there is no statistical evidence for a “universal principle” leading to case splits according to the Referential Hierarchy. Furthermore, the authors notice that the “types”, i. e. the positions that would be set on a hierarchy, can hardly be formulated cross-linguistically (cf. also Haspelmath 2008).

Thus, in many languages, regulations in the alignment and marking of grammatical relations may have a skewing in terms of the hierarchy, but this may not be straightforwardly observable on the “form of NP”. In this paper, I will make an effort to demonstrate this for German.

German has an elaborated declension class system for nouns that is based on a tripartite gender categorization, on the one hand, and variations in number and case morphology, on the other hand. The number of declension classes posited varies across authors.

Only one of the classes, the so-called “weak masculines”, has a distinctive case marking suffix for accusative in the singular. Thus, only masculines in the singular, and of these, only one particular group has distinctive marking for A vs. O. It turns out that as a (preliminary) result of diachronic changes in class membership with nouns, that took place at the transition from Middle High German to New High German, many expressions for humans and higher animals are members of this class, while in the course of these changes, expressions for lower animals or plural and abstract entities changed to other declension classes (Köpcke 1994, 2000 a, b, 2002; Eisenberg 2000; Becker 1994).

Thus, the factors ‘animacy’ and ‘humanness’, that are generally believed to be Hierarchy-relevant factors, are operative with respect to German case marking with nouns, but the nature of their effect becomes apparent mainly by the consideration of diachronic changes, which are not taken into account in the majority of studies that concern the impact of Referential Hierarchies.

The paper will describe the attested diachronic changes that affected the membership of nouns in the class of “weak masculines”. It will also give an outlook based on synchronic facts with this declension class: Both its obvious productivity for human expressions and variability in speaker judgements suggest that the “weak masculines” are developing into a “declension class for humans” (Eisenberg 2000).

It will be argued that the Nominal Hierarchy can be seen as a model for the effect speaker preferences can have on languages. Case marking is a consequence of the behaviour of interactants: The necessary morphological distinctions remain, while redundant ones are prone to decay.

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## Turkish in the Netherlands: A new variety on the way?

Dogruoz, A. Seza  
(Tilburg University)

Turkish spoken in the Netherlands (NL-Turkish) has been in contact with Dutch for fifty years and it sounds “different” in comparison to Turkish spoken in Turkey (TR-Turkish). Although contact-induced changes in lexicon have been intensely investigated, little attention has been paid to the changes concerning constructions which are multi-word units with lexical and syntactic characteristics. Using comparative spoken corpora (NL-Turkish vs. TR-Turkish), this study introduces a method to identify and classify the changing constructions in contact situations and investigates how reported speech constructions in NL-Turkish are changing towards the Dutch model.

Languages in contact influence each other and change. Analyses of NL-Turkish corpus reveal that Turkish is changing through borrowing literally translated Dutch constructions. What makes these constructions sound “different”? How do we identify the changing constructions? A five-step process in order to identify and classify the changing constructions will be discussed through comparative examples from NL-Turkish and TR-Turkish corpora.

Reported speech construction with the quotative verb (QV) is one of the changing constructions in NL-Turkish. The quotative phrase (QP) is placed between the subject and the quotative verb ([S QP QV]) in Turkish. In Dutch, the quotative verb follows the subject and precedes the quotative phrase ([S QV QP]). In NL-Turkish, the reported speech constructions with the quotative verb *demek* “say” tend to follow the Dutch model. Comparative examples from the changing reported speech constructions (NL-Turkish) and their non-changing counterparts (TR-Turkish) will be discussed with regard to their pragmatic context (e.g. telling a joke, exemplification, memories) and the backgrounds of the speakers (e.g. gender, generation of immigration).

Although there are changing constructions in NL-Turkish, TR-Turkish is still highly respected and regarded as the norm. The current status and the future of the changing constructions will be discussed with respect to the sociolinguistic factors (e.g. influence of Turkish satellite TV, frequent visits to Turkey, marriage with TR-Turkish speakers) operating in the Turkish-Dutch contact setting.

## The multiple grammaticalization of Romanian *veni* ‘come’.

Dragomirescu, Adina & Nicolae Alexandru  
(Institute of Linguistics, Bucharest & University of Bucharest)

**1. The Data.** Unlike Western Romance, Romanian did not grammaticalize periphrastic constructions with *come* and *go* for expressing future or past tenses. Instead, the motion verb *veni* ‘come’ grammaticalized in three different structures.

(A) **Rom. *veni* as passive auxiliary.** Alongside with the typical passive construction with the auxiliary *fi* ‘be’, in Romanian there is a passive construction in which *veni* is used as an auxiliary (Iordan 1950; Manoliu 1971; Pană Dindelegan 2003). This *veni* passive construction occurs in two different styles: (a) it occurs in popular, oral language, and has the role of emphasizing the agentive, dynamic character of the verbal event (1), and (b) it occurs in written, high-style texts, and it is considered to be an Italian influence on Romanian, given the fact that Italian possesses passive auxiliaries grammaticalized from motion verbs (*andare* and *venire*) (see Reinheimer Rîpeanu 2001; Salvi, Renzi 2010, a.o.). This structure also exists in the Istro-Romanian dialect, where it is the outcome of direct contact with Italian (3):

- (1) *Casa aceea vine așezată aici.*  
house.the that comes placed here  
‘The house is placed / will be placed here’
- (2) [...] *construzione sau alcătuire care dă Greci vine numită sintaxis*  
construction or making which by Greeks comes named syntax  
‘[...] construction or making which was named syntax by the Greeks’

(Ienache Văcărescu, *Gramatica*, 1787) – cf. It. *viene chiamata*

- (3) *văca virit-a utise*  
cow.the come-has killed  
‘the cow was killed’

(*apud* Timotin 2000: 488)

(b) **Rom. *veni* as copula** occurs nowadays only in the popular/spoken language, doubling the usual *fi* ‘be’ copular constructions:

- (4) *Cum vine asta?*  
how comes this  
‘How is this?’ / ‘How come?’ / ‘What’s this supposed to mean?’
- (5) *Ion îmi vine cumnat.*  
John 1<sup>st</sup>.SG.DAT comes brother-in-law  
‘John is my brother-in-law’

(c) **Rom. *veni* as aspectual verb** has the meaning of ‘to be on the verge of’, ‘to have the imminent need to’, ‘to feel like’:

- (6) *Îmi vine să plâng.*  
 1<sup>st</sup>.SG.DAT come SUBJ cry.3.SG  
 ‘I feel like crying’
- (7) *Nu le venea să se trezească.*  
 not 3<sup>rd</sup>.PL.DAT come.IMPERF.3.SG SUBJ SE wake up  
 ‘They didn’t feel like waking up’ / ‘They weren’t in the mood of waking up’

## 2. Aim of the paper

The situation of the verb *veni* in Romanian confirms the idea that motion verbs, especially polysemantic ones, frequently grammaticalize as (temporal, aspectual) auxiliaries (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994; Heine, Kuteva 2002; Hopper, Traugott 2003; Stolova 2005; Lansari 2005; Nicolle 2007).

In this paper, after presenting the main hypotheses regarding the grammaticalization of motion verbs, we suggest an explanation for the independent emergence of the *veni* constructions presented above, which all double the already existing structures (especially the *fi* ‘be’ constructions).

Our preliminary Old Romanian corpus investigation shows that the structures presented above emerged at different moments. We found structures with *veni* as passive auxiliary before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., before Italian had any kind of influence on Romanian, a fact which shows that this construction emerged independently in Romanian. Copular *veni* was wider used in older stages of Romanian. *Veni* as aspectual verb is a recent innovation of Romanian (19<sup>th</sup> century), which probably developed from contexts like *a-i veni ușor/greu să...* (to-cl come easy / hard subj ‘it comes easy for me to...’).

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## Continuing in the Nineteenth Century.

Egan, Thomas  
 (Hedmark University College)

The English verb *continue* can occur with two sorts of non-finite complement, a *to*-infinitive as in (1) and a gerund as in (2), both taken from the British National Corpus (BNC).

- (1) He *continued to work hard* and regularly up to his death not just at the drawing and painting he loved but also at the mechanics of his etching and the presentation of his work to the public. (BNC B3H 382)
- (2) He *continued working* until a week before his death and left virtually complete a large volume of addenda (published posthumously in 1985). (BNC GTG 683)

In Present-day English the construction with the *to*-infinitive outnumbers that with the gerund by some 10 to one. Thus, a random sample of 1,000 tokens of *continue* in the BNC yields 437 tokens of the former construction and 40 of the latter. The ratio between the two constructions was very similar (in written texts) in the eighteenth century, with 151 tokens of the *to*-infinitive construction in the first sub-corpus (1710-1780) of the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (CLMET) as opposed to 16 of the construction with the gerund. On the face of this evidence it would appear that we are

faced with two constructions that have remained relatively stable for the past three hundred years. This picture is, however, misleading. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a considerable increase in the incidence of the construction with the gerund compared to that with the *to*-infinitive (65 tokens compared to 213 in CLMET 1780-1850). This was followed by a sharp decrease in the second half of the century.

In this paper I examine the temporary advance and subsequent retreat of the continue *-ing* construction in the nineteenth century in the light of general developments in contemporary complementation patterns and propose an explanation for what seems to be an exception to the direction of what has come to be called the great complement shift (cf Rohdenburg 2006). I will also compare developments in British English with those in American English, as documented in the Corpus of Historical American English.

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### **Is UP always GOOD? A case of non-trivial evaluation in Russian prefixes.**

Endresen, Anna & Sokolova Svetlana  
(University of Tromsø)

GOOD IS UP is a well-known orientational metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). In this study we address the question whether the spatial semantics of upward motion always gives rise to positive metaphorical extensions. We report on a case study of the two historically related Russian prefixes VZ- and VOZ-, both of which denote an upward movement. However, while the prefix VOZ- shows the GOOD IS UP effects, the prefix VZ- tends to develop mostly negative connotations. By analyzing this deviation from the general tendency we additionally approach the specific properties of metaphorical extensions in prefixes.

We propose that the difference in the metaphorical development of the two prefixes comes from an additional component of their semantics – the length of the trajectory. VZ- refers to a shorter trajectory, which realizes as a brief, unexpected movement. By contrast, VOZ- is characterized by a longer trajectory, which takes more time to pass (*voz-vesti* ‘put up a building’ vs. *vz-vesti* ‘raise a hammer on a gun’). Thus, different prototypes trigger different metaphorical effects. The most productive meaning for VZ- focuses on the space close to the surface and refers to surface violation (*vz-boronit* ‘furrow’) or even damage (*vs-porat* ‘rip open’), while VOZ- gives rise to abstract meanings bearing positive connotations (*vos-pet* ‘eulogize’). Contrastive evaluation of the two prefixes is particularly visible in minimal pairs like *vs-pylit* ‘suddenly become angry’ vs. *vos-pylat* ‘come to passion, love’. Thus, though the prefix VZ- refers to the upward movement, its short trajectory mostly triggers negative evaluation.

Our proposal is based on the semantic analysis of 97 perfective verbs derived from imperfective base verbs via VZ- and VOZ-. The verbs were extracted from the new frequency dictionary (Lyaševskaya & Šarov forthcoming) based on the Modern subcorpus (98 million words) of the Russian National Corpus (RNC). Our semantic analysis suggests that both prefixes can be described via the same radial category where they exhibit slightly different profiles (see Figure 1). We show that VZ- mostly attaches to the verbs of physical impact and change of state, as they are tagged in the RNC. The combination of the prefix and the base verbs of the mentioned semantic classes form the subcategory SURFACE VIOLATION, which often carries negative connotations and is not attested for VOZ-. The latter, on the contrary, specializes on the subcategory HIGH STATUS, which mostly bears positive connotations and cannot be expressed by VZ-.

Thus, the non-trivial qualitative evaluation of the prefix VZ- comes from the quantitative property of its spatial prototype – the length of the trajectory. The negative connotation of this prefix does not indicate that UP IS BAD but rather shows that SMALL IS BAD. The latter metaphor contradicts the general tendency found in suffix evaluation SMALL IS GOOD (Grandi & Montermini, 2005) and might be a specific property of prefixes. The evaluation of a prefix is the result of its compatibility with the base verb, which is determined by the prototype of the prefix.

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### **Case marking in the Spanish factitive construction revisited: positive and negative causation models in contrast.**

Enghels, Renata  
(Ghent University)

It is commonly known that the syntax of Romance factitive constructions is rather complex: the subordinated constituent can be anteposed or postposed to the infinitive, clitic pronouns can rise as clusters to be attached to the

main verb or can remain separated, etc. In addition, most investigations mainly focus on the causative constructions with *hacer* ('to make') and pay little or no attention to verbs such as *dejar* ('to let'). This study seeks to fill up this gap by contrasting infinitive constructions subordinated to verbs expressing positive and negative causation, and will particularly focus on the accusative (1) or dative (2) case marking of the causee:

(1) Las señoras le aplauden porque *las* hace morir... de risa. (CREA: Díaz L., *La radio en España*, 1992)

(2) En la vida, el que no se apunta ya se sabe...— ¡A la calle, fuera! — le dijo Eguren. La ira no *le* dejaba hablar, se sentía injustamente intimidado, avasallado. (CREA: Sánchez-Ostiz, M., *Un infierno en el jardín*, 1995)

In the first place, a detailed empirical study of a wide Spanish corpus (containing about 700 examples) will allow us to examine previous accounts of case marking in the causative construction, namely the hypothesis of incorporation and the related 'Stratal Uniqueness Law' (Comrie 1976), and the theory of direct v. indirect causation (Treviño 1994). It will be shown that both hypothesis are to some extent suitable to explain case marking in the realm of *hacer*, but not of *dejar*.

Therefore, the second part of the study will be dedicated to the question to what extent the cognitive-semantic characteristics of the negative causation model has an effect on its syntax. In fact, it will be argued that what distinguishes the factitive with *hacer* from the one with *dejar* is that the former is causer-controlled whereas the latter is causee-controlled. Consequently, the causative construction with *dejar* triggers a lower degree of incorporation, and other parameters have to be invoked to explain case marking.

Finally, a multifactorial analysis taking into account the degree of dynamicity of the main constituents, the accusative or dative case of the causee and the rich polysemy of the main verb, will demonstrate that variation of pattern mainly depends on the meaning of *dejar*:

1. when the verb means 'to cause an event', the causee is mainly marked by the accusative (*las [= las gambas] deja deslizarse en su garganta*);
2. the sense of permission or prohibition mainly triggers dative marking (*no les [= los pacientes] deja respirar*);
3. the highest degree of fluctuation of case can be linked to the meaning of 'not to oppose to an event' (*le/lo [= el toro] deja llegar*).

We will conclude that, depending on its lexical polysemy, the argument structure of *dejar* can be bivalent or trivalent, that the verb can adopt the syntax of control verbs such as *permitir* and finally, that this alternation affects on the case marking of the causee.

### The 'second conditional' in Old and Modern Occitan.

Esher, Louise  
(University of Oxford)

Certain varieties of the Gallo-Romance language Occitan, spoken across southern France, in the Val d'Aran and in Piedmont, present a conditional deriving from the Latin pluperfect indicative. In this study I explore the semantic values of this form and its relation to other verbal categories in a number of varieties in which it survives.

Mediaeval varieties of Occitan present two conditionals, a synthetic conditional of the familiar Romance type derived from periphrases of the type *CANTARE HABEBAM*, and the so-called 'second conditional' derived from the Latin pluperfect indicative. While the synthetic conditional has both temporal (as future in the past) and modal values, the second conditional appears to have been exclusively modal (Jensen 1994; Henrichsen 1955; Quint 1997).

In most modern varieties, the second conditional has disappeared. However, it survives in a number of localities, with varying functions. In several Pyrenean varieties, it expresses both potential and counterfactual conditions, just as it did in the mediaeval language, but it has also acquired the additional function of future in the past; in some localities it has become specialised as future in the past to the point of ousting the synthetic conditional from this function (Allières 1997; Field 2003). In certain varieties of the Italian Alps (Sibille 1997), by contrast, the second conditional remains chiefly an exponent of modality: it appears in potential and counterfactual conditions, but has also developed a value of epistemic modality, such that eg. *mi a ciantéru* (sing.COND2.1SG) is typically glossed with the meaning 'perhaps + sing.IMPF.IND.1SG' (see eg. Gleise Bellet 2003). This usage, together with the tendency for temporal futures to be expressed by the construction eg. *mi a ciantu poi* 'sing.PRS.IND.1SG + then', has led several grammarians to posit the existence of an additional, 'dubitative' mood, the exponents of which are the second conditional and a form syncretic with the synthetic future (eg. *mi a ciantarèi* < *CANTARE HABEO*).

	indicative	dubitative	subjunctive
present	<i>mi a ciantu</i>	<i>mi a ciantarèi</i>	<i>mi a ciantè</i>
imperfect	<i>mi ä ciantàvu</i>	<i>mi a ciantéru</i>	<i>mi ä ciantés</i>
perfect	<i>mi èi ciantà</i>	<i>mi oréi ciantà</i>	<i>mi aiè ciantà</i>
pluperfect	<i>mi aviu ciantà</i>	<i>mi ughéru ciantà</i>	<i>mi ughes ciantà</i>

Partial paradigm for *ciantà* 'sing', Bardonecchia (Gleise Bellet 2003:42-4)

In this study, working from corpora and dialect descriptions, I explore the temporal and modal values of the second conditional in Occitan from mediaeval times to the present day, and discuss the functional and formal relationships holding between the second conditional, the synthetic conditional and the synthetic future.

In particular, I consider the implications for the stem identity between the synthetic future and the synthetic conditional, which has often been attributed to a common semantic value 'future'. In the light of the developments discussed here, in which form and function rarely appear coextensive, I suggest that purely formal ('morphomic' or 'autonomously morphological') motivations are equally or more significant in conditioning this identity than semantic proximity.

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### A comparative analysis of narrative datives in French and Italian.

Evola, Vito & Raineri, Sophie  
(Bonn-Aachen International Center for Information Technology  
& Université Paris-Est Créteil, Paris).

This paper investigates a linguistic phenomenon generally and generically described as an ethical dative. In particular, we focus on those second-person non-lexical datives in French and Italian used to draw the attention of the addressee on the event narrated, where the second-person dative referent can be aptly paraphrased as: "I'm telling you (that) *P*", "you should keep in mind that *P*". For example:

- (1) Fr. Je **te** lui ai mis un de ces grands coups de pied au chose!  
“(→ you) I gave him such a big kick in the butt!”
- (2) It. Ecco che **ti** danno uno schiaffo a Maria. (Masini, in press)  
“(→ you) There they go and give Maria a slap.”

Although such linguistic data has been noted in the literature, little evidence of the construction has been provided other than literary or fabricated examples.

Working within the Construction Grammar framework and integrating a language-variation perspective with the examination of naturally occurring linguistic data (for example, and not limited to, online blogs, chats, etc.), we investigate the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of the construction, with special emphasis on the differences in constraints between Italian and French. This corpus-based analysis enables us to locate this construction within the network of ethical dative constructions.

We argue that:

- (i) the analysis of the corpus shows what we have defined as the Narrative Dative occurs much more frequently in (a) exclamative clauses and/or (b) axiological comments toward the event described;
- (ii) examples such as (1) and (2) build on the central sense of the ditransitive construction and are related to the Empathetic Dative Construction (EDC), which we defined as the expression of “a metaphoric successful transfer of an event and its implications into the dative referent’s sphere of affect” (AUTHOR1 & AUTHOR2, submitted), i.e. the speech event itself, onto the addressee, licensed by the conceptual metaphor SPEECH ACTS ARE OBJECTS GIVEN; and, finally,
- (iii) the construction does not occur as freely in Italian as in French.

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### **Deep semantic representation in a domain-specific ontology: linking EcoLexicon to FunGramKB.**

Faber, Pamela & San Martín, Antonio  
(University of Granada)

Ontologies have been criticized because they demand too much work or because they are not sufficiently flexible, and thus cannot capture the dynamism and complexity of reality (Kingston 2008). However, they have increasingly come into focus because of the need for knowledge management in both general and specialized domains. It is true that databases in specialized knowledge domains are often created as stand-alone products, whose elements lack a coherent micro and macrostructure. In fact, even those resources which can aspire to the status of knowledge bases (or incipient ontologies) because the elements are conceptually related generally appear to have little or no connection with the basic knowledge represented in upper-level ontologies. In this sense, general ontologies are a valuable tool for the contextualization of domain-specific ontologies since they can be extended so as to make explicit the link between general and specialized knowledge (Tripathi and Babaie 2008).

Nonetheless, one obstacle is the fact that general ontologies often have mistakes, which can be an obstacle to linking them to ontologies specific of scientific domains. As a result, they need to be manually or automatically revised (Lipschultz and Litman 2010). Evidently, the description of basic scientific concepts for the general public is often at odds with their description for scientists and engineers. However, once this process is carried out, both domain-specific ontologies and general ontologies are enriched and become more meaningful when the link between their conceptual structures is made explicit. This greatly facilitates the acquisition and reuse of data.

This article explores this contextualization of scientific knowledge in EcoLexicon within the general knowledge in FunGramKB. EcoLexicon is a frame-based visual thesaurus on the environment that is gradually evolving towards the status of a formal ontology (Faber et al. 2006, 2007; Leon and Faber 2010; León and Magaña 2010). For this purpose, the information in its relational database is in the process of being linked to the ontological system of FunGramKB, a multipurpose knowledge base that has been specifically designed for natural language understanding with modules for lexical, grammatical, and conceptual knowledge (Mairal and Periñan-Pascual 2009; Periñan-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez 2010). This enables the explicitation of specialized knowledge as an extension of general knowledge through its representation in the domain-specific satellite ontology of a main general ontology.

This paper describes how the general concepts in FunGramKB can be extended and reused in deep semantic representations in a domain-specific ontology. This involves the extension of conceptual structures. The ontology is grounded on a spiral model, where conceptual promotion and demotion can occur between the basic and terminal levels (Periñan-Pascual and Arcas Túnez 2010). This means that terminal concepts thus become basic concepts when the inclusion of a new language or in this case, a more specialized conceptual content, demands a more specific world model. Inversely, basic concepts can be demoted to terminal concepts in the case that they are not used to describe other concepts. However, the metaconceptual level always remains stable.

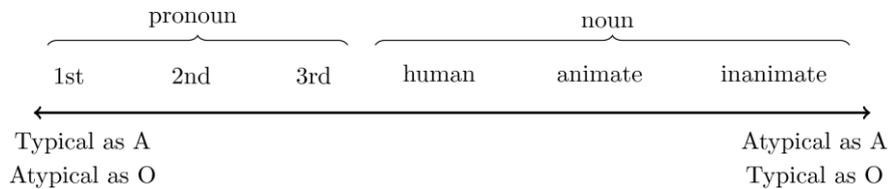
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## One hierarchy to rule them all? Arguing for different hierarchies for A and O.

Fauconnier, Stefanie  
(University of Leuven)

In this typological study I propose to split up the lower part of the Silverstein Hierarchy (SH) in two separate hierarchies, one for Agents (A) and one for Objects (O). This hierarchy is known under various names and forms (Zúñiga 2006) and corresponds roughly to the following figure.



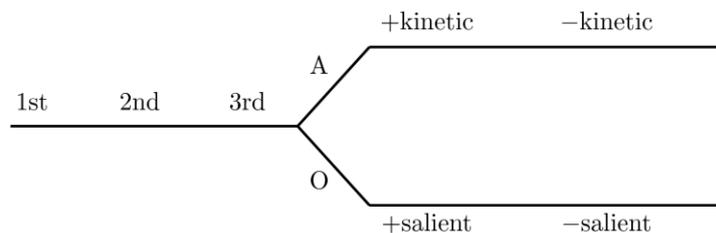
Agents are typically situated at the higher end of the hierarchy, Objects at the lower end. Deviations from this scenario lead to differential case marking or inversion. With respect to the lower end of the SH, I argue that it is not justified to consider A and O as each other's mirror images, whose marking is governed by the same hierarchy. To demonstrate this, I examine how phenomena of differential case marking and inversion behave below the cut-off point between nouns and pronouns.

First, there are differences between Agents and Objects with respect to differential case marking. It is common for Objects to be zero-marked when inanimate, and overtly marked when animate (differential Object marking, DOM, Næss 2004), but cross-linguistic research indicates that the opposite phenomenon for Agents (DAM) is rare (Malchukov 2008; Fauconnier forthcoming). When such a phenomenon does occur, the relevant feature is often not animacy, but rather kinetic potential, which does not have an Object-oriented counterpart. There are also features relevant to DOM, such as definiteness, which are not known to have a counterpart for DAM. Moreover, the DOM-features can be grouped together under the "macro-feature" of salience or topicality (Næss 2004), which, again, does not have a counterpart for DAM.

Second, it seems that there are two types of inverse languages: one where the bottom part of the hierarchy is governed by the A-feature of control, and one where this part of the hierarchy is governed by the O-feature of saliency/topicality. The first type is exemplified by Korean. Normally, clauses with an inanimate A and an animate O are inverse-marked, but this is not the case in (1) because the Agent "car" has high kinetic potential (Klaiman 1991). The second type is exemplified by Arizona Tewa: the verb in (2) is inverse-marked because the Object "crate" is more salient than the Agent (it is associated with the important domain of agriculture) (Kroskrity 1977, 1985; Klaiman 1991).

- (1) *ki cha-ka ki salam-il pat-assta* KOREAN (Klaiman 1991: 174)  
that car-NOM that man-ACC strike-PST  
'The car struck the man'
- (2) *Nan-di p<sup>h</sup>ε-mele 'ó:-há:bé:* ARIZONA-TEWA (Kroskrity 1985: 316)  
sand-OBL stick-vessel INV-break  
'The sand crushed the crate'

Finally, A-phenomena are less common than O-phenomena because A is a more restricted role than O. Nouns low in kinetic potential can often not be construed as Agents, even when inverse marking is available (e.g. Kiowa, Watkins 1984). Such restrictions do not exist for O. Summing up, A and O are not each other's symmetrical opposites. Their marking is governed by different features, giving rise to different phenomena. On the basis of this finding, I propose to split up the SH at least partially, as illustrated in the following figure.



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## **Speaking with and about Chinese: language attitudes, ethnic stereotypes and discourse strategies in interethnic communication on the Russian-Chinese border.**

Fedorova, Kapitolina  
(European University at St. Petersburg)

Ethnic and language stereotypes and attitudes play crucial role both in actual communication between speakers of different languages and in the way they perceive and discuss each other (Garrett 2010). Discourse strategies employed by them are shaped by cultural conventions and images typical for contacting groups. According to their tolerance to non-standard speech and its speakers and attitudes towards certain ethnic groups people can be more or less inclined to cooperate in interethnic communication and use certain features of foreigner talk (Ferguson 1981), especially those demanding serious speech modifications such as ungrammatical utterances. The way contacting groups describe each other, metaphors they use and typical discourse patterns reflect not only individual perceptions but rather conventionalized images of 'others'.

Border areas where interethnic communication is a part of people's everyday practices provide researchers with the possibility to study this process in details. People from the bordering states communicate with each other both literally, in their everyday interaction, and symbolically, in constructing images and perceptions. Separated by the state borders, they usually see each other as totally different: they speak different languages, have different traditions and practices, and collision of these differences influences in various aspects habitual ways of living and thinking (Donnan, Wilson 1999). Mutual attitudes on the border are shaped by many factors, and state policy and propaganda can play rather serious role (Wilson, Donnan 1998). Historical background is also important since similar linguistic and behavioural patterns can be discovered in different time periods.

The paper deals with the situation on the Russian-Chinese border which historically was a place of intensive economical, cultural and linguistic contacts resulted even in the emergence of a contact language, Russian-Chinese pidgin (Stern 2005; Perekhval'skaya 2008). Now, after 50 years of separation, contacts resumed and became indispensable part of everyday life both for Russian and Chinese speakers in the border area. In the paper I analyze discourse strategies employed by Russian native speakers both in actual communication with Chinese speakers and in their 'discourse about Chinese'. Typical patterns reflecting attitudes and stereotypes are revealed in both cases, and what is more, they are similar in many ways to those one can find in historical sources: both linguistic means (e.g. using Imperative as a basic verb form) and metaphorical ones (e.g. comparing Chinese with different kinds of insects) have historical parallels. Present situation therefore is in the focus of my study whereas historical data are used as background information important for deeper understanding of the processes we can witness in the real time. The field work was conducted in the Zabaikalskii territory of Russia and the Chinese city of Manzhouli in 2008–2010. Several methods of obtaining data were used: observation (including participant observation); audio recording of spontaneous interaction between Russian and Chinese speakers; interviews with Russian and Chinese speakers from different ethnic and socio-professional groups with different levels of involvement in the interethnic contacts; gathering data on linguistic landscape (Landry, Bourhis 1997); gathering data from web-sites and forums dedicated to border area and related border-crossing practices.

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### **Methodological underpinnings for the creation of a terminological subontology based on FunGramKB.**

Felices-Lago, Ángel & Ureña Gómez-Moreno, Pedro  
(University of Granada)

The main objective of this paper is to describe the foundations for the construction of a terminological subontology structuring its concepts under the postulates of deep semantics (unlike the more traditional approach only oriented towards surface semantics) and its implementation for use in international cooperation within the area of criminal law (terrorism and organized crime)\*\*, by means of the population of its corresponding terminological lexicons (English, Italian and Spanish) within the architecture of FunGramKB (Periñán-Pascual & Arcas-Túnez 2004; Periñán-Pascual & Arcas-Túnez 2005; Mairal Usón & Periñán Pascual 2009a; Mairal Usón & Periñán Pascual 2009b; Periñán Pascual & Mairal Usón 2009a; Periñán Pascual & Mairal Usón 2009b). Consequently, we will take as a starting point the advantage that the multi-level model of FunGramKB core ontology (metaconceptual level, basic level and terminal level) can be exported to a terminological subontology model

minimizing redundancy and maximizing informativeness, as this already occurs in the core ontology, which is about to be completed by the Lexicom group (see [www.lexicom.es](http://www.lexicom.es) for additional information). Thus, it develops the same type of architecture and the same knowledge representation language at the terminological conceptual level.

FunGramKB is not only endowed with better internal consistency, but also makes it possible to reuse the same already designed reasoning engine for the core ontology in order to allow its application to the comprehension of natural language tasks. The resulting repository on the topic selected (criminal law: terrorism and organized crime) will benefit both humans (by means of an interface acting as a dictionary) and machines (by means of its future application to Natural Language Processing systems (NLP) through COREL conceptual representation language (Periñán Pascual & Mairal Usón, 2010). For this purpose, a semi-automatic population of the ontology and its hierarchical structure will first be necessary: the building of relevant meaning postulates and the creation of terminal concepts (and subconcepts); secondly, the semi-automatic population of specialized lexica for English, Italian and Spanish, which cover relevant lexical information and which can store approximately 2,000 lexical units into each lexicon. Besides that, an organizational structure of the above lexica will be provided through the revision of the architecture of previous legal ontologies (Breuker, Valente y Winkels 2005: 48) and the compilation and management of large *on line* documentary and textual databases from reliable sources, such as regulations, treaties or sentences from specific institutions from international organizations such as European Council, United Nations, European Union, etc. Moreover, resources from international agencies and institutions which deal with criminal law or the fight against organized crime such as EUROPOL, EUROJUST, Courts of Justice from diverse countries, etc. will be included.

\*\* Topic inspired by the potentialities of qualitative aspects of criminal law terminology (Felices Lago 2010) and the expert advice from a senior lecturer at the Spanish Open University (UNED): Eva Samaniego

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### Cross-linguistic correlations between monosyllabism and syllabic complexity.

Fenk-Oczlon Gertraud & Fenk August  
(Alps-Adriatic University of Klagenfurt)

Monosyllabism has since long been considered a typologically relevant phenomenon. Because of its gradual character it does not permit any clear-cut classification. Here, the interesting point is the distribution of languages along the continuum “proportion of monosyllables” (A) and the interaction of that parameter with other characteristics of these languages (B).

**(A) The proportion of monosyllables:** In order to determine that parameter, Stolz (2007) analysed the so-called core lexicon of the extended version of the Swadesh lists. In a sample of 50 languages he found a proportion ranging from 2% in Greenlandic to 87% in English and a concentration of high values in northwestern Europe. Maddieson (2009) points out several reasons for supplementing such analyses of lexical entry forms with analyses of the word forms in matched wordlists and texts. He found a distribution ranging from 3% (Tamil) to 80% (Thai) and a mean of roughly a quarter.

**(B) Interactions with other parameters:** A study by Fenk-Oczlon & Fenk (2008) has revealed significant positive cross-linguistic correlations between the number of monosyllables, the number of syllable types, syllabic complexity and phonemic inventory size. In this study the data were collected and calculated from Menzerath’s (1954) description of 8 Indo-European languages (English, German, Romanian, Croatian, Catalan, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian).

The present study differs from the one mentioned above in both, the **method** and the **sample**. Instead of statistical descriptions by other authors we analyse “matched texts”, i.e., the translations of a set of 22 English or German sentences produced by native speakers of 32 different languages (13 Indo-European, 19 Non-Indo-European).

The main **hypothesis**: The larger a language’s proportion of monosyllables, the higher its mean syllabic complexity in terms of number of phonemes per syllable.

**Results:** The assumption of a positive correlation between monosyllabism and syllabic complexity could be corroborated ( $r = +.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ) in this typologically more widespread sample, and despite the use of a different method based on a controlled set of matched textual material. This indicates a high robustness of that cross-linguistic correlation.

Some further results: The highest proportion of monosyllables was found in Dutch (67 out of 88 words, i.e., 76.14%) and English (73 out of 96 words, i.e., 76.04%), the lowest in the Aboriginal language Marranju (2 out of 83 words, i.e., 2.4%). The mean value was 20.56. As in Stolz (2007), pronounced monosyllabism could be localized in northwestern Europe. Dutch, English, Welsh and German showed values higher than 65% and higher than the traditional textbook examples Vietnamese (63%) and Mandarin (62%).

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## Root phenomena and assertive predicates: the force of their syntax and pragmatics.

Fernández Rubiera, Francisco José  
(Universitat d'Alacant)

**Introduction:** Hooper and Thompson (1973) (H&T) correlate the grammaticality of root phenomena in embedded clauses with their assertive interpretation, a correlation extended to explain other root phenomena crosslinguistically (e.g., V2 in Germanic languages, cf. Heycock 2006). I show that H&T's proposal correctly predicts the root transformations we find in embedded clauses selected by these predicates. In Spanish, a CP selected by an assertive predicate may license a Hanging Topic (HT), a construction exclusively attributed to root environments (cf. Cinque 1988). Further, these embedded environments also license Left-Dislocated Topics (LD) and Focus constituents, as in (1b) and (1c). In turn, they may also select a CP where no left-peripheral material appears, as in (2). What we must account for is (i) syntactically, why a root transformation as that in (1a) is available in these embedded environments, and (ii) pragmatically, whether the presence/absence of root phenomena in the embedded clause gives rise to any difference in interpretation.

**Syntactic analysis:** Assuming a cartographic approach to the CP (cf. Benincà and Poletto 2004), I argue that assertive predicates may select a sentential complement headed by either Force<sup>o</sup> or by Finiteness<sup>o</sup> (Fin<sup>o</sup>). Following Demonte and Fernández Soriano (2009), I contend that Spanish has two homophonous *que* "that" complementizers mapped in two different heads in the left-periphery, namely *que1* "that1" mapped in Force<sup>o</sup> and *que2* "that2" in Fin<sup>o</sup> as in (3). With the different positions of *que* "that", the availability of root phenomena (i.e., HT) follows: if the assertive matrix predicate *dice* "he says" or *cree* "he believes" selects Force<sup>o</sup> mapped as *que1* "that1", we predict this selection to be compatible with all kinds of left-peripheral constructions (namely, a HT, a LD, and a Focalized constituent as in (1a), (1b) and (1c) respectively). In turn, if Fin<sup>o</sup> mapped as *que2* "that2" is selected, left-peripheral material is incompatible, thus generating (2).

**Pragmatic analysis:** Sentences as those in (1) are reported to generate a presupposition that marks the content of the embedded clause as part of the belief state of the matrix predicate's subject, what I call a [+conviction] interpretation. As (4) shows, the fragment in brackets cancelling this presupposition is pragmatically odd. On the other hand, for (2), speakers report two different interpretations: a [+conviction] and crucially, a [-conviction] one, in which case the fragment in brackets in (5) is pragmatically fine – cf. (4). Under the analysis I propose, these interpretation differences can be naturally explained: Selection of Force<sup>o</sup> and *que1* "that1" correlates with a [+conviction] interpretation, while selection of Fin<sup>o</sup> and *que2* "that2" with a [-conviction] interpretation, explaining the noted interpretation differences between (4) and (5). In turn, the (un)availability of left-peripheral material easily follows, ultimately depending on whether Force<sup>o</sup> or Fin<sup>o</sup> is selected.

**Further evidence:** The analysis proposed can also account other embedded root phenomena (i.e., V2 and enclisis in German and Asturian respectively, see (6) and (7)), which I argue follow from the selection of Force<sup>o</sup> or Fin<sup>o</sup>, in turn explaining uniformly for the different interpretations between the (a) and (b) examples in (6)-(7).

### Data

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| (1) a. Julio dice/cree [que Ramón <sub>i</sub> , todos confían en él <sub>i</sub> ]<br>Julio say <sub>3SG</sub> /believe <sub>3SG</sub> that Ramón all trust <sub>3PL-IND</sub> in him<br>"Julio says/believes that Ramón <sub>i</sub> , everybody trusts him <sub>i</sub> " | HT = ✓    |
| b. Julio dice/cree [que a María <sub>i</sub> la <sub>i</sub> dejó Luis]<br>Julio say <sub>3SG</sub> /believe <sub>3SG</sub> that to María her <sub>CL</sub> left <sub>3SG-IND</sub> Luis<br>"Julio says/believes that María <sub>i</sub> , Luis left her <sub>i</sub> "      | LD = ✓    |
| c. Julio dice/cree [que A MARÍA (y no a Marta) dejó Luis]<br>Julio say <sub>3SG</sub> /believe <sub>3SG</sub> that to María and not to Marta left <sub>3SG-IND</sub> Luis<br>"Julio says/believes that it was María that Luis left (, and not Marta)"                        | Focus = ✓ |

- (2) Julio dice/cree [que la dejó Luis]  
 Julio say<sub>3SG</sub>/believe<sub>3SG</sub> that her<sub>CL</sub> left<sub>3SG-IND</sub> Luis  
 "Julio says/believes that Luis left her"
- (3) [ForceP *que1/that1* [<sub>H</sub>TopicP HT<sup>o</sup> [<sub>Left-DislocatedP</sub> LD<sup>o</sup> [<sub>FocusP</sub> Foc<sup>o</sup> [<sub>FinP</sub> *que2/that2* [<sub>TP</sub> T<sup>o</sup> ...]]]]]]]]
- (4) Julio dice/cree que a María<sub>i</sub> la<sub>i</sub> dejó Luis [, #pero no está seguro]  
 Julio say<sub>3SG</sub>/believe<sub>3SG</sub> that to María her<sub>CL</sub> left<sub>3SG-IND</sub> Luis but not is sure  
 "Julio says/believes that María<sub>i</sub>, Luis left her<sub>i</sub>, [#but he is not sure (whether that's true)]"
- (5) Julio dice/cree que la dejó Luis [, pero no está seguro]  
 Julio say<sub>3SG</sub>/believe<sub>3SG</sub> that her<sub>CL</sub> left<sub>3SG-IND</sub> Luis  
 "Julio says/believes that Luis left her, [but he is not sure (whether that's true)]"
- (6) a. Sie sagte, sie wolle keine Bücher kaufen [Force<sup>o</sup> = ∅-complementizer] German  
 she said she wants no books buy  
 b. Sie sagte, daß sie keine Bücher kaufen wolle [Fin<sup>o</sup> = daß]  
 she said that she no books buy wants  
 "She said (that) she didn't want to buy any books"
- (7) a. Digo qu'ayúdame [Force<sup>o</sup> = *que1*] Asturian  
 say<sub>1SG</sub> that-help<sub>3SG-meCL</sub>  
 b. Digo que me ayuda [Fin<sup>o</sup> = *que2*]  
 say<sub>1SG</sub> that me<sub>CL</sub> help<sub>3SG</sub> but not am sure  
 "I say that s/he helps me" [From Viejo (2008)]

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#### Term choice in an interdisciplinary domain: from cognitive variability to terminological variation.

Fernández-Silva, Sabela; Cabré, M. Teresa & Freixa, Judit  
 (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

Contemporary approaches to Terminology have abandoned the prescriptive, standardising attitude of the past (Wüster 1979) and aim to characterise and explain the behaviour of terms in the context of specialised communication. A major breakthrough of descriptive, corpus-based approaches in the field of LSP research is that they accept variation phenomena at all levels. At the conceptual level, cognition is described as a dynamic and negotiable process (Temmerman 2000), specialised concepts are flexible and have fuzzy boundaries (Zawada & Swanepoel 1994), and conceptual structures in different subject fields are multidimensional and admit several configurations depending on the context in which special knowledge is conveyed (Faber et al. 2006). At the linguistic level, this cognitive variability translates into terminological variation in the form of both polysemy and synonymy (Cabré 2008).

The study of term variation in real communicative contexts (e.g. texts) has demonstrated that specialised concepts are often named via several motivated terms, each of which can emphasise different facets or characteristics of the concept (Freixa 2002). Synonymy, which was traditionally seen as a random act of carelessness, is now considered by many authors to be a cognitive mechanism that plays a functional role in the process of knowledge formation and transfer (Bowker 1997; Temmerman 2000).

This paper explores the relationship between cognitive variability and terminological variability by analysing term variation in an interdisciplinary domain. Its hypothesis is that experts belonging to different disciplines approach the same knowledge from different perspectives; this is reflected in their terminological choices. In order to test this hypothesis, this paper observes the naming of specialised concepts in a bilingual French and Galician corpus of texts about fishing and aquaculture. By describing the conceptual information displayed by term variants, it is possible to compare the terminological choices made by biologists, economists and legislators when talking about the same concepts.

Results show significant quantitative and qualitative differences in the use of fishing terminology among the three groups of experts. The subset of term variants shared by the three collectives differs from the subset of variants that is exclusive to each group. Shared terms are shorter, more frequent, and more basic to fishing terminology; their perspective

with regard to the object is neutral. In contrast, however, unshared terms show greater lexical instability, are more strongly dependent on the context in which they occur, and sometimes reflect perspectives of conceptualisation that are less prototypical of fishing terminology and more related to the expert's domain of specialisation.

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## On the Form and Meaning of 'X und X' in German. Idiosyncrasy or Regularity?

Finkbeiner, Rita  
(University Mainz, Deutsches Institut)

In German, as in Swedish, there is a reduplicative pattern *X und X* ('X and X') which is used to question the situational appropriateness of a previously used lexical item X, either as self-repair (1) or in dialogue (2), cf.

(1) Hallo, nun habe ich mal eine Frage. Chronisch heißt doch ‚immer‘. Also ist [chronische Schilddrüsenentzündung] doch eine immer entzündete Schilddrüse. Wenn wir nun unsere leckeren Drops in uns hinein stopfen, arbeitet doch unsere Schilddrüse normal. Naja, **normal und normal**.

(<http://www.ht-mb.de/forum/archive/index.php/t-1040562.html>)

[‘Hello, now I have a question. Chronic does mean ‘always’, doesn’t it? Thus, chronic thyroiditis is a thyroid which always is inflamed. Now, if we stuff ourselves with our delicious drops, our thyroid functions normally. Well, **normally and normally**.’]

(2) A: Und es gibt Leute, die halten mich für zu teuer.

[‘And there are people who think I’m too expensive.’]

B: Dass das natürlich etwas kostet ist klar! Aber DAS was Du beschreibst ist für mich eine ganz andere LIGA ... Und naja, **teuer und teuer** – das sehen halt viele unterschiedlich.

[‘No doubt that it does cost something! But what you describe is something totally different in my eyes. And, well, **expensive and expensive** – everybody sees that differently.’]

(<http://www.schnullerfamilie.de/kaffeeeklatsch/183704-fotografen-supermarkt-9.html>)

It has been claimed (cf. Lindström/Linell 2007) that this pattern is an arbitrary form-meaning pairing that should be regarded as grammatical construction (cf. Fillmore et al. 1988). However, on closer examination, it becomes clear that many presumed idiosyncrasies of *X und X* are in fact features that can be explained by regular interactions between syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors. For example, morphological restrictions as shown in (3a) and (3b) can be described as regular effects of the fact that the first X-expression has the status of a quotation that points to itself as a lexeme ('Anführung', cf. Pafel 2007):

(3) A: In dem weißen Regal dort stehen meine Bücher.

[In the white-NEUTR.SG.DAT. shelf over there are my books-NEUTR.PL.NOM.]

(a) B: Weiß und weiß/\*weißen und weißen, das ist eher so ein schmutziges Grau.

[White-Ø and white-Ø/\*white-NEUTR.SG.DAT. and white-NEUTR.SG.DAT. ...]

(b) B: Bücher und Bücher/\*Buch und Buch, ich seh nur zerfledderte Zeitschriften.

[Books-NEUTR.PL.NOM. and books-NEUTR.PL.NOM./\*BOOK-Ø and book-Ø ...]

As the function of the quotation is to put focus on the lexeme itself, contextual inflection as in (3a) is not quoted. However, inherent inflection as in (3b) is quoted because it is changing semantic features of the lexeme.

Against the background of a recent dispute between constructionist and rule-based approaches (cf. Jacobs 2008, Müller 2010), I will argue that it is explanatory fruitful to describe a given pattern thoroughly in the light of comparable rule-based expressions before jumping to a constructionist approach. Methodologically, I compare formal and functional aspects of the pattern to those of similar, well-described, regular patterns of German. The data examined are authentic examples from

chat room dialogues and introspective examples supported by a questionnaire study. The results of my analysis show that we do find a considerable degree of regularity in the case of *X und X*.

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### In how far does reduplication follow the iconicity principle?

Fischer, Olga  
(University of Amsterdam)

Many reduplicated forms that occur in languages around the world and especially in creoles or historically younger languages are cognitively transparent or iconic, but there are also instances of reduplication where iconic motivation is not, or much less clearly, evident. In this paper I will consider reduplications in creoles and in many other languages which are generally considered to be iconically opaque (of an arbitrary type) and compare them to ones which are seen as transparent. The transparent reduplications are motivated through the repetition of a morpheme expressing cognitive increase of some sort. They generally show semantic enhancement of the dominant semantic feature of a reduplicated noun, verb or adjective/adverb (prepositions and pronouns are less often involved). This feature may also be of a more pragmatic nature, that is, reduplication may strengthen a connotative rather than denotative meaning, due to the context in which it appears.

My aim in this paper will be to find out how far opaque reduplications could also be said to be (or to have been) motivated, with the further aim of exploring the possibility of a common source for all reduplicated forms. I will show by referring to the way repetition is used in signed languages, the various functions the prefix *ge-* has in Germanic languages, which resemble reduplication in terms of its semantics, and by taking common pathways of semantic change into consideration, that such a common source may be said to exist.

### The expansion of the preterit in Rioplatense: contact induced?

Fløgstad, Guro  
(University of Oslo)

A major morphosyntactic change has taken place in the Spanish variety spoken in Buenos Aires, Argentina (henceforth Rioplatense) the past 120 years. At the turn of the 20th century, the aspectual perfect/preterit distinction was alive in Rioplatense. The distribution of the two resembled e.g. English, in which the perfect expressed a past with a current relevance component, whereas the preterit expressed a past lacking such a component:

Perfect            **He hablado mucho hoy**  
                      *h-e habl-ado mucho hoy*  
                      have-1SG.PRES speak-PERF.PART much today  
                      "I have spoken a lot today"

Preterit            **Hablé mucho ayer**  
                      *habl-é mucho ayer*  
                      speak-1SG. PRET much yesterday  
                      "I spoke a lot yesterday"

My data show that the opposition between the two is no longer alive in Rioplatense. Through field interviews of 27 informants, distributed into 4 age groups, I show that the preterit has expanded during the last 4 generations, completely replacing the perfect in the speech of young speakers. The current system is one in which the preterit has generalized to perfective:

Perfective        **Hablé mucho hoy**  
                      *habl-é mucho hoy*  
                      speak-1SG-PRET much today  
                      "I have spoken a lot today"

*Hablé mucho ayer*  
*habl-é mucho ayer*  
 speak-1SG. PRET much yesterday  
 "I spoke a lot yesterday"

Such a finding is particularly interesting from the point of view of cognitive grammaticalization theory (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, Traugott & Dasher 2002) which typically emphasizes the way in which the opposite development of that taking place in Rioplatense, the expansion of a perfect and replacement of the preterit, is typical of grammaticalization changes. On this view, the regular developments of e.g. perfects show the existence of predictable grammaticalization paths, whose alleged regularity provides evidence that the true universals of language are diachronic (Bybee 2008, 2010). From such a perspective, the Rioplatense case represents a problem.

In addition, the sociolinguistic situation in Buenos Aires at the turn of the 20th century lends itself particularly well to a discussion about whether the case in question may have been contact induced. From 1871-1914, Argentina received ca. 6 million immigrants, mainly from Europe. By 1869, immigrants made up almost 50 % of the population in Buenos Aires (Baily 1999). We can therefore assume that Buenos Aires was a "high contact society", which according to Trudgill (forthcoming) provokes certain linguistic outcomes. Morphosyntactically, we expect simplification; both in the loss of categories and in the form the categories tend to take; the structural outcome is usually more analytic in post-contact varieties. Might the loss of aspectual distinction between perfect and preterit (a simplification) in Rioplatense be a post-contact phenomenon? If so, how is this compatible with the remaining category being synthetic, not analytic? The present paper discusses the (in)compatibility of contact theory with the morphosyntactic properties of the categories in question, as well as the problems making the findings fit with cognitive grammaticalization theory. While attempts have been made at studying whether grammaticalization may spread through contact (Heine & Kuteva 2005), the present paper asks a different question; what happens to the ongoing grammaticalization process in contexts with high language contact?

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### An interactional account of "conjunct/disjunct" grammar in Cha'palaa, a language of Ecuador.

Floyd, Simeon

(Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics)

Variations on the "conjunct/disjunct" grammatical pattern, which singles out speakers(1st person) in declarative constructions and addressees (2nd person) in interrogatives, are attested for a number of un-related languages worldwide. Since Dickinson (2000) noticed similarities between the Barbacoan languages of South America (also Curnow 2002) and the Tibeto-Burman languages of Asia (Hale 1980; Delancey 1992; Bickel 2000, 2008; Hargreaves 2005; Post n.d.), CNJ/DSJ has begun to emerge as a cross-linguistic phenomenon, and has been noticed in other areas such as the Caucasus (Helbrecht 1996, Criessels 2008) and Papua New Guinea (San Roque 2008, Lohngane 2009). This simple illustration shows the pattern in Cha'palaa (Barbacoan):

(1)			
a.	dilu-yu	b.	dilu-we
	sick-CNJ		sick-DSJ
DECL	(I'm) sick. or		(He/she/you are/is) sick. or
INTER	(Are you) sick?		(Is he/she) sick? [?odd: Am I sick?]

Traditional grammatical accounts have struggled to characterize CNJ/DSJ and to distinguish it from person or evidential marking. It is still unclear exactly what unites CNJ/DSJ patterns cross-linguistically, and how this similarity relates to specific grammars. This is in part because CNJ/DSJ systems are closely linked to interactive contexts, where they commonly track the epistemic access of speakers to their knowledge and internal states (see Evans 1996 on epistemics in grammar and Heritage & Raymond 2005, Heritage ms. on epistemics in interaction) - speakers know about statements concerning the one speaking, but addressees know about questions concerning the one asked.

Due to its sensitivity to epistemic asymmetries in interaction, it is difficult to examine this pattern through elicitation. This paper instead draws on an audio-video corpus of conversation in Cha'palaa to situate this grammatical pattern in the context of social interaction. In the corpus (10 to 20 hours, currently being expanded and annotated) I will flag instances of CNJ/DSJ usage in order to find patterns of its use in interaction. As CNJ/DSJ is optionally marked, I will also observe when it is

not used. Examples of video-clips accompanied by transcripts will show CNJ/DSJ in contexts like this one, where a boy diving for fish is questioned about what he saw underwater, where the father did not have epistemic access:

- (2) ((B goes underwater - emerges))  
 1 F Kata-yu  
 find-CNJ  
 (Did you) find (a fish)?  
 2 B Shasha ji-i-meete  
 deepgo-become-INFER  
 It seems to have gone deeper-

The boy mitigates his epistemic access by answering a CNJ question with an inferential evidential that implies only indirect access - the father's grammar holds the boy experientially accountable while the boy's grammar reduces accountability. By examining usage in contexts where epistemic asymmetries are salient, I will inform grammatical description through the study of interaction, linking grammar to intersubjectivity (i.e. current ideas in linguistic anthropology: Boskovic 2002, Rumsey 2003, Rumsey and Robbins 2008, Duranti 2010). Comparing many separate instances of usage of CNJ/DSJ, I will present a description of Cha'palaa's CNJ/DSJ system that is accountable to a large sample of natural speech data, where CNJ/DSJ will emerge not just as a grammatical feature but as a link between grammar and aspects of intersubjective social cognition in interactive contexts.

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## Non-canonical agents and the argument/adjunct distinction in Hinuq.

Forker, Diana

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)

Hinuq (Nakh-Daghestanian) has a very rich case system, consisting of six so-called grammatical cases and 36 spatial cases. The grammatical cases are: absolutive, ergative, first and second genitive, dative and instrumental. The spatial cases code two dimensions: location and orientation. To these locations belong for example the 'on' relation and a general spatial location that can be translated into English with 'at, by, near' (glossed with AT in the examples). Examples of orientation suffixes are the zero-marked Essive and the Lative.

There is no one-to-one relationship between cases and roles, i.e. grammatical cases code arguments (e.g. the ergative codes exclusively agents) and adjuncts (i.e. the instrumental codes exclusively instruments). Similarly, spatial cases code NPs that I will argue to represent arguments and other NPs that are adjuncts.

In this paper I will discuss the status of NPs marked with spatial cases. First, spatial cases mark NPs expressing e.g. temporal or spatial circumstances of events that are not required of all situations described by the respective verb and are not restricted to a restricted set of verbs (1). In other words, these NPs are adjuncts according to Koenig et al. (2003).

Second, other NPs bearing spatial cases occur together with extended intransitive verbs. These NPs are ‘extensions to the core’ (i.e. to the S argument)’ in the sense of Dixon (2010: 116-117).

Third, there are spatial NPs expressing non-canonical agents such as involuntary agents (4b) and potential agents (5b). These NPs are not part of the valency frame of particular verbs, but express grammatical roles in certain constructions (e.g. the involuntary agent construction or the potential construction). They occur in extended intransitive clauses, and when they are left out, the semantics of the clause strongly changes (compare (4a) with (4b) and (5a) with (5b)).

I will argue that spatial NPs form a continuum where some NPs are clearly adjuncts and others are clearly arguments, but many of them are somewhere in the middle of these two extremes. In order to prove this claim I will look at several properties that have been ascribed to arguments or adjuncts. Traditional criteria used to distinguish arguments from adjuncts such as obligatoriness or word order are not applicable to Hinuq (all NPs retrievable from the context can be left out, no matter whether they represent arguments or adjuncts; the word order is predominantly influenced by the information structure).

Therefore, I will look at other criteria, e.g. anaphora binding in reflexivization and reciprocalization. For instance, I will show that in reflexive and reciprocal constructions spatial NPs representing non-canonical agents do not show the same behavior as canonical agents marked with the Ergative (i.e. arguments).

#### Examples

- (1) *hayluy čeq-za-qo inañzek’u-be r-utto*  
she.ERG forest-OBL.PL-AT mushroom-PL NHPL-gather.PRS  
‘She gathered mushrooms in the forest.’
- (2) *zeru boc’-qo-qen b-eze-n gom*  
fox(III) wolf.OBL-AT-NEG III-wait-CVB be.NEG  
‘The fox did not wait for the wolf.’
- (3) *buļe-qo r-iti-yo č’e*  
house-AT V-touch-PRS fire(V)  
‘The fire burns the house.’ (lit. touches the house)
- (4) a. *zok’i r-uhe-s*  
cup(V) V-die-WPST  
‘The cup broke.’  
a. *uži-qo zok’i r-uhe-s*  
boy-AT cup(V) V-die-WPST  
‘The boy (accidentally) broke the cup.’
- (5) a. *amru t’ubazi b-iq-iš goł*  
command(III) be.fulfilled III-be-RES be  
‘The command is fulfilled.’  
b. *miliciya-qo xaniš amru t’ubazi b-iq-iš-me*  
police-AT king.GEN1 command(III) be.fulfilled III-be-WPST-NEG  
‘The police could not fulfill the king’s command.’

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### Sanskrit preverbs and evaluative "peculiarity" revisited: a reply to Stump (1993).

Fortin, Antonio  
(University of Oxford)

Stump (1993) mounts a sustained attack on theories which take Evaluative Morphology (henceforth, EM) to be formally anomalous and which therefore fundamentally distinguish it from the ordinary processes of lexeme-formation and inflection\*. He argues that, despite their prima facie “peculiarity”, evaluative rules are simply a type of *category-preserving lexical rule*, whose behaviour and formal properties exactly match those of semantically non-expressive rules of the same type.

Stump shows that the rules that form compound-verbs from a preverb and a verb root in Sanskrit conform to the same criteria as EM. Since the Sanskrit preverb (henceforth, SPV) exhibits all the formal properties of evaluative affixes but, he claims, none of the semantic ones, there is no need for a special treatment of evaluative morphological rules. His argument, therefore, hinges on the crucial assumption|which he adopts without evidence or discussion|that the Sanskrit preverb “cannot be plausibly classified as evaluative” (Stump 1993: 17), because it does not express “diminution, augmentation, endearment, or contempt” (Stump 1993: 14). This paper demonstrates that Stump’s assumption is untenable and argues that, on balance, it is very likely that SPVs have undocumented expressive semantics.

Firstly, it is virtually impossible for Stump, or anyone else, to know whether or not SPVs are evaluative based on traditional grammars, since semantic and pragmatic judgements of dead or extinct languages are bound to be unreliable. This is

especially true when it comes to the semantics of expressivity, which is so intimately bound with context, performance, and other *Gestalt* factors, while also having the property of *descriptive ineffability* (Potts 2007), meaning that speakers find descriptive paraphrases generally unsatisfactory.

Secondly, the assumption that SPVs “cannot be plausibly classified as evaluative” is a bare assertion which turns out to be false on close inspection. Adopting a canonical approach to typology (Corbett 2007), I compare SPVs with verbal prefixes or particles in Latin, Greek (Homeric to Modern), Old English, German, Slavic, and Present-Day English, and show that they share key formal properties with SPVs, while also having clearly evaluative semantics. In every language investigated, these particles/prefixes exhibit the following behaviour: 1) they do not change the category of the base; 2) they can change the valency of the base; 3) they change the meaning of the base; 4) they are fully productive. Semantically, they all encode, at a minimum: 1) perfectivity/resultativity/telicity; 2) transitivity; and, crucially, 3) evaluativity.

A close analysis of textual corpora of Classical Sanskrit is needed to investigate the evaluative properties of SPVs. However, on the basis of this detailed, data-driven analysis, I propose that the Sanskrit preverb is far more expressive/evaluative than has traditionally been assumed. The striking crosslinguistic correlations between prefix-verb/verb-particle constructions and EM mean that the SPV would be unique and anomalous if it did not convey evaluative semantics. This insight has the potential to open up new vistas in the study of Sanskrit and aspectual morphology.

\*An example of such a theory is Scalise (1984), which builds the distinction between plain and evaluative morphology into the architecture of the grammar.

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## Characterizing evaluative morphology.

Fradin, Bernard

(CNRS & University Paris Diderot-Paris 7)

1. As Grandi (2005) himself acknowledges, there is no commonly accepted “clear definition” of evaluative morphology. The talk addresses this issue, taking advantage of already existing proposals made separately by many people (Meřčuk, Wierzbicka, Grandi, Jurafsky (1996), Dressler, Croft (1991), Merlini-Barbatesi (2004) among others). It aims at digging out the parameters that can allow us (i) to locate evaluative morphology within the realm of morphology in general, (ii) to help classifying the varieties of evaluative morphology we observe in languages, (iii) to characterize what should be ‘(non-)canonical evaluative morphology’ (Corbett 2010). The proposals will be tested against detailed analyses of relevant phenomena in Romance (Fra, Ita) and Slavic languages.

2. Meřčuk (1994: 165) draws a distinction between what he calls measurability and evaluativity. Evaluativity is the category the elements of which specify whether the speaker (dis)approves the event reported by a sentence or the participants thereof. Its values are : neutral, hypocoristic, pejorative. A hypocoristic (resp. pejorative) value occurs when the speaker expresses positive (resp. negative) feelings towards an entity. Measurability, on the contrary, is a category used to specify the size of objects. Its values are: neutral, big, small. We obtain a nine-cell table, the shaded cells of which correspond to the combination of the four universal attributes originally proposed by Wierzbicka (1991) and taken up by Grandi (2002), namely : SMALL, BIG (measurable strand), GOOD, BAD (appreciative strand).

	Neutral	Small	Big
Neutral	(a)	(b)	(c)
Hypocoristic	(d)	(e)	(f)
Pejorative	(g)	(h)	(i)

Cell (a) = ordinary morphology. Cells (b), (c) correspond to items expressing pure measure (e.g. comparative) and cells (d), (g) to items expressing pure appreciation. Following Grandi we assume that evaluative morphology involves a scale (i) of the same nature as the one needed for adjectives (cf. Kennedy 1999), (ii) the standard of which is always given by the standard of the base noun’s referent viz. ‘house’ for Slk *dom-ček* house-DIM, (iii) the dimensions of which belong to the two aforementioned strands. In addition we adopt (iv) the trans vs. interactionality parameter introduced by Dressler and Kilani-Schoch (1999). While transactionality is the transfer of information, interactionality deals with the concord vs. discord between speakers taking part in the speech act. Evaluative utterances are interactional by definition. This parameter allows us to integrate into evaluative morphology phenomena involving norm sharing instead of plain degree evaluation (e.g. apocope + /o/ suffixation in Fra). The classification is constructed combining first parameters  $\pm$ scalarity and  $\pm$ interaction. It is only within the sub-area including scalar phenomena that measurable and appreciative strands are subsequently combined and unfolded. All parameters put forwards up to now concern the conceptual organisation of evaluative morphology. However there are also parameters not related to the conceptual domain but to its actualisation within particular languages. It will be argued that

evaluative mechanisms apply specifically to three fields: the Entities referred to in the discourse, the Speaker herself, the Interlocutors. Some languages lack the latter application however, which explains observed typological variations.

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## Argument-adjunct distinction in Chadic: theoretical implications.

Frajzyngier, Zygmunt  
(University of Colorado)

The study addresses one theme of the workshop: 'the distinction between arguments and adjuncts', and a theme that is fundamental for the workshop, viz., "Why the same relationship is sometimes marked as an argument and sometimes as an adjunct?"

**Working definition:** In individual Chadic languages NPs whose role is marked by linear order alone are arguments and NPs marked by adpositions or serial verb constructions are adjuncts.

**The problem:** The distinction between arguments and adjuncts is often attributed to interrelated factors that include: the valency of the verb (Levin and Rapaport 2005, Herbst et al. 2007); the semantic relations involved (Croft 2001, Van Valin 1993); and a putative universal distinction between core and peripheral relations (Dixon 2010). Valency is often defined in terms of arguments and adjuncts, which leads to a potential circularity of definition. The present study provides a principled explanation for the existence of valency phenomena and core-peripheral distinctions in Chadic languages by analyzing the coding of locative complements and indirectly affected object in Chadic languages. The interest of this study is that the same relations between NPs and verbs having the same referential meaning are marked as arguments in some languages and as adjuncts in others. In Gidar, the marking of a pronominal indirect object supports the valency explanation, in that a few verbs, including *psá* 'give', mark the indirect object through suffixation:

á-psá-n/t/m	ʔúà
IMPER-give-3M/3F/1PL	meat
'give him/her/us	'meat!'

Indirect objects of other verbs are marked as adjuncts, through the preposition *sà*:

à-lbà	sà-wá/tá/ná-k	wàʔiyà
3M-buy	DAT-1SG/3F/3M-PRF	cow
'he bought a cow	for me/her/him'	

Nominal indirect objects in Gidar are always marked by the preposition *sà* regardless of the type of the verb. Lele marks nominal and pronominal indirect objects of several verbs including the verb 'give' through the position after the verb. Indirect objects of all other verbs are marked by a preposition *bé*, derived from the verb 'give'. Mina and Hdi code indirect object function through coding on the verb regardless of the type of the verb, and the corresponding nominal arguments are marked by the locative preposition. In Wandala, unlike in Gidar and Lele, all indirect objects are marked as arguments, regardless of the type of the verb.

Mina and Lele mark inherently locative NPs as arguments of locative predication. Inherently non-locative NPs are marked as adjuncts, regardless of the type of the verb. Wandala marks locative complements of inherently locative verbs as arguments, and locative complements of all other verbs as adjuncts, regardless of the nature of the noun phrase.

Questions of this study: Why the same semantic relations with verbs having the same referential meaning are marked in some languages as arguments and in others as adjuncts? Why the same nouns are marked as arguments in some languages and adjuncts in others for the same semantic relations?

The study proposes a principled and falsifiable explanation of the facts demonstrated in Chadic languages and an explanation for the existence of valency phenomena and core-peripheral distinctions.

### About the licensing conditions of two types of adverbial clauses allowing root phenomena.

Frey, Werner  
(ZAS, Berlin)

There exist adverbial clauses (e.g. adversatives and concessives), called peripheral adverbial clauses (PACs), which allow certain but not all root-clause phenomena (e.g. in German they do allow modal particles (PMs), cf. Coniglio 2009, however, they do not allow verb-second), and which demand that their host clauses have to occur in an environment which licenses root phenomena. In contrast, so called central adverbial clauses (CACs) (like e.g. standard temporals) do not allow any root-clause phenomena and do not demand that their host clauses do appear in a special context. Importantly, as the talk will argue, a third class of adverbial clauses (among them, continuative relative clauses, German free *dass*-clauses, causal clauses with verb-second) has to be distinguished. These adverbial clauses allow root phenomena to a greater extent than PACs. Although these clauses have formal properties of dependent clauses (e.g. the presence of a complementiser or the clause-final position of the verb in Germanic OV-languages), it can be shown that they are syntactically independent from the clauses they relate to semantically and, therefore, are root clauses syntactically. These adverbial clauses will be called non-integrated adverbial clauses (NACs). It follows that PACs and NACs have very different licensing conditions, which give rise to different formal and interpretative properties. Among the formal differences are: PACs in contrast to NACs can appear in the prefield of a clause in verb-second languages; PACs can appear with an embedded clause, NACs cannot, (1); NACs have to follow PACs, (2); NACs in contrast to PACs are necessarily prosodically non-integrated. Among the interpretative differences are: NACs in contrast to PACs are not possible as parts of answers to all-focus questions, NACs need to have their own focus-background structuring, whereas PACs do not; finally and most importantly, NACs but not PACs can constitute independent speech acts, (3).

The talk is based primarily on German data (controlled by a questioning of a representative set of native speakers), but data from other Germanic languages will be of importance too. The talk will argue that a PAC has to be syntactically licensed by a left peripheral projection of its host clause which is anchored to a speaker or a potential speaker (often called Force, e.g. Haegeman 2006). In contrast, NACs are syntactically true orphans in the sense of Haegeman (1991). They have to be licensed in the discourse. The different statuses of PACs and NACs explain the formal differences mentioned above. Furthermore, that a PAC needs to be licensed by Force of its host clause allows to explain why it may appear in the prefield of a clause in a V2-language whereas it may not appear topicalised in the left periphery of a clause in non-V2-language like English but may only appear right-adjoined, (4), topicalisation being only possible for CACs. Thus, contrary to Sawada & Larson (2004), it is argued that for (4b) vs (4c) a syntactic explanation can and should be given. The interpretative differences between PACs and NACs also can be shown to follow from their different statuses. Because PACs are formally dependent on their hosts clauses they cannot constitute independent speech acts, whereas NACs, which syntactically are root clauses, can. The formal signs of dependencies which a NAC exhibits are just markers for its dependency on the preceding speech act.

- (1) a. Max meint, dass Maria Fußball liebt, während Paul für Opern schwärmt. (PAC)  
*Max thinks that Maria soccer loves while Paul about operas is-crazy*  
 b. \* Hans meint, Maria wird kommen, worüber sich alle freuen werden. (NAC)  
*Hans thinks Maria will come about-what REFL everyone happy-will-be*
- (2) a. Er ist gekommen, obwohl er wenig Zeit hatte, worüber sich  
*he has come although he little time had about-which REFL*  
 alle freuten. (PAC < NAC)  
*everyone happy-was*  
 b. \*Er ist gekommen, worüber sich alle freuten, obwohl er wenig Zeit hatte. (NAC < PAC)
- (3) a. Hans wurde gewählt, [worüber wir uns gewundert haben, nicht wahr?] (NAC)  
*Hans was elected about-which we REFL surprised were, weren't we?*  
 b. Max hat sich auch beworben, weshalb ich hiermit zurücktrete. (cf. Reis 1997) (NAC)  
*Max has REFL as-well applied why I hereby withdraw*  
 c. \* Maria ist für Physik begabt, [während ihr Bruder nur an Sprachen  
*Maria is for physics gifted while her brother only in languages*  
 interessiert ist, nicht wahr?] (PAC)  
*interested is, isn't he*  
 d. \* Du wirst erstaunt sein, da ich hiermit kündige. (PAC)  
*you will astonished be because I hereby quit*
- (4) a. Da ihr Sohn eben doch viele Aktien besitzt, fährt Eva einen Mercedes. (PAC)  
*because her son MP MP many stocks owns drives Eva a Mercedes*  
 b. \* Because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox, Mildred drives a Mercedes (Sawada & Larson 2004)  
 c. Mildred drives a Mercedes because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox.

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### Contextual grounding of grammatical change: an argument for constructionalization.

Fried, Mirjam  
(Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague)

I explore the multi-dimensional nature of grammatical change, shown to be crucially conditioned by usage in context (syntagmatic, semantic, textual). The empirical focus is on the diachrony of the relationship between regular and irregular formations of a present active ‘participial adjective’ (PA) in Old Czech. The OCz PA is a categorially hybrid member of the verbal inflectional paradigm, licensed by a morpho-semantically transparent template (1a) and serving all three inherently available functions in actual texts (secondary predicate, attribute, actor noun; cf. Fried 2008, 2009a,b).

However, about 30% of the tokens in a database holding over 220 distinct verb roots show also irregular variants (pseudo-PA, 1b). The pseudo-PAs violate the template by allowing a sequence of affixes from the ‘wrong’ conjugational classes, as if fusing the relevant morphological pieces (in bold) into a single, independently used morpheme with a non-active (and sometimes emphatic) meaning. Moreover, one particular combination appears to have developed into a pure intensifier that attaches to non-verbal roots (*bílý* ‘white’ // *běl-úcí* ‘very white’).

- (1) a. [[ [V<sub>root</sub> – **pres.stem** ] – **pres.act.ppl** ]<sub>ppl</sub> – C/N/G ]<sub>PA</sub>, ‘[one/while] V-ing’  
[[ [*nes* – *ú* ] – *c* ] – *í* ]<sub>PA</sub> ‘carrying’  
[[ [*vis* – *ie* ] – *c* ] – *í* ]<sub>PA</sub> ‘hanging’  
[[ [*žád* – *ajú* ] – *c* ] – *í* ]<sub>PA</sub> ‘requesting/desiring’  
b. [[ [*vis* – ***ujúc*** – *í* ] – *í* ] – *í* ]<sub>PA</sub> ‘hung’ (resultative)  
[[ [*žád* – ***úc*** – *í* ] – *í* ] – *í* ]<sub>PA</sub> ‘desirable’

The mismatches between the internal morphosemantic structure (1a) and the meaning of the whole form in (1b) have been traditionally taken to suggest that irregular formation triggers irregular meaning. A systematic analysis challenges this one-size-fits-all approach. Instead, the pseudo-form’s usage offers excellent material for testing the hypothesis of two-way associations between form and meaning in diachronic reorganization, based on the following facts: not all pseudo-PAs carried a non-compositional meaning; some appear to go ‘backwards’, from early non-compositional usage to (later) fully compositional one; if a PA had multiple pseudo-PAs, each pseudo-PA tended to develop its own collocational preferences, or meaning shifts within a polysemy structure of the shared root; some variants were restricted to a particular syntactic function/slot in a sentence; morphological classes differed in their likelihood to attract irregular formation; most pseudo-PAs did not survive into Modern Czech.

Turning these observations into a coherent diachronic picture requires an approach that allows us to pull together the holistic (non-compositional) outcome of a semantic change with the internally detailed, feature-based partial transitions (tense, voice, syntactic phrase-mates, etc.), first manifested through synchronic variability. In a constructional analysis, I show how we can capture the interaction between the internal structure of morphological constructions, the syntactic environment (grammatical constructions) they occur in, and the semantic context and/or textual organization, all of which co-contribute to the seemingly unwieldy diachronic patterns attested in the material. I argue that the developments in question are best conceptualized as cases of ‘constructionalization’ (emergence of a new construction or reorganization of an existing one); the concept is offered as a window into the cognitive and communicative processes that help explain the gradualness and contextual basis of grammatical change.

### Morpho-semantic bracketing paradox and lexical integrity: no need for syntax-semantics iconicity.

Fukushima, Kazuhiko  
(Kansai Gaidai University)

The notion of LEXICAL INTEGRITY (LI) (Lapointe 1980, Di Sciullo & Williams 1987, Bresnan & Mchombo: 1995) has been and still is controversial. It suggests that—contra Baker 1988, Hale & Keyser 1993, Lieber 1992—the lexical mechanisms for word-formation are distinct from those in other domains (e.g. syntax). And word-internal structure is not susceptible to processes external to the lexicon. One challenge to LI is ‘bracketing paradox’ exemplified by *transformational grammarian*. Its morphology

requires a structure like *[[transformational] [grammarians]]* but its semantics demands *[[transformational grammar] -ian]*. A similar but more drastic conflict is observed with SIZED INALIENABLE POSSESSION (SIP) in Japanese. Though *ko-kubi* ‘small-neck’ in (1a) is, as indicated, clearly a single word, *ko-* modifies the verb *kasige* ‘tilt’ rather than the noun *kubi*.

An predominant/popular solution for such a paradox draws on syntax-semantics ‘iconicity’, e.g. via LF (invisible) movement of morphemes (Pesetsky 1985 and Kitagawa 1986). It would require (1b) that contradicts the morphology and violates li. The current paper shows that (i) such a syntactic approach is unwarranted for SIP, and (ii) syntax-semantics iconicity is by no means a prerequisite for solving bracketing paradox (or ‘landing site coercion’ of Egg (2005)).

- (1) a. Taroo -ga [<sub>NP</sub> ko-kubi]-o kasige-ta (Cf.: \*ko Taroo-ga [<sub>NP</sub> kubi]-o kasige-ta)  
 -nom small-neck-acc tilt-past  
 ‘Taroo tilted his neck slightly’ but ≠ ‘Taroo tilted his small neck’  
 b. [<sub>S</sub> Taroo-ga [<sub>VP</sub> ko<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> t<sub>i</sub>-kubi-o kasige-ta]]] (LF)  
 c. Taroo -ga [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> ryoote to ko-waki]-ni hon-o kakae-ta]  
 -nom both.arm and small-underarm-at book-acc hold-past  
 ‘Taroo [held some books with both arms] and [lightly held others under his arm]’ ≠ ‘Taroo [lightly held some books with both arms] and [lightly held others under his arm]’  
 d. Taroo-ga [<sub>VP</sub> ko<sub>i</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>NP</sub> ryoote to t<sub>i</sub>-waki]-ni hon-o kakae-ta]](LF)

An iconicity-based approach runs into a problem, among others, regarding (1c) where a sip noun *ko-waki* is coordinated with a regular noun *ryoote* and the whole np is an adjunct for a single verb *kakae-ta*. An iconicity-based structure will be (1d), giving rise to an impossible reading where *ko-* has wide scope (also violating the COORDINATE STRUCTURE CONSTRAINT).

Let me outline the central feature of the current proposal. Semantically, either argument (1a) or adjunct (1c) SIP expressions are treated as a FUNCTOR (i.e. a GENERALIZED QUANTIFIER OR ENDOCENTRIC MODIFIER—both being standard in formal semantics). This means that they take a predicate meaning as an argument to render an appropriate interpretation. More specifically, *ko-waki* in (1c) will be:  $\lambda P\lambda y\lambda x:(\text{lightly}'(\text{under.arm}'(P(y)))(x))$ , where **lightly'** and **under.arm'** are one-place predicate modifiers (Creswell 1985). This has the effect of *localizing* the unusual adverbial modification of *ko-* (**lightly'**) *internal* to SIP expressions. With this (1c) is semantically analyzed correctly as (2a) and, mutatis mutandis, (1a) as (2b).

- (2) a. **both.arms'**(hold'(books))(taroo) & **lightly'**(under.arm'(hold'(books)))(taroo)  
 b. **slightly'**(tilt'(neck))(taroo)

We cannot brush aside (1a,c) as idioms because coordination is incompatible with idiomatic readings: *asi-o hipparu* ‘pull leg’ means either ‘(Lit.) pull someone’s leg’ or ‘(Idiom) derail someone’s effort’ but *[te to asi]-o hipparu* ‘pull arm and leg’ means ‘(Lit.) pull someone’s arm and leg’ exclusively (cf. (1c)).

The current iconicity-free approach accommodates the bracketing paradox above with ease. Without additional stipulations, it simultaneously solves problems (e.g. coordination) faced by a syntactic accounts (Kitagawa 1986 and Morita 2003) based on syntax-semantic iconicity. Moreover, since there is *no* process to disturb word-internal affairs, it enables us to remain faithful to LI (at least in the domain of SIP).

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## The choice of script when writing English words in Hebrew on-line chatting.

Gafter, Roey  
 (Stanford University)

Written genres are an underexplored source of data for the outcome of language contact, although they can contain an additional level of variation – the choice of script when the two languages use different orthographies. In this study I focus on the use of English words in written Hebrew, and show that they can be written both in the original Roman script and in Hebrew script, but in a meaningfully differentiated way – English in Hebrew script occurs primarily with specific uses of English that have become established in the speech community.

Whereas in formal genres, English-origin words are consistently written in Hebrew script, Roman script is used quite often in on-line chatting by younger speakers. As a case study for the variation in script choice, I compiled a corpus of Skype logs, consisting of on-line chats between two pairs of Israelis in their early thirties. This resulted in a corpus of over 100,000 words, the majority of which are in Hebrew; nevertheless, the corpus contained 530 English fragments (borrowings or code switches) of various lengths.

I extracted all the single word English fragments that are not established loanwords (i.e., could not be found in Hebrew dictionaries). The corpus contains 157 such tokens, 66.2% in Hebrew script (En-in-Heb) and 33.8% in Roman script (En-in-Ro). Both the En-in-Heb words and the En-in-Ro words did not consistently exemplify the morphosyntactic behavior of Hebrew words (i.e. gender and number agreement). Thus, the use of Hebrew script is not restricted to established loanwords.

I tested for how often the English words in either script are attested elsewhere on the Hebrew web, defining “attested” in three ways (more than 10 hits, more than 100 hits, and the ratio of the number of hits in Hebrew to the number of hits in English). In all three measurements, the En-in-Heb words were significantly more likely to be in Hebrew. All four speakers follow this pattern, showing that speaker’s choice of script is not idiosyncratic, but rather is indicative of the norms of the greater speech community.

An interesting parallel can be drawn between the choice of script and the phonological integration of loanwords. Poplack et al. (1988) show that the earlier English origin words are attested in French, the more likely they are to be phonologically assimilated. Similarly, the English words in this corpus are more likely to be in En-in-Heb, if they are already attested on the Hebrew web.

Variation in orthography gives the writer an additional resource, which is used meaningfully. From a grammatical perspective, the English words in either script are not fully assimilated into Hebrew, but the two kinds of usage differ on a social dimension. The choice of script is a window into the way in which the community sees these English words – marked as truly foreign, or to some extent, part of the language. Further exploration of this kind of variation, potentially applicable to other language pairs (e.g. Arabic and Hebrew, Japanese and English), can enrich the field’s understanding of multilingual language use.

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## The Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model: metonymic grounding, realization procedures and pragmatic features of illocutionary meaning.

Galera Masegosa, Alicia & Baicchi, Annalisa  
(University of La Rioja & University of Pavia)

Research on the interplay between the linguistic structures instantiating speech acts and their conceptual motivation has recently attracted the interest of cognitive linguists. Panther & Thornburg (1998) claim that our knowledge of illocutionary meaning may be systematically organized in the form of what they call ‘illocutionary scenarios’. With a view to revising Panther and Thornburg’s account considerably, Pérez & Ruiz de Mendoza (2002), Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi (2006, 2007), Baicchi (2009), Baicchi & Ruiz de Mendoza (2011) have explored in detail how illocutionary scenarios are constructed, underscoring the importance of conceptual metonymy in meaning construction and interpretation, and elaborated a model for the description of illocutionary scenarios, the *Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model*. Such model, which banks on the notion of Idealized Cognitive Models (Lakoff and Johnson 1999), covers a broad range of speech act categories (directive, commissive and expressive) and is formulated on the basis of the concept of ‘mutual manifestness’ ( Sperber and Wilson 1995). One crucial characteristic of such proposal is that it does not need to postulate speech act categories in order to account for illocutionary activity; rather, it generalizes over specific characteristics of illocutionary scenarios of different kinds and finds common structure plus logical implications and interactional connections among them.

The *Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model* has been recently integrated (Baicchi & Ruiz de Mendoza 2011) into the illocutionary layer of the *Lexical Constructional Model* (henceforth, the LCM: Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008), which is an elaborate theory that aims to explain how meaning is constructed at each level of the linguistic and textual organization (Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza 2009; Butler 2009; Cortés 2009; González 2009; Baicchi 2010). Within the LCM, illocutionary constructions are characterized as entrenched lexico-grammatical configurations which activate relevant parts of illocutionary scenarios in connection to relevant elements from the context of situation.

Dipping on the theoretical framework of the LCM and of the *Cost-Benefit Cognitive Model*, and with reference to the notion of Construction (Goldberg 1995; 2006), this paper will

- g. (a) analyse the set of different lexico-grammatical devices activating illocutionary scenarios and the degree of conventionalization and entrenchment that each realization procedure exploits;
- h. (b) pin down the interplay between realization procedures and pragmatic features such as the power relationship between interlocutors and the degrees of politeness, prototypicality and cost-benefit;
- i. (c) discuss the importance of conceptual metonymy in meaning construction and interpretation: If the claim is accepted that illocutionary scenarios represent the way in which language users construct interactional meaning representations abstracted from a number of stereotypical illocutionary situations, they may be defined as high-

level situational models constructed through the application of the high-level metonymy SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC to multiple low-level situational models. Such scenarios are then applied to specific situations through the converse metonymy, GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC.

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## Dynamics of inflection: the growth and decline of classes.

Gardani, Francesco

(Vienna University of Economics and Business)

Long-term morphological change has often been linked with the factors of markedness, economy and the need to restore a synchronically motivated stable system (cf. Andersen 1990, Biberauer & Roberts 2008) but has never been seen in light of the decisive factor of inflectional productivity.

In this paper I enlighten the role of productivity in the dynamics of emergence, growth, decline and loss of inflectional classes in a diachronic perspective. The investigation is couched in the framework of Natural Morphology, in which productivity is envisaged as a primitive property of inflectional patterns and distinguished from factors such as type and token frequency, surface analogy, regularity and status default (cf. Dressler 2003). Changes in productivity, which in turn are responsible for the life cycle of classes, result from the interplay between system-adequacy, type-adequacy and universal naturalness. As the core of inflection, productivity is always indexical to the system of the specific language in which it operates and contributes to the reconfiguration of the language system in case of typological shift; at the same time, as part of the semiotic device of language and in order to efficiently serve performance in communication and cognition, productivity tends to the maximization of naturalness.

The analysis is carried out on the nominal inflection of Latin in its evolution from the earliest documents towards the emergence of Italian up to 1400, thus covering a time-span of approximately 2,000 years. The productivity of the classes is measured synchronically on the basis of a hierarchical scale construed on five criteria which include the investigation of loanword integration as well as of indigenous conversions and occurrences of class shift. The data on the integration of loanwords are drawn from the contact settings of Latin with Ancient Greek and of Old Italian with Arabic, Byzantine Greek and Old French. The elaboration of the diachronic outline is encompassed by connecting the single synchronic cuts.

The investigation presented here shows that 1) productivity is reactive to typological shift and system-internal inconsistencies but also qualifies as an active force and organizing principle of the system, 2) changes in the productivity of classes may be an indicator of typological shift and mirror the (direction of the) shift in both qualitative and quantitative terms. The prediction that the reduction of the number of fully productive inflectional classes would iconically reflect the decrease of the inflectivity in the process of shift from the ideal fusional towards the ideal isolating type is confirmed by their progressive decrease from the number of 8 in Pre-Classical Latin to 4 in Late Latin, to 2 in Old Italian. Finally, 3) in the languages studied, the growth and decline of classes are shown to be determined by the competition between classes displaying the same or different degrees of productivity and to depend primarily on matters of semantics, in particular, on the naturalness parameter of biuniqueness (uniform symbolization) with respect to the signalling of gender.

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### Low-level situational cognitive models within the Lexical Constructional Model and their computational implementation in FunGramKB.

Garrido García, Nazaret & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco J.  
(University of La Rioja)

The Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2008) is structured upon four representational layers: (i) argument structure, grounded in high-level non-situational cognitive models (e.g. 'action', 'result'); (ii) implicational structure, based on low-level situational models (e.g. 'taking a taxi'); (iii) illocutionary structure, based on high-level situational models (e.g. 'ordering'); (iv) discourse structure, based on sequences of high-level non-situational models like 'reason-result' or 'cause-effect' (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza 2007). In turn, FunGramKB, which is a lexico-conceptual knowledge base for Natural Language Processing (Periñán & Arcas 2007, 2008, 2009) applications with important areas of correspondence with the LCM, features three separate but interrelated modules: a linguistic module, a Grammaticon and a language independent conceptual level. For example, the conceptual level contains an *Ontology*, i.e. a taxonomy of 'concepts', formally defined by means of Meaning Postulates and Thematic Frames, which are represented through a machine readable metalanguage called COREL. The conceptual structure (consisting of semantic primes combined through lexical functions) and event structure of lexical templates in the LCM largely correspond with the Meaning Postulates (i.e. logically connected predications) and Thematic Frames (i.e. the number and type of participants taking part in a given event) of FunGramKB. Another component of the FunGramKB conceptual level, which is also defined through COREL, is the *Cognicon*, made up of procedural knowledge similar to Schank & Abelson's (1977) *scripts*. We argue that the procedural knowledge in the Cognicon is essentially the same as the (level 2) low-level situational models of the LCM. However, unlike lexical structure, script-like structure has not been addressed yet in the LCM, nor implemented computationally. This presentation fills these voids by (i) delineating the boundaries of low-level situational models and setting up a (provisional) classification, (ii) making descriptions of a sample of such models by means of COREL with a view to incorporating them into the Cognicon.

Script-like models cannot be compiled automatically since they are not lexicalized. We have circumvented this problem by taking a sample of basic concepts, such as +USE\_00 (see appendix), which is used to define other non-basic Meaning Postulates. We have made searches of these concepts in the BNC, COCA, and WebCorp. We have manually selected uses of these concepts whose contextual information supplies relevant script elements. We have isolated the elements and rated them in terms of frequency in order to discard the less central ones. Then we have created COREL descriptions of the resulting models. Finally, by observing the features that these representations have in common, we have distinguished between *simple*, *complex* and *composite* scripts. Simple scripts profile sequences of events that do not need to make reference to other scripts for full understanding (e.g. 'watching TV'). Complex scripts are ordered sequences of simple scripts (e.g. 'taking a flight' contains buying tickets, checking in, boarding the plane, etc.). Composite scripts are made up of temporally unordered sets of otherwise related scripts (e.g. 'doing the housework' includes 'washing the dishes', 'doing the laundry', 'making the beds'). The typology has allowed us to further enquire into the nature of scripts and to define their properties in terms of the interests of the LCM, thereby creating conditions of mutual feedback between the LCM and FunGramKB.

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## Metaphor in media discourse construction: Relevance, cognition and connection.

Garrido, Joaquin  
(Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Metaphor is currently approached from two main viewpoints, Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 2008; Wilson and Carston, 2008), and Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses, 2008; Fauconnier and Turner, 2008) and its extension to Cognitive Metonymy Theory (Barcelona, 2002; Panther and Thornburg, 2004; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal, 2007). Discourse metaphors can be considered to be stable framing devices in a particular discourse over time (Nerlich, 2005). In a wider sense, a discursive approach to metaphor includes questions such as its social effects, like political consensus (Zinken, Hellsten, and Nerlich, 2008). Here, in a restricted, local discursive approach, the role of a specific type of metaphor as a discourse structuring device is examined in order to test the complementarity hypothesis (Cameron, 2007; Tendahl and Gibbs, 2008) between cognitive and relevantist approaches.

The specific research question is whether connections between discourse segments are only represented by means of inferential processes, in a sequential manner (Delahunty, 2006; Saussure, 2007), or they are components of a local discourse structure in terms of relations (Asher and Lascarides, 2003; Wolf and Gibson, 2005), within a larger text structure (Martin and Rose, 2008; Lünge et al., 2010) in a specific community of practice (Eckert, 2000). The method to provide an answer to the question is to analyze the way metaphor fits into larger discourse structures and how these structures interact with text-type organization, in a sample of articles from *The Wall Street Journal* on economic matters published in 2010.

In examples such as (1) (WSJ 20101229) and (2) (WSJ 20100624), we find instances of *closing* metaphors that organize and reinterpret preceding discourse:

- (1) a. No longer would countries running huge budget deficits be able to borrow [...].  
b. In short, the party's over.
- (2) a. Watching Barack Obama engulfed for two months by an oil spill, and now the McChrystal mess, the thought occurs: Some day an American president, "the world's most powerful man," is going to have to figure out that modern electronic media is bigger than he is. [...]  
b. Put this forgotten folk wisdom on the next president's desk: The bigger they are, the harder they fall.

Metaphors are closing devices in discourse structure, since they provide a closure to the preceding sequence in terms of both its interpretation and their privileged textual position that makes them apply to the whole preceding event narrative.

The analysis shows that inference processes require premises to be derived from relevant local utterances and relevant non-linguistic context (Sperber and Wilson, 2008; Delahunty, 2010) in a restricted way. In metaphor construction processes, both conceptual domains (Croft, 2002; Xu, 2010) and local discourse structure provide such restrictions, thus playing a role in a connection process of "chunking" (Bybee, 2010) or "subsumption" (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal, 2008; Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009) where metaphors organize sequences of units into more complex units, and they are in turn made part of larger discourse components.

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## From 'æghwæðer' to 'either': the distribution of negative polarity items in historical perspective.

Gast, Volker  
(Friedrich-Schiller-University Jena)

### 1. Topic

When used as a quantifier, ModE *either* qualifies as a 'weak negative polarity' item, i.e. it is used under negation (cf. (1)), in questions (cf. (2)), conditionals, etc. (in 'downward entailing contexts', cf. Ladusaw 1979), but not regularly in affirmative episodic sentences.

- (1) "I'm not going to translate for **either** of you," he said softly. [BNC CAO 1996]
- (2) What kind of redress does **either** kind of prisoner have against these conditions? [BNC H45 1049]
- (3) Each/\***either** man bought two books.

The Old English precursor of *either* – *æghwæðer*, or contracted *ægðer* – invariably functioned as a universal quantifier. It formed part of the paradigm of dual quantifiers shown in Table 3.

- (4) Old English
- |     |     |        |                    |              |                |            |             |                 |
|-----|-----|--------|--------------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|
| Ond | se  | cyning | <i>æghwæðerum</i>  | <i>þissa</i> | <i>biscopa</i> | <i>his</i> | <i>gyfe</i> | <i>sealde</i> . |
| and | DET | king   | each.of.two.DAT.PL | DET.GEN.PL   | bishops.GEN    | his        | gift        | gave            |
- 'And to each of these bishops the king gave gifts.' [Beda 504, 28; a900]

	NEG	UNIV	ASSOC	'which of two'	contracted
p AND q		Æ	<i>ge</i>	<i>hwæðer</i>	<i>ægðer</i>
p OR q		Ā		<i>hwæðer</i>	<i>awðer</i>
NOT (p OR q)	<i>n</i>	Ā		<i>hwæðer</i>	<i>nawðer</i>

Table 3: The paradigm of dual quantifiers in Old English

### 2. Research question

I will address the question of how and why *either* developed from a universal quantifier into a negative polarity item.

### 3. Approach

The distribution of *either* will be considered in a historical semantic perspective.

### 4. Data and method

The data will be taken from historical corpora of English. They will be analyzed both semantically and quantitatively, to the extent that quantitative analyses are possible.

### 5. Expected results

I will aim to show that the distribution of ModE *either* resulted from the merging of *either* (< OE *ægðer* 'each of two') and *outher* (< OE *awðer* 'one or other of two') in Middle English, when the distribution of these quantifiers was blurred (cf. Einenkel 1904), with stages of free variation and an eventual loss of *outher*. ME *either*~*outher* is primarily found in contexts where it could be interpreted either as a universal quantifier (with wide scope) or an existential quantifier (with narrow scope), as in (5).

- (5) *with luytel aise he miȝte sitte ... and onaisiliche ligge also opon eþur side  
with little ease he could sit and uneasily lie also on either side  
,With a little ease he could sit . . . and uneasily also lie on either.  
[SLeg. Becket 2212, c1300]*
- a. *He could lie on one side or other. (narrow-scope existential)*  
~
- b. *He could lie on his right side and he could lie on his left side. (wide-scope universal)*

While *either* was later ousted by its competitors *one* (existential uses) and *each/both* (universal uses) in upward entailing contexts, it established itself in downward entailing contexts (as in (5)) and was gradually assimilated distributionally to *any*, turning into a dual form of the latter. I will argue that this process was driven by both paradigmatic pressures and 'persistence' in the sense of Hopper (1991).

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### "I am Just Learning It": Learning Finnish in St. Petersburg (Russia)

Gavrilova, Tatiana  
(Russian Academy of Sciences)

This paper deals with some particularities of learning Finnish by adults in St. Petersburg. I am trying to find out Russian students' motivation for learning Finnish and describe their attitudes towards Finns and the Finnish language. The motivation for studying language can be connected to relationships between the ethnic groups as well as with a social expectation connected to the studying language in a particular culture (Tremblay, Gardner 1995; Dörnyei 2001). There are some aspects of language attitudes which can be relevant for studying language (e.g. attitudes towards native speakers, their country and culture, attitudes towards student's social and cultural identity etc.) (Ellis 1994). It seems that some ulterior motives for learning Finnish and attitudes towards Finns and Finnish influence upon the students' and teachers' language behavior in class.

The data were collected by the method of participant observation in one of the language schools for adults in St. Petersburg. A questionnaire was used in order to collect more information about attitudes towards Finnish and motivation for studies.

Finnish speakers are frequent visitors to St. Petersburg and vice versa Finland is a popular destination for Russian citizens of the North-West Russian regions. Learning Finnish would therefore seem to have practical meaning, but often it is not the case.

Usually students avoid answering direct questions about their motives for learning Finnish. But then little by little it is becoming clear from hints and jokes that they would like to live in Finland. Often these plans are very uncertain but in many cases they seem to be the main reason for starting learning Finnish. The data received by questionnaires confirm this fact. Learning Finnish often has a symbolic role indicating the person's intending to have "better life" and has no practical meaning. For many students studying Finnish or even visiting the courses seems to be more important than the result of this process.

One of the features connected with the motives of studying of the language refers to the importance of perception in comparison with language production. Language production is apparently of less importance because many students do not pay any serious attention to pronunciation and ignore teacher's comments.

The attitudes towards Finland is important for studying language, too. The fact that Finland is considered to be "not real Europe" often makes people emphasize that Russians "are not worse" than Finns and the Russian language is not less complicated than Finnish. The structure and semantics of Russian words and expressions often becomes the object of discussion even if it is not necessary for the lesson's goals. This practice can be interpreted as an attempt to equal the languages and to rise learner's own linguistic status.

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## Guter Geschmack. Salienz und Disambiguierung im System der Sinnesbezeichnungen im Deutschen und Spanischen.

Geck, Sabine  
(Universidad de Valladolid)

Unsere Untersuchung beruht auf eigenen Vorstudien zur deutschen und spanischen *folk-theory* der fünf Sinne, zu der uns die Sprache Zugang verschafft (zur Entstehung dieses Modells siehe Loenhoff 1999). Wir haben an anderer Stelle bereits dargestellt, dass in diesem System metonymische und metaphorische Projektionen vorhanden sind. Erstere erfolgen zwischen benachbarten Elementen innerhalb der *frames* der Wahrnehmung. Von *frames* zu sprechen erscheint uns gerechtfertigt, da Wahrnehmung prinzipiell zielgerichtet ist, wie dies auch etymologisch herleitbar ist (vgl. französisch *sens unique* ‚Einbahnstraße‘; Loenhoff 1999: 9). Die erwähnten metonymischen Projektionen sind feststellbar zwischen dem Sinn und der mit diesem Sinn wahrgenommen Eigenschaft einer Sache, notierbar entweder so: *Sinn* → *das, was mit dem Sinn wahrgenommen wird*, oder mit der Gleichung DIE MIT EINEM SINN WAHNGENOMMENE EIGENSCHAFT EINER SACHE IST DER SINN SELBST. So ist *Geschmack* sowohl der ‚Geschmacksinn‘ als auch der ‚Geschmack einer Sache‘: *Ich habe heute keinen Geschmack* und *der Geschmack der Praline*. Dies ist ebenso möglich bei *Geruch*, nicht aber bei *Gesicht*, *Gehör* und *Gefühl*. In diesen Fällen werden die Leerstellen gefüllt mit *Aussehen*, *Klang* und verbalen Periphrasen wie z. B. *Der Stoff fühlt sich gut an*. Im Spanischen ist möglich: *el gusto de la sopa* und *el tacto de la tela*, nicht aber *\*la vista*, *el oído*, *el olfato de una cosa*. Hier treten *aspecto*, *sonido*, teilweise *sabor*, sowie *olor* ein.

Daneben bestehen in der Literatur bereits öfter diskutierte metaphorische Projektionen, die der *Mind-as-Body-Metaphor* entsprechen (Sweetser 1993 und Santos / Espinosa 1996) und bisher vorwiegend an den *Verben* der Wahrnehmung, nicht an den substantivischen Sinnesbezeichnungen festgemacht wurden. Diese Metaphern haben als *source domain* die physischen Wahrnehmungen und projizieren diese auf die Domäne des Mentalen (sog. epistemische Bedeutung), oft mit Hilfe der Bezeichnung für den dem Sinn entsprechenden Körperteil. So gilt VERSTEHEN IST SEHEN bzw. WISSEN IST SEHVERMÖGEN (*Ich sehe, worauf du hinauswillst*), das Hören für Empathie (*ein Ohr für Zwischentöne haben*); der Geruch ist Quelldomäne für nicht rationale Intuition (*Das stinkt zum Himmel. Huele a cuerno quemado*); der Geschmack für Vorlieben und ästhetisches Urteilsvermögen (*Er hat einen guten Geschmack in Sachen Kleidung*); das *Gefühl* im Sinne von Tastsinn ist bildspendend für Emotionen (*ein ungutes Gefühl haben*; vgl. auch Wierzbicka 1999).

Basierend auf diesen Voraussetzungen wollen wir ermitteln, wodurch die durch diese Projektionen entstehenden dreifachen Polysemien der Sinnesbezeichnungen als ‚Sinn‘, ‚Eigenschaft des Wahrgenommenen‘ und in epistemischer Bedeutung (z. B. *Geschmack* als Geschmacksinn, als Geschmack einer Sache und als ästhetisches Urteilsvermögen) disambiguiert werden. Es scheint einerseits so zu sein, dass bereits eine gewisse Salienz (Giora 1997; Kecskés 2008) beim isolierten Wort (also im *core sense*) vorhanden ist, andererseits spielen nach unserer Beobachtung die die substantivischen Sinnesbezeichnungen begleitenden Adjektive eine wichtige Rolle (*consense*). So wechselt sprunghaft *Geschmack*, das isoliert als Eigenschaft aufgefasst wird, zur epistemischen Bedeutung ‚ästhetisches Urteilsvermögen‘, wenn ihm das Adjektiv *gut* beigefügt wird: *der gute Geschmack*. Diese semantische Disambiguierung innerhalb des Systems der Sinnesbezeichnungen wollen wir mit Beispielen aus den bekannten Korpora der deutschen und spanischen Sprache belegen.

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### Entrenchment, conventionalization, and empirical method.

Geeraerts, Dirk  
(University of Leuven)

This paper is intended as an introductory/keynote talk for the workshop “Empirical approaches to social cognition and emergent language structure”. The paper presents a conceptual analysis of the importance of frequency in a usage-based conception of language structure, and explores the methodological consequences of that analysis.

Specifically, if we think of entrenchment as a psychological notion and conventionalization as a social notion, then the interaction between entrenchment and conventionalization is one form of the dialectic relationship between language structure and language use that constitutes a cornerstone of a usage-based conception of language. But studying that interaction meets with conceptual and methodological difficulties, which we will try to identify (if not to solve) in this paper.

To clarify the issues, we may take our conceptual starting-point in the definition of entrenchment introduced in Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Bakema, *The Structure of Lexical Variation* (1995). Three features characterize the approach in question.

- In contradistinction with a naive view that sees entrenchment as a direct reflection of frequency effects, the Geeraerts, Grondelaers & Bakema (1995) approach insists that entrenchment is a relative notion, involving the frequency of certain linguistic phenomena with regard to something else.
- Two types of entrenchment need to be crucially distinguished: formal onomasiological salience, and conceptual onomasiological salience. Terminologically, these concepts refer to lexical variation, but conceptually, the distinction applies in a similar fashion to any formally expressed linguistic function.
- While mainstream sociolinguistics focuses on what corresponds with the first type, both phenomena are subject to social variation (like processes of conventionalization).

The methodological challenges that follow from this analysis are the following: we need a method for describing meaning, we need a method for charting the interaction between formal and conceptual onomasiological variation, and we need methods for revealing the importance of socio-variationist structure in the data. Given these methodological requirements, we will argue that current developments in quantitative corpus-based linguistics (as represented, for instance, in Glynn & Fischer, eds., *Quantitative Methods in Cognitive Semantics: Corpus-driven Approaches* (2010) constitute various attempts to deal with the challenges in question. Specifically, we will point out:

- first, that the current interest in distributional methods of corpus-based semantic description (be they of a collocational or a vector space kind) answers to the first challenge,
- second, that the currently emerging interest in multidimensional methods of semantic representation (like correspondence analysis and mds) answers to the second challenge,
- and third, that the combination of such forms of analysis with sociolectometrical methods may lead to an answer to the third challenge.

### Indefinites in Paraguayan Guaraní (with special reference to negative contexts).

Gerasimov ,Dmitry

(Institute for Linguistic Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg)

The aim of this paper is three-fold: first, to provide a general overview of indefinite pronouns in Paraguayan Guaraní, which, to our knowledge, up to date have never been the subject of a dedicated study; second, to identify the set of contexts which license use of specialized negative indefinites (the *ve*-series); third, to put forward a hypothesis concerning diachronic origin of the latter series.

In indefinite contexts, Guaraní makes extensive use of existential circumlocution, employing relative and nominalized clauses to refer to unspecified participants:

(1) Peteĩ	pyhareve	o-ñe-mombe'u	Losánto-pe
one	morning	3A-REFL-tell	Losanto-OBL
<b>o-ĩ-ha</b>	<b>o-ú-va</b>	Pindokaigue	guivo.
3A-exist-COMP	3A-come-REL	Pindokaigue	from

'One morning Losanto was told that someone had come from the direction of Pindokaigue'.

In [Haspelmath et. al. 2005], this strategy is reported for only two languages out of their sample of 326, Tagalog (Austronesian) and Mocoví (Guaycuruan). Guaraní is, however, different from these two in that while the latter seem to lack expressions like 'somebody' and 'something' altogether, the former also possesses a standard inventory of indefinite pronouns and generic nouns.

Paraguayan Guaraní has two basic series of indefinite pronouns: those marked with *-ve* suffix are used in contexts of direct and indirect negation, while unmarked pronouns/generic nouns are used for all other functions on the relevant implicational map [Haspelmath 1997: 4]. In peripheral contexts, such as free choice or comparison, they often require backing by universal quantifiers or word like *ambue* 'other'. Traditional descriptive grammars and dictionaries also identify a series of interrogative pronouns, but these are essentially combinations of unmarked indefinites with the interrogative clitic *-pa* which can attach elsewhere. In general, the Guaraní data fit rather well into generalizations made in [Tretiakova 2009] concerning languages primarily employing indefinite pronouns without special marking of indefiniteness.

Negative indefinites of the *ve*-series are licensed by:

- j. clausal negation on the head verb;
- k. clausal negation on the existential predicate *aipo* 'there is';
- (I) clausal negation on the matrix verb (with the negative pronoun in the embedded clause);
- (II) Caritive suffix on the verb (possible in dependent clauses only);
- Prohibitive particle;
- negative conjunction *ni* (a construction likely borrowed from Spanish, see [Aranovich 2006] and references therein);
- inherently negative temporal/aspectual adverbs like *ne'ĩrã* 'not yet'.

The suffix *-ve* used to form negative indefinites is different both from standard negation markers and from scalar focus markers [Haspelmath 1997: §7.1.1, §8.3.1]. The question naturally arises concerning the diachronic source of this morpheme.



It is generally argued that the contemporary Italian periphrastic passive with *venire* derives from construction (a), representing an instance of an anticausative-to-passive development (Giacalone Ramat 2000). On the basis of a comprehensive corpus analysis ranging from the earliest written documents to contemporary Italian, in this paper we suggest that the source of the periphrastic passive with *venire* is construction (b), and will provide evidence that in 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian the verb *venire* had already evolved into a verb meaning 'become'. The semantic development leading to the contemporary Italian passive with *venire* therefore represents an instance of a resultative-to-passive development, as suggested by Squartini (2003), and there is no direct connection between the semantics of motion and passivization: the path *venire* > passive auxiliary seems to presuppose an intermediate stage in which the verb *venire* has acquired a 'become' meaning. The conclusions of this diachronic analysis will be weighed against the available evidence from languages in which the same construction type is attested.

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### Societal bilingualism and language shift: the case of Southern Min in Taiwan.

Gijsen, Johan & Liu, Yu-Chang  
(I-Shou University)

In Taiwan, Southern Min, commonly referred to as 'Taiwanese', is understood by between fifteen and sixteen million people. Language shift is generally defined as the gradual loss of a language within a community, which can ultimately lead to language death (Fasold 1992). The central question in this paper is whether Southern Min has become an endangered language in Taiwan. The authors use Fishman's notion of societal bilingualism (1991), as well as Ó Riagáin's hypothesis (1997) that the home is likely the first domain to exhibit language shift. Based on our previous written survey with 917 respondents, our analysis for this paper will draw from the results of 25 in-depth ethnographic interviews.

Although Taiwan is often being described as a bilingual society (Yeh et al. 2004), we will maintain that the increasing prevalence of education in Mandarin has made the formerly Southern Min-speaking population into a societally bilingual one. Previous research revealed that home bilingualism is declining (Gijsen et al. 2007), with the use of Southern Min in the larger community equal or higher than its use in the family domain. Although Southern Min mother tongue speakers claim it important for children to learn their mother tongue, intergenerational transmission of the language is lacking (Liang et al. 2006). The age-variable for the interviews shows that younger Southern Min users speak the language less fluently than their grandparents, with the latter at times still being Southern Min monolinguals. Mandarin, the 'learned' and high-domain language for a substantial part of Southern Min speakers is increasingly perceived as the 'mother tongue' by Taiwan's younger generation. In this context, Wmffre (2001) claims that when a learned language begins being used within the country itself, and outside educational and restricted contexts, that we should begin describing the society as bilingual, the term 'bilingual' usually implying equal usage and equal fluency in two languages, the one often exclusive to the other.

The heavy dependence on Mandarin, as well as the functional demise of Southern Min was already foreseen by other researchers (Chan 1994). An analysis from our ethnographic interviews indicate that this trend is gaining momentum: Taiwan's societal bilingualism is resulting in a lack of compartmentalization between the high-domain language, Mandarin, and the low-domain language, Southern Min. The latter risks being replaced by Mandarin in a lower domain language shift that is accelerating significantly since preceding studies (Chan 1994, Tsao 1999, Yeh et al. 2004, Gijsen et al. 2007). Finally, we will attempt to account for the fact that the language shift from Southern Min to the region's lingua franca, Mandarin, seems to be voluntary and contrary to governmental efforts: it is happening despite recent educational measures in Southern Min language maintenance.

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### Hierarchical agreement and possibilities for Alignment.

Gildea, Spike  
(University of Oregon)

Some have questioned whether Hierarchical Alignment should, strictly speaking, be considered an alignment (e.g., Zúñiga 2006; Creissels 2009). The argument is that "alignment" must be between grammatical roles (S aligns with either A or P). However, in hierarchical systems, marking of A and P is governed by the referential hierarchy rather than by grammatical role. Creissels further excludes Split intransitivity from the category of alignment, as there is no consistent S to align with A or P. This paper argues that so restrictive a definition of alignment narrows the category too far, that the foundation of alignment typology should not be the (descriptively useful, but theoretically problematic) categories of S, A and P, but rather the more theoretically robust category of CORE ARGUMENTS. We illustrate with hierarchical alignment data from two language families and one isolate in South America.

In both the Cariban (Gildea 1998) and Tupí-Guaranian (Jensen 1998) families, a SAP core argument (S, A, or P) must be marked on the verb, with 3 marked only when no SAP participant is involved. There are two sets of prefix forms, one dedicated to SAP S<sub>A</sub>/A (for transitives, P is understood to be 3) and the other to SAP S<sub>P</sub>/P (unmarked A is understood as 3). 1 and 2 are generally ranked equally, with portmanteau morphemes marking 1A2P and 2A1P (some Cariban languages have innovated forms that rank 1 and 2 relative to each other). In most Cariban languages, a single form exists for third person A/P/S<sub>A</sub>/S<sub>P</sub>; In Tupí-Guaranian languages, there is an alternation between 3A and 3P forms (conditioning factor still poorly understood, cf. Rodrigues 1990; Payne 1994), which align with parallel forms for 3S<sub>A</sub> and 3S<sub>P</sub> (lexically conditioned). Thus, in a robust pattern attested in two (apparently) unrelated families, the hierarchical system provides two different patterns of inflection for transitive verbs, in which each aligns with the single core argument of a subset of intransitive verbs.

A different kind of alignment is illustrated by linguistic isolate Movima (Haude 2009), in which S is a coherent notion and aligns neatly with one of the core arguments of the transitive clause, but the notions A and P are clearly not relevant to this alignment. The two core arguments of a transitive clause are the PROXIMATE, which is internal to the VP, distinguished from the external OBVIATIVE by multiple phonological and syntactic properties. Semantic roles are coded via direction morphology, with the DIRECT verb indicating that the proximate argument is agent and the INVERSE verb indicating that the proximate argument is patient. The S of an intransitive clause aligns perfectly with the obviative of the transitive clause, leaving out A and P altogether.

In sum, alignment is relevant also in those languages where there is no clearly identifiable (and/or unified) S, A and P, and therefore alignment typology must make room for types in which alignment is between other kinds of core arguments than S, A and P.

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### Indefinite pronouns as contrastive topics.

Giurgea, Ion & Remberger, Eva-Maria  
(University of Konstanz)

A usual claim is that only specific or generic indefinites can be topics (Ebert&Endriss 2004; Endriss 2006/2009; Cresti 1995 a.o.). We will argue however that non-specific non-generic indefinites can be topicalized, based on evidence from Romance (see (1)).

- (1) Ro. Ceva el ŞTIE.  
 something he knows  
 It. Qualcosa ti ha CERTAMENTE detto Maria perchè tu sia tanto amareggiato  
 something you he-has certainly said Maria so-that you are so upset  
 Sp. No; Algo, Juan Sí comió, (pero no mucho) (Arregi 2003)  
 no something Juan yes he-ate but not much

We will argue (against Zubizarreta 1998; Leonetti&Escandell-Vidal 2009) that this construction is not an instance of focalization: (i) The fronted quantifiers do not bear focus stress, but show the intonation characteristic of left-dislocated topics; (ii) in Romanian and Spanish fronted foci cannot be separated from the verb by the subject (see Cornilescu 2002; Zubizarreta 1998), whereas fronted bare quantifiers allow an intervening subject (see (1)). Arregi (2003) correctly analyzes these expressions as topics, but he doesn't propose a semantic analysis of the phenomenon and doesn't explain another property manifest in (1): the presence of verum focus or focus on the degree of certainty of the sentence.

We argue that the restriction to specific or generic indefinites is only found with aboutness topics (defined as in Reinhart 1981). The construction at issue here instead is an instance of contrastive topicalization, which enables non-referential expressions to function as topics (Kiss & Gyuris 2003). This also allows us to explain the presence of verum focus: Contrastive topics (Büring's 1999 'topics'), require (i) the existence of a partition of the remainder of the sentence into focus and background and (ii) the existence of topic alternatives. We propose that in this construction the topic part is not a referent or a first-order predicate, but a generalized quantifier. The topic alternatives form series of the type  $\{\exists x.P_1(x), \text{MANY}x.P_2(x), \text{MOST}x.P_3(x), \forall x.P_4(x)\}$ . The focus part (which must have different values across topic alternatives, distinguishing between  $P_1...P_4$ ) is the degree of certainty of the assertion. The speaker asserts that one of these alternatives is certainly true or highly probable, contrasting it with stronger alternatives for which the truth value is unknown or false. That's why existential quantifiers are usually found in affirmative sentences, while bare universal quantifiers or non-specific *many* as in (2) prefer downward entailing contexts:

- (2) Ro. Chiar totul NU ştie (negation takes scope over the quantifier)  
 even everything not he-knows  
 It. Molti amici non si è fatto, di sicuro (Benincà et al. 1988, 106)  
 many friends not REFL he-is done certainly

The topic indefinites are non-specific because they scope under the epistemic modal component (the degree of certainty). Narrow scope, as for the fronted indefinite in (3), is due to the fact that what is contrasted in these cases are not referents, but generalized quantifiers (the comment being an abstract over generalized quantifiers, see (4)):

- (3) Ro. Ceva a CITIT fieCARE.  
 something has read everybody
- (4) Comment:  $\lambda Q_{\langle e,t \rangle} \text{CERTAINLY } (\forall z(\text{person}(z) \rightarrow Q(\lambda x(\text{read}(z,x))))$   
 Topic:  $\lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \exists x P(x)$  or  $\lambda P_{\langle e,t \rangle} \exists x(\text{thing}(x) \ \& \ P(x))$

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## The Russian *po*-Dative – Genitive Alternation. A case study in corpus-driven Construction Grammar.

Glynn, Dylan & Dmitrieva, Elena  
(Lund University, Helsinki University)

Contemporary Russian possesses a periphrastic – morphological construction alternation – the *po*-Dative Construction and the Genitive Construction. Although the Russian Genitive is highly polysemous, the alternation is possible only when a noun phrase refers to such notions as names of institutions, projects, campaigns, devices, publishing materials, documents, and jobs.

- (1) *učebnik russkogo jazyka*  
book SG.NOM Russian SG.GEN language SG.GEN  
a book on Russian language
- (2) *učebnik po russkomu jazyku*  
book SG.NOM PREP Russian SG.DAT language SG.DAT  
a book on Russian language

The fact that this alternation occurs in only a restricted semantic range has led to assumptions that the preposition *po* functions as a means of differentiating the wide semantic range associated with the Genitive Construction (Glovinskaja 2000: 243). Contrary to this, the construction with the preposition *po* has been defined as a means of expressing a general meaning of relatedness (Švedova 1966: 40). Moreover, the construction with *po* has become so widely used that some researchers regard this phenomenon as expanding in usage at the expense of the morphological alternate (Glovinskaja 2000: 240).

Within the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar (Lakoff 1987; Goldberg 1995), this study tests these proposals empirically using quantitative corpus-driven techniques. Specifically, the study employs a multifactorial usage-feature approach which has been developed within Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar in order to capture subtle semantic and sociolinguistic variation in usage (Tummers et al. 2005; Gries 2006; Grondelaers et al. 2007; Glynn 2009; Speelman et al. 2009; Glynn & Fischer 2010; Divjak 2010; Glynn & Robinson in press). The results build on Dmitrieva (2005) who examines the question of the spread of the periphrastic construction diachronically.

The study examines 600 occurrences, taken from the Russian National Corpus and from online personal diaries. The examples are analysed for a range syntactic, semantic and socio-discourse features. The results of the feature analysis are subjected to exploratory and confirmatory statistical techniques. Multiple Correspondence Analysis is used to identify patterns in the usage features. The interaction of the different dimensions of language use will reveal how the two different constructions are used. Once patterns of usage are established, Logistic Regression Analysis will be employed to confirm usage differences. This statistical technique models the data and uses the analysis to predict the outcome as either *po*-Dative or Genitive. If the model can predict when one construction can be used over another, then the analysis has proven the difference in use between them. The results of these empirical techniques will be interpreted using the analytical framework of Construction Grammar and compared with the existing hypotheses as to the motivation behind the alternation.

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## Pronouns as indicators of modality shift: the ‘perplexive’ construction in Turkish.

Göksel, Asli & Kabak, Baris  
(Bogaziçi University, University of Konstanz)

We investigate a hitherto unanalysed type of construction in informal registers of Turkish which we name the ‘perplexive’ construction. This construction type is used when narrating a past event, brought about by a third person protagonist, that has left the narrator in perplexity, surprise and disbelief. This construction does not have any special morphosyntactic features expressing this function and is string identical to the imperative construction:

- (1) Sen Ayşe-ye sormadan ver eski eşyalar-ı.  
you Ayşe-dat without.asking give.away old furniture-acc  
(i) ‘Give away the old furniture without asking Ayşe.’ [*Imperative*]  
(ii) ‘Guess what!...S/he gave away the old furniture without asking Ayşe.’ [*Perplexive*]

In (ii), despite the fact that the subject (sen ‘you’) is marked for the second person singular, it denotes a third person in the narrative discourse. Furthermore, although the verb (ver ‘give’) is structurally in the imperative mood it unambiguously conveys a past tense reading. Taking the basic insight in Enç (1986) who claims that an overt pronoun encodes (center of) topic shift in Turkish, a pro-drop language, we extend the function of the subject pronoun to cover a more generalised shift: (a) from second to third person, and (b) from the irrealis to the realis mood as the reference point of the narrated event lies unambiguously in the past. We thus claim that the locus of the perspective shift associated with the perplexive is partly encoded in the pronoun (1i), whereas the function of the same pronoun is to indicate a shift in the center of topic in imperatives (1ii).

Drawing on parallelisms with the conditional and narrative uses of imperatives in other languages (e.g., Fortuin 2003; Fortuin & Boogaart frth.), we will show that the imperative, morphosyntactically the least marked construction in Turkish, signifies an impulse, but is otherwise underspecified. The usage of an overt pronoun on the other hand, here encodes an instruction to the hearer to act upon the utterance purely as an attestant, rather than interpret the pronoun as the agent of the action denoted by the verb (see Göksel et al. 2009 for other forms of speaker-to-hearer directives in Turkish).

We thus (i) extend the function of pronouns to areas other than those described in the literature and (ii) argue that the pronoun and the (underspecified) imperative form compositionally encode the perplexity of the speaker thus forcing the hearer to become an unsuspecting witness in a past event and to empathise with him/her.

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Göksel, A., Kabak, B. & Revithiadou A. (2009), Prosodic basis of non-local doubling. Ms.

## Politeness and discourse markers: a case study of Spanish *mira* (look) and *a ver* (let’s see).

González Melón, Eva & Hanegreefs Hilde  
(Lessius University College - University of Leuven)

The present study focuses on the politeness side effects (and pragmatic functions) of the discourse markers *mira* ‘look’ and *a ver* ‘let’s see’ in contexts characterized by a high degree of argumentation, where language is used as a vehicle to pursue certain communicative goals. Since *ver* ‘to see’ and *mirar* ‘to look’ have been shown to conceptualize the scene of vision from different perspectives (objective vs. subjective point of view) —each giving rise to different paths of grammaticalization and semantic extensions (Hanegreefs 2008; González Melón & Hanegreefs 2010)—, we would like to examine whether and to what extent their conceptual differences are still manifest at a highly grammaticalized discourse level. In addition, the obvious morphological difference between both forms (*mira*-IMPERATIVE vs. (*vamos*) *a ver*-1PL+INF) made us wonder whether dissimilarities in pragmatic functioning would concomitantly result in divergent politeness effects, in terms of more or less face threatening (Brown & Levinson 1987).

Our aim is to study the politeness strategies entailed in the use of *mirar* and *a ver* taking into consideration aspects such as: a) discourse context, b) person reference (T/V-distribution), c) terms of address, d) request strategies etc. To that end, we observe *mira* and *a ver* in a twofold spoken corpus, consisting of *tertulia* (informal gatherings) and debates. This choice is justified by the fact that in these kind of argumentative exchanges speakers tend to portray their opinions and ideas in a more or less face threatening way with the purpose of imposing their view on a specific subject.

Whereas *mira* conceptualizes the speaker-hearer relationship from a divergent starting point, *a ver* tends to focus more easily on the possibility of a convergent end point in the discussion. A thorough corpus analysis gives answer to how these conceptual differences can be related to different communicative contexts and how they can be connected to the politeness theory formulated by Brown & Levinson (1987).

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## Interpretación y sintaxis de la recomplementación.

González-i-Planas, Francesc  
(Universitat de Girona)

La recomplementación consiste en la anteposición de uno o varios componentes sintácticos de una oración completiva, de modo que quedan insertados entre la partícula subordinadora *que*<sub>1</sub> y una segunda partícula *que*<sub>2</sub>, aparentemente superflua, a la que llamaremos recomplementadora.

Esta construcción era muy habitual en las lenguas románicas medievales y actualmente pervive en los registros coloquiales del portugués, el gallego, el castellano y el catalán, así como en varias variedades románicas minorizadas de transmisión oral (e.g. occitano, normando, valón).

A pesar de la existencia de estudios previos (e.g. Mascarenhas 2007 para el portugués; Uriagereka 1995 para el gallego; Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2007 y 2009 para el castellano; Wanner 1998; Paoli 2003; Vincent 2007 para los romances medievales), en éstos no se determina qué motiva la presencia de un segundo complementante. Por este motivo, proponemos un modelo de derivación sintáctica de las oraciones recomplementadas —basado en el modelo cartográfico de la Gramática Generativa (Rizzi 1997; Frascarelli 2007; Cinque & Rizzi 2010)— que parta del análisis interpretativo de estas construcciones.

En este sentido, el análisis de ejemplos contextualizados en un discurso nos ha permitido determinar cómo debe interpretarse la presencia de la partícula *que*<sub>2</sub>, de modo que hemos llegado a la conclusión de que hay que distinguir entre dos tipos de oraciones recomplementadas: las oraciones recomplementadas de indicativo (cf. (1)) y las oraciones recomplementadas de subjuntivo (cf. (3)).

- (1) Rosa me espetó muy indignada *que*<sub>1</sub> los informes, *que*<sub>2</sub> cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos.  
“Cuándo va a ser?” —me dijo— “¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?” (De la Mota 1995)

- (2) **Contexto:** A y B (= Rosa) hablan de unos informes que B ha encargado al departamento donde trabaja A.

A: A Madrid, ¿cuándo hay que mandarlos?

B: ¡¿Cómo que a Madrid cuándo hay que mandarlos?! ¿Cuándo va a ser? ¡El lunes! Será que no lo sabía nadie, ¿no?

En (1), la partícula *que*<sub>2</sub> delimita el discurso reproducido de los elementos oracionales que no aparecían en el discurso original de (2), pero que en la nueva situación comunicativa conviene reintroducir porque no son compartidos por el interlocutor.

- (3) He dicho *que*<sub>1</sub> los invitados *que*<sub>2</sub> se sienten delante de la mesa.

- (4) Los invitados, *que*<sub>2</sub> se sienten delante de la mesa.

En cambio, (3) contiene una oración imperativa en discurso indirecto, en la que aparece un elemento prominente en la periferia izquierda (un tópico), el cual queda insertado entre *que*<sub>1</sub> y *que*<sub>2</sub>. Este tipo de oraciones recomplementadas difieren de (1) en que la partícula *que*<sub>2</sub> ya aparece en la oración imperativa del contexto original en el seno de una oración matriz, como se muestra en (4). Por lo tanto, en (3), *que*<sub>2</sub> es una partícula relacionada con el modo subjuntivo y la interpretación imperativa de la frase.

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### What snowclones reveal about actual language use in Spanish: a constructionist view.

González García, Francisco  
(University of Almería)

This paper explores the theoretical and descriptive implications of snowclones in present-day Spanish for constructionist approaches. A snowclone, as originally defined in Pullum (2004) for English, refers to “a multi-use, customizable, instantly recognizable, time-worn, quoted or misquoted phrase or sentence that can be used in an entirely open array of different variants”. Specifically, this term is used to capture the connection between a generic formula such as “gray is the new black” (a version of the schema “X is the new Y”) and new variants produced from it such as e.g. “comedy is the new rock ‘n’ roll”. Drawing on naturally-occurring data trawled from the web by means of systematic web searches, our investigation of snowclones in Spanish reveals that these are very often shaped out of well-known slogans in advertising, as in (1)-(4) below.

(1) ¿Uncharted 2 en Septiembre? Va a ser que no.  
Uncharted 2 in September go.PRS.3SG to be COMP not

**[Va a ser que X]** (after a Canal Plus slogan)

‘Uncharted 2 in September? That’s not happening’.

(2) Bienvenid-o a la república independiente de tu mascota.  
Welcome-PTCP.M.SG to DEF.F.SG republic independent of 2SG.POSS  
pet

**[Bienvenido a la república independiente de X]** (after an Ikea slogan, ‘Bienvenido a la república independiente de tu casa’, ‘Welcome to the independent republic of your home’)

‘Welcome to the independent republic of your pet’

(3) Probablemente, el mejor barrio del mundo.  
Probably DEF.M.SG best neighbourhood of.DEF.M.SG world

‘Probably, the best neighbourhood in the world’

**[Probablemente, el/la mejor X del mundo]**

(After the well-known Carlsberg slogan, ‘Probably the best beer in the world’)

(4) Porque él lo val-e, ¡¡¡Yo soy fan de Vicent Pau!!!  
Because 3SG DEF.N.SG be.worth-PRS.3SG 1SG be.PRS.1SG fan  
of Vicent Pau

Because he deserves it. I’m a fan of Vicent Pau!

**[Porque X lo vale/valgo/vales]** (alter the L’Oréal Elvive Shampoo’s slogan ‘Porque tú lo vales’)

It is argued that chunks of this type enable us to better understand the continuum between strings involving different levels of abstractness, sizes, shapes and idiomaticity as well as the inter and intra-constructional relations among them in the construction (Goldberg 2006; Jackendoff 2010; Boas 2010 *inter alios*). In addition, since snowclones also project a conceptual and rhetorical aura into their surrounding context, they provide invaluable insights into how a fine-grained textual analysis can be fruitfully built into a constructionist account of the stock of expressions in a given language such as Spanish, an aspect which remains largely unexplored within constructionist approaches. Specifically, snowclones afford new insights into the analysis of non-spontaneous fixed formulae in putatively spontaneous language, thus shedding light on the theoretical and applied

convenience of invoking fragments in addition to, or as an alternative to, constructions in Spanish (see Thompson 2002; Boye and Harder 2009; Newmeyer 2010 for further discussion), among other substantive issues. Our data confirms to a considerable extent the claim made in Pawley (1985) for English that these speech formulas (or snowclones) very often consist of novel subordinate clauses (as in 4 above) that ordinary language users hardly ever make up when speaking. All in all, our analysis of Spanish data lends further credence to the usage-based assumption that language users recognize how to chop (Spanish) snowclones up into individual lexical items. In other words, language users store both the parts and the wholes, and retrieve them when they need them (Bybee and Eddington 2006).

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## Storage of linguistic knowledge in the mental lexicon: An approach within Role and Reference Grammar.

Gottschalk, Judith  
 (Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

This talk aims to introduce a theory of the mental lexicon for German verbs of motion within the theory of Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] (cf. Van Valin 2005). The issue of how Aktionsarten and particularly verbs of motion with their various alternations are structured will be dealt with. In addition, their storage in an RRG-compatible lexicon will be investigated. A time line model of RRG-Aktionsarten based on Reichenbach (1947) will be developed to give a description of the structure of events assumed in RRG.

In this talk I will deal with German Aktionsart alternations of the following form:

- (1)
- |           |               |      |             |
|-----------|---------------|------|-------------|
| a. Mulder | renn-t.       |      |             |
| Mulder    | run-3sgPRES   |      |             |
| Mulder    | is running.   |      |             |
| b. Mulder | renn-t        | nach | Black Mesa  |
| Mulder    | run-3sgPRES   | to   | Black Mesa  |
| Mulder    | is running to |      | Black Mesa. |

The sentences in (1) show an alternation between the two RRG Aktionsarten Activity (1a) and Active Accomplishment (1b), which have the binary semantic features [-static], [+ dynamic], [- telic], [-punctual] for (1a) and [-static], [+ dynamic], [+ telic], [-punctual] for (1b).

According to the RRG-analysis, this kind of alternation can be explained via lexical rules. These rules state that Activity is the basic Aktionsart of motion verbs. Active Accomplishments are derived from this basic Aktionsart (cf. Van Valin and LaPolla 1997: 111).

However, human knowledge is often represented in terms of inheritance networks. In this talk I will use a model of inheritance networks to modify the present version of the lexicon in RRG. This network explains alternations of the kind displayed in (1) using lexical rules.

I will argue that basic Aktionsarten are not needed in the lexicon if Aktionsarten and operators are analyzed and decomposed in terms of inheritance networks. I will furthermore show that, accepting the idea of inheritance networks, multiple lexical entries become superfluous for verbs of motion that occur in a multitude of contexts with different Aktionsart readings. As a result, verbs are stored as follows. In the lexicon, they are stored in inheritance networks.

Within these networks they are stored as lexical neighborhood clusters in an underspecified way. This means verbs are stored hierarchically within a lexical inheritance network in a so-called lexical fingerprint. These fingerprints contain only the lexical information which is idiosyncratic to the verb. Any additional information is inherited from the verbs which rank higher in the hierarchy. This inheritance is non-monotonic. In such a hierarchy, the most general verb is the root of the network. The more specific a verb, the further down in the hierarchy it is represented.

Accepting this model, we do not need a workshop module and lexical rules as suggested by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) and Van Valin (2005). Aktionsart alternations are then regarded as a result of lexical inheritance.

This unification approach is particularly suitable for implementations in computer software used in language modeling and applications for language technology. Such applications are programs in machine translation, grammar checkers and question answering systems.

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### Evaluative affixes between inflection and derivation: a typological survey.

Grandi, Nicola  
(University of Bologna)

Evaluative morphology has been widely described in the literature in the field. However, scholars have often assumed vague positions about its place within morphological component. Beard (1981: 180) states that evaluative affixes are placed "somewhere between lexical and purely inflectional forms". Szymanek (1988: 106-109) ascribes evaluative affixes to an "expressive periphery" of derivation. Carstairs-McCarthy (1992: 107) adopts a quite similar position, asserting that evaluative affixes pertain to 'expressive morphology', which is different from derivational morphology, and exceptional to principles that govern it. According to Scalise (1994: 264-266), evaluative affixes are an autonomous component of word formation rules between derivation and inflection; etc.

This vagueness is often the consequence of the approach of these scholars, who have usually given prominence to language-specific formal criteria in describing evaluative affixes, thus disregarding the semantic and functional similarities that can be cross-linguistically singled out. If we consider evaluative affixes as categories of particular languages, focusing on the formal level, they can hardly be reduced to a uniform picture. We find languages in which evaluative affixes trigger agreement (i.e. some Bantu languages), and languages in which they don't (i.e. Romance languages); languages in which evaluative affixes select base words belonging to different syntactic categories (i.e. Italian), and languages in which they are strictly limited to nouns (i.e. English); etc. But if we look at evaluative morphology from a functional point of view, the picture radically changes. The most promising perspective is that of considering the functions usually (but not exclusively) performed by evaluative affixes as typological prototypes (possibly as language universals), based on lexical prototypes: SMALL and BIG are representative of 'quantitative' (or system-level) side of evaluation, while the semantic primitives GOOD and BAD represent its 'qualitative' (or discourse-level) side.

Consistently with such an approach, in this talk by evaluative affix I'll mean each affix that has the function of assigning a value, which is different from that of the 'standard' (within the semantic scale to which it is part of), to the concept expressed by the base word. This value (both in a quantitative and qualitative perspective) is assigned without resorting to any parameters of reference external to the concept itself: Italian *tavolo* 'table' > *tavolino* 'small table', Berber *afus* 'hand' > *tafust* 'small hand', Catalan *calor* 'heat' > *calorassa* 'strong heat', etc.

After drawing a general picture of 'evaluation' based on functional and semantic criteria, I will cross-linguistically survey evaluative affixes (thus excluding non morphological strategies involved in evaluation), focusing on two issues. At first, possible preferential links between semantic evaluative values and particular formal means will be presented (for example, pejorative prefixes are cross-linguistically very rare, but pejorative suffixes are frequent; on the other side, 'meliorative' prefixes are widely attested, but 'meliorative' suffixes almost never occur). At second, the nature of evaluative affixes in some sample languages will be compared both to typical inflection and typical derivation, in order to understand whether a universal (or, at least, cross-linguistically recurrent) collocation of evaluative affixes within morphological component can be assumed or not.

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### The convergence of EFL and ELF through social networking: the case of fanfiction.

Grazzi, Enrico  
(University of Roma Tre)

**Background.** The Internet should be considered an authentic social environment, inhabited by culturally and ethnically diverse communities who mainly use English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) to interact online. The heterogeneity of the growing population of

net users is perhaps the most tangible manifestation of cross-cultural communication, and the pervasiveness of English as the primary contact language has given a strong impulse to the emergence of its sub-standard varieties.

As regards social networking, the fact that lots of ELF speakers are also EFL learners who study English in school or University makes the Internet a valuable resource for L2 users. Fanfiction is a case in point, as it shows how computer-mediated communication contributes to the enhancement of intercultural understanding, which is also a fundamental objective of ELT. Hence, it is suggested that creative writing on the Web should not be overlooked by language teachers, but rather be integrated within the English syllabus to enhance learners' competencies and support collaborative relationships.

**Objectives.** The primary objective of my research project is to study the use of ELF in fanfiction. Its focus is mainly concerned with the way diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds may induce the production of innovative ELF lexicogrammar forms, in asynchronous writing. Therefore, this research is intended to collect an ad hoc corpus of relevant NNSs' user-generated texts, produced by two classes of Italian high-school students, and analyze them both from a quantitative and qualitative point of view.

This project has also a pedagogical objective, for it is intended to *a.* study the high affordance of social networking that provides NNSs with a zone of proximal development (ZPD); and *b.* make suggestions about the role of the language teacher and the implementation of learners' activities based on the use of ELF for social networking.

#### **Methodology and approach**

- Collection and quantitative analysis of data from the ad hoc corpus. Reference corpora: the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA); the British National Corpus (BNC); Seidlhofer's VOICE.\*

- Qualitative analysis of collected data using Partington's (2008) integrated approach called Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), which allows a deeper informed discourse analysis of collected texts, based on the quantitative data of the ad hoc corpus. Focus on lexicogrammar features of ELF.

- Compilation of an on-line glossary of ELF phraseology and collocations that should be left open to further contributions from ELF speakers.

- Reflections on the pedagogical implications of the convergence of ELF and EFL. Redefinition of the role of the teacher of EFL who incorporates social networking and ELF into ELT as teaching/learning tools, informed by the principles of Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (SCT).

**Expected results.** This research should reveal some important features of ELF not only from the linguistic point of view, but also from a sociocultural perspective, which entails the pedagogical value of online communication.

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\* B.Seidlhofer's VOICE 1.0 was open to free access in 2009. It is the first free-access corpus comprising a million lexicogrammar items of spoken ELF.

### **The interaction of deep and shallow semantics: aspects of thematic-frame mapping in FunGramKB.**

Guerra García, Fátima & Sacramento Lechado, Elena  
(University of La Laguna)

FunGramKB (Functional Grammar Knowledge Base; Perrián and Arcas, 2010a, 2010b; Perrián and Mairal, 2010) has three levels of knowledge representation: a lexical level, a conceptual level, and a grammatical level. The conceptual level, which provides the non-linguistic knowledge, is shared by all languages, whereas the lexical level stores linguistic knowledge, so it is language-dependent. The ontology, which is one of the modules of its conceptual level, is pivotal for the whole architecture.

Conceptual modelling takes place within the ontology, whereas the implementation of both the semantic and the constructional information for lexical units belongs to the lexical level; both processes are designed to be completely independent within the knowledge base. Nevertheless, despite the methodological independence of these processes, concept encoding and representation at the level of deep semantics and the semantic definitions of the predicates belonging to the lexicons for different languages are clearly intertwined.

Meaning postulates from the ontology have an impact on shallower linguistic representations. Such a relationship between ontology and lexicons leads naturally to posit the following question: is it possible to find a parallel behaviour between the predicates' Aktionsarten, on the one hand, and the treatment of the events in the ontological component of FunGramKB, on the other?

In order to provide an answer to this question, certain issues must be considered: (a) it is necessary to verify whether the lexical units from the different lexicons (as f.i. English and Spanish) linked to a given ontological metaconcept present similar semantic structures. That is, to what extent their meaning definition is inherited from the meaning postulate corresponding to the concept in the ontology; (b) the ascertainment of the degree of isomorphism between the thematic frame of a given concept from the ontological component and the predicate frame of its corresponding lexical units may also be revealing; (c) since the predicate frame of a given lexical unit may be altered by constructional patterns, it is also interesting to check whether there is ontological motivation for valency augmentation in lexical-constructional interaction.

As can be inferred, these three topics presuppose the existence of an ontology-to-lexicon *thematic-frame mapping*.

The aim of this presentation will be to trace the *thematic-frame mapping* from some basic concepts belonging to the

conceptual domains #MOTION and #CREATION in FunGramKB's ontology to the lexical information encoded in the entries for their corresponding English and Spanish verbal predicates.

Thus, for example, we will analyse several verbal predicates belonging to the basic concept +WALK\_00 and observe how all of them have the same Aktionsart in the lexicon, i.e. activity and active accomplishment, both in English and Spanish. Moreover, it will be shown how just one or two of the five arguments from the concept's thematic frame in the ontology are mapped in the Lexicon as variables of the predicates, being either intransitive (as is the case of *hike*, *limp*, *plod*, *prance*, *sidle* or *stroll*) or both transitive and intransitive (as for example *walk*, *march* or *stroll*). Equally, we will examine the lexical units associated to the basic concept +SOUND\_01, belonging to a different conceptual domain, whose Aktionsarten, semelfactive such as *chatter*, *murmur*, *resonate*, *thunder* or semelfactive and causative semelfactive (as in the case of *clang*, *clink*, *crack*, or *jingle*) appear to be intrinsically linked to the number of variables mapped onto the predicate.

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### Lexical-constructural interaction in the English middle alternation: a functional cognitive approach.

Guerrero Medina, Pilar  
(University of Córdoba)

The main aim of this paper is to consider the issue of lexical-constructural interaction in the English middle alternation, which authors like Levin (1993) present as restricted to affected objects, as in *The butcher cuts the meat/The meat cuts easily*.

I agree with Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (forthcoming), that lexical class ascription can in fact be a licensing or blocking factor of *lexical-constructural subsumption* in syntactic alternations involving the middle construction. However, as they rightly observe, verb classes cannot be created *ad hoc* on the mere basis of constructural needs, and there are cases which are difficult to explain.

In this paper I will first explore the semantico-pragmatic mechanisms that may sanction the ascription of a verbal predicate to the middle construction, particularly in cases where there is no causative element, as in *The new Holden Berlina handles like a junior sports sedan* and *She does not photograph well*, which Davidse and Heyvaert (2007: 39, 66) analyze as structures "expressing a modal letting value", linked to the "conductive nature" of a subject which is "subjectively evaluated by the speaker in terms of its contextually implied features". Drawing upon Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2007), and following the line of research of Cortés Rodríguez (2009), I will also try to determine to what extent the combination of high-level metaphor and metonymy may actually apply as an external "co-licensing factor" in the explanation of these extended uses of the middle construction type with verbs which do not involve a change of state. Special attention will be paid to non-prototypical examples of the middle construction with instrumental subjects (e.g. *This soap powder washes whiter; Narrow tyres manoeuvre more easily*), locative subjects (e.g. *This top loch fishes well*) and subjects as means with both transitive and intransitive verbs (e.g. *This music dances better than the other one; This wood carves beautiful toys*). See also Davidse and Heyvaert (2003).

My discussion in this paper, which attempts to reconcile Davidse & Heyvaert's (2007) and Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal's (2007) approaches to the analysis of the English middle, will be based on examples taken from the World Edition of the British National Corpus.

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## ULM revisited: a semantic framework that incorporates syntax and information theory.

Guest, Elizabeth & Golonka, Sabrina  
(Leeds Metropolitan University)

Towards the end of 2005, the Universal Lexical Metalanguage (ULM) was born. The aim was to develop a semantic framework that made sense and worked. ULM arose by combining ideas from cognitive neuroscience, primes, logical structures, qualia, ontologies and conceptual frameworks, fuzzy logic, and the notion that predicates and their arguments have a complex relationship. To a certain extent that was arguably revolutionary at the time ULM's aims were met.

A particular innovation in ULM is it tries to get away from the idea that words have meanings that can be precisely defined. Words in ULM are defined by sets of intervals where each interval defines a range of meaning. Hyponyms are derived via operations on the set of intervals. The universal semantic prime theory of Wierzbicka was extended to the assumption that a universal set of intervals exists from which all words in all languages can be defined.

Since ULM was born, research in many of the areas that underpin ULM has progressed. The purpose of this paper is to revisit ULM in the light of recent work in a number of areas along with experience gained in various research projects. With hindsight some of the features of ULM appear simplistic, and others need further development. The notion of predicates and their arguments which lies at the centre of ULM is still valid, but aspects involving the notion of primes, the logical structures, and the interface between syntax and semantics need updating. A considerable amount of work is required to identify the required intervals for any particular language, possibly to the point where this cannot be done. An alternative is urgently required. In addition, even the modified use of logical structures within ULM leaves quite a bit to be desired in order to really capture the meaning of words. ULM was built on the assumption that syntax and semantics are inseparable. Although further work in this area is required in ULM, it is also recognized that ULM should include notions from information structure. Information structure forms an important part of language and has an important part to play in both syntax and semantics. In addition ideas from mathematics such as the notion of isomorphism and category theory, as well as recent advances in neuroscience and cognitive science need to be integrated into ULM to increase its power and applicability.

The new version of ULM is more strongly based on arguments and predicates. Instead of simply modeling language by identify core ranges of meanings, it also attempts to quantify the boundaries in the way words are used. The boundaries are important if the differences in usage of, for example, pronouns between languages are to be described and understood.

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## From ergative case-marking to hierarchical agreement in Reyesano (Tacanan, Bolivia).

Guillaume, Antoine  
(DDL -CNRS & University of Lyon 2).

Reyesano (aka Maropa) is the only Tacanan language (Lowland Amazonian Bolivia) that has a developed system of person prefixes in the verb and no case-marking; by contrast, all the other Tacanan languages (Araona, Cavineña, Ese Ejja and Tacana) display an ergative case-marking system and basically no person marking in the verb (except from a 3<sup>rd</sup> person A marker in some of the languages). Interestingly, the Reyesano person agreement system is of the hierarchical agreement type, that is, in transitive constructions, it marks the higher ranked participant on a person hierarchy (2>1>3) regardless of its grammatical function (A or O), as illustrated below (from Guillaume 2009):

(1) Reyesano transitive clauses

<i>mi-a-ba(-a)</i>	[2SG-PAST-see-PAST]	'you (sg) saw him/her/it/them' or: 'I/we saw you (sg)'
<i>mik-a-ba(-a)</i>	[2PL-PAST-see-PAST]	'you (pl) him/her/it/them' or: 'I/we saw you (pl)'
<i>mi-a-ba-ta(-a)</i>	[2SG-PAST-see-3A-PAST]	'he/she/it/they saw you (sg)'
<i>mik-a-ba-ta(-a)</i>	[2PL-PAST-see-3A-PAST]	'he/she/it/they saw you (pl)'
<i>m-a-ba(-a)</i>	[1SG-PAST-see-PAST]	'I saw him/her/it/them'
<i>m-a-ba-ta(-a)</i>	[1SG-PAST-see-3A-PAST]	'he/she/it/they saw me'
<i>k-a-ba-ta(-a)</i>	[2PL-PAST-see-3A-PAST]	'he/she/it/they saw us'

In this paper I will first provide evidence that the Reyesano system is the result of a recent development rather than the remnant of an older stage within the Tacanan family. Secondly, I will propose a diachronic pathway through which the Reyesano argument coding system could have developed. I will in particular investigate the possibility that the Reyesano person markers arose out of independent pronouns that lost their prosodic and distributional autonomy and, crucially, their case-marking distinctions, a phenomenon that is attested in other languages of the Tacanan family, such as Cavineña (Guillaume 2006, 2010). I will also suggest that the step from 2nd position clitics to verb prefixes (through a stage of verb proclitics) specific to Reyesano was triggered by the particular geographical location of this language, in close contact with head-marking

languages, in particular from the Arawak family, which have person prefixes in the verb. Finally, I will show that this path of development has been hypothesized for other languages such as in some prefixing Australian languages (Dixon 2004: 380).

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### **Construction grammar and syntactic reconstruction: internal reconstruction of main clause grammar in Trumai (isolate).**

Guirardello-Damian, Raquel & Gildea, Spike  
(University of the West of England; University of Oregon)

This paper takes the position that syntax can be reconstructed reliably using the comparative method. The prerequisites to use of the comparative method are (1) the ability to identify cognates in related languages or, for internal reconstruction, in distinct domains within a single language; (2) the ability to identify regular correspondences within a corpus of cognates; and (3) a theory of directionality in linguistic change that allows one to reconstruct a proto-form from which the modern cognates can all be derived by plausible changes. The notion of CONSTRUCTION is sufficiently concrete, and has sufficient internal complexity, that cognates can be readily identified. Across cognate constructions, regular correspondences can be established between morphemes, constituents, and properties of argument structure. Like sound correspondences, constructional correspondences can each change independently as a construction evolves. Even though directionality of grammatical change is not exceptionless, it is sufficiently robust to motivate reconstruction. We illustrate internal reconstruction of syntax by refining Guirardello's (1999) reconstruction of main clause grammar in Trumai (isolate, Brazil).

In standard Trumai main clauses, S and P are unmarked, precede the verb inside a VP constituent, and their absence triggers a third-person verbal enclitic; the verb bears no other morphology. Syntactically, both extraction and raising are sensitive to the absolutive category: when the absolutive is extracted from the VP (usually for focus purposes) the verb must be followed by a morpheme *ke*; when a third person absolutive NP is omitted from an absolutive complement clause, it is realized as the absolutive enclitic on the main verb (i.e., it is "raised"). Additionally, a FOCUS/TENSE particle frequently occurs in second position.

In seeking correspondences from other constructions, we find unmarked verbs behaving as nouns (either the absolutive or dative argument of matrix clauses); in these constructions, the notional absolutive is treated as an inalienable possessor, inside a constituent with the following possessed head noun (parallel to the main clause absolutive-verb VP constituent). When an inalienably possessed noun is the absolutive P of a transitive verb and its possessor NP is omitted, that possessor is realized as the absolutive person-marking enclitic on the main verb (i.e., it is "raised"). The morpheme *ke* derives an unpossessible participant nominalization from a verb, referring to the notional absolutive argument of that verb. The past tense FOCUS/TENSE particle contains the modern copula plus an additional focus morpheme. These correspondences suggest cognacy between: main verbs and nominalizations; absolutives and inalienable possessors; extraction clauses and absolutive relative clauses; and ultimately, main clauses (with Foc/Tns) and clefts.

From what common source did these cognates arise? In typical changes, parataxis → monoclausal (Harris & Campbell 1995), Nominalizations → Main Clause verbs (Gildea 1998, 2008), and cleft markers → focus particles (Heine & Reh 1985). As such, we reconstruct two pre-Trumai cleft constructions as the antecedents to both clefts and main clause grammar in modern Trumai. We then examine and independently motivate each change in correspondences between the internal cognates; some changes took place in modern clefts and others in modern main clause grammar.

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## The ethical dative: deriving syntax from semantics.

Gutzmann, Daniel  
(Universität Frankfurt)

Like many other ethical datives (EDs), the ethical dative *mir* in German exhibits a set of special syntactic and semantic properties. Syntactically it cannot be fronted or coordinated; neither can it receive main stress. Semantically, it can be neither focused nor be in the scope of an operator, and it is not part of the propositional content of the sentence in which it occurs.

In this talk, I provide a semantic account to derive its syntactic and semantic properties. Following Horn (2008) and Gutzmann (2007), I analyze the ED as an expressive item that conveys that the speaker has some personal interest in the hearer's execution of the action requested. This expressive proposition is independent from the ordinary descriptive meaning of the sentence and hence leads to multidimensional content (Potts 2005).

- (1) Mach **mir** deine Hausaufgaben!  
make ED your homework  
"Do ED your homework"

A sentence like (1) conveys both descriptive and expressive content. Descriptively, (1) is an order that the addressee does her homework, while (1) conveys expressively that the speaker has a personal interest that the addressee does her homework.

In order to give an explicit semantic formulation of the meaning and the semantic contribution of EDs, I follow Kubota & Uegaki's (2010) proposal to use a continuation based semantics (Barker & Shan 2008) to formalize expressive content. The basic idea is that EDs are verb phrase modifiers, just like other free datives, but what distinguishes them is that they are expressive modifiers whose interpretation is delayed until a sentence is uttered. Only then, an ED is applied to the ordinary propositional content of the sentence to yield the expressive content which is interpreted independently. This accounts directly for the fact that German EDs cannot fall under the scope of an operator and that they do not affect the descriptive content of a sentence.

Equipped with such a semantic approach, I will demonstrate that the syntactic properties of EDs can be derived from their special semantics. Regarding coordination, it can be shown that EDs are of the wrong semantic type and that coordinating them would lead to uninterpretable structures. That EDs cannot be focussed can directly be derived from their expressive character. Assuming an alternative focus semantics (Rooth 1996), focussing EDs leads to presuppositions that cannot be fulfilled in any context and therefore always leads to infelicity. That EDs cannot be fronted is connected to this inability to be focussed. There are several conditions that enable an expression to be fronted in German (Steinbach 2002), the only one that comes into question for EDs is to be the focus of a sentence. Since that is not possible for EDs, it follows that they cannot be fronted either.

My talk demonstrates that a semantics that distinguishes between descriptive and expressive meaning is able to account for the special properties of such quirky phenomena as EDs in German.

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## Referential CPs and DPs: An Op-movement account.

Haegeman, Liliane & Urogi, Barbara  
(University of Ghent and Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

**1. Operator movement and the derivation of adverbial clauses.** MCP (such as argument fronting, cf. Hooper & Thompson 1973) are largely ungrammatical in temporal clauses (1a). In contrast, fronted adjuncts (1b) as well as Romance CLLD (1c) are grammatical. The same pattern is found to obtain in conditional clauses. Under a movement analysis of temporal and conditional clauses, their incompatibility with MCP is attributed to locality: the fronted argument blocks the probe-goal relation between C and the temporal / event / conditional (or world) operator. Adjunct fronting (1b) and CLLD (1c) are independently known not to give rise to the same intervention effects, hence they remain compatible with adverbial clauses.

**2. That-clauses, MCP and extraction.** Factive complements (2) are generally incompatible with MCP, while again remaining compatible with fronted adjuncts and CLLD. Given the observed asymmetries we extend the Op-movement account to complements of factive predicates. That such complement clauses are also islands for extraction follows directly from the movement analysis.

**3. Complement clauses and referentiality.** In independent work, de Cuba and Ürögdi (2009) show that those complement clauses that are incompatible with MCP and islands for extraction have referential properties (RCPs or referential CPs). Syntactic evidence from English and Dutch shows that these clauses pattern with referring expressions in terms of distribution, and in Hungarian, the distribution and interpretation of clausal expletives that ‘double’ both declarative and interrogative embedded clauses (the latter also known as the *wh*-expletive construction) can be captured by the referentiality account, taking into consideration the sensitivity of this language to the referentiality of arguments (cf. Kiss 2002).

**4. Operator movement and referentiality.** De Cuba and Ürögdi (2009) point out that RCPs share syntactic properties with referring DPs, e.g. they resist the extraction of non-referential *wh*-phrases. We make the correlation between RCPs and referential DPs explicit, and argue that the same operator movement renders both CPs and DPs referential, yielding similar syntactic and semantic effects in these two types of phrases. With this, we add a novel argument to the discussion on CP/DP parallelism.

**5. Intervention effects: a refinement.** Looking closer at (2a), we show that in terms of featural relativized minimality (Starke 2001; Rizzi 2004), contrastive topics (arguably [+wh]) match the feature make-up of the operator involved in event relativization in referential clauses, and as such, are interveners to its movement. Aboutness topics, for example, are featurally simpler, so no such intervention results. On this view, the contrast between (1a; 2a) and (1b,c; 2b,c) is due to the fact that English argument fronting does, while English adjunct fronting and Romance CLLD do not, involve contrastive topicalization (cf. also Bianchi & Frascarelli (2009)). English (3) and Hungarian (4) data indicate that even contrastive topics can be grammatical in RCPs, provided that the RCP itself is focused. We argue that in such examples, the moved event operator that derives the complement clause is associated with an extra D-linking feature, obviating the intervention effect of the contrastive topic.

Examples

- (1) a \*When this song I heard last week, I remembered my first love  
 b When last week I heard this song, I remembered my first love  
 c *Quand cette chanson je l'ai entendue...* (French)  
 when this song I it-have-1SG heard-PART-FSG
- (2) a. (%)\*John regrets that this book Mary read. (Maki *et al.*, 1999: 3, (2c))  
 b. I regret that in those days I didn't realize the importance of classical languages.  
 c. *Mi dispiace che questo problema gli studenti non l'abbiano potuto risolvere.*  
 me displeases that this problem the students *non* it have been able to solve
- (3) a. John resents that *this book* Mary read from cover to cover, and not that the other (his favorite) she didn't even open. (compare to (2a), which is not easily read contrastively)  
 b. It's that *this book* Mary read that John resents.
- (4) *János AZT felejtette el, hogy MARI tegnap kit választott.*  
 John Expl forgot Prt Comp Mary yesterdaywhom chose  
 "What John forgot is whom MARY chose yesterday."

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## On interplay of information structure, anaphoric links and discourse relations.

Hajicova, Eva  
(Charles University, Prague)

There is an abundant evidence of research carried out in the domain of information structure of the sentence, on anaphoric and coreferential relations and on most different aspects of discourse structure. However, there is no systematic account of the interplay of these aspects. At the same time, the current existence of large text corpora available for linguistic investigations invites linguists to try and examine the interaction and cooperation of the above mentioned aspects on a corpus annotated systematically with regard to the syntactic structure of sentences, to their information structure as well as to the (basic) anaphoric/coreferential links and (at least) to some aspects of discursive relations.

Our examination of the interplay of the above mentioned aspects of sentence and discourse structure is based on the material of the Prague Dependency Treebank, an annotated corpus of Czech texts. This corpus consists of 3165 documents containing 49431 sentences (with the total of 833195 word tokens); all the sentences are annotated on a morphological, surface and underlying (syntactico-semantic) layers including the information-structure of the sentence; in about 90% of them also basic anaphoric links ((pro)nominal coreference and associative links) is registered and an annotation of discursive relations is carried out for which an annotation manual has already been published..

The following aspects are taken into consideration (notation:  $X::=Y$  stands for "there is a relation between X and Y")

(i) Tectogrammatical (underlying syntactic) trees (TGTS) in the PDT multilayer scheme of annotation capture underlying dependency syntactic relations, and thus are supposed to represent the literal meaning of sentence. Nodes are reconstructed in case of surface deletions of sentence elements. The elements "missing" in the surface shape of the sentence are indispensable if the sentences have to be understood in the appropriate (discourse) contexts. Therefore, the analysis of any intersentential relations is to be based on the underlying rather than superficial shape of the sentence.

(ii) Dependency relations::= Discursive relations

TGTSs of sentences capture also several types of relations (both explicit and implicit) that hold intrasententially between clauses as well as intersententially. The amount of discursive relations we get "for granted" is not negligible: in PDT there are 87916 clauses, i.e approx. twice as many as the number of sentences, and the relations between them are already established. In a general perspective, it is an interesting research issue to look at the sets of intra- and inter-sentential relations and to study their commonalities and differences.

(iii) Information structure of the sentence::= Discursive relations

Information structure of the sentence is captured in the TGTSs by means of one of the values of a special attribute with each node, differentiating between a contextually bound contrastive element, a contextually bound non-contrastive element and a contextually non-bound element. One of the examples of an interaction between information structure and discourse is contrast: Also, the dynamics of discourse structure can be shown as depending, among other things, on the information structure of sentence in the texts.

(iv) Information structure of the sentence ::= Anaphoric relations

The contextually bound items, by their definition, are expected to be found in an anaphoric relation to some item(s) in the preceding co(n)text, however, an interesting research question is under which circumstances there is an anaphoric link to an unbound item, and, more generally, to look for these interrelations in case of bridging anaphora.

(v) Anaphoric relations ::= Discursive relations

Some anaphorical expressions also act as connective elements establishing a certain semantic discursive relation (e.g. *therefore, instead of*). Thus it is advantageous if these relations are studied in their cooperation.

The interactions of all the above mentioned aspects will be illustrated on a text fragment and it will be demonstrated how a multi-aspectual annotation of a text makes it possible to reach a more consistent and complex picture discourse.

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## From derivational affix to free form. An argument for bidirectional morphological change.

Hamans, Camiel  
(European Parliament/Anne Vondeling Stichting Brussels)

Language seems to change in a specific direction, from more substance to less. For instance from full phonological substance to eroded forms or from lexical to grammatical items. Such a direction might be seen as natural or functional (cf. Norde 2009). In this paper it will be shown that there is not such a thing as a deterministic direction of morphological change and that there are no directional constraints on possible morphological changes.

Traditionally the origin of derivational suffixes has been described as an instance of directional change: from full word to bound morpheme, possibly via an intermediate stage of semi-suffix or suffixoid (Marchand 1969: 210-214). According to Hopper & Traugott (1993:7) this type of change follows a cline of lexicality. Examples of this process are derivational suffixes such as English *-dom*, *-hood*, *-wise*, *-ful*, German *-lich*, Dutch *-lijk* but also a recent Dutch suffixoid as *-boer*, from a noun *boer* 'farmer' but with a different meaning 'seller' (Booij 2005: 85-86).

Changes in the reverse direction, from segment of a noun via suffixoid or combining form to suffix and even to full noun, may have been less frequently attested. However they appear numerous, especially in modern usage. Examples of this type of change are forms such as English *-eteria*, *-athon*, *-quel*, *-int*, *-nomics* and free forms such as *zine*, *ware* 'computer programs' and *vertorial*.

In this paper it will be shown how reanalysis of unusual simplex words may lead to an interpretation as a composite (Marchand 1969: 211), so may acquire derivative force and form the starting point of a change in the direction from non-descript segment to bound element and possibly subsequently free form.

Examples will be adduced from English, French, German and Dutch. Also some examples of prefixes which follow the same pattern will be discussed, such as English *mini* and German *super*.

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## Contact-induced grammatical change: evidence from Vanuatu.

Hammond, Jeremy  
(Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen)

This paper investigates lexical replacement in Whitesands/Narak, an Austronesian language of Tanna (southern Vanuatu). It addresses a primary question: What internal evidence is there to show that language contact stimulates grammatical change? (Thomason 2001) The data presented here strongly suggests that lexical borrowing, primarily from Bislama (the lingua franca of Vanuatu), is a source of structural change in Whitesands. It is based on the analysis of a multimedia corpus (currently 3 hours of analysed text) collected in-situ (2008-2010) as part of a language documentation program.

This paper is written in response to Lindstrom's "Bislama into Kwamera: Code-mixing and Language Change on Tanna" (2007). His analysis is on Kwamera, a related neighbouring language of Whitesands. Lindstrom claims that the linguistic repertoire of Kwamera speakers is expanded by using Bislama and concludes, "speakers' frequent Bislama mixes have not yet seriously undermined their vernacular". In this analysis, I show that there are at least two syntactic loan word constructions in contemporary Whitesands that contradict this claim, despite a similar historical and social setting. These two constructions are possession and predicate inflection.

The Whitesands possession system is typical of southern Vanuatu languages making a distinction between inalienable and alienable possession. This contrast is based on the inalienable class of nouns, which are typically kin terms and body parts. They behave differently syntactically; the inalienable class takes an obligatory possessor suffix, while the alienable uses a construction with possessive classifiers. Loan words from Bislama do not make this contrast. They are not able to use the inalienable construction even if they match semantically and are phonologically acceptable. A loan must take the alienable possessive classifier. I argue that as words (particularly kin terms and body parts) are replaced by equivalents from Bislama (as the corpus suggests), the inalienable possession structure becomes statistically less significant compared with the alienable structure. That is, the balance in the grammar between the two structures is biased by loan words and any semantic motivation of the inalienable/alienable distinction is diluted.

The second changing construction is the inflected predicate. The indigenous predicate is obligatorily prefixed with TAM and subject agreement (see Early 2004). With Bislama loan words, this is not permitted. A dummy verb *-ol* 'make/do' must be used to carry the inflection. This is creating a co-verb construction where two words are required for a verbal complex. The syntactic category of co-verb is populated by lexical borrowing, thus being strengthened as a category as more words are borrowed. It seriously undermines the prefixing nature of the TAM and subject marking system.

Therefore, Lindstrom's claim that on Tanna there has not been "morphological and syntactic mutations" does not fully account for the contemporary Whitesands data. Instead, the distribution of syntactic categories is altered by the population of specific lexical sets from Bislama. Further, synchronic data shows there are changes in the syntactic behavior of fully indigenous

words to be more like borrowed words. Combined with the prevalence (around 10% of all lexemes) of borrowed words this is causing overall language change in Whitesands.

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## Lexical approaches to Finnish non-finite manner constructions– corpus observations.

Hamunen, Markus  
(University of Helsinki)

Finnish uses several non-finite constructions expressing manner broadly. These include the ten-infinitive (*Susi [menee<sub>fin</sub> [kävellen]<sub>2.inf.instr</sub>]*) and the malla-infinitive (*Susi [menee<sub>fin</sub> [kävelemällä]<sub>3.inf.ade</sub>]* both ‘a wolf goes by walking’) and the so-called Colorative Construction (*Susi [[mennä]<sub>1.inf</sub> köpöttelee<sub>fin</sub>]* ‘a wolf goes trotting’). So, in this paper, I will focus on some motivations of the functional differences between these semantically adjacent expression types.

Judging by data from dialect corpora, the choice of the non-finite construction seems to the certain degree depend on two, partly separate motivations: (i) Considering verb taxonomy (or hierarchical semantic composition of verbal lexicon), ‘lower-level’ ideophony-based colorative verbs take 1.infinitive (1) whereas ‘basic’ as well as ‘higher-level’ verbs combine usually with either 2. infinitive instructive (ten) or 3.infinitive adessive (malla) (comp. 1 and 2a–b). (ii) The latter two infinitives seem to differ from each other according to *aktionsart* of finite verb (or better the whole event type the finite verb is within). This evokes a distinction between manner (2a) and means (2b).

- |      |  |                                |                      |                    |          |
|------|--|--------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------|
| (1)  | <i>mummo</i>   | <i>puhu-a</i>                  | <i>ropis-i</i>       | <i>koko aja-n.</i> | [manner] |
|      | an old woman   | speak-inf                      | col-pst.3sg          | all time-gen       |          |
|      | ‘an old woman spoke pattering all the time’  |                                |                      |                    |          |
| (2a) | <i>kun</i>   | <i>kettu tulo-o</i>            | <i>juos-tej</i>      | <i>ja</i>          | [manner] |
|      | when fox.nom   | come-prs.3sg                   | run-2inf.ins         | and                |          |
|      | ‘when a fox comes running and’   |                                |                      |                    |          |
| (2b) | <i>suutari-kki</i>   | <i>tekke-e</i>                 | <i>pohojaa-malla</i> | <i>heti</i>        | [means]  |
|      | cobbler.nom-too  | make-prs.3sg                   | bottom-3inf.ade      | right.away         |          |
|      | <i>niin</i>  | <i>sanottuja siivakenk-i-ä</i> |                      |                    |          |
|      | so   | called shoe-pl-part            |                      |                    |          |
|      | ‘a cobbler/shoemaker produces so called [or certain type of] siiva-shoes by the method of bottoming them in a certain way’ |                                |                      |                    |          |

Nevertheless, when going deep into authentic corpus data the above described explanations (i) and (ii) seem not to be discrete but more like tendencies instead. Some functional overlappings between ten and malla occur also. Consequently, in this presentation I will designate more rigorous manner, how these motivations operate on corpus data. Moreover, lexicalizations (of some particular infinitives) and even areal variation may also affect when choosing the ‘right’ infinitive form.

In general, with empirical data my paper will also argue for (bottom–up) lexically oriented approach to constructional organization (à la Construction Grammar), which has been put forth for example by Iwata (2008). That proposes lexeme group specific micro-constructions beside Goldberg's (1995) more schematic argument structure constructions.

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## The pragmatics of modality, negation and personal pronouns: stance and intersubjective positioning in Bush and Obama's speeches to the Arab world.

Hanawi, Yasra & Hidalgo-Downing, Laura  
(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

In this paper we explore the discourse-pragmatic role of modality, negation and personal pronouns and their contribution to the expression of stance and intersubjective positioning in two speeches delivered by the American presidents George Bush Jr. and Barack Obama to the Arab World. The first speech, by President Bush, took place in Abu Dabi in 2008 and the second one, by President Obama, in Cairo in 2009. The data constitute an extremely interesting source of choices on how the two presidents position themselves and the country they represent with respect to a traditionally conflictive interlocutor for the US, the Arab world. We combine recent research on the discourse-pragmatics of modality, stance and indexicality (Biber and Finegan 1989; Givón 1993; Halliday 1994; Martin and White 2005; de Fina and Schiffrin 2006; Englebreston 2007; Hanks 2009, among others), on political discourse (Wilson 1990; Chilton 2004) and Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1992) in order to argue that a combined analysis of modal markers, negation and indexical markers such as personal pronouns provides the means for analysing some of the complex workings of stance and intersubjective positioning in political discourse. We argue that both markers of modality and personal pronouns are indexical in nature and thus contribute to the active and dynamic construction of context and to the process of recontextualisation inherent in political discourse. Thus, the markers we analyse both contribute to the expression of speaker stance and to the positioning and alignment or disalignment of speakers with regard to their interlocutors and the topic of their discourse (see Martin and White 2005; de Fina and Schiffrin 2006; Englebreston 2007). Our objectives in the present study are to compare the following features in the two speeches:

- The frequency of modal expressions (under modality we include markers of epistemic possibility, probability, certainty, evidentiality and cognition), the negative particle *not*, contrastive *but* and personal pronouns.
- The co-occurrence of personal pronouns with markers of modality.
- To discuss the significance of the results for the expression of stance and intersubjective positioning in the two politicians.

The methodology we have followed consists of a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. We have first carried out a computer assisted search of the selected items and concordances in order to identify clusters of pronominal forms, modals and negative particles. On the basis of the concordances obtained, we have analysed in detail the contextual features of the uses of the linguistic forms we are exploring. Results show, first, that president Obama's speech presents a significantly higher frequency of markers of modality and negation than president Bush's speech. Second, while Obama's speech is characterised by the frequent use of first person pronouns, Bush's speech comparatively relies more on the use of the second person pronoun *you*. Finally, the co-occurrence of personal pronouns and modal markers is different in the two speeches, in particular with regard to the occurrence of verbs of cognition and first person pronouns.

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## Person Portmanteaus as a window into referential splits and hierarchies

Handschuh, Corinna & Cysouw, Michael  
(MPI-EVA Leipzig & LUM München)

Person portmanteaus are morphemes that mark more than one participant in a (semi-)transparent way. Many languages in the world use such (semi-)transparent inflectional morphemes on predicates to mark participants in (di)transitive constructions. By investigation the internal structure of a large collection of such systems from many different languages, insights can be gained into cross-linguistic preferences as to the prominence of particular combinations of participants. In this presentation, I will present results from a typological survey of person portmanteaus, which regularly show splits and often hierarchical effects.

Specialized morphemes for the marking of combinations of participants occur in different guises. To start with, there are completely opaque and synchronically unanalyzable markers, with no other functions in the respective language. The distribution of such opaque markers seems to have a strong preference for combinations of first and

second persons, with some incidental, but interesting, outliers. These opaque markers are of course real the portmanteaus, but there are other phenomena which I will also include under the heading of person portmanteaus. First, there are such opaque markers that can still be (partly) interpreted as origination from multiple parts. Such diachronic interpretations are difficult, because for most languages of the world we do not have data on earlier stages of the language. However, by investigating variation between closely related languages, it is sometimes possible to propose diachronical developments. Such semi-transparent morphemes already have a much wider distribution than the completely opaque ones, and I would like to interpret this distribution as a next step of the typological hierarchy of bipersonal marking. Finally, there are morphemes that are used specifically for combination of participants, but also for singular, intransitive participants. This typically occurs in first-to-third type of combinations, and the distribution of such single-participant-marking 'portmanteaus' is often closely related to intransitive paradigms. The distribution of these markers is particularly interesting in languages with agent/patient splits, as these splits seems to permeate into the transitive paradigm to various degrees.

Summarizing, in the marking of multi-participant person markers, I observe a morphological grammaticalization gradient: Opaque > Semi-transparent > Single-participant-marking, which, as I will argue, can be used to investigate the functional organization of hierarchical person marking systems.

### Person in perception: the case of Spanish *ver* 'to see' and *mirar* 'to look'.

Hanegreefs, Hilde & De Cock, Barbara  
(Lessius/KULeuven - HUBrussel/KULeuven)

This paper offers a first exploration into the relation between person reference and the interpretation of the two main Spanish verbs of visual perception (VP) *ver* and *mirar*.

Person reference is known to influence the reading of cognition verbs. Particularly 1<sup>st</sup> person singular forms allow for expressing epistemic stance instead of thought representation (Thompson & Mulac 1991 for English; Vázquez Rozas 2005 for Spanish; Blanche-Benveniste & Willems 2007 for French). Visual perception verbs allow for semantic extensions to more abstract domains such as cognition and evaluation (Hanegreefs 2008). Therefore, it seems plausible to link person reference to the different cognition readings of visual perception verbs.

We start from the two documented differences between *ver* and *mirar*: on the one hand, *ver* relates more easily to the domain of cognition than *mirar* (Hanegreefs 2008); on the other hand, *mirar* conceptualizes the speaker-hearer relationship from a divergent starting point, whereas *ver* focuses on communicative convergence (González Melón & Hanegreefs 2010).

This brings us to formulate the following research questions. Firstly, in line with Benveniste's (1966) subjectivity concept, we expect 1<sup>st</sup> person singular forms to occur more easily with non physical readings of visual perception verbs, i.e. intellective (a) and evaluative perception (b) (Hanegreefs 2008).

- (a) Sí, ya **veo** lo que me quieres decir, sí. (CREA)  
'Yes, I already see/get what you want to tell me, yes.'
- (b) Hoy sé que sigo estando demasiado delgada, pero me **veo** gorda. (CREA)  
'Today I know that I am still thin, but I think I am fat.'

Secondly, we will demonstrate that, given the different semantic basis of these verbs vs. cognition verbs, epistemic stance readings are privileged over thought representation in the intellective readings of visual perception verbs. Also the impact of formal elements such as complement type, will be taken into account.

Thirdly, in view of the different conceptualization of the communicative situation by *ver* (convergence) and *mirar* (divergence), inclusive 1<sup>st</sup> person plural forms, combining speaker and hearer, function differently. Agentive *mirar* invites the hearer to look more closely without implying a given end point, and, therefore, will be less compatible with 1<sup>st</sup> person plural thought representation (c). *Ver*, by contrast, presupposes the ability to reach an agreement and is thus expected to conceptualize more easily shared opinion (d).

- (c) Más bien habría que adaptarse a su forma de ser, **veamos** ¡oiga! ¡el que está de pie con el vino! ¿puede hacer el favor de venir? (CREA)  
'It would be better to adjust to his way of being, let's see, listen, the person who is standing there with the wine, could you please come over here?'
- (d) Pero  **miremos** la parte de la botella que ya está llena. (CREA)  
'But let's look at the part of the bottle that's already full.'

This analysis is based on a twofold Spanish corpus — spoken (informal and formal) interaction and written texts (press and literature) (CREA, COREC, Congreso) —, since we believe that genre influences the frequency of appearance of certain forms and pragmatic uses.

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### A Lexicon of Kallawayá.

Hannss, Katja  
(Bonn University)

This paper will explore the lexico-semantic composition of Kallawayá, a mixed, secret language of north-western Bolivia, used only by traditional herbalists. While the grammar of Kallawayá is largely provided by Quechua, it is assumed that today extinct Pukina was the main lexifier language of Kallawayá and that it is preserved to a considerable degree in this language (see Stark 1972: 199). Although widespread in pre-colonial and early colonial times, Pukina became extinct during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Adelaar and van de Kerke 2009: 125f), and is almost undocumented. The available database consists of approximately 300 to 400 words (see <http://www.unileiden.net/ore>). The first research question is thus (i) *how much of Pukina is actually preserved in Kallawayá and whether part of it can be retrieved*.

In contrast to what has been proposed by earlier studies (see Stark 1972; Torero 1987), recent research conducted by the author suggests that the lexicon of Kallawayá consists of a number of sources, as is typical for mixed, secret languages (see e.g. Matras and Bakker 2003; Matras 2009). Not only did Pukina, Aymara, and Quechua contribute to Kallawayá, but also languages of the eastern slopes of the Andes and the lowlands. In the presentation, it will therefore be discussed (ii) *what other languages contributed to the Kallawayá lexicon*.

Many items provided by the lexifier languages show lexical manipulations in Kallawayá, another characteristic of secret languages, but so far not studied for Kallawayá. The presentation therefore seeks to show (iii) *the types of lexical manipulations observed in the Kallawayá lexicon*.

The research questions will be approached from a lexico-semantic background. The author is currently creating an etymological dictionary, comparing Kallawayá to Quechua, Aymara, and Uru, and to Apolista, Tacana, Leko, Mosestén-Chimane and Yurakaré, languages of the eastern slopes and the lowlands, being geographically closest to Kallawayá (see also Muysken 1997: 443ff). The etymological dictionary is based on all linguistic sources on Kallawayá available. The assumption is that lexical items of Kallawayá that cannot be assigned to any language involved in the etymological comparison are likely to be of Pukina origin. In addition, a comparison with what is known of Pukina further serves to identify Pukina items. In some cases, lexical items are clearly derived from a lexifier language, but show lexical manipulations (compare Mous 2003), as is the case with e.g. Kallawayá *liphí* 'leaf, branch, tree' (Oblitas Poblete 1968: 87), derived from Aymara *laphi* 'leaf' (DeLucca 1983: 719) but phonologically and semantically modified. A systematic comparison with lexical items of the lexifier languages will reveal the types of lexical manipulations in the Kallawayá lexicon.

It is argued in the proposed presentation that the lexicon of Kallawayá is actually more heterogeneous than has previously been assumed and that the etymological investigation will advance our knowledge of how the lexicon of Kallawayá is etymologically and semantically composed. Furthermore it is shown that by such an investigation almost undocumented Pukina can at least partly be recovered. Finally, the proposed presentation will demonstrate the types of lexical manipulations in Kallawayá and their underlying systematicisms. Based on the results of the etymological investigation, an allocation of Kallawayá within a typology of mixed, secret languages is attempted (compare Mous 2003: 222f).

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### Going home is different - Deictic motion verbs in the Siouan languages.

Hartmann, Iren

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)

All Siouan languages have a complex system of deictic motion verbs (henceforth DMVs). The DMVs in Siouan received early attention by Taylor (1976), who postulated that most of the Siouan languages had four basic motion verbs. Only more recent work has focused on the comprehensive description of these systems (e.g. Cumberland 2005; Quintero 2004) and it has been shown that the systems of DMVs in Siouan are in fact much more complex.

While the DMVs are often simply translated into English as 'come' and 'go', they have a much more complex inherent semantics. Some Siouan languages have a set of 12 different DMVs, others have a minimum of 8. In the proposed talk the system of DMVs will be described in detail for one Siouan language (namely for Hooçąk), but cognates from all other Siouan languages will also be provided. It will be shown that diachronic processes of derivation and compounding applied to a small set of verbal roots have produced these inventories of DMVs. The semantic distinctions that are made within the systems of DMVs include the distinction between motion towards versus not towards the deictic center; the second, and probably much rarer distinction encoded is between motion towards a base/home versus not towards the base/home; and the third distinction is between the aktionsarten departure, on the way/in progress, and arrival.

Most Siouan languages also employ their DMVs in complex predicates. Thus, in combination with a verb of possession, they are generally used to express the meanings 'bring' and 'take'. And since the DMVs encode mainly SOURCE and GOAL of the motion, there is also a way to express MANNER, viz. by combining them with verbs such as 'walk', 'run', or 'skip'.

In some of the Siouan languages (e.g. Hooçąk) a subset of these DMVs have developed not only into locative adverbs (expressing meanings such as 'there' and 'here'), but also into temporal ones. The adverb for 'finally', for example, is a conversion of a form of '(having) arrived there'. These adverbs have not been fully investigated but the proposed talk will explore how common these conversions are and also in which other functions the Siouan DMVs or their derivatives can be employed.

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### Discourse structure and the pragmatic role of final adverbial connectors in English.

Haselow, Alexander

(Universität Rostock)

Final adverbial connectors (*then, though, anyway*) are a comparatively recent phenomenon in English and predominantly occur in spoken language. Surprisingly, neither the historical development, nor the new, illocutionary functions of final connectors have been explicitly addressed in detail so far. However, in view of the large-scale typological changes of English in terms of syntactic topology (which are still ongoing) and their importance for the organization of discourse (see van Kemenade & Los 2006) a discussion of the development of constructions with final *then, though, and anyway* seems of primary interest for an account of the rise of new discourse strategies in English.

It is argued that the speakers of English over time changed the hypotactic structure of the expression of non-hypothetical conditionals, concessives and resumptives/dismissives into paratactic constructions. In these constructions, the first part of the originally two connects is deleted and turned into an implicature. Since the rigid syntactic order of PDE neither allows for the position of connective adverbials in different sentence-internal places, nor for a distinction between hypotaxis

and parataxis, as in German, the speakers of English established a new slot for the placement of adverbial connectors with additional illocutionary functions, the sentence-final position (see Lenker 2010: 213).

The new topological pattern of these linking adverbs was accompanied by a change from discourse-pragmatic to illocutionary functions: final *then*, *though* and *anyway* modify the illocutionary force of an utterance, indicate illocutionary information, and exhibit functions that are comparable to those of German modal particles. Since the function of final connectors is not always strictly discourse-organizing any more it is certainly not correct to classify them as discourse markers or connectors. Rather, one should speak of the rise of a new class of illocutionary markers in English.

My contribution has two goals: (1) to offer a brief diachronic account of the rise of final adverbs and (2) to provide a synchronic description of the illocutionary functions of final *then*, *though* and *anyway* within a specific framework, so-called „interaction schemas“ (Diewald 1999). In the diachronic part I will use empirical data from corpora of written and, for PDE, spoken English which document the progressive rise in frequency in specific genres and the function of these adverbs in different periods of English. In the synchronic part, empirical data deriving from an experiment, the semantic differential, will show that speakers interpret the use of final adverbials as cues for implicit illocutionary information which guide the hearer towards a specific interpretation of an utterance.

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## Comparing ditransitive constructions: alignment vs. grammatical relations.

Haspelmath, Martin

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)

There is a long tradition of describing and comparing the coding and behaviour of verbal arguments in terms of "grammatical relations", i.e. sets of arguments with identical properties. Since the early 19th century, syntacticians have described argument properties in terms of "subject" and various kinds of "object", and since the 1970s, there is a tradition (mostly prominently represented by Relational Grammar, but also by Functional Grammar, Lexical-Functional Grammar and other theories) of comparing languages in terms of a fixed set of grammatical relations that are assumed to be given in advance and universally available (probably part of universal grammar). In this tradition, ditransitive constructions (i.e. constructions with an agent, a recipient and a theme argument, Malchukov et al. 2010) have often been described in terms of the relations "direct object" and "indirect object".

Problems with this approach have long been known (e.g. Dryer 1986; Bresnan & Moshi 1990). In particular, while "grammatical relations" exhibit evident similarities across languages, there are also striking differences, which make it difficult to apply the well-known concepts from European languages everywhere else. The problems have been addressed in various ways (e.g. by working with proto-roles, Dowty 1991; Primus 1999; or by reducing all differences to differences in position in the tree, Harley 2003).

Here I would like to defend an approach that recognizes the validity of "grammatical relations" as language-particular descriptive categories (cf. Dryer 1997), but that dispenses with grammatical relations at the level of cross-linguistic comparison. The only comparative concepts (in Haspelmath's 2010 sense) that are required for typological comparison and formulation of cross-linguistic generalizations are semantic role types (agent, recipient, theme of typical transfer verbs, labeled A, R, T) and alignment concepts (indirective alignment, secundative alignment, neutral alignment). This approach began in the 1970s for monotransitive alignment (with S, A and P and their alignment patterns replacing "subject" and "object" as comparative concepts), but it was extended to ditransitive constructions only fairly recently.

In this paper, I will show that many interesting generalizations can be formulated by adopting this perspective, and by examining the alignments with respect to different argument selectors (Witzlack-Makarevich 2010) separately, rather than lumping the argument selectors into "grammatical relations".

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## Indicative verb forms as means of expressing modality in Romance languages.

Hassler, Gerda  
(Universität Potsdam)

In the Romance languages, the modes of verbs serve as main categories for expressing modality. In many cases, however, indicative verb forms assume the function of anchoring propositions in virtuality or signaling the speaker's insecurity.

The starting point for the assumption of modal values by the imperfect tense in Romance languages is its aspectual meaning. For example, in the statement *Ana salía cuando sonó el teléfono* the action of going out is understood as merely attempted but not completed, it is the imperfect aspect which infers open-endedness. An action that is presented in its course can also be conceived in a way that its result and ultimately the action itself can appear to be open.

Studies on the evidential value of the *imperfecto* in Spanish (e.g. Reyes 1990, 1994; Haßler 2001; Volkman 2005) have shown that in sentences like *El tren llegaba a las cinco* the reference to the origin of the speaker's knowledge from a foreign, insecure communication is only possible through the verb form. However, a systematic comparison of this possibility of the Spanish imperfect with other Romance languages has not yet been undertaken. This shall be attempted in this contribution on the basis of French, Italian and Portuguese corpora. Specifically, the comparative study shall be based on the following corpora: CDE = Corpus del español. <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>, CDP = Corpus do portugues. <http://www.corpusdoportugues.org/>, CORIS = [http://corpora.dslu.unibo.it/coris\\_ita.html](http://corpora.dslu.unibo.it/coris_ita.html), FRANTEXT = Base textuelle Frantext. <http://www.frantext.fr/>.

Another interesting verb form for marking the speaker's perspective is the French conditional, which especially when it is used in press texts can leave the interpretation open whether it renders reported speech or whether it renders the writer's own conclusion. This study shall investigate the prevalence of this function of the French conditional and compare it with other Romance languages. Here a significant difference between Spanish and French can be ascertained in the way language is used in the press: While in French the conditional is mainly used as an expression of vagueness, in Spanish the *imperfecto* increasingly assumes this function.

The study of the deictic values of the verb tenses is also revealing in the context of the deictic and modal adverbs. The deictic values of the tenses, which are used for marking a double or multiple deixis and hence polyphonous relationships, are first and foremost features of a deixis in fantasy in the sense of Karl Bühler, whereby "fantasy" is the person of the enunciator and/or the non-actual time point of the utterance.

The aim of this contribution is to answer the following questions: Can specific, modally unmarked verb forms by themselves express a speaker's perspective or are they dependent on interacting with other means (e.g. adverbs, discourse markers)? In the different Romance languages, how is the marking of modality distributed among verb forms and other linguistic means? Are there characteristic changes in the use of specific verb forms which may imply the addition of expression of the speaker's perspective?

### Movima in alignment typology.

Haude, Katharina & Keller, Robert  
(CNRS & University of Cologne)

The established alignment types (nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive etc.) are based on the encoding of participant roles, i.e. "who acts on whom", in a transitive construction. This information is typically provided through case marking, agreement, and/or constituent order. In Movima (isolate, South-West Amazon), in contrast, participant roles are encoded by direct and inverse marking on the verb, while the constituent order (internal or external to the predicate phrase) of the arguments is primarily determined by the relative position of their referents in a person hierarchy (1>2>3) or by their discourse status (topical > nontopical). Direct marking indicates that the internal (high-ranking) NP represents the actor and the external (low-ranking) NP the undergoer, inverse marking indicates the reversed scenario.

The argument represented by the external NP shares its morphological and syntactic properties with the single argument of the intransitive clause. This pattern can be described as "hierarchical alignment" (Haude 2009), since the encoding of the argument is based on its referential properties. However, being based on a different criterion than the traditional alignment types, this account renders Movima unavailable for typological comparison with role-based systems.

Since the Movima system indicates the participant roles of the arguments in each transitive construction, it is of course also possible to analyse it within the role-based framework. This analysis reveals an alignment split (direct = ergative, inverse = accusative) with a bias towards the ergative construction (preferred when both participants are equally ranked, fully available for a valency-decreasing voice operation, in line with undergoer orientation of unmarked verbs; Haude 2010; Haude submitted). From this point of view, the system is basically ergative, with an accusative construction occurring in certain pragmatically marked scenarios. Possibly the role-based alignment is more basic and the hierarchical alignment a secondary phenomenon (cf. Bickel and Nichols 2008), but there is no direct evidence for this, both transitive constructions being equally morphologically marked.

Taking a role-based approach thus renders Movima comparable to languages whose morphosyntax is exclusively based on semantic roles. However, important factors – person hierarchy, information structure – are disregarded, which makes the analysis similarly unsatisfying as accounts that consider Austronesian systems as ergative with valency-maintaining

derivations (cf. Shibatani 1988); the role-based perspective might place Movima close to an ergative system like that of Dyrbal, while the sum of its properties (symmetrical voice, low syntactic noun-verb distinction, main-clause syntax based on information structure) would class it more adequately with the Austronesian type (cf. E.g. Himmelmann 2008). Therefore, it seems that the only insight to be gained from the role-based analysis is that, like any system with predominant ergative traits, the Movima system requires more in-depth investigation that will subsequently lead to a refined typological classification.

In this talk I will present Movima main-clause syntax from three different perspectives: as an inverse system (cf. Plains Cree; Dahlstrom 1991), as an Austronesian-type system (cf. Tagalog; Schachter and Otnes 1972), and as an ergative system (cf. Dyrbal; Dixon 1972), evaluating the evidence, advantages and shortcomings of each approach.

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## 'Sería así': the use of the Spanish 'Condicional' in journalistic contexts.

Hennemann, Anja  
(University of Potsdam)

In the *New Reference Grammar of Modern Spanish* (2004), Butt/Benjamin list various types of conditions like remote and unfilled conditions and other ways of expressing condition in Spanish (Butt/Benjamin 2004: 361-367). Text passage (1) represents an example containing a 'typical' sentence structure for a remote condition, that is, the use of the conditional is grammatically motivated:

- (1) Si los sevillanos eliminasen al Oporto, **se enfrentarían** en octavos al ganador del PAOK Salónica (GRE)-CSKA Moscú (RUS). (*El Mundo* 19/12/10)

But how could the use of the conditional in (2) and (3) be explained?

- (2) Según explicó el propio Perelló en varias ocasiones, el Duque de Palma **realizaría** en el equipo de vela la labor de representar el área social y cultural con la colaboración de la fundación Cristóbal Gabarrón. Mientras que el ex periodista de TVE **sería** el director de comunicación del equipo. (*El Mundo* 23/12/10)
- (3) [...] y cinco o más goles (4,96 por uno) en 17 duelos. Quizás por ello, **sería** lógico apostar por alguna de estas opciones: a 1,76 y 2,28 euros por uno se paga que haya más o menos de 2 goles [...]  
(*El Mundo* 01/12/10)

*Sería* in (2) seems to have a quotative value (supported by the initial phrase 'According to Perelló himself [...]'), whereas in (3) it is used inferentially: the tentative conclusion is introduced by *Quizás por ello* 'Maybe because'.

Within the framework of evidentiality, Squartini (2001) – testing whether Willett's (1988) or Frawley's (1992) model is more appropriate for representing the internal structure of evidentiality in Romance Languages – analyses the use of the conditional in Spanish. He shows that the *condicional* is used to express inference and is *possibly* used to mark quotation (cf. Squartini 2001: 321): "[...] the intrusion of the reportive value seems to be a new disrupting factor introducing a non-uniform feature, possibly producing a new development in the Spanish evidential system" (Squartini 2001: 322). Wachtmeister Bermúdez (2004), in contrast, is sure: "[...] el valor evidencial del condicional es doble. En el uso periodístico el condicional señala evidencia indirecta transmitida o mediada. [...] El otro valor [...] expresa evidencia indirecta inferida [...]" (2004: 7).

Therefore, my paper aims to contribute to the study of the Spanish conditional in journalistic contexts. I state that the *condicional* is not only used to express inference but also to mark – especially in news – (*foreign*) *text import* (notion adopted but translated from Thurmair 2006).

I will work with *GlossaNet* and will set it up to search for *sería* in the time span of 01/02/11-01/04/11 in order to analyse its use in language data from Spanish newspapers. This study is going to have a qualitative as well as a quantitative side. Instances where the use of the conditional is grammatically motivated as in indirect quoted speech

- (4) El propio Marín explicó recientemente [...] que para Sebastián **sería** importante que ocupe un español.

are quantitatively included, but qualitatively excluded, as the analysis is focused on the reportive use of the *condicional* that possibly produces a new development in the evidential system of Spanish.

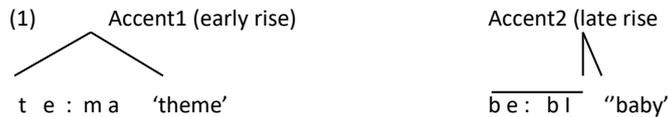
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## A foot based account of the Limburg tonal accents.

Hermans, Ben  
(Meertens Institute)

Limburg dialects have two tonal accents, Accent1 and Accent2. Phonetically the difference consists of the timing of the intonational melodies. The question melody, for instance, is a rise. In words with Accent1, it is an *early* rise, but in words with Accent2 it is a *late* rise.



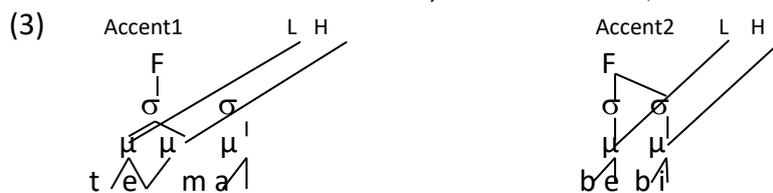
Gussenhoven (2000) assumes that the difference between the two accents is a matter of lexical tones; morphemes with Accent2 have a lexical high tone on the second mora of the stressed syllable. This approach, however, cannot account for the fact that the quality of the tonal accents is determined by the posttonic vowel in the following way:

- 2a) If the posttonic vowel has high sonority (if it is low or mid), then the stressed vowel has Accent1.  
2b) If the posttonic vowel has relatively low sonority (if it is high), then the stressed vowel has Accent2.

posttonic low vowel	posttonic mid vowel	posttonic high vowel
[ba: <sup>1</sup> ta]            'brand'	[ha: <sup>1</sup> lo]            'halo'	[ba: <sup>2</sup> li]            'railing'
[te: <sup>1</sup> ma]            'theme'	[re: <sup>1</sup> tro]            'retro'	[he: <sup>2</sup> li]            'helicopter'
[mi: <sup>1</sup> na]            'Hermina'	[ki: <sup>1</sup> lo]            'kilogram'	[ki: <sup>2</sup> wi]            'kiwi'

It is not possible to account for these facts in a theory that describes Accent1 and Accent2 with lexical tone. The reason is that in this approach no relation can be established between the stressed vowel and the posttonic vowel. It is therefore difficult to account for phenomena that presuppose such a relation.

We claim that Accent1 is a *monosyllabic* moraic trochee, whereas Accent2 is a bisyllabic moraic trochee.



In Limburg dialects intonational tones are assigned to moras. Therefore, in (3) Accent1 is realized with an early rise, because the entire LH melody can be assigned to the stressed syllable. In Accent2, on the other hand, only the first tone of the melody can be assigned to the stressed syllable. (The fall after the high tone, as in (1), is due to a boundary tone).

With the representations in (3) it is easy to explain the interaction between the posttonic vowel and the quality of the tonal accent. We have to assume that, in Limburg dialects, foot structure is sonority driven (de Lacy 2002); high sonority in a foot's unstressed syllable is avoided. In a case like [te:<sup>1</sup>ma] the vowel *a* can therefore not be parsed in the foot's dependent. Consequently, in bisyllabic words, the preceding syllable must be bimoraic, because of the minimal size requirement (a foot must have two moras). A vowel of low sonority, on the other hand, can occupy a foot's dependent position. This gives rise to a bisyllabic moraic trochee in a case like [be:<sup>2</sup>bi]. The fact that the vowel is realized as long is a phonetic matter, as it is in Dutch (Van Oostendorp 2002).

## Metaphor, communication and creativity across registers in scientific discourse.

Hidalgo-Downing, Laura  
(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Popular science is characterised by a high frequency of metaphor, indeed, metaphorical conceptualisation is crucial in the creation and advancement of new scientific theories (Boyd 1993; Brown 2003; Parkinson 2004). However, few studies have been carried out comparing the occurrence and functions of particular metaphors on a given topic across registers (For an exception, see Semino in press). Furthermore, within scientific and scholarly communities the proliferation of metaphors in certain scientific publications has been criticised as hindrance and even damaging the adequate communication of scientific thought (for a reference to this argument, see, for example, Fuller 1998). In the present paper, I argue that the high frequency of metaphors in popular scientific discourse is a manifestation of discursive creativity motivated by the need to communicate new concepts and ideas together with the need to persuade lay readers. Scientific discourse is a particularly interesting domain for the study of the interaction between creativity and communication because scientific theories are the result of ongoing processes of discussion, negotiation and, sometimes extreme conflict in the attempt to advance new views on reality. As such, scientific discourse is a clear example of creativity as a collective, socioculturally-based endeavour (see Reeves 2005; Hidalgo & Kraljevic 2009).

Drawing from research on conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff and Turner (1989) and its applications to the study of discourse (Charteris- Black 2004; Semino 2008), this paper presents a corpus-based study of the metaphors of “programmed cell death”, “apoptosis” and “cell suicide” in a sample of academic scientific discourse and another of popular science (25.000 words each). The concept of “programmed cell death” is an extremely influential one which has modified the way in which certain biomedical processes are currently understood, from cancer, to HIV and organism development, among others. The main objective of the present paper is to analyse how the novel metaphor of “programmed cell death” is presented in articles of popular science in order to make the concept accessible to a broad audience (see Boyd for a distinction between constitutive and pedagogical metaphors), and how it co-occurs with related metaphorical expressions such as “apoptosis” and “cell suicide”.

The objectives are to identify similarities and differences in the two samples with regard to the following aspects:

- The use and co-occurrence of the three metaphorical expressions studied and other related ones.
- Target domains (keyword and semantic domain analysis).
- Main metaphor types, with special attention to the popular science sample.

Results show, first, that metaphorical expressions are much more frequent in the popular science sample; second, that the distribution of the metaphorical expressions under study is different in the two samples, with a higher frequency of co-occurrence of two or more terms in the popular science sample; third, that the target domains are different in the two samples, as revealed by keyword analysis, and, finally, that the popular science articles rely heavily on personification as the main metaphorical strategy, which is illustrated by a comparison between the titles in the two samples.

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## Backernagel is Wackernagel Lite: On the “P-minus 2” clitics of Santali.

Hock, Hans Henrich  
(University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

Santali presents structures with subject clitics in “P minus 2” position, before the final verb and enclitic on the preverbal element, a position called “Backernagel” by Kidwai (2005); see example (1). The history and synchrony of this position have elicited several accounts.

Anderson (2007) entertains three historical explanations: 1. Proto-Munda subject proclitics on the verb were reanalyzed as enclitic; 2. For unknown reasons, postverbal object clitics were extended to subject function; 3. Proto-Munda

resumptive pronouns became attached to the preverbal element in North Munda. Anderson prefers scenario 1. Kidwai's solution (2005) is similar to Anderson's third scenario.

I present evidence for a different hypothesis — the Santali Backernagel clitics originate in utterance-second (P2), or Wackernagel position; and with a more fine-grained definition of Wackernagel in terms of different domains, they can be argued to be still in some kind of Wackernagel position.

Important in this regard are alternative Santali structures such as (2), with the clitic not after the preverbal constituent but after an earlier, even clause-initial one.

These structures suggest that the domain of clitic attachment is defined more broadly, to include the first constituent of the utterance (the theme), and also of the rheme. The fact that the clitics most commonly attach to the preverbal constituent can be attributed to the fact that this is the prosodically strongest position in SOV languages and hence the optimal host in the domain of the rheme.

Comparison with Iranian provides support for this proposal, as well as more evidence for a prosodically informed account. Early Iranian had regular P2 Wackernagel clitics. In many Iranian languages subject clitics have come to be attached to the verb or to the immediately preceding element (Haig 2008). In Parachi, the ergative-marking subject clitic has a broader domain, as in (3), with attachment to the preverbal element preferred, but attachment to earlier constituents possible, 'for selective emphasis' (Kieffer 2009) — i.e., sensitive to differences in prosodic prominence.

The comparative evidence of Santali and Iranian suggests the hypothesis that "Backernagel" originated through the following steps

- a. Clitics start in Wackernagel position (after the first element, the theme)
- b. Clitics move to the (lower) domain of the rheme, attaching to the most prominent element in that domain
- c. The clitics attach to the element within the rheme, the preverbal element which is prototypically focused and hence prosodically strongest ("Backernagel")

(1)      abu                      hola                      sinema                      ꞑel-lagit=**bun**                      cəlaw-len-a  
we.incl. yesterday                      cinema                      see.app.=we.inc. go.pst.fin  
'We had gone to see the movie yesterday.' (from Kidwai 2005)

(2)      a.              abu=**bu**                      sinema                      ꞑel-lagit cəlaw-len-a  
we.incl=we.incl. cinema                      see.appl. go.pst.fin  
'We had gone to see the movie.'  
b.              abu                      hola=**bu**                      sinema                      ꞑel-lagi[t]                      cəlaw-len-a  
we.incl. yesterday=we.incl. cinema                      see.appl. go.pst.fin  
'We had gone to see the movie yesterday.' (both from Kidwai 2005)

(3)      tū nī                      waxān(=**a**)                      nāgōn(=**a**)                      ce-pen(=**a**)                      xor  
you.sg.                      tonight(=sg.2)                      bread(=sg.2)                      what-with(=sg.2)                      ate  
'With what did you eat bread tonight?' (from Kieffer 2009)

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## The English ditransitive construction: how does 'envy' fit in?

Hollmann, Willem B.  
(Lancaster University)

In the literature on ditransitives *forgive* and *envy* occupy a special place. They do not fit the prototypical transfer of possession semantics of the [Sbj Verb Obj1 Obj2] construction: (1) involves the subject transferring Obj2 to Obj1, but (2-3) do not (examples from the BNC):

- (1) He *gave* her the rake...
- (2) Alexander never *forgave* Edward the insult.
- (3) I *envy* my mother every tear she is shedding.

Some linguists argue that *forgive/envy* are 'exceptions' to the normal meaning (Green 1974; Goldberg 1995; Croft 2003, in prep.). Goldberg offers a historical explanation for their occurrence in the ditransitive: "*Forgive* used to mean "to give or grant" (OED). *Envy* used to mean "to give grudgingly" or "to refuse to give a thing to" (OED)" (1995: 132). Others argue that the apparent anomaly disappears by viewing the meanings of these verbs as modulations of transfer of possession (Pinker 1989, Hunston and Francis 2000, Coleman and De Clerck 2008). Yet they too sometimes accept Goldberg's suggestion as part

of the story (Colleman and De Clerck 2008: 198). The starting point of this paper is the claim that Goldberg's explanation is valid for *forgive* but not for *envy*.

The transfer meaning has clearly been there from the beginning for *forgive*: in addition to the *OED*'s ditransitive examples from Old English, *DWB* notes parallels in Gothic, Old Frisian, Old Saxon, and Old High German. For *envy* the *OED* includes the meanings cited by Goldberg but there are two issues. First, other meanings given in the same entry (e.g. 'to grudge', 'to begrudge (a thing)') do not feature transfer, with most examples not describing transfer unequivocally either, or at all; see e.g. the oldest quotation, from 1585:

(4) God hath not *enuied* vs, he oweth vs nothing, but hee giueth vs much.

Second, the meanings given by Goldberg fall under entry 3. Before that, from C14, *envy* meant (collapsing/paraphrasing entries 1 and 2) 'to feel displeasure/a grudge against someone for their possession of something desirable'. This also corresponds to the first meaning *TLFi* lists for French *envier*, the source of English *envy*.

Since the *OED* data do suggest that the (now obsolete) transfer meaning predates non-transfer in the ditransitive construction, the question arises as to how a verb meaning 'to feel displeasure against someone for their possession of something desirable' could be pressed into service in (or merged with, in Goldbergian terms) this construction. This is addressed in the second part of this paper. Supplementing the *OED* quotations with corpus data from Early English Books Online, I suggest that the three-participant frame activated by the original monotransitive uses of *envy* (where despite the single overt object, another non-subject participant is implicit) represented considerable overlap with the ditransitive — specifically, semantically similar constructions such as [Sbj *refuse* Obj1 Obj2], which had been around since C15. These non-prototypical ditransitives may thus have acted as a model, or partial schema, for the extension of *envy* to this pattern in the late C16.

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## English words and phrases from Dutch job ads and their Dutch equivalents: an experimental study of associations, prestige and modernity

Hornikx, Jos, Van Meurs, Frank & Bossenbroek, Gerben  
(Radboud University Nijmegen)

The literature regularly contains claims that English words and phrases in job ads are used in countries where English is a foreign language because such words create more prestige (e.g. Larson, 1990; Tiggeler & Doeve, n.d.) and sound more modern (Seitz, 2008). According to psycholinguistic theories such as the Conceptual Feature Model (CFM), translation-equivalent words from different languages have partly overlapping and partly different meanings, which can be elicited by asking speakers to write down their associations with these words (e.g. De Groot, 1992). The aim of the current study was to determine experimentally to what extent English words and phrases from Dutch job ads evoke the same associations as their Dutch equivalents, and to what extent they are evaluated differently in terms of prestige and modernity.

Thirty English words and phrases for which Dutch translations were available were selected from existing corpora of Dutch job ads (analysed in Korzilius et al. 2006; Van Meurs et al., 2006) as well as 33 newly collected job ads (e.g. *sales manager/ verkoopleider, fulltime/ voltijd, Human resources/ Personeelszaken*). In addition, two types of non-job-ad-specific English and Dutch word pairs were selected from earlier psycholinguistic studies (Van Hell & De Groot, 1998): 29 pairs which were found to evoke relatively few overlapping associations (e.g. *duty/ plicht*) and 29 pairs found to evoke a relatively large proportion of overlapping association (e.g. *shoulder/ schouder*), thirty pairs of each type. Sixty Dutch respondents (university students or graduates) were first presented with the words/phrases of each type either all in English or all in Dutch (thus 88 words in total), and six weeks later with the same words/phrases in the other language. For each word/phrase, they were asked to write down the first three associations they thought of. At the end of the second session, the respondents were asked to evaluate the modernity and prestige of either 10 of the English job-ad-related words/phrases or their Dutch equivalents, using three seven-point semantic differentials per dimension e.g. old-fashioned/not old-fashioned; prestigious/ not prestigious).

The results showed that the mean overlap in associations between the English and Dutch job-ad-related word pairs was 22.4%. This was significantly less than the percentage for the non-job-ad-related type of words for which substantial

overlap had been expected (31.5%), and similar to the percentage for the non-job-ad-related type of words for which little overlap had been expected (22.2%). The prestige/modernity evaluation revealed that for six of the ten job-ad related pairs the English word/phrase was evaluated as significantly more modern and for five as significantly more prestigious than its Dutch counterpart.

It can be concluded that translation-equivalent job-ad-related English and Dutch words/phrases to a large extent do not evoke the same associations, in line with the CFM. In a number of cases, but not all, such English words/phrases are considered more prestigious than their Dutch counterparts, in line with claims in the literature.

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## On grammatical functions of the Estonian adverb välja 'out'.

Huumo, Tuomas, Lindström; Liina, Lehismets, Kersten & Uiboed, Kristel  
(University of Tartu)

Among the typologically agglutinative Finno-Ugric languages, Estonian is in many ways an exception since it has developed a long way towards the analytic type. One indicator of this is the extensive use of particles and adverbs to indicate grammatical relations such as aspect. Since this development is relatively recent, the historical origin of such expressions is often transparent, and the cognitive operations and conceptualization strategies motivating these developments can be studied in detail.

Our paper discusses the grammaticalization of the gram (= multi-functional grammatical word; cf. Svorou 1994) *välja* 'out' [lative], with an original lexical meaning 'field', which has developed numerous usages as an adverb and a verb particle. The original case inflection paradigm of the gram consist of a lative (*välja*, 'to-out'), an inessive (*väljas* 'out') and an elative (*väljast* 'from-out') case form. In the spatial domain, all three forms are in use; however, in the grammatical function it is only the lative form that is in use; thus it has left the paradigm and has no inessive and elative counterparts. The concrete spatial meaning of *välja* is to indicate a complex atemporal relation where the trajector exits the (often three-dimensional) container-landmark and moves to its outside. The more abstract functions of the gram include at least the following ones: 1) the indication of a change in the cognitive state of the conceptualizer (e.g., as a result of a acquisition of information), 2) changes-of-state metaphorically represented as motion out of a container, 3) terminative direction ('all the way to X') and 4) perfective aspect.

In our presentation we argue that this development is based on **subjectivity** and the superimposition of the conceptualizer's implicit viewpoint upon the situation. In a concrete spatial relationship such a viewpoint can be situated either inside or outside the container landmark. An analysis of the abstract functions of *välja* reveals that the alternating placement of the viewpoint also motivates different abstract developments of the gram. Expressions where the viewpoint is **inside** the container-landmark serve as a conceptual basis for abstract uses where *välja* indicates a change of state conceptualized as negative (= when exiting the metaphorical container, the trajector also exits the conceptualizer's dominion of control), a terminative relationship ('as far as X') or aspectual perfectivity. In the two last-mentioned types, the distance or duration foregrounded by *välja* is measured from the (sometimes implicit) source location where the conceptualizer's viewpoint is situated. On the other hand, a viewpoint **outside** the container-location is the conceptual basis for expressions that indicate a change in the cognitive status of the conceptualizer (e.g., 'it turned *out* that...') or a change-of-state conceptualized as positive. In this conceptualization, the trajector, in the initial stage, when located in the container-landmark, it is out of sight of the conceptualizer, but when it exits the container, it appears within the conceptualizer's cognitive dominion. In our presentation we will give a detailed account of these abstract uses of *välja* and the conceptual operations that have motivated these developments.

## L2 German clause structure and the concept of Projective Economy. A syntactic reconsideration.

Jacob, Peggy & Winkler, Steffi  
(Humboldt University Berlin and VU University Amsterdam)

Generative studies on the acquisition of German clause structure usually assume an underlying CP-IP-VP structure in the German target system (e.g. Schwartz & Sprouse 1996; Vainikka & Young-Scholten 1996). In recent years, however, it has been put forward substantial arguments against the assumption of a German IP (Sternefeld 2006; Haider 2010), and Haider (1997) has introduced the notion of Projective Economy, i.e. the assumption of just one functional projection per single German clause.

Taking data from native speakers of Italian as our starting point, we will show that the L2 development of German clause structure as reported in the literature can much more adequately be accounted for within the framework of Projective Economy (Haider 1997). One of the basic assumptions of the present approach is that learners whose L1 exhibits an IP initially transfer the IP projection to their German interlanguage system. The learner language IP is assigned a head-initial value. This analysis explains why at a certain stage in development, learner languages feature post-verbal negation – suggesting the activation of verb raising – on the one hand (1a), but lack V2 phenomena such as inversion, as well as subordination, on the other hand (1b), (1c): Instead of raising the [+finite] verb to C°, i.e. Y° in (1) below, it is positioned under I°.

- (1) a. [YP [IP Antonio<sub>j</sub> [I' [I° studiert<sub>i</sub>] [XP [Neg nicht] [XP e<sub>j</sub> [X' Pharmazie [X° e<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]] Ilaria, 40h  
Antonio studies not pharmacy  
b. [YP Am Nachmittag [Y' [Y°] [IP wir<sub>j</sub> [I' [I° haben<sub>i</sub>] [XP e<sub>j</sub> [X' [X° studiert e<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]] Ilaria, 48h  
in the afternoon we have studied  
c. [YP [Y' [Y° weil] [IP er<sub>j</sub> [I' [I° ist<sub>i</sub>] [XP e<sub>j</sub> [X' traurig [X° e<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]] Ilaria, 40h  
because he is sad

It is only when learners have realized that German is, in fact, a V2 language exhibiting only one functional projection, that they will be able to produce target-like inversion and subordination (2).

- (2) a. [YP Im Dezember<sub>k</sub> [Y' [Y° habe<sub>i</sub>] [XP ich [X' e<sub>k</sub>[X' viele Prüfungen [X° e<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]] Alessa, 170h  
in December have I many exams  
b. [YP [Y' [Y° dass] [XP ich [X' die Prüfung [X° schaffe]]]]] Alessa, 170h  
that I the exam pass

The present analysis does not only account for the late occurrence of both inversion and subordination in German learner language, but moreover explains similar accuracy rates for both phenomena as attested by Ellis (1989), or even their parallel mastering as reported by Terrasi-Haufe (2004).

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### The development of referential hierarchy effects in Sahaptian.

Jansen, Joana  
(University of Oregon)

The existence and effects of referential hierarchies based on properties such as person, animacy, and topicality have been well-discussed (cf. Silverstein 1976; Comrie 1981). However, the evolution of hierarchical systems is not well-studied. This paper contributes to the discussion of the development of such systems through text analysis and reconstruction. In the very small Sahaptian family (Plateau Penutian; Sahaptian includes Sahaptin and Nez Perce), Sahaptin shows hierarchically-motivated inverse marking, split ergativity, and hierarchical alignment. Cognate morphology in Nez Perce shows distributions less sensitive to referential hierarchies. The paper makes several diachronic contributions: (i) It argues that the Sahaptin hierarchical effects are not the reflection of a single unified system and require independent reconstructions. (ii) It

reconstructs the SAP outranking 3<sup>rd</sup> hierarchy to Proto-Sahaptian, deriving the Nez Perce pattern by making 3<sup>rd</sup> person agent marking consistent; thus, the Sahaptian case provides an example of an inverse becoming an ergative (cf. Givón 1994). (iii) It synthesizes the internal and comparative evidence with Plateau Penutian to further support these claims.

Sahaptin shows three interrelated grammatical systems sensitive to referential hierarchies. In most ways, these mirror more typical systems of inverse marking, hierarchical alignment, and split ergativity, but the Sahaptin system exhibits some breaks from the expected patterns. Like typical direction systems, Sahaptin uses a verbal inverse marker when 2<sup>nd</sup> person acts on 1<sup>st</sup> and when 3OBV acts on 3PROX. This marker does not, however, occur when 3<sup>rd</sup> person acts on SAP. Like typical hierarchical alignment, Sahaptin has a set of person markers that specify SAP in opposition to 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person in opposition to 1<sup>st</sup>. However, they do not establish an unambiguous ranking of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>. Case-marking is also hierarchy-sensitive, with 3<sup>rd</sup> person A potentially bearing one of two obviative/ergative markers, depending on the P, and standard differential object marking.

While cognates to these Sahaptin morphemes are attested in Nez Perce, none of them behaves in exactly the same way. The ‘inverse’ marker occurs in transitive clauses with 3<sup>rd</sup> person A and 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular P, and so has lost directionality. Direction is obligatorily marked on the verb when 2<sup>nd</sup> person acts on 1<sup>st</sup>. In terms of hierarchical alignment, the SAP enclitics are used following only some particles and adverbials rather than obligatorily. 3<sup>rd</sup> person acting on SAP is not uniquely indicated. 3PROX and 3OBV are not distinguished. The case-marking morphemes are consistent rather than conditioned: the cognate to the Sahaptin 3<sup>rd</sup> acting on SAP case-marker is an ergative case-marker on all 3<sup>rd</sup> person agents.

Texts in the Klikitat dialect of Sahaptin provide evidence of a spread of the ergative marker used when 3<sup>rd</sup> acts on SAP to situations with 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural A and 3<sup>rd</sup> person P. This construction demonstrates a pathway by which a more general ergative has developed from a direction marker; it therefore supports a deictic view in which local (SAP/SAP) and non-local (3/3) scenarios are peripheral or extensions of the SAP/3 distinction (cf. DeLancey 2001; Zúñiga 2006). Evidence from Plateau Penutian supports this analysis.

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## A diachronic investigation of the mental state predicate *denken* ‘think’ in Dutch.

Janssens, Karolien & Nuyts, Jan  
(University of Antwerp)

*Goal*: The mental state predicates are known to be very special linguistic forms in many languages, both semantically – they develop many different meanings beyond their ‘mental state or process’ meaning, including attitudinal (e.g. epistemic and evidential) and interactional ones (e.g. as politeness markers) – and grammatically – they often take many different types of complements, and they exhibit or trigger different kinds of special behavior such as negative raising, complementizer omission and parenthetization. An obvious question to ask is how these meanings and grammatical features emerge, historically. Remarkably enough, there has been hardly any systematic empirical diachronic investigation of these predicates. This paper will present the (interim) results of an ongoing investigation into the diachronic evolution of the mental state predicate *denken* ‘think’ in Dutch.

*Method*: The research involves a corpus based investigation in which the properties of *denken* are compared across 4 stages of the language: Old Dutch, Early Middle Dutch, Early New Dutch and Present Day Dutch. For each period we have selected 200 instances of the verb (for PDD 2 separate sets of 200 instances are used, one of written, one of spoken data) from the available materials (according to criteria such as representativity, e.g. in terms of text genres, and comparability across the periods). All instances are analyzed in terms of a series of factors: their precise meaning, their grammatical characteristics (e.g. type of complement), and also a whole range of features of the clause in which the verb occurs (e.g. voice, type of state of affairs affected by the verb, tense and temporal situation, etc.) which may help to explain the semantic and grammatical developments of the verb.

*Analysis*: The paper will sketch the way the different meanings of PDD *denken* – including its epistemic use, its use as a pure subjectivity marker, and its use as a politeness marker, have evolved historically, and how they relate. And it will sketch how/to what extent these different meanings correlate with different grammatical patterns and properties of the verb. We will use these facts to reflect on the question to what extent/how the developments fit into current views of the processes of subjectification and intersubjectification on the one hand (which will be a fairly straightforward story) and of the process of grammaticalization on the other hand (which is a much more complex story), and especially also, to reflect on the question of the correlations between these two kinds of processes (which is again a complex story for this verb).

## Different prosodic tendencies in Basque?

Jauregi Nazabal, Oroitz  
(University of the Basque Country)

The poster deals with the prosodic typology of Basque with the aim of investigating whether significant prosodic differences among Basque dialects arise as regards syllable structure. Although Basque is considered a syllable-timed language in the language rhythmic classification (Hurch 1988), some authors (Hualde 2003) have defended that different tendencies are observed, specially in the eastern part of the Basque speaking area and in some areas of Navarre, which seem to move away from the syllable-timed language character.

Syllable structure type is considered a characteristic which provides information on the language type. The acceptance of simple syllable structures, and the disallowance of complex ones, is characteristic of syllable-timed languages, whereas accent-timed languages allow for more complex syllabic structures. The proposal presented here aims to measure the differences among various syllable structures and their distribution rates among Basque dialects, in order to determine rhythmic divergences among them.

The experiment has been carried out with present-day texts of different Basque dialects. The data used in the experiment reflects with phonological accuracy the speak of the represented area. The texts are codified in syllabic structures, that is to say the consonants are substituted by C and the vowels by V, and after inserting the syllabic divisions, the frequency of syllable types has been calculated. Following this method, syllable structure percentages of the texts is measured to establish the possible existing differences among the Basque dialects.

A similar study but with a diachronic perspective (Jauregi 2008) showed that Basque had not changed significantly the percentage of syllable structure types in written texts in the last four decades. The present experiment, however, wants to investigate the phenomenon from a distinct point of view by using present-day texts of the various dialects. The results of the experiment will demonstrate the different prosodic tendencies that nowadays Basque dialects exhibit.

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## Exploring the nature and origin of embedded infinitival questions - a diachronic-typological perspective.

Jedrzejowski, Lukasz  
(ZAS, Berlin)

Cross-linguistically, different means are used to express modality. Modal verbs denoting both root and propositional modality, for instance, are to be treated in this respect as prototypical representatives of overt modality. Bearing in mind the fact that Polish and Russian, not to mention Old Church Slavonic, do not have at their disposal as many modals as German and Dutch do (cf. Kotin 2008), the question arises of how the lack of certain modal expressions in the Slavonic languages can be compensated for. Accordingly, several affinities between modality and other grammatical categories have been proposed.

In accordance with Leiss (2008), the interpretation of modal verbs correlates with embedded infinitival complements. While embedded infinitival perfectivity implies root modal readings, embedded infinitival imperfectivity triggers propositional modality (cf. other contributions in the volume of Abraham & Leiss (2008)). Bhatt (2006) and Šimik (2010) in turn examine how semantic properties and distribution of embedded (interrogative) infinitival construction interact with modalities, since there are at first glance no overt elements indicating a modal meaning.

In this paper, the issue of covert modal expressions in Polish and its older stages is to be taken up. Embedded infinitival questions (henceforth: EI<sub>Q</sub>s) will be taken into account and scrutinized from a diachronic as well as from a typological perspective. It shall be shown to what extent EI<sub>Q</sub>s, especially observed in Slavonic and allegedly not attested in Modern Dutch



Sohn (1999: 304-307) classifies -ko, -ciman and -kəna as coordination, but -ə as subordination. In Sohn (2007: 8), however, all the four suffixes are presented as ‘subordinate clause enders’ – it is interesting to note that this term was changed to ‘non-main clause enders’ in the revised publication (Sohn 2009: 293). Despite the parallelism of the constructions in (2-4), their syntactic and morphological behaviour differs (cf. Rudnitskaya 1998; Ryu 2006; Kwon & Polinsky 2008). I will apply several criteria that show that these suffixes are best located on a continuum between subordination and coordination.

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### The ghost of constructions past: constructions, prototypes, and existential there.

Jenset, Gard  
(Bergen University College)

It is widely agreed that we can distinguish two uses of the morpheme *there* in Present Day English (PDE), viz. the existential use (henceforth T<sub>1</sub>) and the locative use (henceforth T<sub>2</sub>), exemplified below:

- (1) **There** is a shed in my back yard. (T<sub>1</sub>)  
(2) The shed is over **there**. (T<sub>2</sub>)

There seems to be agreement in the literature that T<sub>1</sub> developed diachronically from T<sub>2</sub> (Breivik 1990), and that this development was somehow motivated by the semantics of T<sub>2</sub>. The semantics of PDE T<sub>1</sub>/T<sub>2</sub> have been described in a construction grammar framework by Lakoff (1987). More recently Jenset (2010) presents a corpus-based construction grammar analysis of the development of T<sub>1</sub>, but with a focus on syntax.

The present paper offers a more nuanced description of the development of T<sub>1</sub>, including both meaning and form. The approach is based on the view of constructions as pairings of meaning and form (Goldberg 1995); (Croft and Cruse 2004), from which it follows that constructional semantics can be investigated through quantitative studies (Lenci 2008). The main argument to be defended is that as early as Old English (OE), there was a distinction between T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>2</sub>, and that this distinction was due to constructional differences (i.e. differences in form and meaning) which are best described through prototype semantics.

A secondary aim of this paper is to show how computational and statistical methods can be used to overcome the problems with pinning down the prototype semantics of diachronic data. It is well established that category prototypes are unstable and driven by contextual features (Barsalou 1983; Corter and Gluck 1992). Consequently, the methods for identifying and describing such prototypes are of central importance. Dictionaries are a possible source for changes in lexical meaning (Geeraerts 1997), but a phenomenon such as T<sub>1</sub> in OE more readily lends itself to corpus methods. It will be shown that through the use of corpus data and corpus methods, it is possible to identify prototypical features of specific constellations of linguistic elements. If such constellations occur more often than expected, we can reasonably infer that they are somehow related. Although such constellations are necessarily form-based, they can be used to draw inferences about the semantics of collocations (Lenci 2008), as well as their purport (Croft and Cruse 2004). Furthermore, the availability of computational and statistical methods for identifying prototypes of such constellations makes it possible to cover large amounts of data which can be treated in a systematic way.

The contribution of the present paper is based on the combination of new methods with seminal construction grammar and cognitive linguistic insights, applied to diachronic construction grammar. Using the T<sub>1</sub>/T<sub>2</sub> distinction as an

example, it attempts to show that construction grammar offers an appealing framework for not only describing, but also explaining, diachronic change.

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## FunGramKB and other computational resources for word meaning representation in NLP.

Jiménez-Briones, Rocío & Luzondo-Oyón, Alba  
(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid & Universidad de La Rioja)

This paper looks at how FunGramKB ([www.fungramkb.com](http://www.fungramkb.com); Perrián & Arcas, 2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2010a, 2010b; Mairal & Perrián 2009, 2010; Perrián & Mairal 2009, 2010), a multipurpose, multilingual lexico-conceptual knowledge base grounded on deep semantics, accounts for word meaning representation in the creation of Natural Language Processing (henceforth NLP) applications. One of the main features that sets FunGramKB apart from other NLP databases in what concerns lexico-semantic representation is the fact that the conceptual content of a lexical unit is formally defined in an Ontology with which each Lexicon (which currently covers various western languages) is associated. Thus, FunGramKB offers rich conceptual descriptions in the form of both *basic* and *terminal* concepts consisting of two properties that define them: (i) *Thematic Frames* (i.e. prototypical conceptual constructs which state the number and type of participants involved in an event) and (ii) *Meaning Postulates* (i.e. sets of one or more logically connected predications carrying the generic features of concepts). Therefore, lexical units are always linked to one or more concepts in the Ontology and, vice versa, the same concept is lexicalized by one or more words in the several FunGramKB lexica.

The objective of this paper then is to compare such a conceptualist approach to meaning representation with other online bases rooted in surface semantics, e.g. FrameNet or MultiWordNet, which merely provide connections among lexical units without conceptual definitions. In broad outline, the former aims to “document the range of semantic and syntactic combinatory possibilities (i.e. valences) of each word in each sense” (Ruppenhofer *et alii*, 2010: 5). In this account, Lexical Units (each of which evokes one or more semantic frames; frames which are in turn linked via Inheritance, Subframing, Using, etc. relations) are solely described in terms of sets of Frame Elements (FEs, hereafter) or participants taking part in a given event. In like manner, MultiWordNet, characterized at <http://multiwordnet.fbk.eu/english/home.php> as “a multilingual lexical database”, organizes nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs into sets of synonyms (*synsets*), representing lexical concepts. Synsets are then linked by means of various relations (cf. Pianta *et alii* 2002: 298): semantic relations, shared by all languages (i.e. hypo/hyponymy and meronymy), and lexical relations (e.g. antonymy or synonymy), which are language-dependent.

In order to clearly illustrate the contrastive study, examples from lexical domains such as creation (*build, create*, etc.) and change (*dry, translate...*) will be offered. Among others, the paper will highlight the superior potential of meaning representation as displayed in FunGramKB, e.g. (i) the advantages of a conceptually-driven approach vs. a lexicalist one, (ii) the multilingual and multipurpose features of FunGramKB, (iii) the increase in the expressive power of conceptual meaning, and (iv) the various interrelated modules which, apart from the Ontology, also form part of FunGramKB, such as the Cognicon and the Onomasticon.

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### Vocabulary in compositions by sixth grade and ninth grade EFL learners.

Jiménez-Catalán, Rosa M<sup>a</sup>  
(University of La Rioja)

This study is linked to learner corpus, L2 vocabulary, and gender and foreign language education. One of the most productive lines of research within learner corpus is that devoted to the analysis of word frequency in texts by learners of English (Granger 1996; De Cock, Granger, Leech and McEnery, 1998). These studies focus on university students. Few pay attention to texts by EFL learners in secondary education, let alone to texts by learners in primary education. Concerning vocabulary research, apart from exceptions such as Laufer 1998, Palmberg 1980 and Schmitt 1998, there are few longitudinal studies. Their results show vocabulary gains over time. However, most studies focus on adult learners rather than on younger learners such as those in primary or early secondary education. Related to the issue of age and vocabulary, we find the research conducted by Cenoz 2002, 2003, Lasagabaster and Doiz, 2003, Miralpeix 2008, Torras and Celaya 2001. These studies indicate that the older the learner, the more lexical complexity and the greater number of words produced in sentences in comparison to young learners. Regarding gender, little attention has been paid to this factor within SLA. The scarce research found points to differences but also similarities in male and female EFL learners' vocabulary production (see Kaur 2009; Jiménez Catalán 2010; Ojeda & Jiménez 2008).

In this study we set out to fulfil three objectives: (1) To identify the number and kind of words used in an English letter writing task accomplished by the same sample of students in two points of time: 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> grade of Spanish primary education. (2) To trace vocabulary gain over time and (3) To ascertain whether there are gender differences or similarities in the use of vocabulary by means of looking at the number of words produced by male and female students. Our research questions were: (1) how many words do EFL learners use in a composition? (2) does the number of words produced by students increase over time? (2) are there any differences in the number of word types and word tokens produced by male and female students?

The participants were a group of 286 students learners of English as a foreign language in primary and secondary education. Students were asked to write a letter in English in which they had to describe themselves, their schools, family and friends as well as their hobbies and daily activities. The task was performed in class and the time allotted was 30 minutes. The compositions were typed into the computer in plain text and submitted to Wordsmith Tools. We classified the words produced by students according to alphabetic order, word frequency and statistical lists. We completed this analysis by calculating the means of word tokens and word types per composition. The preliminary analysis of the data shows an increase in the number of word types and work tokens. Differences were found between male and female students: on average girls used a greater number of tokens and a greater number of types than boys.

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### Reconciling metaphor, lexical semantics, pragmatics, and the grammaticalization of motion verbs.

Juge, Matthew L.  
(Texas State University-San Marcos)

Verbs of motion often become grammaticalized into markers of tense and aspect, but the details of how this process works are still not well understood, in particular with regard to the role of metaphor. In this paper I present a number of cases that reveal the importance of lexical semantics in the development of grammatical markers from motion verbs. I examine how these cases relate to metaphor as a possible factor in grammaticalization. I follow Cruse's (1986) model of analysis of lexical meaning according to sense-spectra, or the collections of meanings that given lexical items display. This approach allows for detailed investigation of divergent polysemy patterns of seemingly comparable gram sources across different languages without undue reliance on patterns found in more familiar languages. I propose the use of Construction Grammar, a framework sensitive to semantic distinctions, as a tool for tracing diachronic relations among meanings.

Two examples illustrate how metaphor relates to grammaticalization paths. Juge (2006, 2008) has argued that the development of the Catalan periphrastic preterit *did* not involve metaphor. Rather, the unique combination of morphological and semantic traits found in the Catalan verb *anar* 'to go', along with the role of implicature examined by Nagy (2010), facilitated the grammaticalization of a past perfective form with a verb typically associated with future constructions.

Hilpert presents a corpus-based analysis of the grammaticalization of the Swedish future with the verb *komma* 'come', in which he argues that constructional change can be "seen as a source for verbal polysemy" (2008: 123). Siding with Dahl (2000) rather than Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994), he provides corpus data in support of a cline consisting of MOTION > INCHOATIVE > PREDICTION. Though Hilpert does not directly address the metaphor-based hypotheses of Fleischman (1982), Bybee, Perkins, & Pagliuca (1994), Emanatian (1992), and others, his omission of metaphor as a factor raises doubt about the need for such an approach.

Detailed analysis of lexical semantics of motion verbs promises to improve our understanding not only of grammaticalization paths but also of which verbs become grammaticalized. Typically, the most likely candidates for grammaticalization are verbs that are labeled 'general', but the exact meaning of this label is not clear. For example, Icelandic has two future constructions with motion verbs, one glossed 'go' (*fara*) and one glossed 'come' (*koma*). Neither of these verbs corresponds exactly to pairs like English *go/come* or Spanish *ir/venir*, nor even to seemingly corresponding verbs in Continental Scandinavian. The sense-spectra of these verbs reveals that both *fara* and *koma* have traits of verbs that are labeled 'general' in other languages.

These cases show that increased integration of lexical semantic and pragmatic analysis will create a greater understanding of how such factors as metaphor influence grammaticalization.

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## Frequency effects in grammaticalization of Estonian adpositional phrases.

Jürine, Anni  
(University of Tartu)

The effects of frequency in language have been extensively investigated by many researchers. One of the most intriguing aspects of the matter is the relationship between frequency and the process of grammaticalization. Many authors have suggested that the two notions are correlated (Hopper, Traugott 2003). In this paper we set to investigate the token frequency of some Estonian adpositional phrases and the correlations it may have with the lexicalization of those phrases.

It has been claimed that high frequency is to be held responsible for the genesis of fixed-word combinations – frequent phrases tend to become fixed, autonomous and are processed as holistic items. High frequency may also contribute to phonological reduction of these items. (Bybee 2007) Furthermore, the same features that are characteristic of high frequency linguistic items, such as semantic bleaching, positional fixing and above mentioned erosion, are also intrinsic to grammaticalization (Hopper, Traugott 2003).

It has been suggested that Estonian adpositional phrases are lexicalizing and turning into compound adverbs and compound adpositions. The current phase of the process has been viewed as an intermediate stage of grammaticalization process. Supporting evidence is provided by studies which have explored a noticeable tendency in unedited written texts – the fusion of the phrase into a single word (e.g. Habicht, Penjam 2007). The usage based inquiries of adpositional phrases have also elucidated other aspects characteristic of grammaticalization: figurative or general/abstract meaning, usage in different linguistic contexts in some of which the phrases bear grammatical functions. (Author, to appear). Example 1 provides two instances of Estonian adpositional phrases, the second (1b) – although orthographically incorrect – is suggested to represent a lexicalized usage which could be analyzed as compound adverb.

1. (a) Hoi-a                      dušš-i                      **pea-Ø**                      **kohal**  
hold-imp.sg2              shower-sg.par              head-gen over  
'Hold the shower head over your head'
- (b) Su-l      o-n      nüüd      katus      \***peakohal**  
you-sg.all be-sg3      now      roof.nom over[your head]  
'You have a roof over your head now'

The aim of this paper is to determine the relationship between frequency and grammaticalization of adpositional phrases. The data originates from the Estonian Reference Corpus, which consist of edited and unedited written texts. The objective is to explore whether the adpositional phrases that bear the characteristics of grammaticalization are also more frequent. In this case, the characteristics of grammaticalization are considered to be the fusion of the phrase into a single word, figurative meaning, occurrence in specific constructions, grammatical functions. The initial inquiry has led us to tentative conclusion that the fusion of the phrases occurs most commonly among frequent adpositional phrases that are bearing a figurative meaning.

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### More on *Abtönung* in Romance.

Kabatek, Johannes  
(University of Tübingen)

In the last years, mainly after the publication of Waltereit's (2006) seminal contribution, *Abtönung* – originally defined with regards to German or Dutch illocutionary particles – is being more and more focused as a general linguistic phenomenon, and several studies are trying to consider it under a cross-linguistic perspective in the sense of a general equivalence class, departing not from a semasiological view (the forms and functions of certain particles) but rather looking, onomasiologically, for techniques in languages that fulfill similar functions.

The particular pragmatic effect of *Abtönung* is that it allows speakers – contrasting with what is generally assumed to be the main task of modality – not only to express a particular view on the proposition but that it creates a polyphonic effect of anticipating the hearer's attitude towards the proposition or the discourse: *Abtönung* could thus be defined as hearer's modality in the speaker's voice. Candidates for elements expressing *Abtönung* are consequently copies of those mechanisms by which the hearer expresses her opinion towards what is said, such as affirmation particles (e.g. German *ja*) pasted into the

discourse of the speaker as well as other elements evocating polyphonically hearer's comments. Waltereit offers some examples of how Romance languages express *Abtönung*: particles like It. *pure* (see also Coniglio 2008) or Fr. *quand même* (see also Beeching 2005), prosodic marking (question intonation in elliptic assertive sentences), morphological marking (e.g. Port. diminutives) or even syntactic techniques like dislocations to the right (e.g. in It. *comunqu' l'abbiamo vinto il concorso*). However, we think that we are still far from having explored the whole range of *Abtönung* possibilities in Romance.

Our contribution has two aims: in a first step, we will offer, based on five hours of transcription of spoken Spanish as well as on other Romance spoken corpora, further examples for three classes of *Abtönung* phenomena: i) particles that emerge from phatic elements like Cat. *oi*; ii) elliptic subordination (like Sp. *¡si no he dicho nada!*; *¡que no me da la gana!* etc.); and iii) cross-linguistically attested prosodic marking of enumeration applied to single elements. We will show that the possible candidates for this function share some common characteristics and can be classified according to the general principle of *evocation*. Furthermore, we will discuss the possible or probable general paths of conventionalization and grammaticalization of these elements.

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## Foreign culinary terms in contemporary Polish.

Kalisz, Roman & Kalisz, Maciej  
(University of Gdansk)

In our paper we try to show historical and sociolinguistic aspects of borrowings and/or re-borrowings of culinary terms into the Polish language.

We follow in our presentation the distinction between diachronic linguistics and historical semantics elaborated in Burkhanov and M. Kalisz (forthcoming) where, very roughly, diachronic linguistics is concerned solely with linguistic changes at all levels of language. Historical semantics, in turn, presents reasons for such changes, stemming from various historical events. The field of culinary terms is a good example of historical semantics motivation of diachronic changes in the field of lexicon.

War World Two and the installment of communism in Poland after it, brought gradual loss in Polish culinary culture, especially in foreign dishes, their names and various ways of preparing dishes.

Still many adult survivors from the war remembered the very well developed exquisite Polish dishes based often on French, Italian, Spanish, Lithuanian culinary cultures among others, and the ways of their preparation. Unfortunately, those culinary elements were slowly vanishing from restaurants, everyday use and ultimately from memory e.g. *turedos a' la Rossini*, oysters or *crêpe Suzette*. Obviously, there were some people who were experts in Polish and foreign cuisine all over the world. Nevertheless, the linguistic expressions were generally less and less remembered by older generation and were not acquired by younger generation, especially in late seventies and eighties of the last century. Summing up in those days, average knowledge of international cuisine among Poles was extremely mediocre. Hardly anybody understood such terms as *tapas*, *tortilla*, *taco*, *burrito*, *pasta*, *salsa* or *cilantro*.

The last thirty years brought a tremendous influx of culinary terminology from all over the world. This is the result of opening of various ethnic restaurants in Poland. The second reason for such borrowings or re-borrowings was a very significant increase in traveling by Poles to various parts of the world from the time when Poles could afford it.

The process was very quick, in fact the changes were and still are occurring from day to day. That is why the process of borrowings or re-borrowings was very often careless and chaotic. Sometimes it produced new false friends e.g. *cumin* was initially rendered in Polish as *kminek* which means and earlier meant *caraway*. Now, fortunately this term is rendered into Polish as *kmin Rzymski* 'Roman cumin'. Sometimes borrowings resulted in unorthodox pronunciation because the borrowing was based on written version of the term e.g. /paella/ instead of /paija/. The examples to such effects can be multiplied. In fact all established diachronic linguistics processes involving lexical semantics can be noted in the process of borrowings of culinary terms into Polish. We will give an example of amelioration. The term /pitsa/ existed in Polish as a vulgar name for a female sexual organ. The initial rendering of the name of the very well known Italian dish was a bashful /pitsa/. At present /pitsa/ is employed exclusively for the dish and the former meaning is lost completely. Another example of diachronic processes we will present is narrowing e.g. *pudding* is borrowed into Polish which similar pronunciation and spelling but it does not carry *blood pudding* which existed and still exist in Polish as *kaszanka*. The remaining processes i.e. degeneration, broadening and other can be very easily found. Many words were borrowed with original pronunciation and spelling *sushi*, *sashimi*, *kebab*, *salsa*.

The phenomenon of re-borrowings is also interesting to examine e.g. in Polish cookbooks from 1902 till 1938 which are available to us where we can find 110 French sauces used in Polish kitchen.

The field of culinary terms is nontrivial since it involves an essential part of national culture and civilization.

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## Mutual instantiations of epistemic and evidential meanings in Bulgarian and Russian.

Kampf, Veronika & Wiemer, Björn  
(Mainz University)

Our talk deals with the “trade off” between evidential (reportive or inferential) and epistemic functions in the meaning potential of selected adverbs, particles and complementisers in Bulgarian and Russian. Case studies in this domain of emergent linguistic structure allow for a fine-grained reconstruction of the conditions leading to (or hampering) the rise and conventionalization of either evidential or epistemic meanings. Our general aim consists in specifying which elements of propositional (i.e. subjective) modification can be determined to be stable ones vs. elements that underlie context-induced tip effects. The latter raise questions as to (a) whether we should not distinguish between semantic vs. pragmatic aspects of description and (b) how epistemic vs. evidential modification becomes stabilised via discourse.

Our investigation is extensively corpus-based and accompanied by observations drawn from questionnaires. It starts from three observations:

(i) Epistemic “overtones” often arise from the use of hearsay markers as generalised conversational implicatures (Wiemer/Socka 2010, similarly Celle 2009, Olbertz 2007). We inquire into the conditions of the micro- and macro-context from which more specific epistemic values emerge.

(ii) In Bulgarian and Russian, many lexical units related to perception bear a context-dependent potential of indicating inferential functions. Some of them specialise as markers of circumstantial vs. markers of generic inference (cf. Squartini 2008 for Italian and French), whereas others are compatible with a very broad range of inferential and epistemic functions (Kampf/Wiemer 2011). Particularly the latter ones pose a serious problem: if we accept, with Plungian (2001: 354), that “an evidential supplement can always be seen in an epistemic marker, [while] the opposite does not always hold”, all epistemic markers must also be inferential. Although this conclusion could be shown to be untenable for circumstantials (cf. Cornillie 2009; 2010), the problem remains for other modes of knowledge. It is aggravated if we consider that often quoted definitions of evidentiality (or ‘information source’) involve “stating that there is some evidence, and also specifying what type of evidence there is” (Aikhenvald 2003: 1, emphasis ours; cf. also de Haan 2005: 380-382). This problem can be relieved if we restrict inferentials to units with specific reference to circumstantial evidence. Furthermore, although Cornillie (2007; 2009; 2010) and de Haan (2007) showed how epistemic and inferential meaning can be distinguished in principle for adverbs, modal auxiliaries and SEEM-constructions in Romance and Germanic languages, we demonstrate using Bulgarian and Russian modal adverbs and particles that this task cannot always be solved that straightforwardly. The reason mainly resides in their diffuse meaning that does not allow them to be restricted to inference on circumstantial evidence and/or to low or high degree of certainty. Possibly, asymmetries of epistemic access play a role, too.

(iii) Function words serving as evidential markers happen to be heterosemic; for many, but not all of them, evidential-epistemic values co-vary with syntactic status, e.g. complementiser vs. particle (Letuchiy 2010; Wiemer 2010a, b). We show how far this co-variation, manifesting itself also in Bulgarian, follows patterns known from other languages and how they emerge from specific syntactic and pragmatic environments.

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### **Routinized language structures as social action formats.**

Kärkkäinen, Elise  
(University of Oulu)

The main objective of the research reported here is an empirical description of the interconnectedness and concurrent use of grammar, prosody and embodied practices in the construction of social actions and turns-at-talk. We focus on some of the most recurrent interactional routines and linguistic schemas that have become sedimented for the accomplishment of certain social actions in everyday and more institutional spoken English. We thus aim at explicating the exact ways in which the different modalities, language structures, prosody, and embodied resources, mutually elaborate each other in the accomplishment of social action formats (SAFs). Further, objects and artifacts and the surround, or place, are a crucial component of interaction and therefore also of analysis. The data consist of videotaped naturally-occurring interactions of people engaged in different task-oriented and casual conversations in English.

The paper offers evidence for the existence of social action formats, or some of the recurrent linguistic conversational patterns established in our work so far. It first focuses on the linguistic formulaicity of three SAFs involving *I thought* used for taking a stance (Kärkkäinen 2009, forthcoming): one indexing an explicit stance (*I thought it was pretty neat*), one indexing a reported affective stance (*and I thought, .. for crying out*), and one indexing a change in the speaker's epistemic state (*I thought I turned this o=ff*.) The embodied production of one such format is also discussed, showing among other things that talk that looks like fairly neutral reporting of a speaker's thoughts, rather than indexing an explicit stance, gains a stanced meaning, which is co-constructed by the prosodic contour of the words spoken and the simultaneous embodied actions of the speaker.

Second, the paper discusses a social action format for making offers (Kärkkäinen and Keisanen forthcoming) that make available to the recipient some concrete referent or material object or artifact (either visible or not visible) in the current situation, i.e. 'concrete offers'. It examines how discourse participants use language and the body as well as the local interactional and material context in the construction of the social action of offers. Such offers can be conceptualized as consisting of two interlinked actions: one action identifies the referent, often by focusing the recipient's attention to it (*I have X/there is X*), while the other action explicates the offer (*if you want Y*). This action combination is explored by discussing offers that range from fully linguistically articulated ones, to types where embodied actions take an increasingly central role.

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### **The ties between variation in vowel quality and duration.**

Kazmierski, Kamil  
(University of Vienna)

This paper investigates the relation between the variation in vowel duration and vowel quality under the influence of phonetic context, foot structure and speech style. In English, a vowel has longer duration when it finds itself in a short foot, followed by a voiced consonant, in an utterance spoken slowly, as compared to the same vowel in a long foot, followed by a voiceless consonant, in an utterance spoken more quickly (cf. Abercrombie 1964; Chen 1970; Rakerd et al. 1987). Also, temporally

reduced tokens of vowels tend to be closer to the center of the acoustic vowel space than longer ones (Lindblom 1990). There seems to be, then, a correlation between the variation in vowel quality and vowel duration. This synchronic correlation appears to find its diachronic reflection in changes undergone by phonologically long vowels - raising, tensing - as opposed to phonologically short vowels - falling, laxing (cf. Donegan 1978, Labov 1994).

Although correlations of the type just sketched are frequently observable, however, the present contribution questions that there is anything universal or necessary about them. Instead it hypothesizes that the factors triggering temporal reduction of vowels do not automatically have to cause spectral reduction, and, conversely, that the factors triggering phonetic lengthening do not automatically cause more peripheral realizations of those vowels. In other words, it is proposed that although variation in vowel quality and vowel duration are conditioned by the same factors (i.e. phonetic context, foot structure, phonostylistics), those factors affect vowel quality and vowel duration independently and may do so in distinct ways.

The investigation is supported by an empirical study, in which variation in the quality and the duration of the vowels /i: e æ/, as triggered by the sonority of the following segments, by the length of the feet in which the vowels find themselves, and by phono-stylistic factors is measured. The recorded material consists of 12 test words embedded in 3 phonetic environments, which form the basis of four reading tasks. A vowel followed by a voiced stop in a one-syllable foot, in an utterance spoken slowly is expected to display the longest duration, and a vowel followed by a voiceless stop in a three-syllable foot in an utterance spoken rapidly is expected to display the shortest duration. The results, based on recordings of 8 speakers of English, suggest that the correlation between variation in quality and variation in duration is indeed much less straightforward than often assumed.

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## The interpersonal meaning of tag questions in English: dimensions and distinctions.

Kimps, Ditte, Kristin Davidse & Bert Cornillie  
(University of Leuven)

It is generally accepted that tag question (TQ) constructions, consisting of stem and interrogative tag, convey *interpersonal* meaning. The literature has traditionally concentrated on their *conduciveness* to a specific hearer-response expected by the speaker (Quirk et al 1985). More recent studies (McGregor 1997; Kimps 2007; Mithun forthc) have argued that TQs also shape the *illocutionary force* of the stem and its *modal/evidential value*.

In this paper we set out to further elucidate these interpersonal dimensions of TQs by studying examples (about 200) from the intonationally transcribed part of the Corpus of London Teenage Language. We will analyse these data in terms of the main distinctions within illocutionary force and modality/evidentiality and will draw up usage-based profiles of these two dimensions.

Regarding *illocutionary force*, we will tackle unresolved questions associated with the less well described non-declarative TQs, correlating their formal features with a speech function analysis. Firstly, we will develop a unified description of TQs with *interrogative* stems, including not only those with subject-finite inversion but also non-inverted ones with rising tone, e.g.

(1) *we could get to X sch/ools, sh/all we#.*

The criterion of rising tone needs to be contextualized, as it may also signal a tentative statement, e.g (2b).

(2) a: *I don't \like it#. well it's alr/ight#. ... o/h#*  
b: *oh w-ell# ... that's a bit of a b/ummer isn't it#*

Secondly, we will delineate TQs expressing *directives*, which may not only have imperative but also modalized stems, requiring us to develop recognition criteria for borderline cases between directives and indicatives like

(3) a: *you're gonna enter, \aren't you Yasmin#*  
b: *she should sh\ouldn't she#*

As for *epistemic modal* and *evidential* modification, the challenge lies in disentangling these two types of qualifications in declarative TQs with both reversed and constant polarity. We will implement Cornillie's (2009) distinction between epistemic modality as degrees of speaker commitment to the likelihood of the utterance being true and evidentiality as different modes of knowledge, often referring to the hearer's knowledge. Regarding *epistemic modality*, we will verify the hypothesis that TQs with falling tone on the tag encode *stronger* epistemic speaker-commitment than those with rising tone (McGregor 1997), also

adapting it to accommodate TQs without separate tone on the tag. For the *evidential* meanings, we will start from Kimps's (2007) distinction between mirativity, the confrontation of contradictory knowledge states (4), and the redefining of common ground ((5).

- (4) *Is that your brother? – It's my dad \innit#*  
(5) *you heard about that Lord of the Flies# it's a group of boys# \isn't it#*

We will link these on the semantic-pragmatic side to different types of contextual affect such as irony, surprise and cooperation (Haviland 1988) and on the formal side to polarity, discourse particles and intonation, e.g. unitary versus compound tones such as fall-rise on the stem (6)

- (6) *This has got the whole history in it though# hasn't it#*

The semantic, prosodic and interactional evidence provided will allow us to develop a discourse based model of TQs.

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### A multifactorial corpus analysis of the Estonian adessive case and the adposition *peal* 'on'.

Klavan, Jane  
(University of Tartu)

This paper will examine in detail the variation and use of the Estonian adessive case construction *tass on laual* [cup:nom be-pr:sg3 table:ade] and the adpositional construction *tass on laua peal* [cup:nom be-pr:sg3 table:gen on], both meaning 'the cup is on the table'. Previous corpus analyses of these two constructions have shown that the Estonian adessive case tends to be used when the Landmark phrase is long (including, for example, compound nouns), when the Landmark is a static location and larger than the Trajector and when the Trajector is plural; the adposition *peal*, on the other hand, is used when the Landmark phrase is short (including, for example, pronouns), and when the Landmark is a small, manipulable object (Klavan 2010). Nevertheless, there are certain Landmarks with which both constructions are possible and in this paper I will look in detail at such occurrences, determining with a multifactorial analysis which of the possible factors are the most important ones.

The analysis aims to achieve the goal of overcoming the shortfalls of the previous analyses by adopting a multifactorial approach and using actual language use, making the results more reliable of naturally occurring language. For this purpose, a list of the ten most frequent Landmarks that are used with both constructions was compiled, comprising of such Landmarks as road, table, door, picture, stairs, soul, border, wall, bed, and window. As a next step, 100 occurrences of each of the ten Landmarks were randomly extracted from the 1990s corpus of written Estonian (5.6 million words) – 50 with the adessive case and 50 with the adposition *peal* 'on', making a total of 1000 occurrences. These 1000 occurrences were then manually coded for different morpho-phonological, syntactic and semantic variables and entered into logistic regression analysis, which determines the relative influence of all variables (morpho-phonological variables were predicted to be the most important ones).

The approach taken in this paper is a multifactorial statistical corpus analysis, because as emphasised, for example, by Gries "variation phenomena are too multifaceted to be treated adequately by means of minimal-pair tests and the researchers own judgements" (2003: 155). The paper draws upon numerous other studies on different variation phenomena, including those specifically about the synthetic-analytic distinction (for dative alternation in English, see Bresnan and Ford 2010, Bresnan et al. 2007; for English comparative alternation, Mondorf 2003; for the English genitive alternation, Rosenbach 2003; for particle placement alternation in English transitive phrasal verbs, Cappelle 2009). However, as most of these studies are based on English, the present study hopes to add typological data to the general discussion about analytic and synthetic forms of verbalization by providing an in-depth account of the multifactorial factors that shape and design the use of the synthetic adessive case and the analytic adpositional construction with *peal* in Estonian.

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### Impersonal passives in contemporary standard Russian: a stage of emergence of the construction.

Knjazev, Jurij  
(St Petersburg University)

According to the almost unanimously accepted opinion (Timberlake 1976: 547; Mel'čuk 1998: 179; Plungjan 2000: 202; Murphy 2005: 79 et al.), in Contemporary Standard Russian (CSR) the passive is formed (with a very few isolated exceptions) from syntactically transitive verbs and, according to the derivational approach to the passive, involves both demotion down hierarchy of the subject and promotion up the hierarchy of an object; cf.

- (1a) *Prestupnik-a zaderža-l-a policij-a*  
criminal.M-ACC.SG arrest-PRET-F.SG police.F-NOM.SG  
'The police has arrested the criminal'.
- (1b) *Prestupnik-∅ zaderža-n-∅ (policij-ej)*  
criminal.M-NOM.SG arrest-PASSPTCP-M.SG (police.F-INS.SG)  
'The criminal has been arrested the police'.

In this respect the CSR passive is commonly opposed to the North Russian (NR) dialectal passive constructions which are said to be "freely formed from intransitive as well as from transitive verbs" (Timberlake 1976: 553); cf. the following example taken from (Kuz'mina, Nemčenko 1971: 109):

- (2) *U men-ja vezde by-t-o*  
at 1SG-GEN everywhere be-PASSPTCP-N.SG  
'I have been everywhere'.

Really, NR-like impersonal passives are not widespread in CSR and, therefore, they are not taken into consideration below. Nevertheless, judging from modern Russian works of fiction and non-fiction, impersonal passive constructions in CSR are not scanty, by any means. They have two main sources.

First of all, besides the predominant type of direct objects marked with the accusative case, CSR obtains a variety of non-accusative ways to express direct objects, such as genitive-marked noun phrases under negation, distributive constructions with the preposition *po*, and a number of others. These additional constructions hold their form in passive constructions, without any other noun phrase being promoted to the subject position; cf.

- (3) *Podtverždenij-a ne poluč-en-o*  
confirmation.N-GEN.SG NEG receive-PASSPTCP-N.SG  
'No confirmation has been received'
- (4) *V každy-e iz nosily-ok vprjaženo*  
in every-PL from stretcher-GEN.PL harness-PASSPTCP-N.SG  
*po vosem' čelovek*  
by eight man.PL-GEN  
'Eight men were harnessed at every stretcher'.

Secondly, in CSR there are dozens of verbs which, in spite of being syntactically intransitive, are able to form past passive participles and to be used in impersonal passive constructions; e. g. *nakurit'* 'to fill a place with smoke or fumes' – *nakureno*, *natoptat'* 'to leave dirty footmarks' – *natoptano*, *sprosit'* 'to ask a question' – *sprošeno*, *otvetit'* 'to give an answer' – *otvečeno*, *svistnut'* 'to blow a whistle' – *svistnuto*, *otkazat'* 'to say no to something you have been offered' – *otkazano*, *pokončit'* 'put an end to something' – *pokončeno*, and many others; cf.

- (5) *Kak zdes' nakureno!*  
how here smoke-PASSPTCP-N.SG  
'How smoky it is here'

Presumably, a feature common to all these verbs is that their meaning contains something like a “semantically incorporated object” overtly expressed in the English translations of these verbs.

Given the rise of interest both in impersonal and in passive constructions, this peculiar path towards the impersonal passive should be taken into account in grammatical theory.

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## Participle “doubling” in Dutch dialects

Koeneman, Olaf, Marika Lekakou & Sjeff Barbiers  
 (Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam)

This talk looks at perfect doubling, as in (1a) and (1b), which are ungrammatical in most varieties of Dutch, including the standard one, but occur in southeastern dialects.

- (1) a. ...dat de man gisteren hard gevallen geweest is (Brabantish Dutch)  
           that the man yesterday hard fallen been is  
           ‘... that the man fell hard yesterday’  
       b. ... dat de man de fiets gestolen gehad heeft.  
           that the man the bicycle stolen had  
           ‘... that the man had stolen the bicycle/\*that the man’s bicycle got stolen’

How can we reconcile the data in (1) with the principle of compositionality (Frege 1892) and the principle of economy (Chomsky 1995)? We argue that (1) contains only one instance of auxiliary BE/HAVE, the second one being lexical. No genuine doubling thus occurs. The argument is based on evidence that suggests that ‘fallen’ and ‘stolen’ in (1) are adjectival. Variation with respect to (1) reduces to variation in the formation of adjectival participles.

Perfect doubling is not altogether impossible in Standard Dutch, it is merely more restricted. The restriction coincides with the restriction on the formation of adjectival participles. In Standard Dutch only participles based on target state predicates can be adjectival. These predicates can be identified by their compatibility with the adverb *nog steeds* ‘still’ (cf. Kratzer 2000). Hence, *gebroken* encodes a target state but *gevallen* a resultant state.

- (2) a. Ik denk dat de vaas nog steeds gebroken is. (Standard Dutch)  
           I think that the vase still broken is  
       b. \*Ik denk dat de vaas nog steeds gevallen is.  
           I think that the vase still fallen is

When ‘still’ is present in the clause, forcing the adjectival reading of the participle, the latter has to precede all other verbal heads in the clause (2a vs. 2a’). This behaviour is identical to that of uncontroversial predicative adjectives in all varieties of Dutch (3a) but different from participles in clauses without ‘still’ (3b), where the participle is verbal.

- (2) a’. \*Ik denk dat de vaas nog steeds is gebroken. (Standard Dutch)  
 (3) a. Ik denk dat de vaas nog steeds stuk is/\*is stuk  
           I think that the vase still broken is/is broken<sub>adj.</sub>  
       b. Ik denk dat de vaas is gebroken.  
           I think that the vase is broke  
           ‘I think that the vase has broken.’

Since *gebroken* is an adjective in (2a), finite BE must be a copula. In the present perfect of this structure, two BE’s are expected to co-occur, see (4a). In (2b), however, *gevallen* is not adjectival, but verbal. Consequently, *is* can only be an auxiliary. Under the assumption that pure doubling (i.e. two identical auxiliaries in one clause) is excluded by compositionality and economy, the co-occurrence of two BE’s is expected to be ungrammatical in this case, see (4b):

- (4) a. ... dat de vaas gebroken is geweest. (Standard Dutch)  
           that the vase broken is been  
       b. \*... dat de vaas gevallen is geweest.  
           that the vase fallen is been



'the fan is hanging down from up high (from the ceiling)'

- (8) *anke bu-pen nang=mi-et-lo arje ke-me*  
then b.container-from nang=shine-ASP-PAM appearance NMLZ-be.good  
'and then, from the bamboo container her beauty was shining' (KT, TCS 055)

### Representation of 'Arabs' and 'Americans' in news media.

Kort, Samia

(The University of the West of England)

The current analysis draws on emerging trends trying to combine cognitive accounts of metaphor with Critical Discourse Analysis. Claims that metaphors are not "decontextualized entities" but rather "products of discourse" (Gibbs 2009) entail the study of metaphors within discourse and not in isolation. The proposed presentation will look into news media representations of "Arabs" and "Americans" '. It has as its main aims to contribute to critical analysis of metaphors within discourse, and to comparatively evaluate the representations of "Arabs" and "Americans" and verify "Us" versus "Other" cultural stereotyping and otherizing in news discourse.

Therefore, we will conduct a cross-linguistic cross-cultural analysis of two corpora composed of extracts from selected online editions of 'Middle-East' Arab written news and US American newspapers appearing between December 2008 and January 2009, a period that witnessed the start of new presidential term in USA and Gaza Massacres in the 'Middle East'. We intend to identify the conceptual metaphors portraying Arabs and Americans in news media. We will then compare both corpora in terms of linguistic and conceptual correspondences in their portrayal of the 'other'.

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### Words and feet.

Korth, Manuela

(University of Stuttgart, University of Potsdam)

The prosodic hierarchy is a well known tool for analysing the phonological structure of utterances. Several versions have been developed during the last five decades, e.g. by Halliday (1961), Selkirk (1980), Nespor & Vogel (1986) and Pierrehumbert & Beckman (1988). Around thirty different labels for prosodic constituents can be found. They are defined by four criteria:

- intonational criteria,
- morpho-syntactic criteria,
- domain criteria,
  - for phonological rule application
  - for phonotactic generalizations
- rhythmical criteria.

I would like to show that the definitions are often incompatible. Data from German will be used to exemplify the problems. Most difficulties arise at the levels of the foot, which is most often defined by rhythmical criteria, and the phonological word, which is most often defined by domain criteria in German:

- Several examples can only be captured, if a foot is allowed to dominate a phonological word (cf. Wiese 1996), which violates the SLH (= Strict Layer Hypothesis; for a definition cf. Ladd 1996 among others).
- The requirements for phonological words are in conflict, because vowel initial stressed suffixes...
  - must be dominated by their own phonological word to explain accentuation (generalizing the assumption on prefixes made by Hall 1999: 111),
  - but must *not* be dominated by their own phonological word to explain syllabi-fication (cf. Hall 1999: 99 and Wiese 1996: §3).
- The phonological word needs to be recursive, which leads to a violation of the SLH again.
- Phonological rules which are used to define the phonological word can also be observed at the level of the phonological phrase (cf. Kleinhenz 1998), especially in fast speech.

If we carefully look at the criteria used for defining prosodic constituents, it becomes apparent that we need to reduce them to a single criterion (which cannot be in conflict with itself). It will be argued that phonological words and feet belong to different dimensions of phonology. Phonological words belong to a hierarchy of intonational defined phrasing constituents, which can be related to parts of morpho-syntactic constituents by interface rules. Feet instead are rhythmical units. In some cases, they are only a perception phenomenon, e.g. when we believe to hear a rhythm even

in sequences of unstructured sounds (e.g. a constant knocking). Phonological words and feet are sometimes incompatible because they belong to different prosodic systems. The classic prosodic hierarchy is a melting of intonational and rhythmical constituents and equals the group structure, which Lehrdahl & Jackendoff (1983) invented for western tonal music. It combines a hierarchy of rhythm (dominant at lower levels) with a hierarchy of phrasing (dominant at higher levels). A crossing of the different systems at mid levels has to result in conflicts.

Further, I would like to argue, that we can largely give up individualized constituents. Assuming recursive un-individualized constituents makes it easier to capture the interface to the morpho-syntactic component of grammar, and explains why the same processes (depending on speech rate) can be observed at different levels.

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### Evaluative morphology from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Kortvélyessy, Livia & Pavol Štekauer  
(P.J. Šafárik University, Košice)

The paper deals with the field of evaluative morphology, in particular, with diminutives from cross-linguistic perspective. It concentrates on three basic aspects of evaluative morphology, in particular, (a) the nature of evaluative morphology, (b) the cognitive categories and the semantics that can be cross-linguistically expressed by morphological diminutives, and (c) the word-formation processes employed for this purpose.

Our research data makes it clear that while in the majority of languages the relevant process of diminutive formation is derivational, there are numerous languages with a clearly inflectional nature of diminutive formation. By implication, evaluative morphology appears to be a cline in terms of its morphological nature.

Our sample covers 91 languages. Out of them, 59 languages feature some kind of evaluative morphology; 57 of the languages (core sample) can form diminutives morphologically, although their capacity varies. In this respect, the most productive languages of our sample include Slovak, Hungarian, Lakota, Plains Cree, Quechua, Zapoteco, and Zulu. Two languages (an East Asian language Thai, and a South American Wari) can form augmentatives but they can't form diminutives, which calls into question the hypothesis of the universal nature of the implicational rule according to which "IF augmentative derivational morphology, THEN also diminutive derivational morphology" (Universal #2009 in Plank and Filimonova's Universals Archive).

While the range of morphological processes employed for diminutive-formation is wide, they are clearly dominated by suffixation. 39 languages of the core sample are exclusively suffixing; 4 are exclusively prefixing. Other diminutive-formation processes like prefixal-suffixal derivation, reduplication, transfixation, compounding, and various combinations of them are also employed.

'Evaluativeness' is conceived as 'deviation' from the standard, default value within the basic conceptual categories of SUBSTANCE, ACTION, QUALITY and CIRCUMSTANCE. These categories may be expressed by nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and even pronouns and numerals. Obviously, the concept of standard quantity as a reference point for evaluativeness may change from language to language, from community to community, from speech situation to speech situation, as illustrated in our paper with examples.

The sample can be further subdivided according to whether the languages employ one or more diminutive formation techniques. There are cases when one and the same affix is attached to the base form to express different cognitive categories (realized through various word classes).

The data indicates that rather than genetic relationships it is the geographical area which has its impact on the formation of morphological diminutives. Semantically, the most frequently expressed cognitive category is the category of substance, which is reflected in the dominant position of diminutivized nouns. A default situation is the use of a single special-purpose diminutive suffix, occurring only once in a diminutivized word, and expressing only one semantic category.

All the discussion is supported by numerous examples from our sample languages

## Unpersönliche Dativ-Konstruktionen als Koverte Kodierungsformen von Wurzelmodalität.

Kotin, Michail L.

(Universität Zielona Góra / Adam-Mickiewicz-University Poznan)

In dem Referat werden formal unpersönliche Konstruktionen mit dem agentivischen oder nonagentivischen Dativ und einem infiniten Verbalkomplement im Gotischen und zum Teil auch in anderen altgermanischen Sprachen sowie in den slawischen Sprachen, vor allem im Russischen, Polnischen und Altkirchenslawischen behandelt. Zum Vergleich werden u. a. das Griechische und das Lateinische herangezogen. Ziel der Analyse ist die Aufdeckung versteckter (sog. „kryptotypischer“, oder koverter) Modalität dieser merkmalfreien syntaktischen Fügungen im Unterschied zu der sog. „phänotypischen“, oder overten Modalität, welche durch merkmalfreie persönliche finite Konstruktionen mit Modalverben kodiert werden.

Beispiele:

1. got. Lk. 16, 22: *warþ gaswiltan þamma unledin* `der Arme starb` [wörtl. `wurde sterben dem Armen` und eigentlich `der Arme musste sterben`];
2. got. Lk. 6, 1: *warþ [...] galeiþan imma in swnagogein* `er ging in die Synagoge` [wörtl. `wurde [...] gehen ihm in die Synagoge` und eigentlich `er sollte in die Synagoge gehen`]. – Dativus cum infinitivo ohne overte Modalprädikation
3. russ. *ему нужно много работать* `er muss viel arbeiten`; poln. *jemu trzeba dużo pracować* [wörtl. `ihm muss-Modalprädikativ` viel arbeiten] – infinite unpersönliche Dativ-Konstruktion mit agentivischem Dativ und overter Modalprädikation  
versus
4. russ. *ему нужно помочь*, poln. *jemu trzeba pomóc* `man muss ihm helfen` [wörtl. `ihm muss-Modalprädikativ helfen`] – infinite unpersönliche Dativ-Konstruktion mit nonagentivischem (benefaktivem) Dativ und overter Modalprädikation.
5. russ. *ему ещё много работать* `er muss noch viel arbeiten` [wörtl. `ihm noch viel arbeiten`] – infinite unpersönliche Dativ-Konstruktion mit agentivischem Dativ und ohne overte Modalprädikation
6. russ. *ему бы помочь* [wörtl. `ihm – by-Konjunktivpartikel helfen`] 2 Lesarten: a) `er sollte [jmdm.] helfen`, b) `ihm sollte geholfen werden` – infinite unpersönliche Dativ-Konstruktion mit agentivischem Dativ und ohne overte Modalprädikation  
etc.

Es wird gezeigt, dass unpersönliche infinite Dativfügungen als merkmalfreies Glied einer binären privativen Opposition fungieren, deren merkmalfreies Glied overte Modalsätze mit agentivischem Nominativ, Finitheit und formal indizierter Deontik resp. Voluntativität sind.

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### Multimodal metaphor and genre change in advertising: the case of ecology and sustainability.

Kraljevic Mujic, Blanca  
(Universidad Rey Juan Carlos)

Multimodal metaphor is a powerful instrument for the creation and communication of new meanings, both at the level of linguistic and visual choices and at the level of textual-discursive and generic organization. In this paper I discuss the role of multimodal metaphor in printed advertisements. My theoretical framework draws, on the one hand, from work carried out on genre analysis (Swales 1990; Bhatia 2004; Caballero & Suarez-Toste 2010), and discourse studies of metaphor (Charteris-Black 2004; Semino 2008), and on the other hand on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff & Turner 1989), and multimodal metaphor (Forceville 1996, 2006). For “multimodal metaphors” I have adopted Forceville’s definition as those “whose target and source are each represented exclusively or predominantly in different modes (Forceville 2006: 384), in the case of my sample of advertisements, the verbal mode and the visual mode. My main objective is to explore the way in which new meanings regarding “ecology” and “sustainability” are conceptualised by means of multimodal metaphor. For this purpose, I study the relation between metaphors and discourse topics, on the one hand, and recurrent multimodal metaphors on the other. My data consists of 60 printed advertisements which were published in *The Economist* in 2010. This English magazine assumes a certain type of readership. The readers are mostly male, women representing only 9%; most readers (52%) are aged between 35 and 45 years of age. About 30% of readers are older than 55 (Koller 2004: 45). In my analysis, I use a combination of

qualitative and corpus-based methods in order to examine the role of the visual component in the advertisements and the role of keywords and recurrent patterns in the verbal component. The methodology I have followed consists of a combination of manual analysis of multimodal metaphors and a search for key words and the word frequency list in order to complement and expand the manual analysis. The analysed advertised companies use the domains of “ecology” and “sustainability” as source domains and underlying themes for a marketing strategy which is aimed at modifying predetermined conceptions of potential readers about the target company. There is a high frequency of ontological metaphors as they are crucial instruments for the presentation of concrete entities which are used to conceptualise some of the abstract concepts of ecology and sustainability and the most recurrent metaphor is THE ADVERTISED COMPANY IS A FRIEND, where we can see the apparent power symmetry between the producer and the target audience. Assuming that discourse practices reflect social practices (Fairclough 1992), I argue that ecology and sustainability as themes for the advertisements reflect the process by which the conventions of a given genre are modified and renewed as part of an adaptation which is both socio-cultural and discursive. In this sense, I argue that multimodal metaphor plays a crucial role in these processes, as it gives shape to changes which affect consumers’ conceptions about the target companies and about conventions on advertising as a genre itself.

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### Emergent grammar and intersubjectivity. A corpus-driven approach to epistemic stance.

Krawczak, Karolina & Glynn, Dylan  
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan & Lund University)

Epistemic stance, and the lexico-grammar associated with it, has been a notoriously difficult question. The use of mental predicates such as *think* and *believe* is determined intersubjectively as an interpersonal vehicle for expression and negotiation of opinion (Kärkkäinen 2003; Dehé & Wichmann 2010). The grammar of these lexemes and their constructions emerges between speakers, entwining information structuring with pragmatic complexity. We apply a corpus-driven usage-feature analysis to the cognition verbs *think*, *believe*, *suppose*, and *guess* with their associated syntactic patterns in British and American English. In order to capture the emergent grammar of these epistemic structures, we employ multivariate statistics, mapping the interaction of the formal, semantic and sociolinguistic dimensions of language use.

Langacker’s (1988) usage-based model allows us to operationalise grammar in terms of emergent structures, quantifiable as generalisations across large numbers of usage-events. If we assume that patterns of language use are indicative of language structure, mapping those patterns reveals emergent grammar. In order to map the more subtle interpersonal aspects of the negotiation of epistemic stance, this study employs a usage-feature analysis (Gries 2006; Gronderlaers & al. 2008; Glynn 2010). Instead of examining the formal co-occurrence of linguistic structures of a corpus, a usage-feature analysis focuses on a large set of examples and meticulously analyses them for a wide range of linguistic and extralinguistic features. The results of this analysis can then be statistically examined for patterns representing the intersubjective emergent grammar. The study employs a combination of multivariate exploratory and confirmatory statistics (Glynn & Robinson in press).

The analysis focuses on the use of the epistemic verbs *think*, *believe*, *suppose*, and *guess* in American and British English. In order to obtain natural interpersonal language, the study extracts its data from online discussions of personal diaries and the spoken components of the British National Corpus and the Contemporary Corpus of American English. A sample of 500 occurrences and their context is taken for each verb. These contextualised examples are analysed for formal, semantic, and contextual usage characteristics. Contextual factors include dialect, discourse topic, speaker engagement, humour, axiology, the addresser and addressee relation. Semantic variables include verb semantics, adverb semantics, the discursive negotiation (negation, question, prompt, hedge, proposition, engagement, emphasis, distance), the semantics of the object, and the referent of the utterance.

The results reveal the grammar of the four epistemic verbs differs along two dimensions – degree of

epistemic commitment and regional variation. Moreover, combined with evidence for parentheticality, the degree of epistemic commitment can be understood as an operationalisation of grammaticalisation. We find that *believe*, across both British and American English, expresses a strong degree of subjective commitment and does not readily licence a parenthetical construction. The lexeme *think*, contrary to what one might expect, is not highly grammaticalised and lies close to *believe* in its use. Continuing along the cline of epistemic commitment, the British *suppose* and American *guess* are highly grammaticalised, readily combining with parenthetical constructions and typically expressing a light degree of speaker engagement. However, here the degree of epistemic commitment differs across the two dialects, the British *suppose* indicates less engagement than the American *guess*, which lies between the British *suppose* and the American / English *think*.

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### Degrees and measurement of Subjectivity: a logistic mixed-effects model for the Russian subjective experiencer construction.

Kyröläinen, Aki-Juhani  
(University of Turku)

I explore the usage of one impersonal construction type in Russian. The theoretical framework builds on Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006) and the concept of subjectivity (Langacker 1990; Verhagen 2005). A theoretical account of subjectivity must structurally validate the subjective status of a certain construction type (cf. Aaron & Cacoullos 2005). Thus, if the type in question is, indeed, a manifestation of subjective construal of an event, then it should contain structural cues which can be used to measure the degree of subjectivity. A set of structural features are proposed which are then used to model the subjectivity of this construction. Two hypotheses concerning the degree of subjectivity are set forth: 1) the maximal degree of subjectivity should be accompanied with zero encoding of the experiencer and 2) features which may be considered as signalling a degree of subjectivity should show a dispreference for zero encoding assuming that only one feature of subjectivity is sufficient in discourse.

The construction type in question has distinct characteristics: the experiencer is encoded in the dative case, the verb is marked with the reflexive marker (*-sja*) and a modifier is typically present in the profile (cf. Janko-Trinickaja 1962; Zolotova 2000). Example 1 illustrates an instantiation of this type.

- |       |           |               |                   |    |
|-------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|----|
| 1) No | mne       | pochemy-to    | bega-et-sja       | na |
|       | But I.DAT | some.reason   | run-.3.SNG.PRS-RM | PR |
|       | tak-om    | pokryt-ii     | leg-che.          |    |
|       | that-PREP | pavement-PREP | easy-COMP         |    |
- But for some reason it's easier for me to run on that kind of pavement.  
[Волжский Комсомолец (Самара)04.02.2005]

Due to infrequency of the construction, a total sample based on ten verbs was extracted from the Russian National Corpus and Integrum yielding a set of 3595 instances. The following features were used to model the degree of subjectivity: type of the modifier, clause type, tense, genre, frequency and dispersion of the verbs. We concentrate on the maximally subjective construal of the event. Additionally, the verbs display a considerable variation in terms of the proposed features. Thus, a logistic mixed-effects model, function *lmer* in R, with verbs as random effects factor was used to evaluate whether the proposed set of features is able to model the zero versus other manifestation of the experiencer (cf. Baayen 2008; Jaeger 2008). Although the proposed model is not predictive,  $C=0.73$  and  $Dxy=0.45$ , it offers a considerably better fit to the data in contrast to the baseline model, i.e. simply choosing the non-zero encoding of the experiencer which would yield an accuracy of 51%, compared to the estimated accuracy of the model 73%. Interestingly, genre is not a statistically significant predictor in the model contrasting the generally upheld notion that omissibility is a genre-specific phenomenon in Russian (cf. Zdorenko 2010 and references therein). The partial effects of

the model affecting the choice of the encoding of the experiencer are discussed in detail. Additionally, the proposed model offers a way to model the whole usage pattern of this particular type in Russian.

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## Lest we fear the competition: complement clause constructions after verbs of fearing in English.

Lakey, Holly  
(University of Oregon)

This study examines the family of constructions comprised of complement clauses following verbs of fearing in English. The macro-construction, specifically [SUBJ<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>-Fearing (COMP) Subj<sub>2</sub> (ModalAux) V<sub>2</sub> (Obj)], can be realized in multiple ways; for example:

*She feared lest they might come upon a brigand.*  
[SUBJ<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>-Fearing COMP Subj<sub>2</sub> ModalAux V<sub>2</sub> Obj]

*They fear that you might find them.*  
[SUBJ<sub>1</sub> V<sub>1</sub>-Fearing COMP Subj<sub>2</sub> ModalAux V<sub>2</sub> Obj]

*I'm afraid it's coming.*  
[SUBJ<sub>1</sub> COP Adj-Fearing Subj<sub>2</sub> V<sub>2</sub>-Finite]

As the examples illustrate, this construction type allows for wide variation in its actual realization. While *that* seems to have existed as a complementizer for the majority of the written history of English, the later development of *lest* during the Old English period resulted in a choice of subordinating conjunctions. With the rise of modal auxiliaries and the simultaneous decline in subjunctive mood inflection, the form of the verb phrase within the complement clause was also variable. Furthermore, although a complementizer was generally required for the Middle English period, the Modern period allows for complement clauses without a subordinating conjunction.

The goal of this paper is to not only give a brief sketch of the history of this construction type in English, but also to discuss the role competition plays among the possible instantiations of the macro-construction. Structural differences of interest among these constructs include which complementizer (*lest*, *that*, or  $\emptyset$ ) introduces the clause, which verb of fearing (or predicate adjective) occurs, whether the verb in the complement clause is finite or non-finite, and whether a modal verb appears. These differences are investigated by means of corpora searches, and examples drawn from these corpora (the *YCOE*, *MEC*, and *COHA*) over the history of the language are discussed. The investigation will focus on three main variants: complement clauses introduced by *that*, complement clauses introduced by *lest*, and ones that lack a complementizer.

Because this macro-construction can have multiple realizations, constructs with seemingly identical functions compete with one another during the stages of English's history. This competition is explored in the corpora through frequency comparisons between the structural variants, as well as differences in verb choice, mood/modality, meaning, and discourse context.

Although the basic meaning of this construction type is the statement of a possible future event that the speaker views negatively, it is likely that the three variants do not function identically. While the *that* variant, the oldest and most frequent of the three, retains the most basic and broad meaning and context, the *lest* and  $\emptyset$  variants are restricted in their functions. The *lest* variant, which has experienced a decline in frequency in the last century, may be limited to domains that are more formal (such as written discourse). On the other hand, the  $\emptyset$  variant takes on an epistemic function, such as signaling linguistic politeness.

Preliminary results indicate that competition among related constructions that are structurally similar encourages meaningful differences for each construction variant. These differences are reflected not only in the variant's form, but also in its function, as constructions are inherently form-function pairings.

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## On the relation between MCP, epistemic modality and adverbial clauses.

Laskova, Vesselina  
(University of Venice)

This work aims at providing a clearer description of the contexts which do and those which do not tolerate main clause phenomena (henceforth MCP) by exploring some relevant phenomena in Bulgarian. Bulgarian is a language whose morphological characteristics prove to be revealing as far as the relation between MCP, embedded contexts (exemplified here by adverbial clauses) and epistemic modality is concerned. The issue is discussed from the point of view of generative grammar and the data are presented in the context of Haegeman's theory of adverbial clauses.

Haegeman (2002 and subsequent work) draws a semantic and a syntactic distinction between two large groups of adverbial clauses which, as she shows, are related to the (im)possibility of having MCP in embedded contexts. As the author claims, central adverbial clauses (in Haegeman's terminology) are a context in which neither MCP nor epistemic modality are allowed. Peripheral adverbial clauses, on the other hand, allow for both.

Bulgarian is a language that draws a morphological distinction between these two types of adverbial clauses. First, there exists a specialized verbal form – the non past perfective form, which, if not accompanied by the future particle, can be used only in central adverbial clauses. Second, there exists a conjunction – *štom*, which is a specialized form that introduces peripheral conditional clauses. Crucially, none of these forms is compatible with the other.

The existing morphological distinction, first, provides a clearer description of the two types of adverbial clauses and, second, helps in better specifying the following properties of these clause types. On the first place, as far as central adverbial clauses are concerned, we confirm the existence of a restriction on the possibility to have epistemic adverbs and MCP. Second, as far as peripheral clauses are concerned, we suggest that epistemic modality and the possibility to have MCP divide them into two subgroups. Premise clauses (as in (1)) are those peripheral clauses which allow for the objective (and not subjective) type of epistemic modality (cf. Lyons 1977; Papafragou 2006) and do not tolerate MCP. The conjunctions introducing this type of clauses explicitly express the speaker's knowledge that the event is (not) going to happen. I interpret this fact as showing that these clauses are anchored to the speaker, as Haegeman herself points out. Adversative clauses (as in (2)), on the other hand, allow for subjective epistemic modality and MCP (fronting in English and tag questions in Bulgarian). Furthermore, I suggest that the conjunctions introducing these two types of peripheral clauses, occupy two distinct positions in the left periphery.

- (1) Štom toj šte si tragva utre, njama da se sreštnem.  
If he will refl leave tomorrow NEG DA refl meet  
"If he will leave tomorrow, we won't meet."
- (2) Ivan raboti mnogo, dokato Petär samo mǎrzeluva.  
Ivan works a lot while Petar just does nothing  
"Ivan works a lot while Petar just does nothing."

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## Lexico-syntactic analysis model of Spanish multi-word expressions.

Leoni de Leon, Jorge Antonio  
(Universidad de Costa Rica)

We study the systematic representation of the syntax of Spanish multiword expressions. The term multiword expressions stands for a range of lexical phenomena characterized by the use of several lexical units to produce an equivalent denotative or stylistic effect. This phenomenon affects all grammatical categories. For example, the sequence "ojo de buey" is a nominal group that refers to a skylight type, while, "meter la pata" is a verbal group that refers to a particularly clumsy manner of handling a situation.

The syntax of these types of expressions causes several problems associated with their lexical status. Furthermore, there is a terminological ambiguity: the linguistic level assigned to multiword expressions is not always clear. In order to better differentiate the lexical elements involved in these phrases, we distinguish three concepts: vocables, speech units developed as character sequences limited by blank spaces; lexemes, abstract lexical units; and morpholexemes, intermediate units that belong to one or several vocables related to one single lexeme. The concept lemma (headwork) is limited to the entries in a dictionary. We dispose of the term multiword expression and adopt in its place the term phraseological unit, because of the lexicographical nature of our research. Also, we define phraseological units as links between lexemes. Finally, the distinction allows us to establish a typology for multiword

lexical units upon a new syntactically-oriented formal basis.

Because the proper knowledge of the behavior of a represented object is a requisite in any systematical model, we identify and describe the syntactic phenomena of phraseological units. Then, we organize the results in a consistent typology of three main types: collocations, verb support structures, and multimember lexical units. The latter includes, on one hand, multimember lexemes, which contain nominal, adverbial and adjectival expressions, and, on the other hand, phrases that are verbal expressions. Subclasses, also defined according to lexical and syntactic criteria, are included in this taxonomy as well. From this point, our investigation focuses on the multimember lexical units, which are arranged according to the phrase track involved (paradigmatic or syntagmatic). The paradigmatic phenomena result from the possibility of substitution in the structure of the phraseological unit; while the syntagmatic phenomena involve distance relationships from which discontinuity of the expression often occurs.

We define a formal notational system called *Tsool*, capable of restoring the lexical and syntactic features of a phraseological unit. *Tsool*, is a versatile instrument that allows users to establish interlinguistic knowledge relationships for translation as well as to specify definitions and examples taking the structures of arguments into account. Moreover, *Tsool* was created to represent the use of morphosyntactic data from an arbitrary amount of linguistic data from automated systems. We created a computational model called Mulkin that reproduces the *Tsool* formalization.

In short, in this investigation we pursue the creation of a systematic Spanish phraseology model based on the lexical and syntactic knowledge of idioms. We establish a formalization of complex lexical unit relationships that allows the calculation of an automated idiomatic nature from a typology that takes into account the behavior of phraseological units at a sentence level.

### **German modal particles and their (im)possible counterparts in English and Norwegian.**

Letnes, Ole & Haumann, Dagmar  
(University of Agder)

In the context of the Germanic languages, German is extremely rich in modal particles (MPs) and so it is not surprising that the lion's share of published research in this domain is on German MPs. Recent years have seen a number of studies on MPs in Scandinavian languages as well as contrastive analyses involving German and/or a Scandinavian language in relation to English, which is claimed to lack 'genuine' MPs (pace Aijmer (2009)) and thus resorts to 'functional equivalents of MPs' (Aijmer 1996; Waltreit 2001; Fischer 2007).

As for German, a quick glance at the literature published over the past 40 years reveals that modal particles defy a uniform definition. The smallest common denominator is a mixed bag of properties: they can express the epistemic states of discourse participants with respect to the content of an utterance (Zimmermann, to appear); Fischer & Drescher 1996) and mark and manage common ground (Fischer 2007; Egg 2010), they are restricted to occurring in the *Mittelfeld* (Abraham 1991, Jacobs 1991, van Gelderen 2002), they are grammaticalized pragmatic markers (van Gelderen 2002; Fischer 2007) and they share a number of properties with high sentence adverbs (Grosz 2007; Zimmermann 2009). These properties also figure in the description of MPs in the Mainland Scandinavian languages (Aijmer 1996; Fretheim 2010; Nedergaard Thomsen 2003).

Taking as a point of departure semantico-pragmatic properties of German MPs, i.e. their expressing the epistemic states of discourse participants with respect to the content of an utterance and their marking and managing common ground, we investigate the overt and/or covert realization of these properties in English and Norwegian. Using material from a parallel corpus of the three languages, we will in particular look into both the overt and covert compensation strategies employed in English (and to a certain extent also in Norwegian) to express equally differentiated judgments as in German.

As for the syntactic properties of MPs and their functional equivalents in English, it will be seen that, while German and Norwegian MPs are confined to the *Mittelfeld*, their functional equivalents are confined to the left and/or right periphery of the clause. Taking into account the relative linear orders of MPs and their functional equivalents, as well as other elements in the *Mittelfeld* and the left periphery of the clause, we will investigate whether and (if so) to which extent the hypothesis can be corroborated that MPs and their functional equivalents are subject to identical licensing conditions, and that licensing takes place (predominantly) in the left periphery, as has been argued by Grosz 2007 and Zimmermann 2009.

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## Constructional spaces in contrast: periphrastic causatives in Dutch and English.

Levshina Natalia & Geeraerts Dirk  
(University of Leuven)

**Introduction.** The study is a contrastive corpus-driven analysis of the Dutch and English periphrastic causatives. We use an innovative empirical method based on multiple correspondence analysis, which helps us a) compare the multidimensional conceptual spaces of the causative constructions in the two languages, b) detect the cross-linguistic peculiarities of the form-meaning mapping, and c) find the constructional equivalents in the two languages.

**Theoretical background.** There is a growing awareness of the importance of the onomasiological perspective in linguistic research (Geeraerts 2010). In our study of the distribution of constructions in conceptual spaces we fill the structuralist concept of lexical fields (e.g. Hjelmslev 1957) with modern methodological and theoretical content, moving from the lexical fields based on binary oppositions into probabilistic constructional spaces.

**Object of the study.** The object of our study is the semantic space of complex causative events, which is associated in many languages with periphrastic causatives, e.g. *He made me laugh* and *Hij deed me lachen*. The English causatives are constructions with the auxiliary predicates *make*, *have*, *get* or *cause* (e.g. Stefanowitsch 2001, Gilquin 2010). Their Dutch counterparts have the auxiliaries *doen* 'do' and *laten* 'let' (e.g. Kemmer & Verhagen 1994; Speelman & Geeraerts 2009). Whereas the English causatives exhibit variation of the effected predicate (the infinitive and the past and present participle), only the infinitive is possible in Dutch. At the same time, Dutch causees can be marked with the prepositions *door* 'by' or *aan* 'to'.

**Data and method.** The data were collected from a newspaper Dutch corpus and the corresponding segment of the BNC. The occurrences of the constructions (about nine thousand) were coded for the fine-grained classes of the causer, the causee and the effected predicate. Using multiple correspondence analysis, we created the conceptual spaces of the causatives on the basis of the co-occurrence of the semantic features. Next, we projected the formal patterns, such as *doen* + Infinitive or *have* + Past Participle, onto these spaces as supplementary points (Greenacre 2007). By doing so, we kept the form and function of the constructions apart.

**Results.** a) Although basically similar, the multidimensional conceptual spaces in both languages display a few peculiarities. For example, in English the semantics of affecting someone's mental state seems to be less varied than that in Dutch.

b) The form-meaning mapping in Dutch is governed mainly by the semantic role of the causee, whereas the semantic patterns in English are more local, due to the greater formal variation. For example, the constructions with the past participle (*She had her car repaired*) predominantly refer to human interaction involving the service frame (cf. Gilquin 2010).

c) By plotting the English and Dutch constructions in one common conceptual space, we can establish the semantic relationships between the constructions in the two languages. For example, according to most dimensions, *laten* + *door* is conceptually close to *have* + *Ved*. This demonstrates that the languages meet similar semantic challenges in structurally different ways.

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**Frequency and constructional evolution:  
the case of evaluative adverbial constructions in English.**

Lewis, Diana  
(University of Lyon II)

This paper discusses the role of type- and token-frequency in the evolution of two English 'meso-constructions' (Traugott 2008): (i) degree/intensifier Adv + Adj, as in *surprisingly good*, (henceforth Adv-Adj) and (ii) speaker-attitudinal Adv + S, as in *Surprisingly, it was good*, (henceforth SAdv-S).

The SAdv-S that is used to convey speaker attitude has become very productive in Modern English (Swan 1988, Biber 2004). It is seen to expand in three main ways: (i) from Early Modern English on, out of VP-adverbial constructions by semantic change in the adverb and scope reanalysis; (ii) in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, out of Adv-Adj constructions with scope reanalysis; (iii) in present-day English perhaps by the coining of new adverbs directly into the construction by analogy with existing sentence-adverbs. We argue that these developments are best seen in terms of evolving constructions, in the Construction Grammar sense, where the schematic construction itself acquires meaning that evolves with usage, i.e. as the token and type frequencies of the construction change (Croft forthcoming). Many adverbs occurring in Adv-Adj occur first in Adv-pp (past participle) contexts. We focus on the role of Adv-Adj and Adv-pp in the development of SAdv-S (examples 1 and 2).

- (1) a. it was *shockingly* and inhumanly *thin* (Austen 1801)  
b. more *shockingly*, they also performed worse in academic tests (Guardian 21/08/2007)
- (2) a. *cunningly* devised improvements (Carlyle 1850)  
b. *Cunningly*, it is not them in the photograph but two models (Independent 08/04/2007)

The shifting uses of such adverbs have usefully been analysed as grammaticalization (Nevalainen 1997; Brinton & Traugott 2005:136).

Historical corpus data are used to trace changes in the type frequencies and the token frequencies, for *-ly* adverbs, of Adv-Adj and SAdv-S from the late sixteenth century to the present day. The quantitative historical data are taken from the Corpus of English Dialogues, the Corpus of Early English Correspondence, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, the Corpus of Late Modern English Prose and other historical British English texts, and from the Corpus of Historical American English.

The study illustrates how a smallish number of adverb types start to occur in Adv-Adj with very high relative frequency, and how, in the mid nineteenth century, Adv-Adj appears to become much more productive, acquiring a large number of adverb types (micro-constructions) and leading to occurrences with vague or ambiguous semantics. Some of these adverbs decline; others start to appear in an increasingly productive SAdv-S construction. Just as at the end of the nineteenth century there appears to be a peak in the number of types recruited as modifiers of Adj, so currently the productivity of the evaluative sentence-adverb construction seems to have 'taken off' and seems to include considerable analogical coining. A closer look at *-ingly* adverbs will illustrate this recent trend and show how the construction grammaticalizes by gradual reanalysis depending on which lexical items are involved (Bybee 2010:150). The above observations suggest that the attainment of some critical type-frequency may facilitate a surge in productivity (although some of the new recruits may be short-lived), as the constructional meaning becomes strong enough to draw in or coerce less obvious adverbs into the evaluative construction.

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### On the prosodic structure of *article+noun* in child Spanish

Lleó, Conxita  
(University of Hamburg)

The present contribution analyzes the prosodic structure of child utterances in Spanish, at early stages of L1 acquisition, focusing on articles. The data stems from two monolingual children (just numbered 1 and 2 for anonymity's sake), and belongs to a longitudinal database on the acquisition of Spanish. Certain points in time have been selected, which highlight various ways of structuring the prosodic material. Although both children's productions lead to the postulation of a hierarchical prosodic model, one of the children goes through a stage that seems to abide by a linear model. The most salient differences are the following: 1) Child 1 between age 2;0 and 2;2 already produces trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic nouns with their full target number of syllables (1a); however, he adds or deletes one syllable, either to the article (1b) or to the noun (1c), in order to produce binary groupings of syllables. This binary pattern is soon overcome, and at 2;2 the child also produces forms with odd numbers of syllables (1d).

(1) child 1	(2;0) a.	una bicicleta	[u.na. ˌbi.θi.'kle.ta]	'a bicycle'
		unos calcetines	['ʔu.nɔ. pa.ɸe.'tsi.nɛ]	'some socks'
(2;0) b.	un globo		[ʔɔ.nɔ. 'vɔ.vɔ]	'a balloon'
		un oso	[u.nɔ. 'ɔ.βɔ], [u.no. 'ɔ.ðɔ:]	'a bear'
		un pequeñito	[u.nɔ. pɔ.ɸe.'ni.tɔ]	'a small one'
(2;2) c.	una aspiradora		['ʔu.na. 'pi.ra.'dɔ.ɹa]	'a vacuum cleaner'
		un elefante	[u. ven.'pʰa.θɛ]	'an elephant'
		un lapicero	[ʔɔn. pi.'te.ɹɔ]	'a pencil'
		una casita	[ˌɔ.de. ˌa.da.'ki.ga]	'a little house'
(2;2) d.	un elefante grande		[ʔu.nɔ. pɸe.'pʰa.te. 'ma.nɛ]	'a big elephant'
		un payaso grande	[ʔɔm. 'pa.ja.to. 'la.nɛ]	'a big clown'
		una pelota amarilla	[ʔu.na. pɸe.'lo.te. a.ma.'i.ja]	'a yellow ball'

Child 2 at age 1;8 generally truncates quadrisyllabic nouns to disyllables, and at 2;0 he also truncates them to trisyllables. These truncations evidence a ban against placing more than 2 or 3 syllables in the PW, respectively. Such nouns can be preceded by an article, either monosyllabic or disyllabic, as in (2).

(2) child 2	(1;8)	la mariposa	[la. 'bo.zɔ]	'the butterfly'
	(2;0)	una galleta	[u.ne. ɣa.'je.da]	'a cookie'

Utterances (1a-c) vs. (1d) and (2) are very differently structured, simply showing trochaic-feet constructions in the former case, and prosodic words comprised of a trochaic foot preceded by an unfooted syllable or a foot in the latter case. This distinction can only be accounted for in a hierarchical model of prosodic structure, by which PWs are comprised of feet, and unfooted syllables have a prosodic status, too. Child 1 does not have the constraint against more than two or three syllables in the PW, and between 2;0 and 2;2 his prosodic system seems to be based on sequences of feet, independently from the number of syllables of the article; thus, the PW does not seem to play a crucial role. However, for child 2, given the constraint of PWs on numbers of syllables (a maximum of three), articles must be adjoined to the PPh, which thus dominates more than one PW.

### Scalarity in verb-based constructions.

Locatelli, Roberto  
(Università per stranieri di Siena)

Scalarity – a property probably common to all linguistic categories (Kennedy & McNally 2005) – can be a significant notion to measure out the event denoted by a certain verb-based construction. Following Rappoport Hovav (2008) and Levin, Rappoport Hovav (2010), scalar change verbs – which comprehend both Change-of-State verbs (COS; e.g., *cool, lengthen, widen*) and Inherently Directed Motion verbs (IDM; e.g., *approach, go, come, rise*) – lexicalize a scalar dimensional meaning, while incremental theme verbs (IT; e.g., *read, eat*) do not. Prototypical nonscalar change verbs (e.g., *roll, move, float*), and in part even IT verbs, lexicalize manner instead, a property hardly included in scalar change verb meaning, lacking an ordering relation. On top of that, COS and IDM verbs denote scalarity even when they are only based on two-valued attributes (Beavers 2008; e.g., *die, explode, arrive*), so as to differentiate a general scalar meaning

from a more specific gradual one. Cross-linguistically, however, any language lexicalizes scalarity differently, as will be put in (Bertinetto, Squartini 1995).

In this talk, I will discuss the notion of scalarity in verb-based constructions, which represent single predications whose meaning results from the unification of a lexical (verb) construction with an argument structure construction, considering as a main constraint the coherence of the semantic frame they constitute (Goldberg 2010). According to constructionist approaches to language, any language form referring to a more or less specified function is to be taken as a construction (Goldberg 1995). Constructions may differ in both size and specificity. Under this light, IT verbs and nonscalar verbs correspond to verb-based constructions, where the argument modifies the verb, while scalar verbs correspond to fillers of more complex, embedding constructions, where the verb, or the possible embedded verbal construction, specifies the whole construction meaning. Through a corpus-based analysis, the relevant different distributions of this two kinds of constructions will be presented in a collocation perspective (Stefanowitsch, Gries 2003). The results will show which verbs are more strongly attracted by which slot in embedding constructions, and vice versa, and shed a light on the productive features of these constructions. A critical cognitive phenomenon which will be also taken into account is *pre-emption* (Goldberg 2006), which plays an important role in the organization of a language repertoire. Illustrative examples will be drawn from Italian. Finally, scalarity in English and Italian verb-based constructions will be compared, proposing different relevant grammaticalization processes.

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### Paradigms lost: constructions and the Czech case.

Lukes, Dominik  
(Dyslexia Action)

From a constructional perspective, the Czech nominal case system (as well as many other inflectional subsystems in other languages) is monumentally complex and unpredictably productive. While cognitive and construction grammars can account for the immense syntagmatic complexity and productivity of language from phrasal idioms to relative clauses or conditionals (cf. Croft 2001; Langacker 1987; etc.), they simply haven't paid much attention to the complexity of what could be called the 'vertical' dimension of language. Traditionally, Czech case divides over four genders (counting masculine animate and inanimate as two) for the purposes of syntagmatic relationships such as agreement and semantic organization. Nouns are then subdivided into anywhere between 10 and 15 models for the purposes of paradigmatic predictability. In fact, to achieve total predictability (such as that required by a machine translation system) the number of paradigms explodes into well over a hundred. (This is analogous to the situation in verbs that go from 6 textbook models to 122 models thought by Fronek (1999) to be necessary for success for the users of his dictionary). To make matters worse, however, there are only 24 distinct nominal case suffixes (in standard Czech) making ambiguity commonplace.

To paint a realistic usage-based picture, we simply cannot expect this paradigmatic complexity to be representative of the structures in the speakers' inventory (Taylor 2002) of linguistic units. Several facts seem to support this conclusion. First, children have no trouble acquiring not just one but two such paradigmatic systems by the age of five and ten respectively (Pačesová 1979) and their errors mostly stem from semantic rather than formal issues with the case endings. This is in sharp contrast to the learners of Czech as a second language who struggle with both the formal and the semantic dimensions of the case (cf. Janda & Townend 2006). Although, we still lack reliable studies to confirm how the case paradigms are acquired this dichotomy suggests a different type of cognitive complexity than that represented in a typical grammar book. Second, early grammarians (Koupil 2008) were content to leave the paradigms relatively simple indicating comparatively small awareness of the system by native speakers that persists to this day (Eisner 1946).

In this paper, I will propose a direction in which a cognitive constructionist account of the paradigm can be

sought. I will draw on key insights from cognitive grammar (cf. Janda 1993, 2002) enriched with functionalist theories of lexical priming (Hoey 2004) and local grammars (Hunston & Sinclair 2002). I will reject any attempt at descriptive parsimony and describe instead how the case system creates an inventory of form-meaning pairings that is organised along both the formal and descriptive dimensions. However, rather than forming a unified system analogous to the one described by Jakobson (cf. Jakobson 1958), the case inventory is organised both hierarchically and ecologically. We can find discontinuous islands of predictability based on both semantic and form similarities facilitated by the fact that the meaning and the form of the case functions on different levels of schematicity. I will conclude that only with an adequate account of the paradigm can construction grammar hope to meet its aims as set out in one of the early manifestos (Fillmore et al. 1988).

### **Analyzing the role of metaphor in conversation between native and non-native speakers of English: separating the wheat from the chaff.**

MacArthur, Fiona  
(Universidad de Extremadura)

As Gumperz (1982) suggested, the study of cross-cultural communication is vital for understanding the problems that may arise when speakers with different experience of conversation in their first languages (L1) talk to another in a second language (L2). He further pointed out that the study of cross-cultural communication may help reveal processes which are unproblematic, and therefore invisible to the analyst, in intra-cultural communication. One such relatively unproblematic area for the metaphor analyst appears to be what counts as a metaphor, since clear procedures for metaphor identification are available (Pragglejaz 2007; Cameron & Maslen 2010; Steen et al 2010), permitting comparison of studies of metaphor usage in different contexts. However, although these methods permit detailed quantitative and distributional analyses of metaphor use in discourse, they shed little light on the role of metaphor in communication –or metaphor as interactive behaviour rather than as a linguistic or cognitive phenomenon (cf Steen 2007), as becomes apparent when conversations involving native and non-native speakers are analyzed. The purpose of this presentation is to describe and explain a tentative taxonomy of metaphor use ('invisible', 'visible and productive' and 'visible and problematic' metaphors) which has been developed to account for metaphor use in cross-cultural communication. This allows us to separate those metaphors which do not have consequences for interaction and those which do, without the need to conflate process and product in the analysis of metaphor (cf Gibbs 1999).

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### **Morphological patterns conveying English progressiveness in four languages: German, Italian, Romanian, Spanish.**

Maciuca, Gina  
(Stefan cel Mare University, Suceava)

The contribution in hand is part of a national project on Contrastive Grammar which I am currently coordinating. It features the English progressive aspect – a bone of contention in itself – as conveyed semantically by various morphological patterns in four languages of different lineage: three of them descended from Latin (Italian, Romanian and Spanish) and one from West Germanic (German).

Oddly enough, though closely related to English due to their common ancestry, German slipped away from it at a certain moment in its diachrony. Thus, while the former dismissed the preposition and kept the *-ing* form on, the latter decided that it would be better off without the participle and made up for the loss by bolstering up the preposition (cf E *to be*  $\emptyset$  *working* and G *beim Arbeiten sein/bei der Arbeit sein*). In my relentless search of constructions meant to fill the semantic gap I suggested recourse to 'Funktionsverbgefüge' (function verb phrases) as most faithful and felicitous substitutes for English progressives, the more so as their very structure (= function verb+preposition+noun) closely resembles the one viewed as a possible *fons et origo* of the English combination at issue (*be+preposition+noun*) (cf. Jespersen 1924; Bolinger 1971; Grady 1967).

A near-perfect morphosemantic match for the English progressive boast both Italian and Spanish, i.e. a construction featuring an equivalent for English *be*-auxiliary followed by a gerund of the lexical verb employed. The similarities between the two Romance languages go even further, in that they both make use of two verbs matching English *be* (It. *essere* and *stare*, Sp. *ser* and *estar*), of which only one is available for combination with the gerund in the progressive meaning, namely the one which can be additionally employed as a ‘stance’ verb (cf It. *stare*, and Sp. *estar*). The meticulous research conducted on this particular topic also helped bring to the fore certain similarities between Spanish ‘*ser/estar*+adjective’ periphrases and English adjectives used attributively/predicatively. Since my firm belief was that a digression in this direction would only benefit the reader, I carefully anatomized the switch-over in adjectival meaning attending relocation from Spanish *ser-* to *estar*-combinations, and contrasted it to the one effected through progressivisation of English ‘*be*+adjective’ constructions.

In a final stage, the comparative scrutiny was most naturally steered towards my native language. Though sharing with Italian and Spanish Latin as a common ancestor, Romanian, however, fundamentally differs from the two, since research here had to change course from a pattern in use and expanding – as is the case with Italian and Spanish – to one which fell out of it (*scil.* use) more than two centuries ago.

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### Meaning Construction in a Functional-Cognitive Space.

Mairal Usón, Ricardo

(Universidad Nacional de Educacin a Distancia (UNED), Madrid)

Meaning construction is a complex process that involves different capacities, both linguistic and non-linguistic, and demands the joint efforts and serious commitment of supposedly competing theories. A clear example of this gradual approximation of positions is the one that is taking place between the functional and the cognitively-oriented constructionist approaches to language (see Culicover & Jackendoff 2005; Jackendoff 2002; Levin & Rappaport 2005; Nuyts 2005). This approximation is not surprising since both paradigms share their emphasis on the communicative and social dimension of language. But the explanations offered on each side are too frequently based on opposing views on crucial theoretical issues, such as the role of verbal semantics, the nature of the syntax-semantics interface, and the role of constructions, to name just a few. It is in this context of reconciliation between paradigms that the *Lexical Constructional Model* (hereafter LCM) has to be placed (see Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008; Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza 2009; for an overview of the LCM, its origins and an assessment of its strengths and challenges see Butler 2009; I also refer the reader to the website [www.lexicom.es](http://www.lexicom.es) and the references cited therein). Hence, the primary aim of this presentation is to provide an outline of the architecture of this model and its recent application in the framework of natural language processing.

The LCM is a broad meaning construction model of language that provides meaning descriptions at four different levels of analysis: at the level of argument structure (level 1), pragmatic implication (level 2), illocution (level 3) and discourse (level 4). Two cognitive operations, *conceptual integration* and *cued inferencing*, are operational both within and across these four levels of description (see Ruiz de Mendoza & González 2011), and their activity is in turn constrained by a number of principles: internal (conceptual consistency) and external (high level metaphor and metonymy). At the level of core grammar, *internal constraints* specify the conditions under which a lexical template

may modify its internal configuration or the conditions for (part of) a constructional template to be realized by a given lexical item. They take the form of licensing or blocking factors that depend on lexical class ascription, lexical-constructional compatibility, and either predicate or internal variable conditioning of external variables. *External constraints* result from the possibility or impossibility of performing high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in the subsumption process. The actual output of the LCM is a fully specified semantic representation.

One of the central claims in the LCM is that meaning construction is at the crossroads of grammar, communication and cognition. In connection with this claim, a further step has consisted in grounding the LCM within FunGramKB, a multilingual conceptual knowledge base which, as shown in Figure 1, consists of a linguistic and a conceptual level. A brief mention will be made as to the consequences of adopting an ontological approach to meaning construction both for the anatomy of a lexicon and the grammaticon.

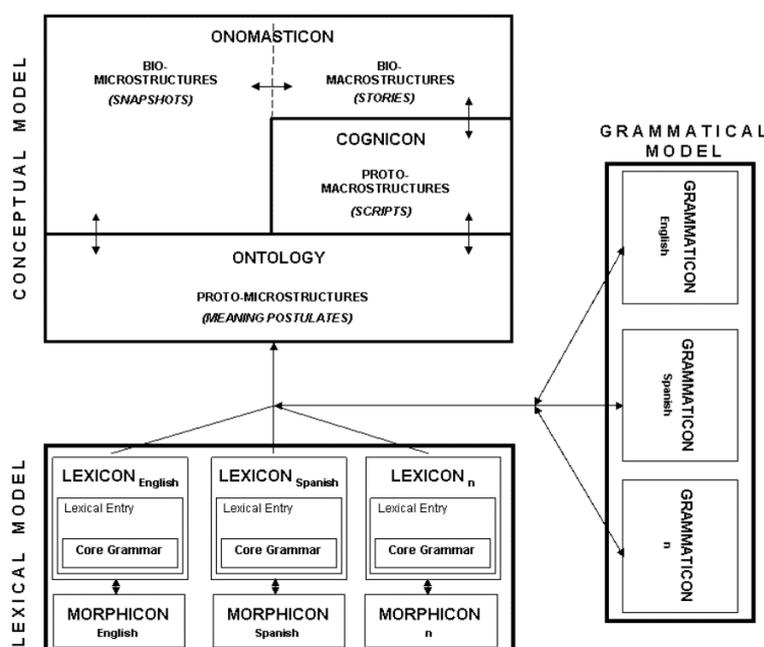


Figure 1: The architecture of FunGramKB

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Three research questions are addressed: whether Spanish L1 children know the most frequent nominal suffixes before the age of four; whether they show knowledge of semantic and morphotactic transparency of suffixes; and what the pattern of acquisition of these suffixes is.

Clark (1993) predicts that Spanish L1 children first acquire the most semantically transparent suffixes and coin new words once they map the meanings of the suffixes. Semantically transparent suffixes are those that allow for an easy semantic decoding, i.e., the meaning of a derived word is built up from the meaning of its base and its suffix. Morphotactically transparent suffixes cause almost no phonetic change when added to a base (Dressler 1987), which also facilitates meaning recognition and recognition of the morpheme as a separate physical entity. Although both characteristics might facilitate learning, as is the case with French (Clark 1993), this has not been systematically analyzed in Spanish. Moreover, due to the different nature of inflection and derivation (see Anderson, 1982), derivational acquisition is expected to differ from inflectional acquisition.

Two data sets were analyzed: María's corpus (López Ornat 1994) and Rafael's glossary (Hernández Pina 1984). The ten most common derivational suffixes found in adult speech were searched in these corpora, i.e. /ión/, /dor/, /al/, /nte/, /dad/, /ista/, /ero/, /ico/, /mento/ and /ivo/ (Almela, Cantos, Sánchez, Sarmiento, & Almela 2005), as well as augmentatives and diminutives. The latter were added to the analysis due to their high frequency in children's speech (Marrero, Aguirre, & Albalá 2007). Augmentatives were also included since they also belong to the subgroup of expressive suffixes (Lázaro Mora, 1999). Both Dressler's scale of morphotactic transparency (1987) and the different suffixal meanings compiled in the *Diccionario de la Real Academia* were used for the morphotactic and semantic analyses.

The results indicate that the first derivational suffixes acquired by Spanish L1 children are those that are semantically and morphotactically transparent, confirming Clark's predictions (1993). Agentive suffixes, such as /dor/ and /ero/, and diminutives, such as /ito/ and /ín/, were productively used, whereas Latinate suffixes, e.g. /ente/, were difficult to parse due to low levels of semantic and syntactic transparency. However, the acquired suffixes were not the most common in adult speech. For example, diminutives were highly frequent and productive in both children, although they are not frequent in Spanish Peninsular speech and do not offer any contrastive meaning (Marrero et al. 2007). Furthermore, the data support an acquisition of derivational morphology that starts with item-based learning followed by a generalization of a rule, as suggested by Marrero et al. (2007) and Clark (1993).

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### CLAC. Conversation Analysis Legal Corpus in Spanish Language.

Mariottini, Laura & Collufio, Claudia Lidia  
(Sapienza University of Rome & University of Seville)

The purpose of our communication is to present the oral corpus CLAC, Conversational Analysis Legal Corpus, collected and transcribed in the context of a collaboration between the University of Rome La Sapienza and the University of Seville.

The realization of CLAC is part of a wider research conducted in recent years in the field of institutional communication and concentrated mainly in three directions:

- the realization of empirical basic research (in particular, the construction of linguistic corpora - for this purpose we are also working in health context interaction) which support and enhance the work of oral language analysis developed from different perspectives;

- the definition of multidisciplinary methods for collecting and storing data (audio and video recording, extra-linguistic and prosodic notes, ethnographic interviews, use of specific software for transcription);
- implementation of an observatory of institutional communications for updating information on references and projects in the European context.

The purpose is to show the importance of linguistic analysis -in a sociolinguistic and pragmatic meaning of the term- to achieve a more situated and sophisticated interpretation of institutional communication in the legal field, reaffirming in this way, the need for an empirical description and study. Data are the basis for future theoretical reflections. We chose to collect a corpus of oral legal language in Spanish -CLAC- presented in this venue, because the state of the art show the lack of a similar work, as many studies and researches focus primarily on written legal language and analyze its products in textual, terminological and of genre dimensions (cf. Campos Pardiño 2007; Garofalo 2007, for a complete review).

Method: The method used has been non-participant observation and “ordinary recording” (Briz, 2003) in the lawsuits in the halls of the Court of Seville and annotation of prosody and extra-linguistic elements.

For the transcript of the interactions we used:

- the ELAN program (Language Archiving Technology) and
- the AC annotation method, adapted by Val.Es.Co group to Spanish language.

We believe our corpus is a valuable tool both for researchers and practitioners working in this field, to have knowledge of the linguistic mechanisms that ensure effective communication CLAC can be used for:

- the sequential analysis of interactions;
- the speech acts analysis
- the analysis of oral phraseology
- the inter- intra cultural analysis of frames
- the analysis of dynamic persuasion and argumentation

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### On Episodicity, modality and implicativity in *too/enough* constructions.

Marques, Rui  
(Universidade de Lisboa / CLUL)

The purpose of this paper is to shed some light on why some constructions with *too* or *enough* allow an inference concerning the truth value of the complement clause, while others do not; i.e., why only some of these constructions have the implicative reading (cf. Karttunen 1971).

Two proposals concerning this subject will be taken into account: (i) Meier’s proposal that these constructions have a hidden modal verb (equivalent to *may* or *might*), and (ii) Hacquard’s proposal that these constructions are at base implicative and the non-implicative reading follows from the presence of a generic operator, reflected by the *imparfait* in French (and imperfect morphology in other Romance languages as well, one might add). The first proposal does not take into account grammatical factors that may block or favor the implicative or non implicative readings. As for Hacquard’s proposal that the implicative vs non implicative readings are linked to, respectively, the episodic vs generic reading of the sentences, arguments will be given that episodicity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for the implicative reading. Counter-arguments to Hacquard 2006 come from examples like the following, which lacks a generic reading, but has a non implicative reading:

- (1) Dessa vez, ele foi suficientemente rápido para fugir à polícia (mas foi apanhado porque o traíram).  
“That time he was fast enough to escape the police, but still he was caught because he was betrayed”

In this paper, I will assume the semantics of Meier 2003 and propose that the implicative reading is pragmatically conditioned. The idea to be explored can be stated along the following lines: when an episodic state of affairs is

described (with perfect morphology in the main verb), the entire sentence requires the consideration of a possible world which is identical to the real one up to a point in the past (when *x* was *d*-ADJ) and which evolves into a possible world where the complement clause is verified. Contextual information, like world knowledge, influences the inference that this possible world is the real one or not necessarily. This inference depends on whether in any normal world the degree *d*-ADJ is sufficient to achieve the state of affairs described by the infinitival clause or if one has to consider a particular world where being *d*-ADJ is sufficient to *F*. In the latter case, the default assumption applies that the considered possible world is the one considered in the main clause. Hence, the implicative reading. If the main verb has imperfect morphology, its temporal perspective point is not  $t_0$ . Assuming the semantics of the progressive in the lines of Dowty 1977, 1979 and Portner 1998, the non-implicative reading in these cases follows naturally: even if there is only one possible world where the infinitival clause is verified, it is not presented as part of reality, since the state of affairs described by the infinitival clause is seen from a point prior to its occurrence.

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### An LCM approach to the locative alternations of emission verbs.

Martín-Díaz, María A.  
(University of La Laguna)

This presentation seeks to show how the isomorphic nature of the semantic representations of lexical and constructional units within the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM: Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2008, Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza 2009) is a crucial feature to facilitate lexical-constructional subsumption in this model, and at the same time motivates to a great extent the construction of the meaning of particular syntactic structures. I intend to illustrate such enabling features of isomorphic semantic representations by focusing on the semantic structure of the generic class of English verbs of emission, which includes Levin's 1993 verbs of light, sound, and substance emission; such semantic structure is formalized in the so-called Lexical Template. According to Levin (1993: 233-38), the above mentioned (sub)classes of verbs of emission are characterized by participating in locative alternations involving arguments within the VP, including among those postverbal "subjects". Such alternations are the *swarm-with* alternation (classified by this author as an intransitive subtype of the locative alternation in English), the locative inversion, and the *there*-insertion construction. All these alternations are semantically represented in a format similar to the one for Lexical Templates, thus having also Constructional Templates.

By way of example, I propose the subsequent Constructional Template (CT) ([**be**-LOC (*y*, [**do'** (*x*, [**SON'** (*x*)<sub>PRESENTATIONALFOCUS</sub>])]) [MR 1= *x* = U]) for the Locative Inversion illustrated in the following example taken from Levin 1993 (*In the hallway TICKED a grandfather clock*). This CT shows a locative logical structure that has an activity as a second argument. In other words, the sound event is framed within the location in which it takes place. Some grammatical features merit also explanation: (a) the construction is Macrorole intransitive, as specified in the restriction ([MR 1= *x* = U]); (b) the postverbal position of the subject is triggered by a presentational sentence focus function assigned to the Undergoer Macrorole (*x*) argument; and (c) the non-MR argument (*y*) is realized by an explicit preverbal PP in English.

The isomorphic character of both types of Templates will allow us to elucidate (a) the identification of certain meaning components that may motivate the participation of these verbal predicates in the argumental constructions within which they seem to be subsumed; (b) the identification of possible constraining factors that would restrict their presence in such constructional structures. The feasibility to develop both (a) and (b) factors will reveal the parsimony inherent to the construction of the meaning of specific grammatical structures.

### Basque 'allocutive speech'. Is it a grammaticalisation of ethical dative constructions?

Martínez-Areta, Mikel  
(University of the Basque Country)

Basque has two kinds of treatment — formal and familiar (Alberdi 1995, Trask 1997: 234-236, Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003). In formal treatment, the listener is addressed by *zu* (~ Sp. *usted*, Fr. *vous*). In familiar treatment, the listener is addressed by *hi* (~ Sp. *tú*, Fr. *tu*), but the interesting point is that if this treatment is used, then, even when the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. sg. is not an argument of the clause, it must be indexed on the finite verb for the clause to be grammatical. These 'allocutive forms' are stuck in finite verbs only of main clauses.

Allocutive forms are built by indexing the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. in some position of the finite verb. This morph surfaces as *-k* (masc.) / *-n* (fem.) when final, as the allomorph *-a-* (masc.) / *-na-* (fem.) when medial. They are identical with the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. dative morphs.

Depending on the valence of the verb, Basque has four sets of finite verbs in complementary distribution. Thus, a finite verb can be indexed for absolutive, absolutive-dative, absolutive-ergative, or absolutive-dative-ergative. Now, to build allocutive forms, apart from the addition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> sg. morph, the finite verb sometimes undergoes some transformation. If abs., the allocutive variant will be formed by turning it into an abs.-erg. form, where the abs. corresponds to the subject of the clause and the erg. to the listener of the speech act. If abs.-dat., no transformation is performed. If abs.-erg., a radical *-u-* is turned into *-i-*. If abs.-dat.-erg., initial *d-* is turned into *z-*. Thus:

	<i>Formal treatment</i>	→	<i>Familiar treatment</i>
<i>abs.</i>	Joan-go da go-FUT 3SG.ABS '(S/he) will go'		Joan-go du- <u>k/n</u> go-FUT 3SG.ABS-2SG(M/F).ALLOC '(S/he) will go [you (m./f.) listening]'
<i>abs.-dat.</i>	komeni zai-o be convenient 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT 'It is convenient to me'		komeni zai-o- <u>k/n</u> be convenient 3SG-3SG.DAT -2SG(M/F).ALLOC 'It is convenient to me [you (m./f.) listening]'
<i>abs.-erg.</i>	hartu-ko du take-FUT 3SG.ABS '(S/he) will take (it)'		hartu-ko di- <u>k/n</u> take-FUT 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-2SG(M/F).ALLOC-3SG.DAT '(S/he) will take (it) [you (m./f.) listening]'
<i>abs.-dat.-erg.</i>	eman-go di-o-gu → give-FUT 3SG.ABS -3SG.DAT-1PL.ERG '(We) will give (it)'		eman-go zi-o- <u>a/na</u> -gu give-FUT 3SG.ABS-3SG.DAT-1PL.ERG -2SG(M/F).ALLOC '(We) will give (it) to him/her [you (m./f.) to him/her] listening]'

All this is common to all dialects from the earliest texts, so allocutive speech must be old. Some have proposed that allocutive forms may have come about as a result of the grammaticalisation of 'implicational' forms (*Mikel naiz* 'I am Mikel' ~ *Mikel nau-zu* 'I am Mikel (lit. you have me as Mikel)', both being variants in formal treatment). But this would explain only the abs. set. If we consider that in a tripersonal abs.-dat.-erg. form like *eman di-a/na-t* 'I have given (it) to you (m./f.)' the finite form is identical to a the bipersonal allocutive abs.-erg. *har-tu di-a/na-t* 'I have taken it [you (m./f.) listening]', it seems reasonable to think that at least one source of allocutive forms is the grammaticalisation of ethical dative constructions (here, < 'I have taken it (eth. dat. to you (m./f.))').

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### Emphatic polarity in European Portuguese: verb doubling and negative doubling.

Martins, Ana Maria  
(University of Lisbon - FLUL/CLUL)

This paper first discusses European Portuguese (EP) sentences where a finite verb occurs twice. Such sentences express emphatic affirmation and are either elliptic structures produced as replies to a yes/no question presupposing a negative answer or full declaratives which contradict a preceding negative statement, as shown in (1) below.

The bulk of properties associated with such structures (namely: root nature, incompatibility with verb sequences, incompatibility with negation, morphological restrictions, unavailability in most Romance languages) can be thoroughly captured if verb doubling is interpreted as a case of double phonetic realization of copies of a movement chain. The analysis relies on the work of Nunes (2001, 2004) on chain linearization under the Copy Theory of Movement (Chomsky 1995), and takes the sentences with verb doubling found in EP to be derived with V-movement to the polarity-encoding head  $\Sigma$  (Laka 1990), followed by movement to C.

EP verb doubling is not allowed in languages that lack V-movement to C (like Brazilian Portuguese) or disallow V-movement to  $\Sigma$  (Spanish, etc.). It is a root phenomenon precisely because it involves V-movement to C. Since verb movement to C is an instance of head movement, the Head Movement Constraint derives the fact that negation blocks verb doubling. It also derives the fact that in sentences with verb sequences, only the higher verbal head is allowed to move to C. The morphological restrictions on emphatic verb doubling (observed with compound-verbs,

future/conditional, and verb+clitic sequences) are a consequence of the uneasiness of ‘fusion’ in dealing with morphological complexity (Nunes 2001, 2004). Fusion in C is what allows the double realization of verb copies, because it makes the higher copy invisible for linearization. The prosodic features of verb doubling sentences (rising contour, absence of prosodic break) are also compatible with the analysis.

In the second part of the talk, emphatic declaratives with negative doubling will be brought into consideration. Although superficially verb doubling and negative doubling appear to be similar, it will be demonstrated that negative doubling actually involves two separate negative lexical items. The structural dissimilarity between verb and negative doubling is what accounts for the fact that Brazilian Portuguese allows (2b) but excludes (1b), the latter being restricted to European Portuguese. The structural correlate of (2b) is (3b), which is a grammatical option in both Brazilian and European Portuguese.

- |     |     |    |                             |      |     |         |     |                |
|-----|-----|----|-----------------------------|------|-----|---------|-----|----------------|
| (1) | [A] | a. | O                           | João | não | comprou | o   | carro.         |
|     |     |    | the                         | John | not | bought  | the | car            |
|     |     |    | ‘John did’nt buy the car.’  |      |     |         |     |                |
|     | [B] | b. | O                           | João |     | comprou | o   | carro comprou. |
|     |     |    | the                         | John |     | bought  | the | car bought     |
|     |     |    | ‘John did buy the car.’     |      |     |         |     |                |
| (2) | [A] | a. | O                           | João |     | comprou | o   | carro.         |
|     |     |    | the                         | John |     | bought  | the | car            |
|     |     |    | ‘John bought the car.’      |      |     |         |     |                |
|     | [B] | b. | O                           | João | não | comprou | o   | carro não.     |
|     |     |    | the                         | John | NEG | bought  | the | car NEG        |
|     |     |    | ‘John did not buy the car.’ |      |     |         |     |                |
| (3) | [A] | a. | O                           | João | não | comprou | o   | carro.         |
|     |     |    | the                         | John | not | bought  | the | car            |
|     |     |    | ‘John didn’t buy the car.’  |      |     |         |     |                |
|     | [B] | b. | O                           | João |     | comprou | o   | carro sim.     |
|     |     |    | the                         | John |     | bought  | the | car AFF        |
|     |     |    | ‘John did buy the car.’     |      |     |         |     |                |

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### From comitative to coordination: the case of Estonian.

Mati, Erelt & Helle Metslang  
(University of Tartu)

In many languages the comitative construction expressing the relation of accompaniment has developed or is developing into a coordinating construction (Stassen 2000, 2001). In Modern Estonian the accompaniment comitative occurs as a verbal adjunct, e.g. *Eva läks Mariaga kinno* ‘Eva went to the cinema with Maria’. However, the beginnings of coordination are evident in those constructions where a comitative-marked NP (suffix *-ga*) precedes the verb and immediately follows the primary NP (i.e. the constituent having a higher position in the hierarchy of grammatical relations than the comitative-marked NP), e.g. *Peaminister abikaasaga jõuab tagasi visiidilt Hispaaniasse* ‘The prime minister with his spouse returns from a visit to Spain’. At first the contact position highlights relatedness and is highly natural where the phrases denote internally closely related concepts – semantically or culturally. At this initial stage of coordination the number of the verb still reflects the number of the nominative NP, but occasional examples of a plural verb with the contact comitative indicate that coordination could develop further. More syntactic and semantic properties of the coordinating construction are manifested in the inclusory comitative construction, that is, in the construction where the referent of a comitative-marked NP is among the referents of the primary constituent (see e.g. Haspelmath 2007): *Meie sinuga (= mina ja sina) käisime maal* ‘We with you (= me and you) visited the countryside’. At the same time the comitative constituent of the inclusory construction has in addition to the properties of the conjunct also some properties of the apposition (specifying the composition of the group) and the adjunct (can be placed after the verb). For this reason, this constituent cannot be classified in the traditional manner.

Thus, the development of the Estonian coordinating comitative is only at the initial stage. The paper analyses its occurrences and developments in different language varieties and in the texts of previous centuries on the basis of language corpora.

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## Augmentative and diminutive function in one form: full reduplication in Bikol.

Mattes, Veronika  
(Universität Graz)

Bikol (an Austronesian Central-Philippine language) has a very differentiated reduplication system. Nevertheless, one pattern, i.e. full reduplication, unifies a variety of functions, some of them even contradicting each other, i.e. augmentation and diminution.

### Some examples of full reduplication:

*balík* 'come and go' – *balík-bálík* 'to come and go repeatedly'  
*haróng* 'house' – *haróng-hárong* 'temporary shelter'  
*líkad* 'recover' – *líkad-líkad* 'recover a little bit'  
*pagal* 'tired' – *pagal-pagal* 'somewhat tired'  
*lubák* 'hole' – *lubák-lubák* 'full of holes'  
*sibót* 'busy' – *sibót-síbot* 'very busy'

The phenomenon of syncretism in inflectional paradigms is fairly widespread and has been investigated in several studies. But the noteworthiness in the case of Bikol full reduplication is, that we are not dealing with a certain phonological form fulfilling several functions, but with one single, highly iconic, morphological operation which produces various meanings.

For bases with certain phonological patterns, Bikol has an alternative to full reduplication, i.e.  $C_1uru$ -reduplication (for example *balyo* "change, transfer" – *buru-balyo* "keep on changing"; *karabasa* "pumpkin" – *kuru-karabasa* "small pumpkin"), however with a restricted range of functions. This functional difference is the motivation for assuming two different underlying types of full reduplication which appear as homonymous. However, the resulting ambiguity demands further investigation. Consulting my data, I was then looking for criteria which could disambiguate the two opposite meanings: Can there be found any formal criteria of base and reduplicant which systematically correspond to the respective meaning? Can there be found any lexical or semantic criteria which allow an unambiguous interpretation? I.e. does the meaning of the reduplicated word depend on the lexical category and/or does reduplication interact with the semantic properties of the base?

Even after having found out some useful strategies for disambiguation, there are still several examples in my data, which actually allow both interpretations (e.g. *lúgad* 'wound' – *lugád-lugád* 'a small wound' or 'a lot of wounds', *la'óg* 'inside' – *la'óg-la'óg* 'entirely inside' or 'a little bit inside' (i.e. almost outside)'). In this case, disambiguation is only possible via the context and the question arises, how this coincidence of diametrically opposed interpretations in one form can be explained in a semantically/cognitively plausible way.

The aim of this presentation is to explain this polysemy in terms of Cognitive Semantics and to show that the various meanings can indeed be reduced to one very general function, namely "change of quantity".

The research is mainly based on data collected during fieldwork in the Philippines (2005/2006) and on the analysis of Mintz&Del Rosario Britanico's dictionary (1985).

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## Restricted indefiniteness: the case of Italian 'piuttosto che'

Mauri, Caterina & Giacalone Ramat Anna  
(University of Pavia)

The aim of this paper is to examine the set of constructions traditionally called 'general extenders' (Overstreet 1999, e.g. *etcetera, and so on, or something of the like*) in terms of 'restricted indefiniteness', i.e. indefiniteness restricted by a similarity constraint (see below). In particular, within a functional-typological perspective, we will focus on an emergent construction in Italian meaning 'or something/anything of the like', characterized by the structure [XP/clause *piuttosto che*], as exemplified in (1).

- (1) [...] *spesso lo metto anch' io [in zaini piuttosto che], ma una*  
 often CLIT put also 1.SG [in backpacks or something of the like] but a  
*protezione in più non fa mai male [...]*  
 protection in more NEG does never harm  
 "[Talking about computer cases...] I also often put it (the laptop) in backpacks or something  
 of the like, but some further protection never hurts [...]"

We will argue that these constructions have much in common with indefinite pronouns (Haspelmath 1997), both on a formal and on a semantic side, and may in fact be argued to behave as a special type of indefinite pro-forms. Our intuition seems to be confirmed in a cross-linguistic perspective: for instance, Jaggar (2001: 356) analyses the form *dà kâzâ* 'and so on' in Hausa as a non-specific pro-form used to express similarity; in Galo (Tibeto-Burman, Post 2007: 344-346) the interrogative pronoun *jôo* 'what' developed first a 'whatever' value, which then gave rise to what Post analyses as universal pro-form function 'and/or suchlike/so on'. After providing a brief cross-linguistic overview of restricted indefinites, in this paper we will focus on the synchronic and diachronic analysis of the specific construction [XP/clause *piuttosto che*] in Italian.

First, we will provide a synchronic analysis based on the available corpora of spoken Italian. In purely semantic terms, we analyze this construction as bearing a 'restricted indefiniteness' value, defined by three functional components: (i) indefinite reference ('something/anything'), denoting a set of non-specific elements, (ii) a similarity constraint, restricting this set in such a way that only elements somehow similar to the XP/clause preceding *piuttosto che* may be included, whereby the similarity criteria are inferred from the context, (iii) a connective component 'or', which characterizes the non-specific elements referred to by the construction as paradigmatic alternatives of the preceding XP/clause. In distributional terms, we will show that the construction under exam always occurs in either irrealis or habitual contexts (e.g. (1)), displaying specific recurrent properties.

Second, we will take a diachronic perspective and will identify the successive stages through which the restricted indefiniteness value developed from the original preferential/substitutive meaning 'rather than', focusing on what contexts favor the rise of the indefiniteness value. We will identify a crucial intermediate stage, in which *piuttosto che* first developed an indefinite disjunctive function (equivalent to 'or' when the set of alternatives is non-finite and the speaker is not able/interested in defining it, Bazzanella/Cristofoli 1998), in contexts where the preference is established between non-specific elements (as in 'one rather than the other').

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### Algorithmic typology, the measurement and learning of morphological complexity and visual analytics

Mayer, Thomas, Rohrdantz, Christian & Wälchli, Bernhard  
(University of Konstanz, University of Konstanz, University of Bern)

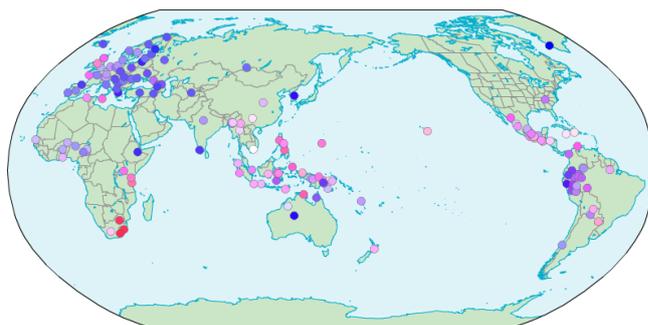
Typology in the sense of massive cross-linguistic comparison plays a major role in developing functional models of language (Croft 2003: 2). A major desideratum for functionally motivated computational approaches is to develop algorithmic approaches to typology. Basic elements of typologically oriented models to language and grammar are universals and hierarchies. In this paper we argue that universals and hierarchies can be viewed procedurally rather than structurally and hence be turned into algorithms which may serve both for the acquisition of linguistic categories from corpora (learning) and for measuring cross-linguistic variation in texts (typology). While structural universals are claims that there is a certain underlying structure in all languages, procedural universals are universally applicable algorithms which may extract highly different structures when confronted with different input. We will exemplify this approach in the domain of morphological typology based on parallel texts. Parallel texts have the advantage that they are an indirect key to semantics by way of distribution. Categories with highly similar distributions across parallel texts are most likely to be equivalent even though the huge cross-linguistic differences in morphological complexity are a challenge to statistical approaches of category identification in parallel texts. Following Bowerman (2007) we assume that concept formation is guided by focusing attention on different semantic dimensions by the different formal distinctions made in a language, i.e. a tradeoff between formal distributional cues and semantic hypotheses.

A simple example of a universal in morphological typology is that any language with non-concatenative morphology (e.g., infixes, ablaut) also has concatenative morphology (stems, prefixes and suffixes only). Translated into an algorithm this means that we have first to identify stems, prefixes and suffixes and if there are any such structures we may proceed to look for internal inflection, infixes, stem alternations etc. First we extract all forms that are likely to

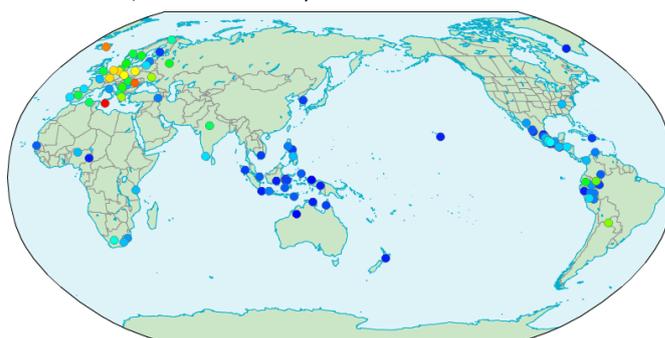
have the same meaning on the basis of parallel distribution (a primitive universally applicable lemmatizer). Next we isolate stems defined as shared sequences and affixes as whatever is left over. Once this primitive morphological analysis has been done, we can proceed to look for more complex morphological processes, such as internal inflection. Internal inflection is identified by an algorithm (Wälchli 2010) that takes stems, not wordforms as input (Map 2).

In order to be able to detect patterns or regularities in the automatically extracted features within or across individual languages we make use of the methodology being developed in the field of visual analytics (see Mayer et al. forthcoming for a linguistic application). The aim is to employ our visual ability to understand complex interactions in the results which might otherwise go unnoticed. The visualizations include preprocessing steps such as an automatic sorting of properties and their mapping to visual variables in order to generate a fingerprint of each language to make sure that an at-a-glance evaluation of linguistically interesting patterns is made possible.

Map 1: Degree of synthesis (saturated color = highly synthetic, white = fully analytic, no affixes) and prefixing (red) and suffixing (blue) measured in a large cross-linguistic convenience sample based on translations of the gospel according to Mark.



Map 2: Amount of internal inflection identified, extracted automatically from N.T. translations in a large cross-linguistic convenience sample (red=maximum, blue = minimum).



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#### Argument structure and nominal predicates.

Mereu, Lunella  
(Università Roma Tre)

‘Nominal predicate’ is the term used by typologists to refer to constructions such as existential, locative or equative structures. They are also called ‘copular sentences’ or ‘thetic constructions, depending on the theoretical framework or the perspective adopted or the language investigated. While there are a number of studies investigating upon the syntactic sequence they realize, the function of the expletive in existentials, or what element bears the predicate function, we know very little about the number of arguments these predicates are associated with. The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate upon the argument structure of nominal predicates dealing in particular with the existential, locative and equative constructions. In western languages nominal predicates are generally associated with the use of the copula, a form which is grammatically but not semantically relevant (Jespersen 1924). Therefore they are considered one argument predicates, as the second nominal or prepositional constituent is the element performing the

role of the predicate in the nominal clause. We will debate this position mainly on the basis of data from Italian drawn from a corpus of spoken language, but data from typological different languages will also be accounted for. Our basic questions concerning nominal predicates will be: 1. what kind of morphological or lexical forms are used in these clauses cross-linguistically; 2. what kind of syntactic structures they realize; 3. what the meaning of existence, location or other nominal predicate is brought from; 4. what the argument structure of these constructions is. After dealing with the typology and characteristics of nominal predicates and showing that cross-linguistically various non-verbal forms may be used instead of the copula, we will discuss the syntax of these constructions going through some proposals within the Generative (Moro 1993, 1997, 2006a, 2006b) and the Relational Grammar (La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997) approaches. Next we will deal with the interface between syntax and semantics and will propose our hypotheses about the argument structure and the element bearing the predicate role in nominal clauses. We will adopt a perspective on argument structure which has been recently proposed by a number of linguists (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Dowty 2003; Prandi 2004) who think that the two-way distinction between arguments and adjuncts is too clearcut and that an intermediate category or an area in-between is needed to account, in particular, for oblique constituents. Basically we will show that nominal constructions are not all one-argument intransitive structures as it is stated in the literature. Only equative clauses are one argument, while locative clauses are two-argument, and existential constructions are in-between cases, that is they too present a second argument but its behaviour is looser as far as its syntactic position and semantic role is concerned.

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### Combinatorial patterns of Italian evaluative affixes.

Merlini-Barbatesi, Lavinia  
(University of Pisa)

There is a vast and long-standing debate on affix combining power cross-linguistically, with a large number of studies (e.g. see Morphology 2010, 20, 1 and 2 and their bibliographies) aimed at finding general principles and rules governing combinations, within both inflection and derivation.

In this paper, I specifically analyse phenomena involving Italian evaluative suffixes (diminutives, augmentatives and pejoratives) and marginally prefixes, whose variable combination, order and formation mechanism are responsible for remarkable differences in their semantic and pragmatic effects. The approach entails a discussion on the selectional principles and constraints which regulate such combinations. An analysis of the specific semantic contribution of each affix to the resulting effect will give hints for evaluating the scopal directionality of the combination.

Relevant phenomena are affix reduplication, recursiveness and accumulation. In Italian, they can be exemplified as:

- 1) the repetition of the same suffix (mainly DIM -ino) in regular root-based diminutive formation *fett-in-ina* 'slice-DIM-DIM' vs. analogous repetition in *fett-ina-ina-ina*, where the first occurrence of -ina is regularly attached to the root (as elsewhere in Italian morphology), while the second and third are word-based (and non-conforming to Italian derivational morphology);
- 2) recursiveness through repetition of the same category of meaning with change of suffix, as in *bimb-ett-ino* 'child-DIM1-DIM2' or, inverting the pattern, *tazz-in-etta* 'cup-DIM1-DIM2', *tant-in-ello* 'much-DIM1-DIM2'; more suffixes (theoretically, unlimited number) are admitted, as in *libr-ici-att-ol-uccio* 'book-INTERFIX-DIM1-DIM2-DIM3', *pall-ott-ol-ina* 'ball-DIM1-DIM2-DIM3';
- 3) accumulation of non-synonymous or antonymous suffixes, as in *port-on-c-ino* 'door-AUG- (morphological insertion)-DIM', *Gin-ett-accio* Gino-DIM-PEJ (Gino Bartali), *birb-acci-one* 'rascal-PEJ-AUG' and *birb-on-accio* 'rascal-AUG-PEJ';
- 4) reduplication of evaluative prefixes, as in *mini-mini-prestito* 'mini-mini-loan' or *iper-iper-attivo* 'hyper- hyper-active', *micro-micro-appartamento* 'micro-micro flat', *maxi-maxi-vincita* 'maxi-maxi-win'; *mini-maxi prototipo* 'prototype'.

5) prefix-suffix combination of same semantics as mini-abito-ino/uccello 'mini-dress-DIM' or opposite semantics, as in maxi-cappotto-ino 'maxi-coat-DIM'.

I will show that the mutual selection and ordering of evaluative affixes entail intricate interactions among multiple factors related to phonological, morphological, semantic and pragmatic properties of both affixes and bases. In various cases, a strong functional bias is at the basis of the variable selection and order of suffixes and also clarifies the non-commutability of some of them. A change in the respective positions of suffixes normally causes the combination to obtain different meanings in discourse. For example, the sequence –ett-ino (-DIM1- DIM2), as in quadr-ett-ino 'picture-DIM1-DIM2', predicts an extra diminution in respect to quadr-etto, whereas a sequence like -in-etto (DIM1- DIM2) as in tant-in-etto (vs. tant-ino) does not. Or, a case of root-based diminutive pezz-ett-in-ino 'bit-DIM1-DIM2-DIM2' can be exploited for pragmatic effects, as in Solo un pezz-ett-in-ino! 'only a teeny-weeny bit!' (jokingly imploring), which are denied to word-based pezz-ett-ino-ino-ino-ino, whose suffix sequence only obtains progressive semantic diminution.

My general frame of reference is the theory of Morphopragmatics (Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994; Merlini Barbaresi 2004), but more specific recent theoretical approaches will be taken into account for discussion or exploitation (e.g. Aronoff & Fuhrhop 2002; Hay & Plag 2004; Aronoff & Zheng 2010; Manova & Aronoff 2010; Caballero 2010; Zirkel 2010; Kim 2010).

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### The ventive clitic in Berber: grammaticalization path or grammaticalization network?

Mettouchi, Amina  
(Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes)

In many languages, as shown cross-linguistically in Heine and Kuteva (2002), or for Chadic languages by Frajzyngier (1987), ventive verbs are the source of ventive markers in grammaticalization processes. Berber languages are, like Chadic ones, characterized by the extensive use of ventive verbal extensions, and to a lesser extent, andative ones.

Contrary to what is generally assumed, and reflected in the label of the morpheme, ventive extensions in Berber are not limited to motion verbs, although those verbs (as 'arrive', *wwd* 'reach', *ffy*, 'exit', *ruh* 'come/go') are part of the core group to which the extension is cliticized in all the Berber languages where this marker is grammaticalized, thus specifying the direction or endpoint of the movement. This group also contains other verbs that often, or usually bear the ventive clitic: *fk* 'give', *awy* 'carry', *ğğ* 'leave', *ini* 'say', *af* 'find'. We hypothesize that this group shows the first stage of grammaticalization of the ventive clitic. This core, common to a number of Berber languages, is further expanded in some of them, such as Kabyle (Northern Berber), so that a great number of verbal roots can receive the ventive clitic: out of 10 000 verb occurrences in a continuous spoken corpus of Kabyle, 20% carry this clitic. Virtually any verb, mostly dynamic but also stative, can be accompanied by the clitic =*dd*, which can also climb and get cliticized to modal particles, conjunctions and negation, expressing a variety of functions such as coming into existence, change-of-state, present relevance, focus, emphasis, and benefactive.

ur=dd	zwiğ-y	alamma	t-kks=dd	Fatima ayrum	i udəkkan
NEG=VENT	marry/NEGPFV-SBJ1SG		until	SBJ3SG.F-take/PFV=VENT	Fatima bread:ABS LOC shelf:ANN

'I won't marry until Fatima is able to take the bread from the shelf' (Kabyle)

The study aims to examine (1) those functions and (2) to explain the variety of directions taken by grammaticalization of the ventive, on the cline from propositional to interpersonal.

A likely candidate for the source of the ventive is the verb *ddu*, which expresses motion (unspecified directionally), with a comitative component in Kabyle. That component can be the main feature of the verb in some Berber languages, such as Tahaggart (Southern Berber), whereas it is absent from others, such as Tachelhit (Northern Berber) (Galand 1978: 200). Another candidate is the deictic *d*, which comes into the composition of the future/potential particle *ad*, and is probably the source of the comitative preposition *d*, and the equative copula *d*. The second part of this study provides argumentation for both hypotheses, and suggests that the grammaticalization

process, rather than being traceable to one or the other source, is the result of a complex network of semantic features shared by verb *ddu* and deictic marker.

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### Ethical Datives as (the only) non-truth-functional datives: evidence from Greek and Romance.

Michelioudakis, Dimitris & Sitaridou, Ioanna  
 (University of Cambridge)

Based on novel empirical work (121 token-questionnaire in Greek, Eur/Braz Portuguese, French, Eur/Chilean/Peruvian Spanish, Galician, and Italian), we argue that E(thical) D(atives) are all (and only) dative clitics which are genuinely non-truth-functional. Their distinctive features are:

- (i) clitic-only realisation (no XP in A-position);
  - (ii) unavailability of A'-movement;
  - (iii) inability of binding the direct object (obviating Principle A unlike other argumental datives, while apparently obeying Principle B);
- (1) Na *mu<sub>i</sub>* prosechis<sub>k</sub> ton eafto su<sub>k</sub> / \*mu<sub>i</sub>  
 That me.DAT.CL take-care-of.2SG yourself / \*myself  
 'Take care me.ED (=it will give me joy) of yourself / \*myself'
- (iv) co-occurrence with non-ethical datives;
  - (v) absence of any entailment or requirement for a possession relation between the ED and an internal argument:
- (2) *Me ensucias tu pantalón!* (Peruvian Spanish)  
 Me.DAT.CL dirt.2S your trousers  
 'To my disappointment, you are dirtying your trousers'

From them, (i)+(iii) are necessary and sufficient conditions, (ii) is only necessary and (iv) is only sufficient. Cases that do not meet (i) and have been treated as non-truth-functional are shown to be sub-cases of benefactives/malefactives forced to be interpreted as part of the presupposed part of the utterance based on a number of original diagnostics (*pace* Bosse, Bruening, and Yamada 2010; Boneh & Nash 2010). Also, datives which are considered EDs in Romance, e.g., reflexive clitics with transitive verbs, which may potentially violate (iii), are in fact the same structure as 'indirect reflexives' (in e.g. Classical Greek, see Smyth 1956; Lavidas 2007:126): in such constructions the reflexive clitic fulfils a (truth-conditional) beneficiary role in the same way that in other languages a beneficiary can be absorbed/encoded by the mediopassive suffix.

- (3) a. *Me bebí/compré una cerveza alemana* (Spanish, from Franco & Huidobro 2008)  
 me.DAT.REFL.CL drank.1SG one beer German  
 'I drank/bought *me* a German beer'
- b. *deomai pedila* (Classical Greek)  
 fasten.MID-REFL.1SG sandals  
 'I fasten sandals on myself/\*on you'

On our analysis, the main licensing condition for EDs is a [+Participant] feature (potentially subject to parameterisation: [speaker/hearer]) in a (very) high Applicative head, which accounts for:

- a) (i-ii), as DPs, QPs and wh-phrases do not qualify as [+participant], while dative personal pronouns in Greek and Romance cliticise obligatorily;
  - b) how speaker/hearer orientation cross-linguistically correlates with the version (and the strength) of the Person Case Constraint that affects EDs, as well as their potential iterativity in e.g. French varieties (see Joutiteau & Rezac 2008);
  - c) the (under)determinacy of its interpretation, which ranges from detached evaluativity to emotional involvement, but always from the viewpoint of a discourse participant;
  - d) the obligatorily logophoric interpretation of 3<sup>rd</sup> person EDs, when these are allowed:
- (4) *pro<sub>i</sub> thimoni* [<sub>CP</sub> pu LOG<sub>i</sub> dhen *tis<sub>j</sub>/\*k* pandreftika akoma] (ED)  
 pro.3SG resents.3SG that not her.DAT.CL married.1S yet

'She resents (the fact) that I haven't yet gotten married'  
 (4') pro; thimoni pu dhen *tis<sub>i/k</sub>* edhosan to vravio (IO)  
 pro.3SG resents.3SG that not her.DAT.CL gave.3P the prize.ACC  
 'She resents (the fact) that they did not give her the prize'

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### “Definiteness/Referentiality + Deixis = Person” – on the role of [person] feature in nominals

Miechowicz-Mathiasen, Katarzyna  
 (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

There is a long-standing tradition of assuming nominal categories to be more than just NPs (Szabolcsi 1983/1984, Abney 1987), i.e. DPs. There are, however, substantial differences between nominal elements: pronouns are assumed to be inherently definite, referential, deictic categories (Lyons 1999, Alexiadou et al. 2007) and seem to be exclusively associated with a (non-default) [person] feature (Panagiotidis 2002), their projection generally assumed to be a DP; common nouns have been argued to start off as NPs and to become referential arguments they must become DPs (Longobardi 1994, Horrocks & Stavrou 1987, Stowell 1991), if not, they will remain predicative (non-referential bare NPs), they are also assumed to bear a default 3<sup>rd</sup> person feature (Kibort 2008, Corbett 2006); proper nouns are always referential (hence assumed to be DPs), however, they seem to be lacking *sense*, i.e. descriptive content (Lyons 1999: 21; Frege's (1982) *Sinn*), a property in which they resemble demonstrative pronouns; articles seem to have definiteness/referentiality, but are non-deictic (Giusti 1998, following Renzi 1997).

Lyons (1999: 310) proposes that DP is actually a person phrase. I would like to elaborate on this idea and propose that person encompasses two properties: definiteness/referentiality and deixis. These often coincide in the DP projection, but there is one more element that features here: case (Giusti (1993), Cardinaletti (1994), Loebel (1994) and Willim (2000), hence the alternative label K(ase) Phrase (KP), often marked as KP/DP). The connection between referentiality and case has been captured in Chomsky's (1981) Visibility Condition; the intimate relation between definiteness (represented for instance by definite articles) and case has been showed to exist by Giusti (1995) and Loebel (1994); the pronominal deictic [person] feature seems to be directly connected to referentiality (Panagiotidis 2002). This is what has led me to propose that: definiteness/referentiality + deixis = person.

On the basis of the data from English and Polish, I will show how my proposal accounts for the properties and distribution of the various types of nominals. Polish, an article-less language, has been argued by some not to have a DP projection (Corver 1992, Bošković 2005, Willim 1998). This immediately raises questions about the expression of referentiality/definiteness, and argumenthood in particular. I further propose the existence of three functional projections above NP in Polish: KP>DemP>NumP>NP. I propose that the Polish KP is a counterpart of the English DP, and that checking of the relevant features in KP (case/person) is responsible for definiteness/referentiality, and thus argumenthood of nominal elements. On the basis of the data from Left Branch Extraction (1) (Bošković 2005) and adjunct extraction (2) (Willim 2000), I will show that once [person] is overtly checked in KP in Polish, the KP turns DP-like and closes off for extraction from within. In English, which has articles (base-generated) in DP, this checking may be performed long-distance under Agree with a noun in D's complement domain. The analysis is minimal in spirit, based in particular on Chomsky's (1999) probe-goal approach.

#### (1) Adjectival Left Branch Extraction

- a. *Piotr widział wysokie/same/tamte kobiety na spotkaniu.*  
Peter saw tall/only/those women at meeting
- b. *Jakie Piotr widział kobiety na spotkaniu? Wysokie/\*Same/\*Tamte.*  
what kind/which Peter saw women at meeting tall/only/those  
What kind of women did Peter see at the meeting? Tall/\*Only/\*Those
- c. *Wysokie/\*Same/\*Tamte Piotr widział kobiety na spotkaniu.*  
Tall/\*Only/\*These Peter Saw women at meeting

#### (2) Adjunct extraction from within the noun phrase

- a. *Piotr spotkał same/piękne/tamte dziewczyny z Nowego Jorku.*  
Peter met only/beautiful/those girls from New York
- b. *Z jakiego miasta spotkał Piotr piękne/\*same/\*tamte dziewczyny?*  
from which city met Peter beautiful/\*only/\*those girls

(Both the demonstrative and *sam* are proposed to be pronominal, and not adjectival, here)

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## Functions of Subject-like Obliques in Icelandic, Italian and Spanish.

Miglio, Viola & Vázquez, Victoria

(University of California, Santa Barbara and Universidade de Santiago de Compostela)

The paper presents a corpus-driven analysis of non-canonically case-marked argument constructions to establish their formal and functional characteristics in Icelandic, Italian and Spanish.

Previous research has focused on:

- the formal subject properties of the non-nominative constituents [Cole et al.1980; Sigurðsson 1989; Masullo 1993; Fernández Soriano 1999; Haspelmath 2001; Barðdal & Eythórsson 2003; Rivero 2004; Gutiérrez-Bravo 2006],
- the semantic motivation of this non-canonical pattern [Melis 1998; Shibatani 1999; Barðdal 2011]. Different valency options correlate with meanings like state vs. action, control, aspect, etc. In general non-nominative constructions tend to present more traits of low transitivity in the sense of Hopper &Thompson (1980) than canonical nominative constructions.

On the other hand, typological and areal studies on both Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages have highlighted the commonalities of non-canonical argument marking across languages, pointing to the semantics of the predicate as "the most important condition for non-canonical marking" (Haspelmath 2001: 58). Non-nominative patterns are indeed widely documented with 'experiential predicates', i.e. verbs of cognition, sensation (including physiological states) and emotion (cf. Bossong 1998; Haspelmath 2001; Donohue & Wichmann 2008).

However, little attention has been paid to these patterns' discourse function, for instance Spanish has three ways of expressing 'I forgot to tell you': *olvidé decírtelo / me olvidé de decírtelo / se me olvidó decírtelo*, varying along the subject-affectedness axis: dative pronoun more prominent > act of 'forgetting' more involuntary/unexpected.

Using several historical and contemporary corpora (CORDE, CREA, corpusdelespañol.org, BDS/ADESSE, Icelandic Treebank, CORIS, BADIP), we aim at comparing the distribution and frequency of semantic/discourse properties of the different constructions in the analysed languages, restricting our purview to the semantic fields of predicates related to remembering/forgetting and liking/disliking, explaining their current usage and diachronic development.

While previous research has not been concerned with real frequencies of these patterns in running texts, our study undertakes a usage-based analysis of discourse data, pointing to a non-random distribution of the 'Nominative-experiencer pattern' (e.g. Sp. *olvidé decírtelo*, Ice. *ég man að hann sagði...* 'I remember that he said...', It. *ho ribrezzo di ciò* 'it makes me shudder') vs. 'Non-nominative experiencer pattern' (e.g. *se me olvidó decírtelo*, Ice. *mið minnir að hann hafi sagt...* 'I seem to remember that he said...', It. *mi fa ribrezzo* 'it makes me shudder'). First of all, we deal with a quantitative analysis of a number of properties of these constructions (argument animacy, clausal theme vs. NP, tense and aspect, polarity), which are identifiable and measurable through available corpora and databases. Other discourse-related parameters, as the grammatical person of the experiencer and the textual genre (e.g. talk in interaction vs. press) are also examined to determine their statistic relevance. Regarding the aforementioned uses of the Spanish verb *olvidar* 'forget', the count of instances in a corpus indicates, for example, that the non-canonical dative pattern favors first person experiencers (61%) against canonical pattern (29%) and is significantly more frequent in spoken discourse than in narrative fiction, press or essay.

We conclude with a qualitative analysis of the quantitative results in order to establish the functional principles that produce and link such numerical data. We trust that a comparative approach using data from different languages, and the use of diachronic and synchronic data will enable us to contribute some ideas to further the study of the origin of such constructions.

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## Establishing common ground in discourse: The role of discourse marker *maliya* in Korean

Mikyung, Ahn & Yap Foong Ha

(Hankuk University of Foreign studies and Hong Kong Polytechnic University).

Most previous studies have focused on one primary function of *maliya*, for example as a hedger (Lee and Park 1991) as in (1) or an expletive (Noh 1996), as in (2). Yim (1998) and Suh (2010) suggested two other main functions of *maliya*, namely, to attract attention to the following information, as in (3), and to create emphatic effect by identifying the preceding information as in (4). The present paper examines an additional function of *maliya*, namely, its interactive use as a common ground marker. The data used in this study is collected from sitcoms and drama scripts.

In Korean discourse, *maliya* can be used as an interactive emotive marker, as in (5) as well as a 'topic marker' (Fraser 1990), as in (6), both of which demonstrate that the usage of *maliya* in discourse is based on shared knowledge or belief between the speaker and the addressee. *maliya* is also used as a 'counterexpectation marker (CE)' (Heine et al. 1991), which expresses discrepancy between the utterance and the inference assumed as common ground, as shown in (7). As a common ground marker, *maliya* is also used to confirm the shared knowledge between the participants in the discourse, as in (8), where speaker B uses *maliya* to express strong agreement with the previous utterance. In sum, our analysis highlights that *maliya* invites the addressee to be involved in the joint construction of a representation by drawing appropriate inferences, which are either acknowledged or exploited as common ground.

### Examples:

- (1) Na-nun *maliya* ku nyesuk-ul *maliya* cuk-tolok twutulkyecwu-ess-tan *maliya*  
1SG-TOP HEDGE the guy-ACC HEDGE die-SUF beat-PST-ADN HEDGE  
'I almost beat the guy to death.'
- (2) Ikes-un *maliya* kuksanpum-i-ntey *maliya* cil-i *maliya*  
This-TOP EXPLETIVE made in Korea-COP-SEQ EXPLETIVE quality-NOM EXPLETIVE  
acwu *maliya* coh-tan *maliya*  
very EXPLETIVE good-ADN EXPLETIVE  
'This is made in Korea, and the quality is very good.'
- (3) Celswu-ka *maliya*, ipeney kyotongsako-lul khuke tanghay-ss-tanta  
Celswu-NOM DM this.time traffic.accident-ACC heavily have-PST-DEC  
'Celswu had a heavy traffic accident this time.'
- (4) A: ce wiew ceke com kkenaycwe  
there over that please give  
'Give me that over there'  
B: enu ke?  
Which one?  
A: ceke *maliya*  
that DM  
'that one'
- (5) A: mwusen il-i-ya?  
what thing-be-Q  
'What happened?'  
B: ak manici-ci ma, apha cuk-keyss-ta-n *maliya* !  
EXCL tough-SEQ do.not hurt die-EVID-DEC-ADN DM  
'Oh, don't touch me, I feel like I am hurt to death!'
- (6) A: enni, cepeney enni-ka ttu-ten maktoli *maliya*  
older.sister the.other.day older.sister-NOM knit-ADN scarf DM  
'Sekyung, the scarf you know which you knitted the other day?'  
B: maktoli?  
'Scarf?'
- (7) A: sin menu kaypal hay-o-la-myense-yo?  
new menu develop do -come-IMP-told-Q?  
'you told me to develop a new menu?'  
B: kuke ttyaymay tonghay-kkaci ka-ss-ta-n *malya*?  
that because of east.coast-to go-PST-DEC-ADN CE  
'because of that, did you really go to the east coast?'
- (8) A: suthuleysu-ka simcang-ey ceyil ancohun ke-yey-yo  
stress-NOM heart-LOC first bad NMZ-HON-DEC  
'Getting stressed is worst for your **heart**.'  
B: kulekey *maliya*  
DM DM  
'Yes, indeed.'

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### Case-marking in Estonian: rethinking case-marking.

Miljan, Merilin  
(University of Tartu)

This paper re-assesses the generally accepted view of grammatical case and case alternations with regard to Finnic case in particular and the concept of (grammatical) case in general. Existing accounts of Finnic (mostly Finnish) grammatical case are primarily structural, involving the assignment of abstract case in particular syntactic configurations with morphological 'spell out' being treated as grammatically trivial. Yet there are types of data in Estonian which not only challenge these accounts but also question the way in which case is perceived and its role understood. For instance, syntax-driven approaches have largely ignored, or left unexplained, data in which the case marking of core argument(s) is optional (e.g. Mongolian, von Heusinger et al. 2011) or the variation in case-marking may be optional (e.g. Estonian). Moreover, the alternating "structural" (or "grammatical") cases in Estonian signal a wide range of 'meanings', which vary from nominal related 'meanings' to sentence level 'meanings', indicating that the interpretation of Estonian case markers is dependent on linguistic (and non-linguistic) context.

The questions which this paper addresses are: What should case represent? What information should it contribute? How does linguistic (and possibly non-linguistic) context influence the interpretation of the case-marked nominal?

The observations about Estonian data mentioned above are based on extensive empirical evidence from reference grammars of Estonian and corpus studies of Estonian. These data were also expanded by a pilot study which elicited acceptability judgements of case alternations in context from native speakers of Estonian. The data was analysed in terms of optionality in variation of grammatical variation.

Since optionality implies a radically different take of the data and formalization, as well as challenging the concept of case government, it is argued in this paper that an inferential approach to case allows us to provide a unified account of case which gives credit to morphological case-marking, as well as to explain otherwise problematic data in an insightful way. That is, the inferential (or parsing-oriented) approach, which is the theoretical perspective that combines Dynamic Syntax (Cann et al. 2005) with relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1995), not only provides the flexibility needed for implementing optionality in case alternations, but is also able to refer to context when deriving interpretations of case-marked nominals in a string of words.

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### Passive in motion: the Early Italian auxiliary *andare*.

Mocciaro, Egle  
(University of Palermo)

Italian *andare* 'to go' + past participle expresses the deontic sense of obligation when used in an imperfective tense (Giacalone Ramat 2000), as in (1), whereas it conveys a passive meaning when it occurs in a perfective past tense. A further constraint on the passive reading is represented by the semantics of the past participle, which necessarily expresses the negative value of '(non-intentional) loss/destruction' (Bertinetto 1991), as in (2):

- |     |          |                                   |                 |                     |
|-----|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (1) | <i>I</i> | <i>documenti</i>                  | <i>vanno</i>    | <i>distrutti</i>    |
|     | The      | documents                         | go.3PL          | destroy.PST.PTCP.PL |
|     |          | 'the documents must be destroyed' |                 |                     |
| (2) | <i>I</i> | <i>documenti</i>                  | <i>andarano</i> | <i>distrutti</i>    |

The documents go. PRF.3PL destroy.PST.PTCP.PL  
 'the documents were destroyed'

A survey of Early Italian conducted on the database of OVI, however, shows that the passive meaning is not originally associated with this negative value, representing in fact a later development:

(3) se 'l detto notaio [...] andasse electo [...]
   
if the above-mentioned notary go.SUBJ.3SG elect.PST.PTCP
   
sia punito
   
be. SUBJ.3SG punish.PST.PTCP
   
"if the above-mentioned notary was elected he must be punished" (*Stat. sen.* p. 63, rr. 13-16)

Drawing upon the insights of cognitive linguistics and the findings of the theory of grammaticalisation (Heine et al. 1991; Heine 1993; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Haspelmath 2004), I argue that the negative semantics conveyed by the construction can be explained by means of the peculiar deictic structure of the motion verb involved, which basically expresses a change of location implying distancing from the speaker's point of view (Radden 1996). This semantic structure allows a metonymical shift towards the meaning '(accidental/non-intentional) deviation from a pre-existing state of affairs' and, at the same time, justifies the almost systematic lack of agentive prepositional phrases (e.g. *\*dal re* 'by the king' in 3), which constitutes indeed a further constraint of the construction. Already limited in Early Italian due to the high semantic specificity, the passive construction progressively retracts towards a stable association with verbs denoting 'loss/destruction' (probably due to the competition with the widespread deontic use). The further contraction of the range of usage of the passive construction, however, cannot be interpreted as a process of degrammaticalization, and rather represents a semantic specialization motivated by the deictic meaning of *andare*.

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### Shared knowledge, deixis and covert modal polyfunctionality: the case of German bi-affirmative particles.

Modicom, Pierre-Yves  
 (U. Paris-Sorbonne and Ecole Normale Supérieure Paris)

German modal particles such as *ja* (originally "yes") and *wohl* ("well") are now widely considered to be embedded illocutive operators (see Thurmair: 1989) and to encode reference to (assumed) common knowledge ground. Yet, *ja* and *wohl* appear to have noticeably different felicity conditions in spite of similar core values. The present contribution intends to explore those differences so as to illustrate the interface of pragmatics and grammaticized modality within the framework of Theory of Mind or Foreign Conscience Alignment (FCA, cf. Abraham 2010). While *ja* highlights the speaker's assumption that the propositional content of this utterance is a matter of consensus between the speech act participants, *wohl* seems to be much more sensitive to prosodic, illocutionary as well as syntactic factors and restrictions (see Zimmermann 2008). It is therefore difficult to identify its core semantics. However, the fact that the unaccentuated *wohl* is used to underline weak commitment seems to deserve special attention due to its frequency in oral corpora, but also because other German modal particles are basically unaccentuated as well. Our aim is to show how the differences between *ja* and *wohl* are determined by the original lexical meaning of the particles when they are re-interpreted as scoping over the whole proposition with a modal function because of their strategic superficial position (in the so-called "middle field" between *thema* and *rhema*, alongside with most other modality operators, see Abraham 1991). Most of the variation is then reducible to conversational implicatures which can be systematically described and predicted using Grice's maxims of quantity and of quality (Grice 1975), as showed by cross-linguistic data (e.g. from French). The enquiry, which is partly based on oral corpora, confirms that *ja* and *wohl* encode a similar Speaker/Hearer-configuration which can be called bi-affirmativity, yet at two different places in the scopal hierarchy among of modal and illocutive operators: while *ja* scopes over the illocutionary type and turns it into strong

commitment, *wohl* is scoped over by the other force operators and merely presents the proposition as a per default assumption or a postulate without strong commitment. The original semantics and the relatively lower scope of *wohl* appear to have let sentence mood covertly alter its modal meaning, thus confirming how syntax and pragmatics can bring together the many aspects of epistemicity.

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### Covert modality in Chechen.

Molochieva, Zarina

(University of California, Berkeley/Max-Planck-Institute for Ev. Athropology, Leipzig)

Chechen (Nakh-Daghestanian, Caucasus) has special verbs to express epistemic and deontic modal meanings such as *mega* 'may' *dieza* and 'must'. These verbs can be used with all transitive and intransitive verbs to express necessity. Expression of ability and possibility ('can', 'be able') is more complicated. All verbs can take the inchoative/potential suffixed auxiliary *-d.ala* 'INCPT'. Whereas it can add inchoative meaning to all verbs, its modal meaning can be added only to some verbs. Where and when it can have modal meaning is one of the thorniest problems of the Chechen syntax, which this paper aims to clarify.

On transitive verbs, the suffix changes the case and status of the A argument, which is ergative and an obligatory argument for the unsuffixed verb but allative and optional for the *-d.ala* - suffixed verb. The meaning is usually modal: compare (1) and (2)). The omission of the allative agent can change the semantics (cf.1-3). (2) implies that the agent is able to read the letter; the same construction without the allative argument implies that the letter is readable (3). In (4), there is no overt agent present; however, the modality implicates an A, while the inchoative meaning does not. Such constructions mean that the agent opens the door (agent is omitted) or door opens itself.

Inherently stative verbs (*qiera* 'fear', *d.iela* 'laugh'. *d.ieza* 'like, love') can add this suffix to form perfective tenses, which stative verbs cannot have. The suffixed verbs are semelfactives and can have perfective tenses: *qiera-d.alan* 'take fright', 'get scared', '*d.iela-d.alan*' 'start laughing; laugh (once)', *d.ieza-d.alan* 'fall in love'. With such verbs the inchoative suffix never has the modal meaning.

The same suffix derives intransitive change-of-state verbs from adjectives: *d.oux-d.ala* 'get warm', *ghial-d.ala* 'get tired', etc. Such verbs can appear in impersonal constructions expressing weather conditions: *shiallo* 'It's getting cold', etc. These inchoatives are paired with transitives taking a different suffix. They never have modal meaning.

This paper provides a survey of the distribution of the suffix *-d.ala* 'INCPT' and shows that its semantics depends on the valence and Aktionsart of the verb it occurs with. I argue that the inchoative meaning is diachronically basic and the modal meaning derived, since the inchoative meaning is available to all verbs and is consistent with the Aktionsart type imposed by the deadjectival derivation. The syntactic constraints on the modal meaning then suggest the diachronic developments by which the modal meaning may have arisen. Thus aspect and Aktionsart provide an entry point for the rise of covert modality.

- |     |   |                       |                      |
|-----|---|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | <i>as</i>   | <i>kiexat</i>         | <i>d-oeshu</i>       |
|     | 1SG.ERG letter:D.NOM                                  |                       | D-read:IPFV.PRS      |
|     | 'I read the letter.'                                  |                       |                      |
| (2) | <i>soega</i>  | <i>kiexat</i>         | <i>d-iesha-lo</i>    |
|     | 1SG.ALL letter:D.NOM                                  |                       | D-read:INF-INCPT.PRS |
|     | 'I can read the letter/I am able to read the letter.' |                       |                      |
| (3) | <i>kiexat</i>   | <i>d-iesha-lo</i>     |                      |
|     | letter:D.NOM  | D-read-INCPT.PRS      |                      |
|     | 'The letter is readable.'                             |                       |                      |
| (4) | <i>niaw</i>   | <i>hwa-jella-lo</i>   |                      |
|     | door:J.NOM  | here-J-open-INCPT.PRS |                      |
|     | 'The door opens.'                                     |                       |                      |

## Grasping the deep semantics of predicates for ontology building with the Lexical Constructional Model.

Montiel-Ponsoda, Elena & Aguado-de-Cea, Guadalupe  
(Universidad Politécnica de Madrid)

In order to facilitate the development of terminological and ontological resources, many research efforts have gone into the identification of lexico-syntactic patterns (Hearst, 1992) that can enable the automatic retrieval of terms or concepts directly from free text (cf. Aguado de Cea & Álvarez de Mon, 2006; Aussenac-Gilles & Jacques, 2006; Cimiano & Wenderoth, 2005, 2007; Feliu and Cabré, 2002; Marshman et al., 2000, Marshman, 2007; Sierra et al, 2008). These approaches have mainly contributed to speed-up the identification of *knowledge-rich contexts* (Meyer, 2001) that may contain relevant concepts and relations worth modeling in ontologies. However, these approaches suffer from two main drawbacks. On the one hand, they require expert validation of the retrieved context due to some natural language phenomena, namely, polysemy, anaphora or uncertainty aspects such as hedging and modal verbs or negation (Marshman, 2008; Soler & Alcina, 2008). On the other hand, these approaches have not investigated how to transform the extracted concepts and their relations into ontological constructs that follow best practices in ontology modeling (Aguado de Cea et al., 2008). With the aim of overcoming these obstacles, we propose to establish a correspondence between lexico-syntactic patterns and consensual modeling solutions in ontology modeling, the so-called ontology design patterns (Gangemi, 2005). For this aim, we need to systematically analyze the deep semantics of some predicates, recursively used in domain descriptions. Such an analysis will allow us to find out all possible meaning realizations of such predicates in certain contexts, and establish a reliable mapping with the most appropriate ontological constructs. For this endeavour, we will rely on the lexical templates (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Mairal Usón, 2006.) provided by the Lexical Constructional Model (Mairal Usón & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2006, 2008), which combines the mechanisms of several well-known linguistic theories, amongst others, Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin & LaPolla, 1997; VanValin, 2004), Natural Semantic Metalanguage (Wierzbicka, 1996), Meaning-Text Theory (Mel'cuk, 1988), Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995), and the Generative Lexicon (Pustejovsky, 1995). The Lexical Constructional Model is defined as "a model for the investigation of meaning construction at all levels of linguistic description, including pragmatics and discourse" (Mairal Usón & Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, 2009). By using the mechanisms of the Lexical Constructional Model, we will analyze the semantics of some of the most common verbal predicates for conveying hypernymy-hyponymy and meronymy relations in English. Such an analysis will allow us to spell out some specific features of these relations that need to be considered when modeling them in an ontology in order to guarantee an accurate processing of the information by computers. The establishment of a reliable correspondence between verbal predicates and ontology design patterns will offer a great amount of opportunities to methods and tools that aim at supporting novice users in the modeling of ontologies in a transparent way.

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### Criterial confusion.

#### A typological intermezzo between Germanic and Romance compounding.

Müller, Henrik Høeg  
(Copenhagen Business School)

Generally, Danish complies with the standard criteria we usually associate with a compounding language. Danish nominal compounds are orthographically solid, are pronounced with unitary stress, show no internal inflection, function as syntactic atoms and express single new concepts (Lieber & Štekauer 2009). Moreover, compounding, in terms of productiveness, constitutes the backbone of Danish vocabulary expansion. By contrast, the status of Spanish *N de N*-structures is highly disputed (Kornfeld 2009). Strongly motivated criteria that draw a borderline between syntactic phrases and lexical/morphological word formation seem difficult to find. So, when and if *N de N*-structures should be counted as compounds is not a clear-cut case.

These problems of definition pose a challenge to the analysis of typological differences in word formation patterns between Germanic and Romance languages, and, probably, to some extent they have made us refrain from trying to explain basic empirical observations, such as, e.g., that the Germanic languages often use compounding to express what Romance languages convey by simple nouns and derivations (Rainer & Varela 1992), cf. the examples below.

#### Simple noun → compound

- |                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| (1a) búho – hornugle       | [horned owl] |
| (1b) púlpito – prædikestol | [pulpit]     |

#### Derivation → compound

- |                              |                                    |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (2a) escritorio – skrivebord | [writing desk] (escribir: [write]) |
| (2b) dentadura – tandsæt     | [set of teeth] (diente: [tooth])   |

This paper sets out to argue that the variation in word formation patterns between the two language types is not random, but, in fact, correlates with deep-rooted lexical differences between *endo-* (Germanic) and *exocentric* (Romance) *languages* (Herslund & Baron 1995).

Danish endocentric simple nouns are semantically vague and therefore function as denominations of entities on a hyperonymic family level. In Spanish this level does not exist because Spanish exocentric simple nouns are semantically precise and therefore denote species, i.e. entities on a hyponymic level. It is assumed that the consequences for word formation are that in order to designate entities on a hyponymic level Danish must make use of compounding, and therefore compounding is incorporated into the grammatical system as an automated morphological word-formation process. On the contrary, Spanish simple nouns are already semantically saturated, so Spanish has not developed a morphological compounding system.

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## Metaphor in Political Dialogue.

Musolff, Andreas  
(University of East Anglia, Norwich).

Metaphors play an important role in political discourse, especially in its dialogic manifestations, on account of their cognitive and pragmatic “added value” effects. They provide opportunities to introduce new thematic and evaluative perspectives on the topic and to manage the speaker-hearer relationship. Literary manifestations of political dialogue, e.g. in drama and narrative, highlight this multi-functionality. In one of the most famous instances of fictionalized political dialogue, i.e., the so-called *fable of the belly*, the imagery of *the state as a human body* not only provides the conceptual frame but also influences the pragmatic stance of the interlocutors and their negotiation of speaker-roles.

The fable tells the story of a dispute between the seemingly “lazy” belly and the “active” body members over the right to receive food and applies it as a “lesson” at the target level of political conflicts. In most versions of the fable, the “internal” debate among the *body members* is contrasted with an “external” dialogue at the level of a narrated “plot”, e.g., in the form of a dispute between representatives of the “ruling classes” and rebelling citizens. These two dialogue levels are often artfully interwoven, both at the cognitive and the pragmatic level and their interplay enables the interlocutors to step out of their roles and frame meta-communicative comments in terms of the metaphor theme.

It would be easy to assume that this complex, “reflexive” use of metaphor can only be found in literary genres. However, examples of real-life metaphor use in political and media discourse reveal a wealth of occurrences of inter-textual and reflexive referentiality in figurative speech, in especially dialogue. The paper studies data from a corpus of figurative political language in Britain and Germany that includes reports and verbatim quotations of dialogic metaphor use. These examples are analyzed with regard to their conceptual/argumentative content aspects and their pragmatic contexts. Of special interest are the pragmatic presuppositions that are brought into play by the interlocutors to buttress their arguments and manipulate their social relationships.

When compared with the literary “model” dialogue of the fable, the real life uses of metaphor in political dialogue turn out to be at least as complex with regard to the depth of their conceptual and pragmatic implications. It is argued that this effect is due to a high degree of allusive or half-implicit formulations in political discourse; by comparison, the literary versions appear to be much more explicit and “demonstrative”. This finding leads to the question of whether literary traditions, e.g. fables, are still used or implicitly referred to as “cultural models” in present-day political discourse. The paper concludes with a discussion of corpus data that point in the direction of an affirmative answer that calls for a reassessment of the relationship between “conceptual” and “pragmatic” aspects of metaphor.

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### **Patterns of adaptation and integration of English loanwords in Lithuanian and Russian.**

Myers, Helen  
(The Ohio State University)

Besides being a language of international communication, English has become the largest source of borrowings for contemporary world languages. Anglicisms are being incorporated into different domains but such areas as computer science, ecommerce, business, and international relations have traditionally experienced the greatest impact of the English language. However, despite the fact that borrowing from English is a commonly recognized linguistic phenomenon of the modern world, there is not much written about incorporation of English borrowings into Lithuanian and Russian, languages that possess many shared linguistic features due to their close historical contacts.

The goals of the present paper are twofold. First, there is the purely descriptive goal of defining and classifying the major mechanisms of adaptation and integration of English loanwords in the linguistic systems of Lithuanian and Russian. Additionally, I compare the integration processes evident in these languages with those known from other languages, such as Japanese and other Slavic languages, and with the regular derivational processes in Lithuanian and Russian. For my analysis I use the material published on internet such as online newspapers, blogs, technical and academic articles, national corpus. Based on my research, there are many similar patterns of borrowing in Lithuanian and Russian including the fact that majority of loanwords are nouns which are assigned syntactic markers of gender, case and number. Functional morphemes such as affixes are borrowed very rarely; instead, native class-converting elements are usually attached to nominal stems in order to form derivatives. The most common pattern of integrating English loan words in both languages is morphological adaptation, especially suffixation.

Other mechanisms include phonological, morpho-phonological, syntactic adaptation and word creation. Most of the creations are hybrids in which native material is used as a substitute for foreign morphemes. My analysis illustrates that domain of technology experienced most intensive influence in both languages, followed by domains of business, music, food, etc. Internet and the print media reflect the most recent borrowings due to their dynamism, while literature and books often have not yet incorporated many of such borrowings.

There are also few distinguishable patterns of assimilating foreign material by Lithuanian and Russian. Lithuanian uses native material much more often than Russian and therefore many English loan words which are quite common in Russian are not found in Lithuanian. Another noticeable difference is that Russian often uses direct loan words with zero endings, while Lithuanian nouns typically do not have zero endings and therefore have native markers of syntactic agreement attached to their borrowed stems. Based on the analyzed data, morphological adaptation is more productive in Lithuanian than in Russian. Often a borrowed nominal stem becomes a starting point for many derivatives in Lithuanian while such derivation is not very productive in Russian. As a result of such intense morphological activity, English borrowings within Lithuanian linguistic system undergo class-conversion more often than loan words in Russian. In general, the integration of English borrowings in Lithuanian and Russian reflects the most productive native patterns of word formation in both languages.

### **Degrees of argumenthood, degrees of transitivity: Semi-transitive objects in Äiwoo and Vaeakau-Taumako.**

Næss, Åshild  
(University of Zürich)

Many languages of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian have a class of so-called semi-transitive verbs (Sugita 1973), which take intransitive morphology but occur with an object noun, which tends to be indefinite and/or nonspecific. While this phenomenon has traditionally been treated as a kind of object incorporation, Margetts (2008) argues that objects of semi-transitive verbs in many Oceanic languages should be considered to be arguments of their verbs, and that the resulting structures must be analyzed as representing a mismatch between transitivity on the verbal and syntactic level.

This line of argumentation raises the question of exactly which properties are required for a noun phrase to be considered an argument. Margetts mentions the occurrence of semi-transitive objects in canonical object position and their ability to take certain kinds of modifiers as points in favour of their analysis as arguments rather than incorporated nouns. This presupposes, however, a dichotomy where nouns are either one or the other, that is, non-incorporated objects are by definition arguments.

This paper will examine the properties of semi-transitive "objects" in two geographically close but distantly related Oceanic languages, Äiwoo and Vaeakau-Taumako, and the extent to which they can be said to behave like arguments of the verbs with which they occur. Both these languages distinguish formally between transitive and intransitive verbs, but in different ways: Äiwoo inflectionally, through different subject markers for transitive and intransitive verbs, and Vaeakau-Taumako derivationally, through obligatory "transitive" suffixes on transitive verbs. The two languages also have different word orders with nominal objects of transitive clauses: OVS in Äiwoo, SVO in Vaeakau-Taumako, while word order in semi-transitive clauses is SVO in both languages. I will compare the properties

of transitive and semi-transitive “objects” in both languages on two main points: syntactic position, particularly the possibility of alternative orderings of the “objects” with regard to the rest of the clause, and the possibility of modification. On the basis of fieldwork data from both languages, I will argue that in neither language can the semi-transitive objects be seen as incorporated in the strict sense of the term, but nor do they show the full range of properties which characterize transitive objects in these languages. As morphosyntactic transitivity seems to be a matter of degree in these languages, it may be fruitful to look at argumenthood in the same way – as gradable rather than absolute.

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### When the indefinite article implies uniqueness. A case study from Old Italian.

Napoli, Maria  
 (University of Siena Stranieri)

In the majority of languages which have developed a grammatical marker for indefiniteness it is the numeral ‘one’ that represents the source for this development (Givón 1981: 51), as in Romance. It is usually claimed that in Old Italian, the indefinite article has the same functions as in Modern Italian (cf. Renzi 2010), although there are some significant differences in the distribution of *uno*, depending on the type of the construction involved.

This paper focuses on a peculiar use of *uno* in Old Italian to which little attention has been paid, i.e. its occurrence with a possessive modifier and a kinship term which presupposes only one referent. This is illustrated here by example (1):

- (1) [Una donna] piangea un suo caro marito,  
 a woman mourn-3SG a-INDF her-POSS dear husband  
 lo quale era morto lo giorno  
 who die-3SG that day  
 ‘A woman mourned her beloved husband, who died that day’. (Novellino 58)

Noun phrases like *un suo marito* (\*a her husband), *una sua madre* (\*a his/her mother) are almost paradoxical with respect to a characterization of the definite/indefinite opposition in terms of uniqueness, on the basis of which the definite article is used for unique entities, whereas the domain of non-uniqueness is generally covered by indefiniteness (Hawkins 1978: 177, Lyons 1999: 12).

I will examine this case study through a corpus-based analysis of Old Italian (see References), and I will address the following questions: (i) how it is possible to explain the use of the indefinite article in the construction illustrated in (1), as well as its alternation with the definite article and with zero article in the same noun-phrases; (ii) how this use may be interpreted in the light of the other functions of *uno* in Old Italian.

The data will be analysed following the stage-model of indefiniteness introduced by Givón (1981), according to which the notion of ‘scale’ can be used as a key to the understanding of the evolution of indefinite markers. I will try to illustrate how this model, and in particular its refined versions proposed by Heine (1997) and Schroeder (2006), could help us to explain the Old Italian state-of-affairs.

The discussion will show that *uno* occurs with possessives and unique kin terms only when the referent that it introduces shows *discourse prominence*, in terms of ‘noteworthiness’, ‘referential persistence’ and ‘topic continuity’ (cf. Givón 1983, von Heusinger in press). It will be demonstrated that this use of *uno* is perfectly consistent with its *obligatory* occurrence in constructions involving a new specific referent, like presentative constructions, as opposed to its *optional* occurrence in contexts which entail a non-specific reading of the noun-phrase (as in generic sentences or in equative constructions).

Finally, taking this case-study as a starting point, it will be illustrated the contribution that diachronic observations can make to the general theory of (in)definiteness.

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*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*

### Migration Metaphors in English and Romanian Written Press.

Neagu, Mariana & Colipca Gabriela  
 ("Dunarea de Jos" University of Galati)

The study explores how metaphors are used to explain, evaluate, persuade and sometimes even contribute to the formation of legitimacy in media communication on the phenomenon of migration. Although the topic of migration, closely related to globalization, is very fashionable nowadays, there are few metaphor research studies devoted to it (Charteris-Black, 2006 and Dervinyte, 2009). While Charteris-Black focuses on immigration metaphors in political discourse, Dervinyte deals with conceptual EMIGRATION and IMMIGRATION metaphors in the language of the press. Her cross-linguistic analysis of English and Lithuanian, however, does not account for the differences found between the two languages. In our paper, based on data collected from UK and Romanian press articles reporting on migration, we will try to look at representations of migration in both the host (UK) and the home (Romania) cultural contexts.

The research questions discussed in this presentation are: (1) How is migration conceptualized in both Romanian and British newspapers? (2) Are there any reasons justifying similarities and/or differences? (3) What kind of ideological assumptions, if any, lie behind the media text? As regards the identification of migration metaphors, the research has applied the cognitive-linguistic approach and methodology (Lakoff, 1991, Steen, 1999). As regards ideological assumptions hidden behind the journalistic text, the approach followed Critical Discourse Analysis, as represented by Van Dijk (1995) and Fairclough (2003).

The research questions have been answered by means of an analysis of a corpus of 250 articles spanning a period of four years (2007-2010). The articles have been selected from two British quality papers (*The Times* and *The Guardian*) and two Romanian national dailies (*Adevarul* and *Cotidianul*). Corpus selection was determined by the relevance of the samples for the study of migration and migrants from the perspective of the receiving and sending societies.

Of the five types of conceptual metaphors identified, the most common are MIGRATION AS FLOOD and MIGRATION AS WAR/INVASION. While English seems to give preference to the former, Romanian has a tendency to favour the latter. In addition, Romanian data discloses the conceptual metaphor MIGRATION AS EXPLOITATION/SLAVERY, especially in articles published in 2007 when the country joined the European Union. This confirms the hypothesis that metaphorization patterns are based on socially determined experiences.

Overall, the results demonstrate that (1) the number of metaphors in Romanian is smaller than in English and (2) Romanian press tends to be less inclined to metaphorical reasoning in comparison to the English press tradition.

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### The diachronic trajectory of ethical datives: Chechen and Ingush.

Nichols, Johanna & Molochieva, Zarina  
(University of California, Berkeley and MPI-EVA, Leipzig)

Chechen and Ingush (Nakh-Daghestanian, Caucasus) have complex evidential systems marked by postverbal particles (undergoing reduction and developing into suffixes) that obviously descend from former ethical datives and genitives. This paper uses the differences in forms and functions between Ingush, standard Chechen, and Chechen dialects to reconstruct an origin and diachronic trajectory of these evidential markers, identify the relevant semantics of the ancestral ethical dative, and clarify its relation to the ethical genitive.

The array of forms is as follows: (a) Dative second person pronoun (singular or plural depending on the number of addressees). Semantics: (Chechen) speaker knows that addressee wants or needs the information, and speaker confirms addressee's viewpoint while providing the information; (Ingush) mirative: speaker conveys unexpected but important news to hearer.

(1) Chechen *Muusa hwa-v-e'a-na hwuun(a)*  
Musa.NOM here-V-come-PRF 2SG.DAT  
Musa has arrived! (I know you are waiting for him and are interested in this information).

(2) Ingush *Hwa-ieca ealar, hwuona='a by hwuona cy=chy.*  
DX-take.IMPV say.WP 2sg.DAT=& B.be.PRS 2sg.DAT/MIR there=in  
Take it, he said, (look,) there's something for you too in there! (0395A.31)

(b) Dative inclusive pronoun. Semantics (Ingush): The information is important to both speaker and hearer; speaker is actively aware of it, hearer has inactive knowledge or is assumed to share hearer's viewpoint. (In highland Chechen it is in free variation with the second person in (a).)

(3) Ingush *Yz sou hwaalxa jy vaina.*  
DEM too early J.be.PRS 1plINCL.DAT/MIR  
That's too early!  
(Hearer has proposed an early morning meeting. Both speaker and hearer have an interest in making the meeting convenient, and both know each other's schedules.)

(c) Reflexive second person pronoun, dative or genitive. Gives the imperative a hortative flavor so that it does not command but recognizes or appeals to the hearer's viewpoint.

(4) Ingush *Laxa hwaaina.*  
Seek.IMPV 2SRFL/MIR  
OK, go ahead and seek it (success in battle). (Medieval king to general)

(d) Genitive pronoun. Closer to an ethical case: the hearer (second person), speaker (first), or both are concerned by or involved in the situation; if second person, speaker reproaches hearer or implicitly criticizes hearer's forgetting basic shared information.

(5) Ingush *Ai, jer=m niisa daac hwa.*  
no DEM=FOC right D.be.NEG 2sg.GENMIR  
Hey, that's not fair!

The evidentials are best developed in highland dialects, most suffix-like in the east and most elaborated in the west. Possible fossil ethical datives exist (e.g. the non-bold *hwuona* in (2), extracted *cun* in (6)).

(6) Chechen *Cwa huma taamashiina d-u cun.*  
one thing.NOM surprising D-be.PRS 3SG.GEN/MIR  
One thing (about her/him) is surprising to me.

We reconstruct this trajectory: Ethical dative develops from postposed extracted topical argument > becomes evidential in the eastern highlands > spreads westward, adding categories > grammaticalizes and stabilizes in the independently evidential-sensitive highlands (while only function (a) is clearly stable in the lowlands). It is no longer an argument or possessor but a verbal category (implicating pronominal person categories). Thus, in the right typological context, the evolution of ethical datives is driven more by their categorial content than by their (former) syntactic functions.

## The oblique/IO alternation in Spanish dative constructions: a corpus study.

Nishida, Chiyo  
(University of Texas at Austin)

**1. Data/Background.** Spanish possesses two alternating constructions, where the “recipient” argument may realize as a PP (1a) or a clitic-doubled IO (1b).

- (1) a. *Juan envió una carta a María.* (Prepositional Dative Construction: PDC)  
'John sent a letter to Mary.'  
b. *Juan le envió una carta a María.* (IO Dative Construction: IODC)  
'John sent Mary a letter.'

Recent studies of this alternation within the minimalist framework (Demonte 1995; Bleam 2001; Cuervo 2003; inter alia) extend analyses proposed for the English counterpart to Spanish, claiming that: a) the PP variant denotes “caused motion” and the IO variant “caused possession”; and b) the underlying post-verbal constituent order in each variant is DO PP for (1a) and IO DO in (1b), identical to their English counterparts.

**2. Objective/Procedure.** This paper provides a corpus-study of the Spanish dative alternation, addressing two central empirical issues: A) Do PDCs and IODCs show any distinct distributional patterns?; and B) what constituent order variations are possible between the two complements in PDCs and IODCs, and what factors determine the choice? Using the Modern Spanish Reference Corpus (CREA), 943 tokens of the PDC and the IODC containing five dative verbs: *dar* ‘give’ (450), *entregar* ‘hand (in/out)’ (153), *ofrecer* ‘to offer’, *otorgar* ‘give/grant’ (55), and *enviar* ‘send’ (188) were gathered and analyzed. They all had both complements lexically realized and the verb inflected in 3<sup>rd</sup> person (SG/PL)/preterite; all IODC samples had a 3<sup>rd</sup> person (SG/PL) dative clitic, *le* or *les*. All samples came from written sources (books, newspapers and journals) published in Mexico.

**3. Findings.** Regarding Issue A, we found PDCs occur more frequently than in IODCs. Contrary to what is commonly assumed, PDCs and IODCs are not in complementary distribution, with different verbs showing varied behaviors. With *entregar* and *ofrecer*, for instance, both variants exclusively denote caused possession (cf. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2008); the major difference is that IOs tend to be more individuated, i.e., [+definite] and [+human], whereas PPs may be POSSESSOR of any kinds. With *dar* and *otorgar* neither variant exclusively denotes caused possession since non-POSSESSOR IOs and PPs are common. This is because *dar* and *otorgar* allow metaphorical extensions (Goldberg 1995) in both constructions, and *dar* is often used to form “light predicates” in PDCs. IOs for *dar* and *otorgar* are also restricted to be [+definite], whereas PPs can be [±definite]. Finally, with *enviar*, both constructions may denote caused possession, but in addition, PDCs may denote caused motion. IOs here are also restricted to be [+definite], whereas PPs can be [±definite]. In sum, our findings show that with all dative verbs, PDCs have broader distributions in that they can do everything that IOCs can and beyond.

Regarding Issue B, we found both PDCs and IODCs allow two ordering variants for the two complements. For both constructions, grammatical weight (Wasow 2002) is primarily what determines the order: Unless DO is heavier, the two complements are placed in the unmarked order, i.e., DO PP or DO IO.

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## Negation effects on comparisons of equality.

Nkollo, Mikoaj  
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan)

The main purpose of the presentation is to check whether Greenberg’s Universal 22 can be readily implemented to describe equality comparisons, as well. The following types of English sentences and their counterparts from other languages will be analyzed:

*Our land parcel is as large as the one of our neighbour*

*The coat of paint is not so glowing as it used to be*

*Boys and girls are not educated to the same extent*

*Our diesel goes as many miles as a gasoline-powered car  
He hugged Mary as tightly as he'd hugged his children*

As this kind of comparative constructions has often seemed neglected, their main properties are put forward. In accordance with what had been said about the structure of superiority comparisons (which contain mandatorily, irrespective of their language-specific characteristics, three key elements: comparison marker, standard of comparison and feature's name), it is admitted, as a working hypothesis, that the ones which express equality also rely on these three elements.

There are however various peculiar semantic and syntactic constraints that should be taken into account when describing them. The first one is related to their lexical content: not all adjectives, e.g. symmetric ones, are easily submitted to comparisons of equality (*?His testimony is as analogous at the one of his wife*). Another constraint pertains to standard lexical transformations undergone by comparatives. Assuming that *John is cleverer than Peter* and *Peter is less clever than John* are converses, the question arises why the same transformation is not realized with *John is as clever as Peter*. The topic-comment shift, *Peter is as clever as John*, obtains without involving extra lexical items.

The key point is related however to how negation exerts its influence on the structure and meaning of this class of constructions. In some European languages, comparative forms vary according to whether one deals with affirmative or negated equatives (see Haspelmath & Buchholz, 1998, example *Ich kann genauso schnell laufen wie mein Bruder*, but *Ich kann nicht so schnell laufen wie mein Bruder*). On the semantic level, negation refrains the names of participants from being permuted without the change of propositional meaning. A proposal towards explaining this puzzle will be formulated.

As a conclusion, it will be demonstrated that comparisons of equality should be regarded as linguistic structures on their own, not easily dealt with tools presented by Greenberg Universal 22. Their triple syntactic structure will equally be contested.

The examples in the paper are drawn from German, French, Portuguese, Polish and Hungarian.

The methodological framework deemed most adequate to deal with comparisons of equality is semantically-based grammar (as conceived of by E. Keenan and, independently, by S. Karolak). Additionally, the arguments rely on some transformational procedures inspired by the model: sense-text elaborated by Russian linguists in the early 70s.

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### The modal *be bound to* constructions and the dynamic English constructicon.

Noël, Dirk  
(The University of Hong Kong)

One possible characterization of the essence of a diachronic construction grammar approach to language change is that it tries to account for the emergence of individual constructions in the constructicon of a language, as well their disappearance from it, with reference to relevant other parts of the constructicon. For instance, rather than considering the emergence of grammatical constructions as individual linear changes happening to certain lexical material in particular morphosyntactic contexts, diachronic construction grammar works with snapshots of the constructicon of a language taken at different intervals and explains the appearance of new constructions against the backdrop of old ones which were already there. In such a model, analogy is the major mechanism of change, at least as far as the creation of new form-meaning pairings is concerned. The purpose of this paper is to illustrate this model on the concrete example of the English modal *be bound to* constructions.

Present-day English has two *be bound to* constructions, the deontic one illustrated in (1) and the often, and perhaps erroneously but conveniently, called "epistemic" one illustrated in (2).

- (1) If you are dismissed with pay in lieu of notice, or without notice, and you obtain new employment during the notice period, you are bound to bring into account those earnings.
- (2) Mistakes are bound to happen sometimes.

Though they often feature in lists of modal expressions and though their meanings have received some discussion, the development of both constructions has so far not been the object of a dedicated study. This paper will consider the question of how they became entrenched parts of the English construction.

Judging by what we can glean from the entries for *bind* and *bound* in the *OED*, the deontic construction is virtually as old as the *be bound to* pattern itself, dating back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The metaphor AN OBLIGATION IS A TIE was obviously already a well-established one at the time and expressions with both the verb *bind* and the noun *bond* could instantiate it long before the verb came to be combined with a *to*-infinitive. However, rather than stop there and look no further for an explanation for the deontic construction's entrenchment, this paper will ask whether the English construction of the time contained both formally and semantically similar patterns which may have made deontic *be bound to* very normal grammar.

The *OED* also suggests that "epistemic" *be bound to* only goes back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Is this a mere case of the DEONTIC > EPISTEMIC grammaticalization path, i.e. a case of the pragmatic inference that obligations lead to likely outcomes which took the best part of five centuries to fossilize? It will be argued instead that language users aligned *be bound to* with an epistemic *be + adj + to* construction after a now extinct epistemic construction containing the form *bound* had made this a very small and natural step.

Various diachronic corpus resources will be used to reconstruct pertinent parts of the relevant historical constructions.

### **Constructional templates at the morphology-lexicon interface – meaning and the layered structure of the Irish word.**

Nolan, Brian

(Institute of Technology Blanchardstown, Dublin)

This paper examines derivation in Modern Irish within a layered structure of the word (LSW) within the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) model. In addition, we examine the role of the lexicon, the need for a lexeme store in the lexicon and a separate morpheme inventory. We consider derivation within an account that addresses the formation of the nominal and other lexical categories.

Morphology, of course, is the part of linguistics that deals with word structure, word formation, the internal structure of words, and the identification and study of morphemes. As such, it has interfaces to semantics, syntax and phonology. Under derivation, we discuss how a new member of a lexical category is formed, and its meaning captured, and how lexical meaning may be modified within the LSW in RRG. We indicate in our conceptualisation of the layered structure of the word how it would operate in support of derivation. We discuss the need for an inventory of morphological constructional schemata for lexemes, similar to the syntactic inventory, such that morphemes that carry semantic or conceptual meaning might be suitably represented in a lexeme store within the lexicon. We argue that lexemes, those morphemes with a meaningful semantics, are to be found within the lexicon and formulated as a concept of a specific category type, mediated by the RRG linking system.

In this view of derivation, a lexical category may be regarded as a morphological constructional 'device' that provides the 'part of speech' category type of the word that it creates. That is, understood as a construction schema with an associated process, it has an input and an output. Lexemes and derived lexemes have semantics, are recorded in the lexicon, and work with the linking system of RRG. Derivational category affixes have a structure where the input lexeme 'argument', or operand, is morphologically fused with the category affix to produce a new lexeme as output. Derivation creates new lexemes and usually changes the lexeme class whereas inflection creates different forms of the same lexeme for grammatical purposes, for example, case, gender agreement etc. The input to derivation is a lexeme.

We propose a view of the layered structure of the word by reference to Modern Irish, and the (derivational) processes that operate on the word. In doing this we consider issues related to the distinction between what goes in the lexicon and the status of morphemes with grammatical purpose. We motivate the relationship of morphology to the lexicon and discuss the status of the lexeme store and morpheme inventories in an RRG compatible theory of morphology that is functionally oriented through the use of morphological constructional templates ('schemata').

### ***That's absolutely crap, totally rubbish. The use of the intensifiers absolutely and totally in the spoken language of British adults and teenagers.***

Núñez Pertejo, Paloma & Palacios Martínez, Ignacio  
(University of Santiago de Compostela)

The use of intensifiers in speech has received great attention in the last few years (Altenberg 1991; Paradis 1997; Tao 2007; Méndez-Naya 2008, to mention just a few), because of their flexibility, contextual sensitivity, ongoing change and grammaticalization processes they in some cases undergo. Several studies have shown that they do not behave similarly in the spoken language of adults and teenagers, as the former seem to use intensifiers almost twice as frequently as the latter (Stenström et al. 2002; Macaulay 2005). This general tendency is clearly observed in the case of some individual items, such as *really* (Paradis & Bergmark 2003). Stenström et al. (2002), and Ito and Tagliamonte (2003) also refer to particular intensifying values and syntactic properties of *well*, *right* and *enough* in the language of

teenagers. Moreover, this special nature of intensifiers is not exclusive to British English but it also applies to other varieties of English. Thus, Macaulay (2006) demonstrates that *pure*, *dead* and *so* have developed an intensifier function in the speech of Scottish Glasgow adolescents and Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005), with oral data extracted from the American television series *Friends* (1994-2002), come to the conclusion that the intensifier *so* is becoming even more popular than *really*. Canadian teenagers also seem to follow a similar trend, as *so* and *pretty* are becoming more and more common, while *very*, which has always stood out as the most frequent of all the degree adverbs, is being gradually displaced to a less relevant position (Tagliamonte, 2008). In spite of all this research, further studies based on a comparison between adult and teenage language regarding specific intensifiers seem to be lacking in order to obtain a complete picture of the problem that may help us to understand it more thoroughly.

The aim of this paper is to investigate the use of two common intensifiers, namely *absolutely* and *totally*, in the speech of adults and teenagers, by focusing on those features which are characteristic to each group. For this purpose, we will adopt a corpus-based methodology by examining two comparable samples of data retrieved from COLT (*Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language*), in the case of adolescents, and DCPSE (*Diachronic Corpus of Present-Day Spoken English*) and BNC (*British National Corpus*), for adults. We will concentrate not only on their frequency but also on the nature of the items they modify and on their behaviour as intensifiers

A preliminary analysis suggests that, as expected, there are clear differences in the use of these two degree adverbs between the two age groups. Being more specific, this pilot study indicates that adults use *absolutely* significantly more than their younger counterparts while the figures for *totally* do not differ to such a high extent. Moreover, teenagers on certain occasions pile up intensifiers with the intention of adding more emphasis to their expression. Examples are also recorded in which adolescents combine *absolutely* with expletive nouns, such as *shit* and *crap*. In the case of *totally*, it is also observed that it mainly occurs in teenage talk with adjectives with negative connotations (*totally useless*, *totally non-existent*). Furthermore, we have noticed that these two intensifiers adopt a more multifunctional value in the case of adults: *absolutely* is frequently used as a free standing response token and *totally* is attested in a wider variety of syntactic contexts. The results of this study make it evident the need for a careful revision of the role played by the age variable in the system of intensifiers. This should be based not only on a quantitative analysis but also on a qualitative interpretation of the data used, by concentrating on the behaviour and nature of individual intensifiers.

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#### **An interdisciplinary study of ideology: reconciling critical and cognitive approaches.**

Núñez-Perucha, Begoña  
(Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

In Discourse Studies the analysis of ideological discourse has been central to the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (Van Dijk 1996, 1998, 2002; Reisigl & Wodak 2001). More specifically, among the different approaches embraced by Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA), one that has paid special attention to the study of ideology is van Dijk's sociocognitive approach. Within this framework, ideologies are internally structured by group self-schema categories (Membership, Tasks, Goals, Norms and values, Position and Resources), and linguistically expressed by means of ideological structures operating at global and local levels of discourse (see van Dijk 1996: 19-20; 1998: chapters 27). Yet, as far as the cognitive dimension of ideologies is concerned, little has been said about the processes of conceptualisation that underlie ideologies and make them take a particular form. The present paper argues for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of ideology that combines the tools of CDA, and, in particular, those of the

sociocognitive approach, and the principles of Cognitive Linguistics (CL), as proposed by the experientialist theory (Johnson 1987; Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). After discussing the relationship between ideology and cognition in each approach and the way both paradigms can be reconciled, this paper presents a case study of 21<sup>st</sup> century feminism from a critical discursive and cognitive perspective. The analysis shows that the cognitive dimension of feminism involves not only the representation of the feminist group self-schema in terms of ideological categories but also the operativity of images schemas (e.g. CONTAINER, VERTICALITY, FORCE and PATH) along with journey and war metaphors. For instance, the propositional content of the categories of Position and Resources has been found to be grounded on the CONTAINER and VERTICALITY image schemas. In this sense, women perceive themselves as occupying an unequal position in both public and private social containers such as the job and the home containers, respectively. Further, the specific tasks of the group described as fighting against gender inequality appear to be based on the metaphorical conceptualisation of feminism as a journey and as a battle. These metaphors also serve a pragmatic function in that they represent a powerful ideological tool for enhancing solidarity and promoting collective action (cf. Charteris Black, 2005). In addition, consistency has been observed between the way 21<sup>st</sup> century feminism is conceptualised and the way the women's group is represented discursively. In this regard, the semantic properties of detailed description and explicitness as well as formal patterns of lexis and grammar contribute to highlighting the achievements of women's movements throughout history and to providing a positive representation of the women's group as social agents moving in the direction of social change.

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#### Notions of subjectivity.

Nuyts, Jan  
(University of Antwerp)

This theoretical, conceptual paper aims to further clarify and elaborate the notion of (inter)subjectivity proposed in, e.g., Nuyts (2001a, b). This notion has been introduced in the context of an analysis of modal categories, and is defined in terms of the question whether the speaker presents an assessment (e.g. a deontic one, or an epistemic one) of a state of affairs as being exclusively his/her own (i.e., the speaker assumes strictly personal responsibility for it; subjectivity), or whether (s)he presents the assessment as being accepted by a wider group of people (i.e., the speaker shares the responsibility for the assessment with others), possibly including the hearer (intersubjectivity).

Part of the paper will be devoted to explicating some aspects of the notion which have remained vague so far, and to correcting some unfortunate elements in the original presentation. Most notably, it will correct the original assumption that this would involve an evidential category – arguments will be presented to show that this assumption is not adequate.

But the major part of the paper will be devoted to clarifying this notion's relation to – and, especially, the differences with – two other notions of subjectivity prominently present in the current literature in cognitive and functional semantics, viz. the notion underlying Traugott's (2010, Traugott & Dasher 2002) concepts of (diachronic) subjectification and intersubjectification, and Langacker's notion of subjectivity vs. objectivity (or subjective vs. objective construal; Langacker 1990, 1999). There have been several attempts in the literature to bring any two or even all three of these notions to bear on each other (including by Langacker and Traugott themselves), and this is sometimes accompanied by the suggestion that they (or some of them) might basically concern the same phenomena. In fact, one sometimes even notices a tendency to use these different notions interchangeably. The paper will argue that these different notions are not interchangeable at all. They do not constitute alternative (be it mutually compatible or incompatible) construals of the same phenomenon, they refer to really different, even if not entirely unrelated, phenomena (hence the fact that they are denoted by the same terms is a somewhat unfortunate coincidence), and they each deserve their own place in a conceptual and/or linguistic semantic theory.

The paper will explicate the differences and relations between the three notions (and by doing so will further clarify the notion defined in Nuyts 2001a, b) by situating them in, or relating them to, a conceptual (semantic) model of the structure of states of affairs and the system of 'qualifications' of them (the hierarchical/layered model of qualificational or 'tense-aspect-modality' categories; cf. Nuyts 2001a).

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## All about the syntax of *whereabouts* and *whenabouts*.

Nye, Rachel  
(GIST, Ghent University)

**(A)Introduction:** The aim of this talk is to present the distinctive syntactic behaviour in contemporary English of the *wh*-expressions *whereabouts* and *whenabouts* ('roughly where/when?'), henceforth *wh-about*s, in contrast to *where* and *when*, and to offer an account of this in the framework of generative transformational syntax. I present evidence that *wh-about*s are internally complex phrases, and show how this accounts for their external syntax.

**(B)External syntax:** The most striking property of *wh-about*s is that they are limited to (matrix and embedded) interrogatives (cf. 1), unlike *where* and *when* which are also able to occur in relative structures (cf. 2). *wh-about*s is also unable to occur in-situ in echo questions, although it can occur in-situ in information-seeking questions.

- (1) I wondered whereabouts he ate.
- (2) I ate (at the place) \*whereabouts he ate.

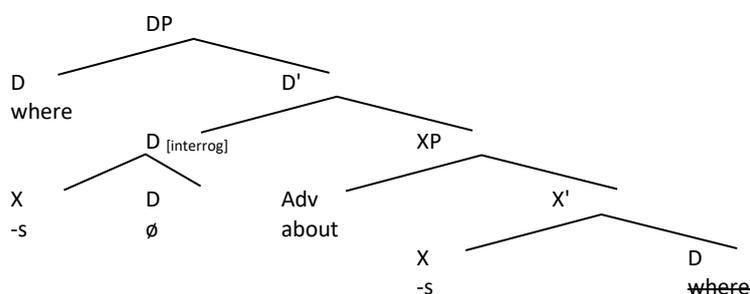
**(C)Internal syntax:** *wh-about*s displays the syntactic behaviour of a phrase rather than a word. Head-modifying expressions such as *the hell* (Pesetsky 1987) cannot modify the whole *wh-about*s expression (cf. 3). Furthermore, swiping – which elides the complements of *wh*-words but not *-phrases* (Merchant 2002) – is disallowed (4).

- (3) Where (the hell) abouts (\*the hell) does he live?
- (4) \*Bees are getting into the house but we can't work out whereabouts from.

Finally, at least some speakers allow *abouts* to be stranded (cf. 5), or inverted with *where* (6). Contrary to adverbs such as *exactly* (McCloskey 2000), *abouts* seems limited to co-occur with an extremely restricted range of elements. The form *about* is used in all other contexts (cf. 7). The *-s* of *abouts* can be anticipated by an intermediate *-s* (cf. 8).

- (5) Where do you live abouts in Belgium?
- (6) Abouts where do you live?
- (7) I live \*abouts/about 6 miles away.
- (8) Wheresabouts is the product key?

**(D)Analysis:** Following Corver (2007) on Dutch, I assume English *-s* to be the head of a small clause. In the case of *wh-about*s, this mediates a modification relation between *about* in specifier position, and the *wh*-word complement. This small clause is selected by a D head with a strong interrogative *wh*-feature, which attracts *where* to raise to spec-DP, and *-s* to raise to D°, echoing the derivation of an interrogative clause (in the spirit of Bennis et al (2008) for exclamative DPs). The D head types *wh-about*s DPs as interrogative, restricting them to interrogative contexts. The different combinations of *-s* can be accounted for in terms of which copies are spelt out, following Corver's (2007) implementation of Nunes (1995, 2004). Similarly, (6) involves spell-out of the lower copy of *where*. If spec-DP is an escape hatch for movement on to the clausal domain, split patterns such as (7) are also explained.



**(E)Conclusion:** In conclusion, this paper both describes and accounts for the syntactic behaviour of *wh-about*s. More broadly, it contributes to the body of work which indicates that processes and structure characteristic of the clausal domain are duplicated within the DP.

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### On scalarity in the PP domain.

Oltra-Massuet, Isabel & Pérez-Jiménez, Isabel  
(CCHS-CSIC, Madrid)

**1. Goal.** In this talk we assert the cross-categorical significance of the notion of *scalarity* (Bolinger 1972, Kennedy 1999, Kennedy & McNally 2005, Morzicky 2009, a.o.), focusing on a hardly studied empirical domain: non-spatial predicative PPs that function as attributive modifiers.

**2. The paradigm.** Focusing on Spanish, we identify the paradigm in (A)-(D), based on the interaction of: (i) the scalar properties of the PP; and (ii) the scalar properties of the N-complement of P.

**A.-** PP is gradable (1), and also the complement of P (2).

(1) *un texto más sin sentido que ...* 'a text more without sense than ...'  
(2) un texto *sin más sentido* 'a text without more sense'

**B.-** PP is non-gradable (3), but the complement of P is (4).

(3) \**un texto más con sentido* 'a text more with sense'  
(4) un texto *con más sentido* 'a text with more sense'

**C.-** PP is gradable (5), but the complement of P is not (6).

(5) a. un vestido muy de novia 'a dress very of bride'  
b. un disco muy sin bandera 'a disc very without flag'  
(6) a. \*de muy novia 'of very bride'  
b. \*sin mucha bandera 'without much flag'

**D.-** PP is non-gradable (7), neither is the complement of P (8).

(7) a. \*un chico bastante con gafas 'a boy quite with glasses'  
b. \*un hombre muy sin corbata 'a man very without tie'  
c. \*un coche tan de ocasión 'a car so of occasion'  
(8) a. un chico con bastantes gafas (plural only; \*in the relevant sense) 'a boy with rather a lot of glasses'  
b. \*un hombre sin mucha corbata 'a man without much tie'  
c. \*un coche de tanta ocasión 'a car of so much occasion'

**3. Analysis.** A number of questions arise: (i) what is the locus of scalar semantics in PPs?; (ii) are there scalar Ps and non-scalar Ps?; (iii) how is scalar meaning compositionally determined in PPs? We claim that non-directional Ps are non-gradable. However, some prepositions are *transparent* to the scalarity of their complements, like *sin*. In (2), the complement is a scalar noun, and the PP is gradable, (1). In (8b), the complement is non-scalar, hence the non-gradability of the PP, (7b). On the other side, *con* is non-transparent. Con-PPs reject degree quantification, irrespective of the scalarity of the P-complement, (3)-(4), (7a)-(8a). Further, predicative PPs of the type in (A)-(B) denote properties similar to those denoted by qualifying adjectives. In contrast, the properties denoted by PPs in (6) are similar to those denoted by relational classificatory adjectives. The combination of degree morphology with the latter coerces a scalar interpretation of the predicate where the degree quantifier has an intensifying function. This process results in a prototype reading, the same found with relational adjectives (Demonte 1999).

To conclude, scalarity in the PP domain is a function of the transparency of P, the semantic properties of the P complement and the semantic denotation of the PP (qualifying/relational).

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## The expression of agency in Romance languages everyday speech.

Orletti Franca, Mariottini Laura & Bossaglia Silvia  
(University of Roma Tre and Sapienza University of Rome)

Our contribution explores the concept of agency and its linguistic and discursive expression in everyday conversation in three Romance languages, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, in the light of the emphasis that the sociolinguistics, linguistics anthropology and social psychology literature have given to this social construct to explain the dialectic between the individual and the social structure.

The theoretical background is in the social sciences, where the term "agency" overlaps with a number of different and complex concepts as those of creativity, choice, intention, strength and autonomy, contributing to the make it problematic and elusive (Emirbayer & Mische, 1988). In more strictly linguistic terms, the theme relates to typological researches on "accusative / ergative" languages and on roles cast by the category of subject. The expression of agency in different languages intersects, of course, with the themes of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980) and modality (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). Still in the field of linguistics, but within the sphere of linguistics anthropology and sociolinguistics, Duranti & Ochs (1990) Duranti (1994, 2004), Hill & Irvine (1993) have analyzed the form that different languages possess to express agency in political discourse, as well as ways to mitigate or obscure the agent (Talmy, 1976, 2000).

In according to these theoretical contributions, our work aims to describe more specifically, by analyzing corpora of spoken language, which are the linguistic and discursive strategies used by the native speakers of the three Romance languages a) to represent events, b) to express the involvement of participants in the interaction, and c) to attribute to themselves and to others the responsibility for the actions and assess outcomes in order to underline analogy and differences among them.

The final goal is to show how particular modes of communication (morpho-syntactic, lexical, stylistic or pragmatic) that mark the agency (codification of semantic roles, transitive verbs, ergativity, lexical choices, deontic and epistemic modality, epistemological modes, reported speech, pronominal usage, changes in conversational turns, silences, impersonal constructions, body movements, changes in the form of speech) are relevant to the analysis of the conceptualization and expression of action, of responsibility and intentionality and how they coincide and/or differ among the Romance languages.

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### Actuality entailment and epistemic modality.

Ouwayda, Sarah  
(University of Southern California)

Unregistered participant when the book of abstracts went to press

## Clause-chaining and nominalisations in Aguaruna (Jivaroan).

Overall, Simon  
(RCLT, La Trobe University)

Aguaruna is a Jivaroan language spoken in the Northern Peruvian Amazon. It is nominative-accusative, both head and dependent marking, mildly polysynthetic, agglutinating with some fusion. Clause-chaining is central to Aguaruna grammar; narratives are characterised by strings of dependent clauses which may be multiply nested, and relatively few finite verbs. This paper describes the use of nominalisations in clause-combining in Aguaruna, showing how formally distinct clause types can function as a single, unified clause-chaining system.

Aguaruna has three types of subordinate verb, all with reduced marking of verbal categories relative to finite verbs and obligatory switch-reference marking. The first type appears only in same-subject (SS) subordinate clauses, and marks person of the subject (and in some cases aspect); the second group can appear in SS and different-subject (DS) subordinate clauses. DS clauses mark the same categories as SS clauses but the distinction between first and third person subject is neutralised. Both of these types show canonical switch-reference, indicating whether the subject of the marked verb is identical or not to the subject of the controlling verb (Haiman & Munro 1983:ix). The third type, non-inflecting subordinate verbs, have no person marking, but the switch-reference is more complex, indexing the role of a common argument in both clauses (e.g. *subject of marked clause* = *object of controlling clause*). Fig. 1 illustrates a cline of finiteness for Aguaruna verbs, based on the reduction of verbal categories that are marked. In all the clause types under discussion, including nominalisations, NP arguments are retained and case-marked as in finite clauses (cf. Givón 2001).

FINITE > SUBORDINATE (SS) > SUBORDINATE (DS) > NON-INFLECTING (DS) > NOMINALISED

Figure 1: Hierarchy of finiteness in Aguaruna clause types

Nominalised clauses do not mark any verbal categories (except aspect) and typically head or modify NPs. They are syntactically versatile, however, and may also head finite (as predicate nominals) and subordinate clauses. In (E1), the nominalised verb (formed with the suffix *-u*) is functioning as a headless relative clause, as can be seen from the case marking; but for the purposes of participant tracking this is equivalent to a subordinate clause: *-u* nominalises the subject of the marked verb, and the accusative case marker indicates that the common argument is the object of the matrix clause. So this is functionally equivalent to switch-reference marking expressing *subject of marked clause* = *object of controlling clause*. The relative clause includes a nested subordinate clause (“having gone up”), and it is pertinent to wonder whether speakers process such examples as NPs or as clause chains. Subordinate verbs take a distinctive set of subject markers, and occasional use of these markers on nominalised verbs suggests that speakers do indeed consider these to be of a kind with subordinate verbs.

E1. [ yaki            wa-kã                            iki-ta-u-na ]  
[ above        go.UP-PERV.SEQ.3.SS            sit-APPLIC.IMPERV-NR-ACC ]NP:O

yunuma-tu-ka-u-ai  
approach-APPLIC-PERV-NR-COP.3.DEC

‘(The man) approached (the boa) that had gone up and was sitting up above.’

OR

‘When (the boa) had gone up and was sitting above, (the man) approached it.’

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Givón, T. (2001), *Syntax: An introduction*. (2 vols.). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins  
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ACC = accusative; APPLIC = applicative; COP = copula; DEC = declarative; DS = different subject; IMPERV = imperfective; NR = nominaliser; PERV = perfective; SEQ = sequential subordinate verb; SS = same subject

## Nominales complejos con estructura [N DE N]. Correspondencias y disimetrías entre español e italiano

Palmerini, Monica  
(Università degli Studi Roma Tre)

En nuestra comunicación nos proponemos ofrecer un análisis de los nominales complejos españoles que comparten el hecho de estar formados sobre la base del siguiente patrón sintáctico [*Nombre + Preposición DE + Nombre*] ([N DE N]), como en los ejemplos: (1) *Gafas de sol* (2) *Huelga de hambre*.

El español, además de disponer de mecanismos estrechamente morfológicos como la derivación y la composición, permite la formación de objetos nominales que presentan una estructura parecida a la de un sintagma, a pesar de su carácter de unidad léxica de tipo nominal, es decir de elementos lingüísticos que por sí solos sirven a la

función de designar un referente discursivo. Efectivamente, en el repertorio gramatical de las lenguas no sólo se pueden identificar nominales de primero, segundo, y tercer orden (Lyons 1977), dependiendo de la naturaleza del referente conceptual asociado a la forma léxica, sino que también se puede trazar una clasificación según el tipo de estructura lexical interna de la unidad de designación. En esta perspectiva de análisis es posible distinguir nominales sintagmáticos de los nominales no-sintagmáticos (cfr. Palmerini 2005; Simone 2006): los primeros son el resultado de un mecanismo de reciclaje de formas nominales no-sintagmáticas para la creación de una nueva unidad de designación, más compleja. Al tratarse de palabras que no están constituidas por una unidad lexemática sola, sino por un conjunto más o menos compacto de ellas, es decir por una secuencia sintagmática, estas unidades se colocan en la frontera entre sintaxis y léxico, planteando el problema de determinar de qué tipo de elementos lingüísticos se trata: ¿combinaciones de palabras, compuestos, unidades fraseológicas? (Cfr. Alonso Ramos 2009; Tamayo Morillo 1992).

El objetivo de este trabajo es, en primer lugar, ofrecer una descripción de los rasgos formales y semánticos del patrón de construcción nominal quizás más productivo en español, esbozando una clasificación de los diversos tipos de referentes y de estructuras léxicas que se asocian a la misma forma superficial [N DE N]. En concreto, se analizarán las propiedades morfosintácticas y semánticas de un corpus de alrededor de 500 ejemplos de entradas nominales complejas [N DE N] registradas en el *Gran Diccionario usual de la Lengua Española* de Larousse (2009). En la segunda parte del trabajo, los datos del español se utilizan para llevar a cabo una comparación, en una perspectiva a la vez contrastiva y tipológica, con otra lengua romance, es decir, el italiano. La traducción en italiano de los ejemplos españoles nos permitirá explorar el grado de correspondencia y de disimetría en las propiedades de una tipología nominal común y muy productiva en las dos lenguas hermanas. A pesar de la similitud superficial las dos lenguas hermanas en no pocas ocasiones emprenden caminos diferentes, produciendo zonas de opacidad, interesantes bien para el lingüista teórico bien para el campo de la enseñanza y del aprendizaje de lenguas extranjeras.

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#### **The root/non-root distinction and Chinese sentence final particles: division of labor between syntax and discourse.**

Pan, Victor Junnan

(Université Paris Diderot-Paris 7, LLF-UMR7110).

This paper investigates the root/non-root phenomena in Mandarin in terms of the functional projections in the left/right periphery. The starting point of the study is Paul (2010)'s proposed hierarchy of three root complementizers in Mandarin Chinese, based on the split-CP hypothesis (Rizzi 1997): C1 (low)- aspect < C2 (medium)-forces < C3 (high)-attitude. Each of these three Cs contains a number of sentence final particles that are excluded from embedded clauses.

However, I will show that the sentence final particles linked to sentence aspects/tense, such as *laizhe* indicating the ‘recent past’, can actually be embedded (1).

- (1) Wo kanjian [<sub>lowCP</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Zhangsan gangcai zai zher [<sub>lowC'</sub> laizhe]]].  
I saw Zhangsan just-now at here Particle  
'I saw that [Zhangsan was here just now].'

What's more, the sentence final particles are not the only elements that can appear in the left/right periphery. In Chinese, between ForceP and AttitudeP there are other possible functional projections for some special types of questions, such as rhetorical questions and Surprise-Disapproval questions in the sense of Obenauer (2006). The study on these special questions in Chinese shows that the functional projections which indicate Speaker's Attitude cannot be

embedded. For example, the Surprise-Disapproval reading is a combination of illocutionary force with the Speaker's attitude. Since the speaker's attitude is directly encoded by the semantics of such a question, the assumption is that only the root form of such a question is grammatical (2).

- (2) a. Ni zou-shenme?!  
 you leave-what  
 'Why are you leaving?! = You should not leave!  
 b. \*Ta wen wo/ xiang-zhidao [<sub>SDQP</sub> ni zou-shenme].  
 he ask me wonder you leave-what

As for ForceP, the distinction is clear. When a *yes-no* question is marked by the question particle *ma*, or an exclamative sentence is marked by interjection particles, they cannot be embedded. Such an observation shows that the root phenomenon in this case is more or less determined by the syntactic properties of those particles. A *wh*-question can be embedded, but when we put a sentence final particle related to the speaker's attitude, it cannot be embedded anymore. The root phenomenon observed here, on the other hand, is determined by Discourse. It seems that ForceP is a boundary of root/non-root. The results are given below.

Split-CP	Sentence AspectP	ModP	ForceP	Rhetorical questionP	SDQP	AttitudeP
Discourse Function	Sentence aspect	Sentence modality	Illocutionary force	Force + Attitude	Force + Attitude	Speaker's attitude
Embedded context	OK	OK	OK for some	No	No	No

The observation on Syntax is that the functional projections below ForceP can appear in the non-root/embedded contexts; while those above ForceP cannot. I will argue that such a root/non-root distinction on Syntax is mostly determined by the discourse nature of those projections. Namely, those projections that are linked directly to the speaker's attitude can hardly be embedded, contrary to those which are not. Thus, the more a functional projection is linked to the Speaker's attitude the less it can be embedded.

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### Emergence and evolution of exceptional valency patterns in ergative languages: a case study.

Pasquereau, Jérémy & Creissels, Denis  
 (University of Lyon)

This paper analyzes the possible origin and the evolution of a particular type of exceptional valency pattern found in ergative languages. It deals specifically with a group of East Caucasian languages, the Andic languages (Andi, Akhvakh, Bagvalal, Botlikh, Chamalal, Godoberi, Karata, and Tindi) spoken in the Western part of Daghestan. The coding of core syntactic roles in Andic languages is consistently ergative:

- S and P are in the nominative case (alias absolutive), also used as the quotation form of nouns, and characterized by a zero ending, contrasting with A in the ergative case,
- transitive verbs agree with P in the same way as intransitive verbs with S.

The valency frames of Andic verbs canonically include at least a slot for a nominative NP (representing in particular the sole argument of monovalent verbs and the P argument of prototypical action verbs). There are however exceptions.

In Andic languages, the verbs encoding the following meanings are often found with the exceptional case frames <ergative, locative> or <ergative, allative> : 'look at', 'listen', 'bite', 'sting', 'pinch' :

- (Akhvakh) *ek<sup>w</sup>as<sup>w</sup>e jašeʔiga eqā ri* 'The man looked at the girl'  
 man:ERG girl:ALL looked\_at  
*χ<sup>w</sup>ede dige q'eleč'ari* 'The dog bit me'  
 dog:ERG 1sg:LOC bit

The variations observed in the valency properties of these verbs in Andic languages support a hypothesis already suggested by Charachidzé (1981) for Avar, according to which these exceptional valency frames may result from the reduction of the regular frames <ergative, nominative, allative> or <ergative, nominative, locative>, characteristic of

verbs expressing meanings or the type ‘X applies/holds Y on Z’ (and found in particular with the verbs expressing ‘hit’, with the hittee in the locative/allative and the instrument in the nominative). At least two reduction scenarios can be imagined: conventionalization of the ellipsis of the nominative argument, or fusion of the nominative argument with the verb.

Variations in the expression of ‘listen’ among Andic languages are particularly interesting to observe: depending on the individual languages, the verb expressing ‘listen’ may have the exceptional valency frame <ergative, allative> (Tindi *aniḡiriḡa*, Chamalal *woḡuk’la*, bagvalal *aḡtila*), or the regular case frame <nominative, allative> (Akhvakh *hādaḡurula*), but Godoberi expresses ‘listen’ by means of a light verb construction *hāt’uk’ja rikki* whose literal meaning is ‘fix the ear on’. Formally, this light verb construction is an instance of the regular valency pattern <ergative, nominative, allative> with ‘ear’ in the nominative slot. Interestingly, ‘fix the ear on’ is the obvious etymology of Akhvakh *hādaḡurula* (compare with *hāde* ‘ear’, *biḡurula* ‘fix’), which provides evidence for the possibility of the following evolution:

- at a first stage, the coalescence of an N V compound converts the regular valency frame <ergative, nominative, allative >, in which the nominal element of the compound occupied the nominative slot, into the exceptional valency frame <ergative, allative>;
- at a second stage, attested by Akhvakh, the exceptional valency pattern resulting from this evolution may be regularized into <nominative, allative>.

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### Towards a prosodic phonology-free phonology of Italian: intervocalic /s/ voicing in direct interface.

Passino, Diana  
(University of L'Aquila)

This talk presents a linearist account of the blocking of intervocalic /s/ voicing (ISV) between vowel-final prefix and stem in Northern Italian, traditionally considered an argument for Prosodic Phonology (Nespor & Vogel 1986).

ISV is a lenition process targeting a voiceless coronal sibilant, which generally undergoes voicing in intervocalic position both morpheme-internally and in derived environment, as shown in (1):

- |     |    |                           |                |
|-----|----|---------------------------|----------------|
| (1) | a. | /’asino/ > [’azino]       | “donkey”       |
|     | b. | /cas+ina/ > [ca’zina]     | “little house” |
|     | c. | /dis+abile/ > [di’zabile] | “disabled”     |

If /s/ is word- or stem-initial, however, the lenition is blocked, as shown in (2):

- |     |    |                               |                   |
|-----|----|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (2) | a. | /la sala/ > [la ‘sala]        | “the living room” |
|     | b. | /a+simmetrico/ [asim’metrico] | “asymmetrical”    |

This process was first analysed by Nespor and Vogel (1986), henceforth N&V, who identified the Italian Prosodic Word domain as the domain of application of ISV: while stems and suffixes belong to the same prosodic word, the blocking of ISV in (2b) and its application in (1c) suggest a different prosodic status of vowel-final prefixes and consonant-final prefixes. According to N&V the former, but not the latter constitute Prosodic Words ( $\omega$ ) of their own, as shown in the recapitulating tableaux drawn in (3).

- |     |    |                    |                               |
|-----|----|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (3) | a. | (asino) $\omega$   | ISV > [azino] “donkey”        |
|     | b. | (cas+ina) $\omega$ | ISV > [cazina] “little house” |

- c. (disabile) ω ISV > [dizabile] “disabled”  
 d. (a)ω (simmetrico)ω noISV > [asimmetrico] “asymmetrical”

The alternative analysis presented here is couched in the CVCV framework (Lowenstamm 1996; Scheer 2004 among others) and exploits the insights provided by the Coda Mirror theory of lenition (Ségéral & Scheer 2001), and the theory of Direct Interface (Scheer 2008) according to which morphosyntactic boundaries must be translated into phonological vocabulary in order to impact on the phonological computation (Scheer 2008).

In the approach endorsed here the lenition of /s/ and its blocking after vowel-final prefixes can be nicely derived by postulating a difference in Northern Italian between the phonological translation of the prefix boundary and that of the suffix boundary: it will be shown that if in Northern Italian a prefix-boundary is translated as an empty CV unit whereas a suffix-boundary has no phonological correlate, the stem-initial /s/ in (3d) will find itself in a strong position and will be thus able to resist lenition whereas the /s/ in other positions (3a,b,c) will find itself in a position prone to weakening, respectively the intervocalic (3a,b) and coda position (3c).

N&V stipulate a different prosodic bracketing of vowel- vs. consonant-final prefixes in Italian and the patterning of the latter with suffixes, which is not supported by empirical data. On the contrary, this linearist account automatically derives the asymmetrical behaviour of vowel- and consonant-final prefixes with respect to ISV by proposing only a different phonological representation for prefix- and suffix-boundaries, which reflects the crosslinguistically recorded tendency of prefixes to be less cohering than suffixes with respect to their base.

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### The Aspect-Modality Connection in Past verbal forms Evidence from Romance and Germanic languages.

Patard, Adeline  
 (Universiteit Antwerpen)

The connection between past tense and modal distance (mainly epistemic distance) has been widely documented in the literature (see e.g. Fleischman 1989; Iatridou 2000; Declerck 2005; Barceló *et al.* 2006). By comparison, the role of (grammatical) aspect in the modal interpretations of past tenses has been scarcely explored, except in a few works (Fleischman 1995; Trnavac 2006 & Abraham; Leiss 2008). However, aspect, just as tense, clearly determines the interpretation of a modal meaning, as shows, in (1) from French, the contrast between the past imperfective form (counterfactual) and the past perfective form (factual) :

- 1) Un pas de plus et elle **tombait** / **tomba**.  
 One step further and she **fall-PST.IPFV** / **fall- PST.PFV**  
 ‘One step further and she **would have fallen / fell**’

This raises a number of questions: What is the semantic/pragmatic source(s) of the modal meaning? to what extent does aspect contribute to the interpretation of modality? How does it interact with the past-time reference conveyed by the tense morphology?

In order to answer these questions, we investigate the role of aspect in the modal uses of the past verbal forms of six European languages, namely the imperfects of French, Italian and Spanish, and the preterites of Dutch, English and German.

We survey and analyze the modal uses of these forms using a set of linguistic criteria: (i) the produced modality (evidential, epistemic or intersubjective), (ii) the contribution of tense and aspect, (iii) the role played by the past reference point denoted by the tense morphology (as a topic time (Klein 1994) / aspectual vantage point / secondary enunciator (Bres 2001)), and (iv) the inferential processes at stake in the interpretation of the past form.

This study shows that the imperfective aspect of the Romance imperfects and the neutral aspect of Germanic preterites allow for similar modal uses (evidential, epistemic, ‘illocutory’), except for the past counterfactual use of the Germanic preterites which is much more limited. It also demonstrates that non-perfective aspect is necessary in those contexts to trigger the modal inferences related to the different interpretations of the past reference point. The study finally suggests that the modal uses of past tenses observed in synchrony may correspond to a number of semantic changes in progress (Traugott & Dasher 2002; Heine 2002).

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### Embedded root phenomena in Mandarin Chinese.

Paul, Waltraud

(Centre de recherches linguistiques sur l'Asie orientale, CNRS, Paris)

Mandarin Chinese provides evidence for a split root CP, with sentence-final particles realizing C and heading three subprojections above TopicP and *lián* 'even' Focus P (cf. Paul (2005)):

- (1) Attitude P > ForceP > LowCP > TopicP > *lián* 'even' FocusP > TP  
(abstracting away from linear order)

AttitudeP encodes speaker/hearer related notions (cf. *ou* 'friendly warning' (4)), ForceP indicates the sentence type (imperative *ba* (2); yes/no question *ma* (3)) and the SFP labeled Clow (corresponding to Rizzi's (1997) *Fin*) close off the sentence (3).

- (2) Bù zǎo l'ou [= Clow *le* + Att° *ou*]! Kuài zǒu b'ou [= Force *ba*+ Att° *ou*]  
NEG early PART (fusion) fast go PART (fusion)  
'It's getting late! Hurry up and go!' (Chao 1968: 808)
- (3) [CP<sub>Force</sub> [CP<sub>Low</sub> [TP Xià yǔ le ] ma ]] 'Is it raining?'  
fall rain Clow FORCE

Non-root clauses, by contrast, rarely admit SFP and if at all, then only in one layer. This is the case for the exclusively non-root C *de* (heading relative clauses and noun complements) and *dehua* (heading conditional clauses) which exclude the presence of any other C:

- (4) [DP [C(-root) [TP Zuótiān chī yú rù] ](\*le) de ] rén ] dōu bìng-le.  
yesterday eat fish clow c(-root) person all ill -PERF  
'The people who ate fish yesterday are all sick.'
- (5) [CP<sub>Low</sub> [TOPP [C(-root) Rúguǒ xià yǔ (\*le) dehuà] [TP wǒ jiù bù qù]]].  
if fall rain clow c(-root) 1SG then NEG go  
'If it rains, then I won't go.'

Interestingly, embedded contexts lacking an overt non-root C allow for Clow (6). However, since the end of the matrix sentence coincides with the final position in the complement clause, it is often difficult to decide whether the SFP is construed with the matrix or with the embedded clause, there being no consensus about the class of bridge verbs in Chinese.

- (6) Tā gào sù wǒ [CP<sub>Low</sub> [TP xiào -zhǎng bù qù Běijīng] le ]  
3SG tell 1SG school-president NEG go Beijing clow  
'He told me that the president doesn't want to go to Beijing any more.'

Concentrating on low C, the present paper will pinpoint the set of bridge verbs in Chinese and determine whether SFPs in embedded clauses illustrate root behaviour or not. So far, no systematic study has been undertaken to tackle this question. Tsai (1994) a.o. invokes selection of an NP complement (besides the clausal complement) as a property of bridge verbs; however, it is not clear whether this is meant as an additional condition (besides non- or semifactivity) or as an alternative condition. For the alleged bridge verb *rèn wéi* allowing for topicalisation within its clausal complement as well as direct question interpretation (7) is precisely not among the verb selecting an NP complement.

- (7) Nǐ rèn wéi [zhèi -jiàn shì , Lisi chū lǐ -de zěn me yàng]?

2<sub>SG</sub> think this-CL matter Lisi handle-DE how  
 'What do you think how Lisi handled that matter?'

(Tsai 1994: 137)

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**Nilotic Directionals in Lexical and Syntactic Context.**

Payne, Doris  
 (University of Oregon)

Creissels et al. (2007:148) have stated that “Directional morphemes ... attached to the verb are not very common in African languages in general, but they are common in Nilo-Saharan languages (in particular venitive and andative)”. For example, Maa (including the “Maasai” subdialects, from the Eastern Nilotic sub-family) conforms to the apparent Nilo-Saharan profile in having two such morphemes. Tucker and Mpaayei (1955:127) referred to these as the ‘Motion Away’ (AWAY) and ‘Motion Towards’ (TOWARD) forms:

a.	a-súj	b. a-suj-aá	c. a-suj-ú
	INF.SG-follow 'to follow sth.'	INF.SG-follow-AWAY 'to follow sth. away from the point of reference'	INF.SG-follow-TOWARD 'to follow sth. toward the point of reference'

Despite Tucker and Mpaayei’s ‘Motion’ glosses, many uses of these morphemes provoke the question as to what extent these morphemes consistently indicate “motion”, versus to what extent they indicate “direction”, or even some other function. This study combines corpus and elicitation approaches to investigating the functions of Maa directionals. The various Maa functions are also compared with what has been described in the literature for other Nilotic directionals (e.g. Spagnolo 1933; Noonan 1992; Creider 2002), in order to explore historical semantic development of the various uses.

Uses of Maa directionals include expression of: (1) Literal and metaphorical motion relative to a point of reference. (2) Direction away without a clear motion component (a rare usage). (3) Continuous aspect (for AWAY) and perhaps Inchoative phasal aspect (for TOWARDS). (4) Both directionals have an applicative-like (i.e. semanticrole changing) effect with one syntactically/ semantically-defined set of verbs. (5) At least AWAY has a valence decreasing function with a few verbs. (6) Directionals are lexicalized into some verb stems with no apparent synchronic meaning contribution. (7) AWAY may indicate plurality of an argument in some dialects with some verbs (an incipient function). (8) Finally, AWAY can function as a pluractional, indicating multiplicity of a kinetic action, or that an action is distributed across multiple individuals (either subject or object), or that a non-kinetic situation is distributed across “each and every” participant.

The particular function that emerges in any instance of use depends on at least two types of context: the lexical roots with which the directional occurs (both verb and co-occurring nouns); and sometimes more grammatical context such as verb sub-class. For example, with AGENT-SOURCE transitive verb roots, it is the “applicativelike” function that emerges. But if the subject is plural, AWAY may take on one shade of meaning; while if the verb is inherently stative, it has another shade; and so on.

The meaning of a sentence involving the directionals is not always reducible to the sum of the parts, ultimately arguing for a constructional approach to understanding not only the directionals, but also to how morphemes change their functions across time. Altogether, this study of of Nilotic directionals shows how the function(s) of grammatical morphology must change based on particular repeated contexts that the forms occur in.

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## Constructions as typological prototypes: measuring lexicalization patterns *in* constructions

Pedersen, Johan  
(University of Copenhagen)

For the last decades, a constant flow of interesting new data and insights have emerged in the field of the influential Talmian typology (e.g. Talmy 1985, 1991, 2000). Nevertheless, profound advances in the development of the typology have been limited by the simple fact that almost all languages have shown substantial evidence that do not fit the proposed models of lexicalization. Irrespective of the descriptive strength that the typology may have, this situation exposes a theoretical and methodological weakness: the so called *main events*, such as *path of motion* or *state change*, in the typology, is assumed to be universal framing elements with the status of *tercio comparationis* in the typology. This is a problematic assumption from a usage based point of view, since, according to this view, grammar is structured on the basis of generalizations about usage (e.g. Barlow & Kemmer 2000).

Alternatively, in a usage based construction grammar framework (e.g. Goldberg 1995, 2006), typological distinctions of the same kind would be a question of whether specific construction types do exist, or not exist, in one or another language (e.g. Goldberg & Jackendoff 2004). According to this approach, the alleged ungrammaticality in Spanish, for instance, of expressions such as: *Pedro caminó a la biblioteca* 'Pedro walked to the library' would simply be due to the absence of this construction type – [SUBJ V OBL] / 'telic manner of motion' – in Spanish (Morimoto 2008).

In earlier occasions, I have argued that this standard construction grammar approach cannot account for large corpus data either (e.g. Pedersen in press, submitted). For instance, I found evidence that the characteristic Germanic construction of intransitive telic motion, as exemplified above, is also available in Spanish on a regular basis. Thus, what we need is a methodology for the typology that accurately may determine 1) a graduation of the typological feature, 2) the typological prototype and 3) what is meant by "an available on a regular basis type", as opposed to "an exceptional type".

The present study is usage based from a theoretical as well as a methodological point of view. The basic idea is that collocation analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003) may determine scalar typological features by measuring lexicalization patterns – in terms of lexical attraction – *in* specific construction types; instead of taking a universal componential approach. The availability/prototypicality in Spanish of telic motion event constructions of the "English" type and the "Spanish" type will be discussed on the basis of such collocation measurements of attraction in the internal structure of the construction.

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### Verbs of motion using a vehicle: an analysis from the point of view of the lexical constructional model

Peña, M<sup>a</sup> Sandra  
(University of La Rioja)

This proposal explores the constructional argument structure of verbs of motion using a vehicle, more specifically of verbs that are vehicle names (e.g. *bus, bike, canoe, ferry, ski, skate, etc.*) (Levin 1993: 267-268). With this aim in mind, we will make use of some of the theoretical tools of the Lexical Constructional Model (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008 2010), which combines notions from functional projectionist theories like Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005) and other insights from Cognitive Linguistics, especially from constructional approaches to linguistic description

(Goldberg 1995, 2006). First, we will study the way in which the different predicates fuse with various constructions, like the caused-motion construction (e.g. *To protect him, his mother bussed him to school in the San Fernando Valley*), the way construction (e.g. *She ferried her way up the Nile to Luxor*), or the preposition drop alternation (e.g. *They skated (along) the canals*), among others, by offering the process of fusion between the lexical templates of the different predicates with the various constructional templates. Second, special attention will be paid to the external constraining factors which license the adaptation of lexical meaning to constructional meaning. These constraints are cognitive in nature and are spelled out in the form of high-level metaphors and metonymies. For instance, a specific instantiation of the caused-motion construction like *I canoed him around the lake* is feasible thanks to the high-level metaphoric chain AN ACTIVITY IS AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT (which allow us to interpret the originally intransitive verb *canoe* in terms of a transitive predicate of the actor-object kind) and AN EFFECTUAL ACCOMPLISHMENT IS CAUSED MOTION. In the case of the way construction (e.g. *Philip McNamara skied his way around Europe*), the fact that it entails that a path is created to effect motion and that such a motion occurs despite some kind of external difficulty, explains why some basic motion verbs such as *walk, go* or *run* do not fare well with it (Goldberg 1995: 205). However, as pointed out by Pérez and Peña (2009: 65), motion verbs which focus on the manner in which the motion is realized are fully compatible with the construction and the verbs under consideration in this proposal also take part in this construction. These predicates are zero-related to nouns (Levin 1993: 268) and specify the means used to accomplish motion, as illustrated by the high-level metonymy MEANS (OF MOTION) FOR ACTION (MOTION). Finally, we will summarize the advantages of analyzing predicates like the ones studied in this proposal within the framework of the Lexical Constructional Model.

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### The metalinguistic negation marker *Agora* in European Portuguese dialects

Pereira, Sílvia  
 (Universidade de Lisboa)

This research approaches the Portuguese metalinguistic negation marker *agora*, studying its syntactic behaviour under a dialectal perspective. Starting from the concept of metalinguistic negation proposed by Horn (1985, 1989) and from further research developed by Martins (2010, forthcoming) for European Portuguese (EP), with this project I intended to achieve the following goals: (i) to prove that the word *agora* must be considered a metalinguistic negation marker (according to Horn 1985, 1989); (ii) to prove that, following Martins (2010, forthcoming), *agora* is a peripheral metalinguistic negation marker; (iii) to present empirical evidence that proves the existence of dialectal variation relatively to the metalinguistic negation marker *agora*; (iv) to expose the properties that clearly distinguish the syntactic behaviour of the marker *agora* in the Portuguese Minho dialect from other dialectal areas, and to present a detailed description of constructions with *agora* in that dialect.

The data from this research shows - widely - the existence of phenomena indicating the dialectal variation concerning the marker *agora*, as is the case with the different position in which, depending on the dialect, the marker occurs in the sentence (cf. (1)), and the possibilities of co-occurrence with different types of constituents: in Minho dialect *agora* can not occur, for instance, with nouns, but it occurs with adverbial answers like *já* 'already' (cf. (2)).

- (1) A: Está frio!  
       Is cold  
       'It's cold!'  
       B: a. Agora está! [Minho dialect]  
           Now is  
           'It's not cold!'  
       b. Está agora. [other dialectal areas]  
           Is now  
           'It's not cold!'

- (2) A: Já comi um gelado.  
 Already ate-1SG a icecream  
 'I've already eaten an icecream.'
- B: a. \*Agora um gelado. / Agora já. [Minho dialect]  
 Now a icecream Now already  
 'Not an icecream.' / 'Not already.'
- b. Agora um gelado. / \*Já agora. [other dialectal areas]  
 Now a icecream Already now  
 'Not an icecream.' / 'Not already.'

I suggest that those differences derive from different syntactic representations. More specifically, it is stated that even though *agora* is associated, in any dialect, with the area of CP, in the Minho dialect *agora* is a first position element occurring in Spec, ForceP (according to Rizzi's, 1997, terminology).

The empirical basis for this research is grounded essentially on the author's intuitions (a native speaker of the Minho dialect), having resorted to data from other speakers. A few examples found in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Portuguese Literature were considered as well. Several surveys among Portuguese available corpora were made, but I was not able to collect data concerning Minho dialect.

By putting into evidence the clear relation between *agora* and the left periphery of the sentence, I consolidate the conclusions that have been reached by Drozd (2001) and Martins (2010, forthcoming) on the syntax of metalinguistic negation markers of the peripheral kind, contributing to the still scarce research on metalinguistic negation syntax. Meanwhile, this research allows for a growth in knowledge concerning syntactic variation in Portuguese dialects and, I hope, in cross-linguistic syntactic variation as well.

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### Lexical templates and realization procedures: explaining requests within a Lexical-Constructional Model

Pérez Hernández, Lorena  
 (University of La Rioja)

The *Lexical Constructional Model*- LCM (Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza, 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal, 2008) integrates insights from a variety of compatible sources, including functional-projectionist theories such as Van Valin's and LaPolla's (1997) *Role and Reference Grammar*, and constructional approaches such as Goldberg's (1995, 2006) *Construction Grammar*, with the aim of overcoming their shortcomings and offering a more encompassing model of linguistic description. This model explains meaning construction at four different levels (i.e. core grammar, pragmatic, illocutionary, and discourse) on the basis of two representational mechanisms (i.e. lexical and constructional templates) and two basic cognitive operations (i.e. subsumption and conceptual cueing). As pointed out by Butler (2009), one of the strengths of the LCM is that it offers a very powerful tool for the representation of the semantic and argument structure of predicates in the form of the so-called "lexical templates". Originally based on the notion of "logical structure" postulated in *Role and Reference Grammar*, "lexical templates" in the LCM have been enriched with an inventory of semantic primes and lexical functions that account for the semantic and pragmatic parameters relevant to the meaning of a predicate. Lexical templates constitute lower-level fully worked-out semantic representations which can either cue for the activation of further representations at the next higher level or be constructionally subsumed into them. Thus, at level 1 or core grammar, lexical templates are subsumed into constructional templates in order to produce different argument structure characterizations. At level 2, we find constructions accounting for heavily conventionalized meaning implications. At level 3, constructions that account for conventionalized illocutionary meaning. And finally, at level 4, constructions based on very schematic discourse structures. This paper focuses on level 3 illocutionary constructions in an attempt to spell out their semantic and formal configuration. In order to do so, this study analyses 150 instances of requests extracted from the British National Corpus. My approach to the description of the semantic make-up of request constructions takes advantage of the fine-grained semantic representation, in terms of lexical templates, of the corresponding verb of speech which names this illocutionary category. Thus, the lexical template for the verb "request" will be shown to conform the ontology of the corresponding illocutionary category (i.e. it includes the semantic variables relevant to its description) and will be subsumed into a level 3 illocutionary

construction which provides it with the necessary “structure” (i.e. a description of the interplay between its different variables and of other more general social conventions which explain certain idiosyncrasies of the behaviour of several related speech act types). Finally, I shall present an inventory of realization procedures which are instrumental in giving linguistic form to the aforementioned semantic characterization of requests. Such linguistic realizations are largely metonymic in nature, since not all variables, but rather the more central or distinguishing ones are realized linguistically. And, moreover, they show different degrees of conventionalization, depending on their frequency of occurrence or in Langacker’s (1999:105) terminology, their “degree of entrenchment”.

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### A computational approach to constructional meaning

Periñán, Carlos & Ricardo Mairal  
(Universidad Católica San Antonio)

The Lexical Constructional Model (LCM), as formulated in Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008) and Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2009), is a broad meaning construction model of language that provides meaning descriptions at four different levels of analysis: at the level of argument structure, pragmatic implication, illocution and discourse. One of the central claims in the LCM is that meaning construction is at the crossroads of grammar, communication and cognition.

If we agree that meaning and conceptualization should go together hand-by-hand, how can we represent this new link? For example, a very stimulating line of research was addressed by Fillmore (1977) when he affirmed that “*meanings should be relativized to scenes*”. In close connection with this dictum, Fillmore’s Semantic Frames have been used to account for verb meaning (Fillmore, 1982). More recently, Goldberg (2010) sustains that Fillmore’s assumption was correct when he affirmed that verbs should be defined in relation to a semantic frame, which should in turn be interpreted as a cultural unit.

However, there is no yet a competitive semantic formalism that can offer a methodological framework to account for the rich view frame semantics provide for meaning construction. The search for a competitive semantic formalism is a complex task and in fact it is still a pending enterprise both in the Construction Grammar and functional camps. As a preliminary approximation, we could venture to claim what we do not want the formalism to look like, i.e. we contend that standard logic formalisms do not show enough capabilities to account for a fully-fledged semantic representation (cf. Goldberg, 2008).

Pursuing this line of research, the LCM has recently undertaken this task and has argued for a cognitive turn, a shift from a lexicalist towards an ontological grounding. In so doing, the LCM is now part of FunGramKB (Periñán-Pascual and Arcas-Túnez, 2004, 2010), a multipurpose lexico-conceptual knowledge base for natural language processing systems, and more particularly for natural language understanding.

The design of a lexico-conceptual knowledge base such as FunGramKB provides a flexible framework where to anchor a comprehensive model of meaning construction like the LCM. This conceptual turn signifies that the linguistic level is connected up with a conceptual level. This linkage is actually represented by means of what we have called *conceptual logical structures*, a semantic syntax-motivated formalism that is more robust than those semantic decompositional approaches as formulated in Levin and Rappaport (2005), Van Valin (2005), etc. Additionally, this semantic formalism and the conceptual-linguistic linkage provides a suitable framework for the development of natural language processing applications.

The aim of this paper is to focus on how conceptual and linguistic knowledge comes into play when building constructional meaning in FunGramKB.

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### The prosodic status of clitics: evidence from medieval Italo-Romance.

Pescarini, Diego  
(University of Padua)

Theories on prosodic hierarchies radically differ with respect to the status of clitics. Nespore and Vogel 1986:150, Hayes 1989 on the one hand claim that clitics are unstressed *prosodic words* (PrW) dominated by a *clitic group* (C), see (1a), while Selkirk 1995, on the other, argues that they are syllables daughters to a recursive PrW, as shown in (1b).

- (1) a. [ *porta*<sub>PrW</sub> *lo*<sub>PrW</sub> ]<sub>C</sub> (Italian)  
 b. [ *porta*<sub>PrW</sub> *lo*<sub>σ</sub> ]<sub>PrW</sub>  
 'bring it'

(1a) is a symmetric structure, wherein the clitic and its lexical host are dominated by the same category, while (1b) is an asymmetric hierarchy, wherein the clitic has a sort of adjunct-like status.

In this talk I will argue in favour of the asymmetric structure in (1b) focusing on the distribution of *apocope* in medieval Italo-Romance.

In many Italian vernaculars, final *-o/-e* can drop after single sonorants, e.g. *portare* → *portar* ('to bring'). Moreover, in many varieties – including Fiorentino – apocope targeted also clitic pronouns and articles, which ended up being expressed by a single consonant, e.g. *lo* → *l*. Apocope was originally found with enclitic pronoun, as in (2), or when a proclitic followed another unstressed element like a preposition, a negation marker or another clitic pronoun.

- (2) *batando-l molto forto.* (Giacomino da Verona, Babilonia 83)  
 beating-it.cl very hard  
 'beating it very hard'

I will show that the symmetric representation in (1a) fails to capture the distribution of apocope. For instance, in the case of sequences formed by an infinitive verb like *portare* ('to bring') and the enclitic *lo* ('it'), one would expect apocope to behave as a PrW-level process and, as a consequence, to drop the final vowel of both PrWs:

- (3) [ *portare*<sub>PrW</sub> *lo*<sub>PrW</sub> ]<sub>C</sub> → \*[ *portare*<sub>PrW</sub> *l*<sub>PrW</sub> ]<sub>C</sub>

However, as marked by the asterisks, this prediction is falsified as apocope targets only the lexical word, e.g. *portar-lo*.

The asymmetric representation in (1b), on the contrary, can account for the pattern in (2)-(3), as the verb and the enclitic pronoun are both daughters to PrW (hence, both are candidates for apocope), but, crucially, apocope applies cyclically targeting the most embedded PrW first, as shown in (4).

- (4)
- |           |                |           |           |
|-----------|----------------|-----------|-----------|
|           | PrW            |           |           |
|           | PrW            | σ         | Apocope 2 |
| Apocope 1 | <i>portare</i> | <i>lo</i> |           |

If apocope of the lexical word takes place – as in the case of *portare* – it will prevent apocope 2 from applying on the dominating PrW, which does not exhibit the appropriate conditions for apocope (as a consequence of apocope 1, -o is not preceded by a single sonorant).

If, on the other hand, apocope 1 does not take place – as in the case of the verb *batando*, in (2) – apocope 2 will be free to apply, as shown in (5). In this case, / ends up syllabifying as the coda of the preceding syllable and the recursive PrWs conflate:

(5) [ *batando*<sub>PrW</sub> *lo*<sub>σ</sub> ]<sub>PrW</sub> → *batando-l*<sub>PrW</sub> ('beating it.clitic')

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### Is it to be or not to be: a constructional account of the merger of two Old English copulas in Middle English.

Petré, Peter

(University of Leuven and University of Liège)

This paper provides the first language-internal and constructionist account of the merger of the two Old English verbs *is* 'is' (no infinitive) and *bið* 'will be, is generally' (infinitive *BEON*). While both originally had separate paradigms in the indicative (and subjunctive) present (with *bið* alone having non-finite forms), in Middle-English the two verbs merged so that *is* was used for the indicative singular, while *bið* was used for the indicative plural and all other forms. On the basis of various corpora (see references), I show that their merger is triggered by the grammaticalization of the analytic future construction [*SHALL* INF], whose semantic overlap with *bið* led to a reanalysis of the distribution of both *is* and *bið*.

First, the synchronic situation in Old English is analysed. Generally, *is* was mainly used for predicating present states of specific subjects, such as *eom* in (1) (in line with Kilpiö 1993), and in identifying clauses (not mentioned by Kilpiö), which share the feature of specificity and also usually have present relevance in the discourse (e.g. *This is Mary*).

(1) *þu byst æfter fæce þæt ic nu eom*. 'You **will be** shortly what I **am** now.' (c970)

By contrast, *bið* was used to denote future situations, as *byst* in (1), and to make generic statements such as (2). The future sense is shown to be the most basic one (reinstating Visser 1970): the generic one is connected through its implication of future validity (compare expressions like *boys will be boys*). Importantly, the high frequency of generic statements, which are about kinds instead of individuals, also led to plural forms of *bið* being more salient than those of *is*.

(2) *For gebinde, heortes hæst beoð swiðe gode*. 'Against constipation, hairs of the hart are very good.' (c1025)

A statistic analysis shows that *is* and *bið* expressed one of their respective prototypical functions in about 90% of the cases. This clear division of labour was thoroughly disturbed by the grammaticalization, in the eleventh century, of the analytic future construction [*SHALL* INF]. The increased expression of futurity by means of *SCEAL BEON* 'shall be' brought about semantic erosion of this sense in *bið*. This led to the reassignment of *bið*'s future and generic senses to contextual elements instead (a process called hyperanalysis, see Croft 2000), as e.g. to the time adverb *on domes dai* in (3).

(3) *þat oðer tocume ure louerd ihesu beoð on domes dai*. 'The second coming of our Lord Jesus **is** on Doomsday.' (a1225)

The subsequent loss of a firm semantic distinction between *bið* and *is* led to a reanalysis of their distribution, which was guided by their number asymmetry: *bið* was restricted to plural and *is* to singular number.

The significance of this paper for diachronic construction grammar lies in the attention it draws to environmental constructional change (grammaticalization of [*shall* INF]) in accounting for the emergence of a suppletive verb, which would otherwise be hard to explain.

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## Doubling in sign languages: focus on agreement.

Pfau, Roland & Steinbach, Markus  
(University of Amsterdam & University of Göttingen)

Doubling phenomena are abundant in the grammar of sign languages (SLs). They are attested at all levels of grammar: phonology (articulator doubling in two-handed signs), morphology (e.g. plural and aspectual reduplication), and syntax (e.g. wh- and quantifier doubling). For the latter cases, it has been argued that they are used for focus or emphasis – at least in American Sign Language (Petronio & Lillo-Martin 1997; Neidle 2002).

In this talk, we will discuss a doubling phenomenon which to date has only received little attention in the SL literature: agreement doubling in auxiliary-verb constructions. In many SLs, subject and object agreement can be expressed on certain verbs (e.g. GIVE, VISIT) by means of a spatial modulation of the sign (i.e. movement or orientation changes, Padden 1988; Mathur 2000), as illustrated in the German Sign Language (DGS) example in (1) (see Appendix for notational conventions).

- (1) YESTERDAY POSS<sub>1</sub> MOTHER INDEX<sub>3a</sub> VISIT<sub>1</sub>  
'Yesterday my mother visited me.'

Crucially, however, not all verbs can agree in this way; rather, there are also 'plain verbs' that cannot be spatially modulated. In the context of plain verbs, some SLs employ dedicated agreement auxiliaries whose only function is to express subject and object agreement. In DGS, for instance, an auxiliary glossed as PAM (person agreement marker; Rathmann 2003) combines with plain verbs such as LIKE (2a). Occasionally, the DGS auxiliary combines with an agreeing verb. Sometimes in such cases, the agreement verb appears in its uninflected form. At other times, however, we observe agreement on the the lexical verb and the auxiliary, i.e. double agreement (2b).

- (2) a. INDEX<sub>1</sub> NEIGHBOR NEW INDEX<sub>3a</sub> LIKE<sub>1</sub> PAM<sub>3a</sub>  
'I like the new neighbor.'
- b. INDEX<sub>1</sub> NEIGHBOR NEW INDEX<sub>3a</sub> TRUST<sub>3a</sub> PAM<sub>3a</sub>  
'I trust the new neighbor.'

We will start our analysis by comparing data such as (2b) to double agreement structures in spoken languages (Anderson 2006) and we will show that suggested analyses (e.g. Carstens 2001) cannot account for the DGS data. We then argue that (2b) has a syntactic structure different from that of (2a). In particular, we suggest that double agreement structures are bi-clausal. Evidence for this claim comes from the following observations: (i) modal verbs can intervene between verb and PAM in (2b) but not in (2a); (ii) subject pronoun copy between verb and PAM is possible in (2b) but not in (2a); (iii) cliticization of PAM to the verb is only possible in (2a). Finally, we show that the (somewhat marked) bi-clausal strategy actually gives rise to an emphatic interpretation (≈ 'I trust the new neighbor, I do'). Thus, agreement doubling corresponds to verum focus constructions in spoken languages.

## Appendix: Notational conventions

Sign language examples are given in small caps. The sign glossed as INDEX is a pointing sign (index finger extended) which may function as a pronoun (e.g. INDEX<sub>1</sub> in (2a)) or may be used to localize a non-present referent in the signing space (e.g. INDEX<sub>3a</sub> in (1)). Subscript numbers refer to locations in the signing space: '1' to a position close to the signer's chest (1<sup>st</sup> person), '3a' to a position towards the right of the signer (3<sup>rd</sup> person). The verbs in (1) and (2b) as well as the

auxiliary in (2) express agreement by moving from the position associated with the subject towards the position associated with the object.

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### Aspectual verbs in Estonian.

Piiraja, Piret  
(University of Tartu)

Estonian is a Finno-Ugric language with a relatively rich morphology (14 cases and many verbal affixes). However, unlike the Slavonic languages, aspectual distinctions are not usually expressed by grammatical means in Estonian. Instead, Estonian has many verbs which can carry aspectual meaning when used in combination with another verb. Verbs such as *lööma* 'to hit', *panema* 'to put', *pistma* 'to stick' can indicate the beginning of an action whereas *vihtuma* 'to whisk oneself (in a sauna)' can refer to a continuous action. Most of these verbs also indicate the manner of the beginning or the execution of the action. There are a number of such verbs and they range from more specific to quite general. For example, the Estonian verb *hakkama* can be considered to have two meanings – 'to seize, to grab' and 'to start' whereas the first, more lexical use has been decreasing in frequency over the last few centuries giving way to the latter more grammatical use.

The aim of the study is to identify the Estonian verbs that can express aspectual meaning and explain why these particular verbs can be used in such a manner. The change of certain lexical items into more grammatical ones has been noticed in many languages (Heine *et al.* 1991; Hopper, Traugott 2003). It has also been mentioned that when a verb is used in combination with another verb it is on its way to becoming an auxiliary (Bolinger 1980: 297). The same can be said about the Estonian aspectual verbs, some of which are possibly in the early stages of becoming auxiliary verbs whereas others are still more lexical. What kind of verbs can be used to express aspect and why could be best explained by using the theory of cognitive linguistics. One of the claims of cognitive linguistics is that people tend to express the more abstract concepts by means of more concrete and tangible terms (see Gibbs 2006; Gentner 2001). Looking at the aspectual verbs from the point of view of cognitive linguistics may help to understand why the meaning of these verbs can be extended in such a manner.

The study is based on corpus data. Most of the data was collected from the Balanced Corpus of Estonian which contains a total of 15 million words of modern Estonian fiction, science and journalistic texts. Texts from 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century were also used for part of the study in order to track the changes in the use of the Estonian verb *hakkama* 'to seize, to grab, to start' over the centuries. This data was taken from the Corpus of Old Literary Estonian.

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### The sociolinguistics of spanish sexual metaphors in speech.

Pizarro Pedraza, Andrea  
(CSIC, Madrid)

Albeit some particular situations, sexuality is still a taboo in many societies, like the Spanish one, which means that there is a social interdiction upon it, whose origins are ancient and have been largely studied by anthropologists and

psychologists (for an overview, see Allan and Burrige, ch. 1). The lexical items from the field behave as taboo words, defined as “words and expressions which are supposed not to be used, and which are shocking, offensive, blaspheme or indecent when they are used” (Trudgill 133). Consequently, the reference to such elements, particularly in interaction, is usually not direct, and they are replaced by non-offensive expressions known as ‘euphemistic substitutes’. The linguistic means for the formation of the substitutes are multiple (Crespo Fernández 108), but in the lexical-semantic level it is very often based on the use of figurative language. Metaphor is not only considered as the preferred tool for their expression, but even as their hyperonym, complying therefore with cognitive theory’s terms (Chamizo Domínguez): the euphemistic metaphor has then a target, the taboo concept, and a source, the figurative substitute.

My main interest is the lexical-semantic variation of the source domains, as it shows a wide heterogeneity - and creativity- in the metaphorical expression of sexuality in Peninsular Spanish, as we can appreciate in Spanish taboo words dictionaries (Cela). The study of the lexical choices reveals the concepts that are related to sexual categories in contemporary Spanish. Now, considering, with Cognitive Sociolinguistics, that our social environment in its broadest sense determines our understanding of the world (Kristiansen and Dirven), I face a central research question: what is the relation between social categories of the speakers and the choice of a source domain for the creation of sexual euphemistic metaphors?

In my study, I investigate lexical-semantic variation in the taboo field of sexuality, in interaction. I collect my data through sociolinguistic interviews, with a stratified sample from two socially-differentiated districts in Madrid. My approach to the data combines sociolinguistic and cognitive metaphorical analysis. I expect the results to show a relation between lexical-semantic variation of the source domain and the stance (Jaffe) of the speaker, as an indirect index of other social categories like gender, age, education, socioeconomic class, etc. which would demonstrate that these metaphors are, on the one hand, a window to observe the weight of external factors in the conceptualization of sexuality, and on the other, a crucial element in the construction of identity in social interaction.

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### **The configuration of time in Spanish and French. An analysis of collocations with *tiempo* and *temps***

Plötner, Kathleen  
(University of Potsdam)

Time can be considered – besides body perception and space perception – as one of the fundamental experiences of the human beings. Even to his day, Aristotle illustrates that time is related to space, more precisely to movement, in a very close way. For him, time is a quantity which depends on the movement, but which isn’t identical to it. Time is always a change in the movement’s conditions (cf. Aristoteles 1994: 315, 1071b, Aristoteles 1854: IV, 11, 207). He argues that also language is structured in a temporal way. If we take a look at the words *baby*, *son*, *father*, *grandfather* etc, we have to consider that all these lexemes are located temporally to a specific moment: the birth as the first event of physical movement. So the word *baby* is really close to this event whereas *grandfather* is far away from the birth (cf. Aristoteles 1994: 143ff, 1018b-1019a). Guyau, a French philosopher of the 19th century, says that the perception of space depends on sensations and that time is organizing these sensations. According to him, time is a mental image that is measured by space as a form of inner locations which we pass through (cf. Guyau 1890: 66). The length of time is on the one hand the number of sensations which we remember, on the other hand a summary of wishes and feelings that influences our sense of time. Guyau (1890: 35) assumes that time or the concept of time is the result of a long physical and mental process. In linguistic studies, we found a lot of information of how time can be expressed in tempus and aspect. Reichenbach (1947: 296f) invented the model about time of speech, time of event and time of reference. Later on, linguists like Klein (1994) and Malcoc (2003) tried to improve these terms. Klum (1961) worked on relations between tenses and temporal adverbs in French. Ašić (2008) published a study about spatial and temporal prepositions in French which provides an insight on the use of spatial prepositions in time and vice versa.

Unfortunately, there aren’t enough studies about temporal semantics. That’s why we will treat collocations including the terms *temps* / *tiempo* like *au fil du temps*, *avec le temps*, *passer tout son temps*, *en même temps* respectively *durante un tiempo largo*, *con el tiempo*, *el principio de los tiempos* etc based on the French corpus *frantext* and the Spanish corpus *CREA* in order to get closer to the concept of time in language. Nevertheless, we will be aware of the following declaration by Saussure / Sthioul (1998: 67): “la langue n’est pas toute la pensée, mais elle est ‘de la pensée’”. “Are there differences of representation of time in the two Romanic languages?” and “Is time representation in language influenced by spatial vocabulary, and if so how?” will be two of the fundamental questions in this study.

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## Hierarchy vs. Linearity in Phonology.

Pöchtrager, Markus  
(Bogazici University, Istanbul)

Compared to classical Government Phonology (GP) and some of its offspring (Strict CV, Strict VC), the newcomer GP 2.0 (Kaye & Pöchtrager 2009, Pöchtrager 2006, Zivanovic & Pöchtrager in print) assumes a rather rich hierarchical structure even at a level that is standardly considered to be flat and devoid of structure. This talk discusses the *raison d'être* of that hierarchy, in particular Phonological Binding Theory, which regulates the occurrence of melodic primes (elements) in an asymmetric fashion and relies on notions like c-command, only expressible in hierarchical terms.

As an example, consider a crucial asymmetry in the English (heavy) diphthong system: We find *oi* in *void* etc., but no *\*eu*. Compare the representations of those two diphthongs in GP (1) and GP 2.0 (2):

(1) GP:	<i>oi</i>	<i>*eu</i>	(2) GP 2.0:	<i>oi</i>	<i>*eu</i>
	N	N		N'	N'
	\	\		/ \	/ \
	x1 x2	x1 x2		xN x3{I}	xN x3{U}
				/ \	/ \
	A,U I	A,I U		xN1 x2{U}	xN1 x2{I}

The different arrangement of the elements **I** and **U** distinguishes a grammatical from an ungrammatical diphthong. Note that in GP the positions that form the core of the diphthong (x1) and the offglide (x2) are sisters (1), while in GP 2.0 (besides other differences) there is an asymmetrical c-command relation between offglide (x3) and core (xN1, x2) (2). (Note that xN1 and x2 *together* replace the element **A** in GP 2.0, a so-called adjunction structure, cf. Kaye & Pöchtrager 2009, Pöchtrager 2010.)

Phonological Binding Theory (Pöchtrager 2009) states that (i) binding takes place under c-command and that (ii) **I** can bind **U**, while **U** cannot bind **I**. This explains (2).

Exactly the same asymmetry comes back in Putonghua, but not between core and offglide, rather between onglide and offglide of a complex nucleus (therefore also independently of adjunctions): contrast *jaw* to *\*waj* – in (3), **I** c-commands (therefore binds) **U**, allowed for by Binding Theory. In (4), however, **U** c-commands (therefore binds) **I**, correctly ruled out by Binding Theory.

(3) Putonghua <i>jaw</i> in GP 2.0	(4) Putonghua <i>*waj</i> in GP 2.0
N	N
/ \	/ \
x{I} N	x{U} N
/ \	/ \
xN x{U}	xN x{I}
/ \	/ \
xN x	xN x

Crucially, there are *independent* reasons why it has to be assumed that in Putonghua the offglide is closer to the core than the onglide: In cases where the core is schwa, the offglide takes precedence before the onglide in colouring the

core: *j+schwa+w* comes out as *jow*, not *\*jew*; *w+schwa+j* comes out as *wej*, not *\*woj*. The onglide can only colour a schwa-core if there is no offglide (*j+schwa* gives *je*; *w+schwa* *wo*).

In other words, the asymmetries between **I** and **U** find a satisfactory solution in a model allowing for c-command, while they remain a mystery in flat models as under (1).

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### Some approximators in Serbian informal discourse

Polovina, Vesna & Panic, Natalija  
(Belgrade University)

This paper analyzes the functions of discourse markers that are called *approximators*, *general extenders*, *vague category identifiers*, etc in Serbian language. Words and phrases such as: *i(li) tako*, *i(li) tako nešto*, *i(li) tako nekako*, *nekako*, *onako*, *tipa*, *nebitno* are polyfunctional to great extent, and thus should be analyzed concerning the immediate, local context in which they occur. When these words and phrases function as approximators, they are typically found in informal, colloquial speech, and without the context their reference is vague.

This research tries to identify some of the pragmatic functions of these phrases, and to recognize possible meanings projected by the usage of these phrases. In many cases the usage of these approximators implicates the existence of shared knowledge between a speaker and a listener, so that a speaker does not sound arrogant. By using them a speaker can also indicate indirect disagreement, or the intent to decrease possible disagreement. Some of these approximators, like *onako*, *tipa* have the role of quotative markers.

Apart from this, this paper tries to investigate positions in utterances where these phrases occur, and to what extent their position influences the general meaning generated by their usage.

Corpus for this research is consisted of transcribed TV talk shows (10 hours) and recorded and transcribed informal conversations (10 hours).

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### Ellipsis in bet proposals

Ponsford, Dan, Siewierska, Anna & Hollmann, Willem  
(Lancaster University)

This paper addresses some salient ellipsis phenomena in bet proposal constructions across the languages of the world.

Two terms must be agreed when people bet with each other: the contested proposition and the stake. Constructions that are used to propose a bet may mention one or both of these. A construction that mentions both can be agreed straightforwardly, resulting in a deal being made.

Three other elements are commonly found in bet proposals: a predicate (meaning 'bet'), the speaker, and the addressee. Cross-linguistically, these tend to precede the stake and the proposition. Presumably the ordering satisfies information structure requirements, the bettors being given, in context, and the stake and proposition being new information. (In the languages considered so far, the stake precedes the proposition).

These constructions may be schematized as in (1), where <initial material> represents the predicate and one or both of the bettors.

- (1) <initial material> STAKE PROPOSITION

Constructions with all five elements are awkward to produce, on account of their length. Corpus evidence shows them to be rare. More common are constructions where the addressee is either not mentioned, as in (2) from German, or is included in a joint subject with the speaker, as in (2) from Russian (Ponsford et al. 2010).

- (2) *Ich wette 50 Dollar, dass Barcelona gewinnt.*  
 I bet fifty dollar that Barcelona win  
 'I bet fifty dollars that Barcelona win'
- (3) *Sporim na 50 dollarov, shto Barcelona vyigraet*  
 bet. 1PL on 50 dollars, that Barcelona win  
 'Let's bet fifty dollars that barcelona win'

However, there are also still shorter constructions where neither bettor is mentioned, and some where the predicate is not mentioned either. There is evidence that these shorter constructions are derived from longer constructions by ellipsis. In all cases, the shorter construction is a strict subsequence – specifically the tail – of the longer construction, with no morphological difference between the shorter construction and the tail end of the longer one. The shorter form is schematized in (4), where the <initial material> of the longer form is absent in comparison with (1). An example is (5) from German, which is the tail end of (2).

- (4) STAKE PROPOSITION
- (5) *50 Dollar, dass Barcelona gewinnt*  
 fifty dollar that Barcelona win  
 '(I bet) fifty dollars that Barcelona win'

Such pairs of longer and shorter constructions, related in a sequence-subsequence relation, are found in several languages.

Using data from corpora, dictionaries, grammars and a questionnaire, we first present the constructions in full and reduced form, illustrating the different degrees of ellipsis. We then look at the dialogic context in which reduced forms occur, and identify contexts that facilitate them. The principal finding here is that in three quarters of STAKE PROPOSITION constructions that we found in (Dutch, English, French, Italian and Spanish) dialogues, a predicate meaning 'bet' had been mentioned in the recent context, consistent with activation of the predicate allowing it not to be repeated.

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### German “irgendein” and its various readings.

Port, Angelika & Aloni, Maria  
 (University of Amsterdam)

In this talk we will present the results of a diachronic and synchronic corpus study on the German Epistemic Indefinite (EI) *irgendein* and provide an account for its distribution. EI are indefinites which exhibit the specific unknown function on Haspelmath's implicational map (1997), but do not exhibit the specific known function.

In the first part we will present the results of the diachronic research. *Irgend-* indefinites developed from a particle *iergen* in Middle High German (1050-1350) with the locative meaning anywhere to a modifier of the determiner *ein* 'one' and the pronoun *etwas* 'something' in Early New High German (1350-1650). During this process we observe that the particle *iergen* loses its original locative meaning and acquires a more general meaning. This made it possible for *iergen* to combine with the determiner *ein*, with pronouns (e.g. *etwas* 'something' or *jemand* 'somebody') and finally with bare interrogatives (e.g. *wo* 'where', *wer* 'who' etc.), eventually covering all the major ontological categories like person, thing, place, time and manner. The diachronic corpus study further showed that *irgend-*indefinites started their life as Negative Polarity Items (NPI) (cf. Jäger 2007). The specific-unknown and the free choice functions were acquired later, which is in agreement with the predictions of Haspelmath's implicational map.

In the second part we will present the main results of the synchronic corpus study. We have identified four main functions for *irgend-*indefinites in present day German. In specific contexts (sp) and under epistemic modals (epi) *irgend-*indefinites give rise to an ignorance effect (spMV- and epiMV-functions), whereas under deontic and other modals they give rise to a free choice effect (deoFC). Finally, under downward entailing operators they receive a plain existential interpretation (NPI).

To account for the spMV and epiMV functions we will analyse *irgendein* as an EI in the framework of Dynamic Semantics with Conceptual Covers (cf. Aloni 2001, ch.3). In Dynamic Semantics with Conceptual Covers, specific

indefinites introduce as discourse referents elements of a contextually determined conceptual cover. A conceptual cover CC is a set of concepts such that in each world, every individual instantiates exactly one concept in CC. On our proposal, EIs signal an obligatory shift to a non-rigid cover. Whenever this shift is not trivial, the use of the indefinite will imply that the speaker does not know who the referent of the indefinite is. The ignorance effect will obtain in specific uses and under epistemic modals (interpreted à la Veltman) as a result of a lexically 1 encoded felicity condition. In this framework, shifts of conceptual covers are trivial under negation and deontic modals. To account for the deoFC and the NPI functions we will assume that *irgendein* allows for domain widening as well (Kadmon & Landmann 1993), contrary to other EIs like Italian *un qualche* (Zamparelli 2007).

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### The Eyjafjalla effect: exploring social functions of metaphor.

Porto, María Dolores & Romano, Manuela  
(Universidad de Alcalá - Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

Metaphorical conceptualization is not only a tool for interpreting the world, but also a powerful tool for communicating. In the last decade, the focus of study has been on the way metaphors serve to understand abstract concepts in terms of concrete, physical ones and also on how a certain conception of reality is unconsciously transmitted through metaphorical expressions. However, metaphor is essentially a matter of communication and so it can also be deliberate and serve for purposes of expressiveness, coherence, evaluation, persuasion and other discursive functions. When we say that metaphors conceptualize new ideas and events in terms of what is more familiar to us, this does not only involve concrete vs. abstract concepts, it also means active vs. non-active or foregrounded vs. backgrounded information.

In order to illustrate this, we will show how the cloud of ashes from the Eyjafjalla volcano was used as the source domain of metaphors in Spanish press (ABC, El Mundo, El País among others) to speak about a variety of topics, from literature or football to economics, politics and religion. Naturally, these metaphors were only present in the newspapers as long as the cloud of ashes was current news, that is, from March to June 2010. Subsequently, the volcano metaphors faded away and were eventually abandoned as they were no longer useful and were probably substituted by others that had become current worries in our minds.

Apart from obvious expressive and creative reasons, the metaphorical expressions originating from the eruption of the Eyjafjalla volcano show that metaphors can also serve the textual function of foregrounding specific concepts or ideas. In the case under study, the cloud of ashes was already active in the readers' minds and, thus, the CLOUD OF ASHES metaphor was an efficient tool for bringing other news to their focus of attention. Moreover, this metaphor is a paradigmatic example of non-conventionalized semantic change process, since both its exact origin and ending are clearly marked, in which newspapers act as an agent of semantic change. Thus, the communicative dimension of deliberate metaphor (Steen 2008) is also discussed.

In short, this paper intends to evidence that beyond some well-known functions of metaphor, such as comparison and categorization (Bowdle & Gentner 2005), metaphors can also serve a number of social (Brandt & Brandt 2005) and discursive functions like evaluation (Semino 2002, Goatly 2010), summarizing others' discourse (Oakley & Coulson 2008, Porto *forthcoming*) or guiding the listener's attention towards specific social and political events by means of a novel linguistic expression.

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### The functions of postverbal pronominal subjects in spoken European Portuguese.

Posio, Pekka  
(University of Helsinki)

In previous research on subject pronoun usage in European Portuguese (EP), little attention has been put on the placement of pronominal subjects when they are expressed. Postverbal placement has been associated with subjects representing new information, subjects of intransitive or unaccusative verbs and subjects placed in contrastive focus (cf. Ferrari 1990; Costa 2001; Duarte 2003; Mackenzie 2008). However, previous studies do not provide evidence based on authentic EP data, nor is the placement of pronominal subjects considered apart from lexical subjects.

The present study focuses on the distribution and functions of postverbal pronominal subjects in a corpus of spoken EP. The intention is to elucidate when and why pronominal subjects are placed after the verb. My data consist of all the 644 clauses with postverbal pronominal subjects found in the oral EP subsection of the *Corpus do Português*. As pronouns generally represent old information in discourse, the distinction between old and new information does not account for the placement of pronominal subjects. In the analysis, several construction types where postverbal pronominal subjects occur were identified (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. Constructions with postverbal pronominal subjects

Construction type	Example	% of data
Quotative	<i>e depois diz ele assim</i> and after says he like.this 'and then he said...'	48%
Non-subject fronting	<i>a mim ensinou-me ele</i> to me taught.3SG=1SG.ACC he 'he was the one who taught me'	19%
Subject backgrounding	<i>pesa-se, tem a gente ali a balança</i> weighs=RFL3 has 1PL/IMPERSONAL there the scales 'you weigh it, we have the scales there'	12%
Cognizer construction	<i>é preferível, acho eu, ler...</i> is preferable think.1SG I read.INF 'it is better, I think, to read...'	6%
Contrastive focus	<i>vou eu ou vais tu?</i> go.1SG I or go.2SG you? 'I go or you go?'	6%
Disambiguation	<i>meu pai faleceu, tinha eu 13 anos</i> my father died had.1SG I 13 years 'my father died, I was 13 years old'	3%
Other		3%
Question word	<i>o que sabe ele disso?</i> what knows he of.this? 'what does he know about this?'	2%
Polar question	<i>não viam vocês?</i> NEG saw.2/3PL you.PL? 'didn't you see it?'	1%
Total		100%

Most of the data consist of formulaic constructions such as quotatives where the presence and position of the pronoun is highly conventionalized. Postverbal subject pronouns are rare in contrastive and disambiguating functions or in interrogative sentences where the postverbal placement of subjects is considered obligatory. In such cases, EP speakers tend to use other strategies such as cleft sentences.

Most of the verbs in my data are transitive, with only a minority of intransitive and a mere 3% of unaccusative verbs. In most cases, postverbal placement of the pronoun is associated with backgrounded status of the subject in discourse, especially in clauses where another element is put to the fore. The analysis shows that constituent order variation in authentic data cannot be reduced to syntactic or semantic verb types but, rather, formulaic constructions and pragmatic functions are of crucial importance.

#### Data

*Corpus do Português* = Davies, Mark & Michael Ferreira (2006): *Corpus do Português (45 million words, 1300s-1900s)*. Available online at <http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>.

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### The 'as be the case' parenthetical construction in English.

Prado-Alonso, Carlos  
(University of Santiago de Compostela)

In the last decade, *as*-parenthetical constructions — as in “the effect was quite beautiful *as was the backdrop on the stage*” — have been the subject of extensive research (cf. Potts 2000, among others). This study presents a functional analysis of one type of *as*-parenthetical construction, namely subject-dependent inversion in which the preverbal subordinating conjunction *as* is followed by copular *be* and the fixed noun phrase *the case* — as in “There was no segment with acquired immunity, *as was the case with most other British Columbia Indian Populations*”. The study of this type of inversion has been sorely neglected in the literature (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2006, among others), since there appears to be not much variation in the use of the construction, which is used as an idiomatic and formulaic expression in English. This study is a first step to begin to remedy the oversight and offers a corpus-based analysis of this type of parenthetical construction in Present-day English fictional and non-fictional texts. The data for the study have been taken from four computerised corpora of British and American Present-day English written texts dating from the 1960's and 1990's, these are the *Lancaster-Oslo- Bergen Corpus of British English* (LOB), the *Brown Corpus of American English* (Brown), the *Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (FLOB) and the *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (FROWN), all available in the *ICAME CD-Rom* (Hofland et al. 1999). It is argued that the distribution of the “*as be the case*” construction in written English is related to the degree of explicitness (cf. Biber 1988, 1995) or text-internal reference of the text in question in which this type of *as*-clause construction performs a comparative cohesive function.

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### Can the brain help answering old linguistic questions?: on distributed words, semantic compositionality and abstract meaning.

Pulvermuller, Friedemann, Yury Shtyrov & Bert Cappelle  
(MRC Cognition and Brain Sciences Unit)

Linguistic questions need to be answered with linguistic tools, based on observations of humans who use and understand language. However, assuming there is a mechanism underlying language use and the working of this mechanism can be observed directly, by brain imaging, it might be possible to obtain clues about language by looking directly at the brain. This approach requires a neuro-cognitive theory establishing correspondence between linguistic events and brain events. In this talk, I will highlight brain research addressing linguistic questions.

When we understand words typically used to speak about human actions, our motor system “lights” up immediately in a specific manner – reflecting aspects of reference actions, for example whether this action is typically performed with the hands or feet. This result provides evidence for the “grounding” of word meaning in sensorimotor

processing. We understand action words, in part, by relating them to other actions we can perform. For other word kinds, the understanding process implicates a relationship to perceptual processes, for example for sound-related (“bell”), odour-related (“cinnamon”), taste-related (“salt”) or visually-related (“brown”, “round”) words. In addition to such “word-world relationship”, semantic brain mechanisms may provide binding between utterances (“word-word linkage”). Neurobiological models of word-word correlation provide an avenue towards a brain basis of combinatorial semantic knowledge.

For some words, it is particularly difficult to define meaning in terms of a linkage to objects in the world. “Hope” and “loathing” have been described as items that refer to “inner states” only accessible to oneself, but this position leads to an inescapable paradox, as their meaning could in fact not be taught. The escape line here is the postulate that these words receive their meaning – similar to action words – by embedding in typical action contexts, where these context actions are indexes (criteria) for the presence of the “inner states”. This (linguistic-philosophical) theory implies and predicts motor activation to abstract emotion words in exactly the motor regions that control body parts typically used for expressing emotions (arms and face). As abstract emotion words activate hand and face representations, there is brain-evidence for this “emotion-by-action-semantics” hypothesis.

Abstract meaning processing at the sentence level can be illustrated using idioms, such as “Sally grasped the idea”. That such abstract sentences are stored as whole constructions with their meaning attached is one possibility; a compositional position puts that the meaning of composite words contributes to sentence semantics. We investigated brain responses to the critical word (“idea” in the above example) and found motor activation reflecting the meaning of previously displayed action words included in the sentences. As the brain correlates of composite words were found activate at a stage when sentence meaning is being computed, this result provides evidence for single word meaning access in abstract idiom processing, suggesting a compositional semantic process, which may complement semantic processes triggered by constructions.

Words in sentences are typically connected by syntactic-semantic links, but such linkage may also be lexical in nature. A brain index called the Mismatch Negativity (MMN) has been found to increase when syntactic or semantic rules are being violated, as compared with string that conform to these rules. In contrast, however, the syllables or morphemes that link into one single word lead to an enhanced MMN brain response as compared with sequences of incoherent syllables or morphemes not bound into a lexical item. The enhanced lexical MMN to complex lexical items and the reduced MMN to correct syntactic strings can be applied to probe linguistic forms for which a lexical or syntactic status is under debate. Particle verbs were compared in congruent and incongruent context (*heat ... up* vs. *cool ... up*; *cool ... down* vs. *heat ... down*) and the lexical pattern of MMN responses, stronger MMN to felicitous sequences, was obtained. We interpret this result as physiological evidence for whole form lexical storage of particle verbs.

The talk will highlight neurocognitive brain language theory that explains these results. General questions about the role of brain physiology in linguistics will be addressed in closing.

### **The development of Light-'do' verb constructions in Italian.**

Quochi, Valeria

(Istituto di Linguistica Computazionale - CNR)

This contribution presents the results of a study of the development of Light-‘do’ Verb Constructions in Italian based on naturalistic data. The claim is that there exists a Light Verb pivot schema that accounts for new productive formations and that this pattern is learnt by young children because it constitutes a labeling technique for naming new events, activities and situations. The findings of this research support two hypotheses of language acquisition: 1) that from pivot schemas centered on a given lexical verb with an open slot bearing certain semantic/pragmatic constraints children generalize more abstract constructions (Tomasello 1992, 2003, 2006; Goldberg et al. 2005). 2) They are in line with studies on the acquisition of argument structure by young children which find light verbs, or general purpose verbs, to act as facilitators in the learning of argument structure constructions (Goldberg et al. 2004, 1999; Ninio 1999).

The results are based on an analysis of longitudinal transcriptions of adult-children interactions contained in the CHILDES databank (MacWhinney 2000). The Italian collection consists of 4 corpora about 11 children covering an age span between 17 and 40 months (117 transcriptions) from which all utterances containing an occurrence of a form of the verb *fare* ‘do’ + Noun have been extracted. As the Italian Light ‘do’ Constructions can be represented as a radial category with a prototype and at least other 4 or 5 not fully lexical constructions (Quochi 2007), the dataset has been annotated according to the 3 Light Verb Constructions that appear to be relevant in the language of the children: a ‘Perform Intransitive Action’, a ‘Perform Sound’ and a ‘Perform Transitive Action’ constructions. Each *fare* + Noun occurrence has been annotated as an instance of one of these three constructions, or none. Frequency distribution of the constructions in both children by age group and adults has then been studied.

Of the three constructions found in the dataset, the most interesting results concern the ‘Perform Sound’, or *fare*+ [SOUND], construction (e.g. *fare muh* lit. ‘do moo’, *fare musica* ‘do music/play music’,...). Children start to produce it quite early in development, around 20 months, and seem to be quite productive from around 23 months of age. Around 33 months we see a decrease in their production. Interestingly, adults show the opposite tendency: they produce a high percentage of *fare* + SOUND words when their children are very young, and progressively decrease their number as they grow. Conversely, children seem to start being productive in the use of the Perform Intransitive Action (the prototype in adult’s language), esp. with verb-related nouns, around 34-36 months of age. These two trends seem

to suggest that children gradually generalize from a more specific *fare*+**[SOUND]** construction to a more abstract *fare*+**[ACTION]** (or **[EVENT]**) construction. They begin with forming a *fare*- pivot schema with slot filled with various SOUND words. Initially the construction is used to refer to actual sounds, but from 23-24 months of age they also use it to refer to some kind of event or action (e.g. *fare musica* lit. 'do music' 'play music', *fare pum* lit. 'make pum' for 'to shoot') for which the child does not have a synthetic counterpart yet. The Perform Sound construction thus functions as a pivot-schema that subsequently evolves in a more general *fare*+**[EVENT]** schema used to label new events.

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### **The rise and development of French SE FAIRE +INF passive construction: a diachronic constructional account.**

Raineri, Sophie  
(Université Paris 12)

The main aim of this paper is to trace the origin and historic development of the French non-canonical passive construction in SE FAIRE +INF, using a Construction Grammar framework rather than traditional grammaticalization theories (cf. Heine 1993, Hopper & Traugott 2003).

Since the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century descriptive grammars, it has been generally recognized that a passive meaning, illustrated in (1)-(2), coexists with the reflexive causative meaning of the form given in (3)-(4):

- (1) *Elle s'est fait voler son sandwich*. 'She got her sandwich stolen.'
- (2) *Il s'est fait bousculer dans le métro*. 'He got pushed on the subway.'
- (3) *Il s'est fait construire une maison sur la plage*. 'He had a house built (for himself) on the beach.'
- (4) *Il a réussi à se faire inviter*. 'He managed to get himself invited.'

The literature shows a lack of consensus on the status of passive SE FAIRE +INF. However, independently of the conclusion they reach and despite the absence of diachronic analyses, virtually all studies assume that passive SE FAIRE +INF is a Modern French innovation historically derived from the original causative meaning of the form.

In this presentation I propose a new diachronic scenario. Drawing on a quantitative corpus study of about 450 occurrences from the *DMF (Dictionnaire du Moyen Français)* and *Frantext* databases, I argue against the commonly adopted assumption and claim that:

- (a) the passive meaning of SE FAIRE +INF emerged concomitantly with the causative meaning in the 14<sup>th</sup> century;
- (b) both the passive and the causative meanings originate in a spontaneous or "middle-like" SE FAIRE +INF construction;
- (c) the entrenchment of passive SE FAIRE +INF began in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Besides the contribution it makes to the literature on SE FAIRE +INF, this study advocates in favor of a constructional approach to language change, showing that it captures the peculiar development of the passive construction in SE FAIRE +INF more accurately than traditional theories of grammaticalization, and in particular auxiliarization (Heine 1993, Lamiroy 1999). Indeed, by strictly applying the criteria commonly used to identify processes of auxiliarization (e.g. incompatibility with nominal complements, extension of subject selection properties to non-human and abstract entities, morpho-syntactic defectiveness), one is led to conclude that SE FAIRE has not developed into a passive auxiliary and quite possibly never will, given that it has not shown further signs of auxiliarization since the Middle French period. However, such an account ignores the conventionalization of SE FAIRE +INF as a “passive meaning”-bearing unit. The constructional approach, on the other hand, recognizes it and provides theoretical tools to explain it.

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### Experiential Constructions in the Circum-Mediterranean area.

Ramat, Paolo, Fedriani, Chiara & Manzelli, Gianguido  
(University of Pavia)

This paper aims at exploring which constructions are employed in the Circum-Mediterranean languages to express a set of psychological and physical feelings which refer to ‘basic’ states, namely hunger, thirst, hot, cold and sleep. We will first discuss the notion of ‘Experiencer’, which typically embodies non-agentive and affected participants realizing a sort of active/passive dichotomy and can thus be interpreted as a semantic hypernym, an ‘umbrella notion’ covering a variety of related roles such as Beneficiary, Recipient, Patient (ex. 1), and even Goal (ex. 2; see e.g. Croft 1993; Bossong 1998; Haspelmath 2001; Bickel 2004; Zúñiga and Kittilä 2010).

I. Albanian  
*më ka marrë uria*  
 I.ACC have.3SG seize.PP hunger-the  
 ‘Hunger has seized me’

(III) Moroccan Arabic  
*anažāy-nī en-nūm*  
 I(it-)came-to-me the-sleep  
 ‘I, the sleep came to me’

We will show that both Experiencers and Stimuli are open to multiple conceptualization options in the Circum-Mediterranean area. We shall adopt an onomasiological approach in order to provide a constructional taxonomy and take into account phenomena like “contact-induced grammatical replication” (Heine and Kuteva 2005). For instance, one might consider as an indication of language contact the fact that both Albanian (4) and Maltese (5) share with Romance languages like Spanish (3) the typologically infrequent Abstract Possession construction:

• *tengo hambre, sed, calor, frío, sueño*  
 I.have hunger thirst hot/heat cold sleep  
 ‘I am hungry, thirsty, hot, cold, sleepy’ (lit. ‘I have hunger...’)

(4) *kam uri, etje, të nxehtë, të ftohtë, gjumë*  
 I.have hunger thirst the hot the cold sleep  
 ‘I am hungry, thirsty, hot, cold, sleepy’ (lit. ‘I have hunger...’)

(5) *għandi l-ġuħ, l-għatx, s-sħana, l-bard, n-nghas*  
 I.have the-hunger the-thirst the-heat the-cold the-sleep  
 ‘I am hungry, thirsty, hot, cold, sleepy’ (lit. ‘I have the hunger...’)

On the other hand, it is particularly telling that the two most peripheral Romance languages, either have developed a specific and unique strategy, as the Portuguese “Companion construction” (ex. 6), or have partially undergone the

compelling influence of another linguistic area: for example, Romanian (ex. 8) widely adopts the Experiencer-as-Recipient construction which is the most frequent in the Balcanic area (see the Serbo-Croatian example in 7).

(6) *estou com fome, sede, calor, frio, sono*  
 be.1SG with hunger thirst heat cold sleep  
 'I am hungry, thirsty, hot, cold, sleepy' (lit. 'I am with hunger, thirst, heat...')

(7) *vruće, hladno mi je*  
 hot cold I.DAT be.3SG  
 'I am hot, cold' (lit. 'hot, cold is to me')

• *mi-e foame, sete, cald, frig, somn*  
 me.DAT hunger thirst hot cold sleep  
 'I am hungry, thirsty, hot, cold, sleepy'

To conclude, we will show a constructional taxonomy that hints at language contacts and diachronic diffusion of specific types. The research is focused on two crucial questions of typological nature: first, investigating whether there may actually be contact-induced extensions of some construction-types, and, secondly, whether there are cross-linguistic generalizations to be made about the relations between semantics and syntax (more specifically, between different kind of feelings and the constructions exploited to express them).

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### Redefining argument and adjunct: considering the interface.

Randall, Janet  
 (Northeastern University)

Many grammatical processes are claimed to operate on a verb's arguments, yet argument/adjunct diagnostics often yield contradictory results, even within one language. I propose to resolve these contradictions with an approach that redefines "argument" as an element at the lexicon-syntax interface.

Elements at various levels of representation have been called "arguments". In (1), *butter* has two obligatory NP arguments in the syntax. But as shown in skeletal form in (2), in this verb's lexical-semantic representation, Conceptual Structure (CS), there are three arguments x, y, and z. So for this verb, as for many, the arguments in the two representations do not map one-to-one. Which notion of "argument" is relevant?

(1) [NP The queen] buttered [NP her toast] ([PP with margarine]) ([PP in the garden]).

(2) *butter*: CAUSE ( x , [BECOME ( y , [PLACE AT [PLACE ON ( z ) ] ] ) ] )

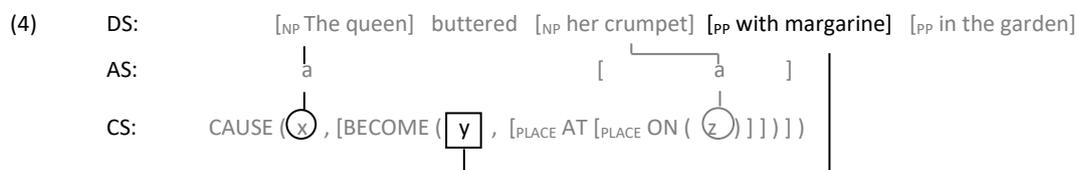
One approach to this problem is pursued in a recent theory, the Isomorphic Linking Hypothesis (ILH), (Randall 2010), which identifies just those CS arguments that link to DS in an "Argument Structure" (AS) interface, as shown in (3). Unlinked CS arguments such as y do not appear there; they remain *implicit*. So "argument" is restricted to those CS arguments that link to DS, the two "a"s on the AS line, one external, outside the square brackets, the other internal.

(3) DS: [NP The queen] buttered [NP her crumpet] [PP with margarine] [PP in the garden]

AS: d [ a ]

CS: CAUSE ( (x) , [BECOME ( y , [PLACE AT [PLACE ON ( z ) ] ] ) ] )

“Adjuncts” are usually defined as one uniform class: syntactic XPs with no relation to a verb’s CS (eg., *in the garden*). But adjuncts actually comprise two subclasses: in addition to these “classical” adjuncts, Jackendoff (1990) identifies a set of “fusing” adjuncts, syntactic XPs like [PP with margarine] that correspond to (or “fuse with”) unlinked CS arguments like *y*, as shown in (4). (These have been called “intermediate arguments” (Mel’cuk 1988) or “argument-adjuncts” (Grimshaw, 1990).



Because of their role in CS, these adjuncts -- like arguments -- appear to be selected by the verb. However, they do not actually appear in AS and, as predicted, like other adjuncts, they fail the argument tests.

I will show how this interface solution to the argument/adjunct distinction is supported by evidence from a host of argument diagnostics (Resultative Formation, Adjectival Passive Formation, Middle Formation, Passive Compound Formation, Nominal Formation, *do so*, and many others) and offers a promising framework in which to explore the argument/adjunct distinction across languages.

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### Social accounts of language evolution are unable to account for generativity.

Reboul, Anne  
 (L2C2, CNRS FRE 3406)

In recent years, social accounts of language evolution have become extremely trendy. There are, however, several problems with them. The first is that the word “social” seems to cover a range of heterogenous phenomena (from the necessity of exchanging information in collaborative tasks (Gardenfors), to the necessity of maintaining social affiliation (Dunbar)). They also cover a range of evolutionary explanations from the more biological (Dunbar) to the completely cultural (Tomasello). A more serious question, however, is whether they can account for central features of language, notably generativity.

In natural language, generativity can be informally defined as the possibility of constructing well-formed sentences allowing for the transmission of an in-principle unlimited number of different contents. Generativity in language seems strongly linked to the existence of a phonological articulation (yielding words) and a syntactic articulation (yielding sentences). While such double articulation exists in other animal species (oscine birds, for instance), it is not associated with the transmission of specific content (in oscine birds, it is used in sexual advertising and the ability probably evolved through sexual selection). On the other hand, though most animal communication seems to be “social” in the sense that it is used to “manage” interaction, both between and within groups and between conspecifics and non-conspecifics, its content is extremely limited (for instance, in primate groups, it usually avoids dominance conflicts through signaling the communicator’s status \_ dominant or dominee — and intention — aggressive or benevolent) and it does not manifest any kind of generativity. Finally, communication with a semantic (referential) content can be found in nonhuman species, notably in alarm and food calls, but these are not generative in any sense, being strongly phylogenetically transmitted and holistic in nature.

Thus, it seems that, in nonhuman communication, there are three types of messages:

- contentful, but not generative (alarm or food calls);
- social, but limited in content and non-generative (social vocal communication in primates, for instance);
- generative, but contentless (oscine birds’s songs).

What seems to be characteristic of human linguistic communication, that is the association of both generativity and transmission of highly different and complex contents, is not to be found in any other animal communication system. What is more, when social communication is found in other species, it is neither generative nor contentful. One can conclude that there is something missing in the social accounts of linguistic evolution: we are at least owed an account of what it is that is specific to human socialization that constrains human communication to make it both generative and contentful. Otherwise, other, more cognitive or at least mixed, accounts should be preferred.

## The scope of epistemic modality and evidentiality reconsidered.

Rentzsch, Julian  
(University of Szeged)

The following considerations are supposed to be relevant (with minor adaptations) for both epistemic modality and evidentiality, although both categories can occur combined, in which case epistemic modality seems to be in the scope of evidentiality (Cinque 1999: 135). This paper takes epistemic modality as the category with the potentially smaller scope as a starting point but addresses the relationship to evidentiality as well.

It is obvious that epistemic modality (and evidentiality) can operate on different linguistic entities (which implies scopes of different extend) depending on the lexical and grammatical properties of the respective operator. The set of options may vary cross-linguistically.

In English for example, epistemic modality may operate on nouns (1) or on adjectives (2). The most prototypical case however, and the one most often considered in the literature, features an epistemic marking at the predicate (3). The latter case, which is the most intricate one, is the object of this paper, while cases like (1) and (2) will be disregarded.

- (1) The *improbable* case
- (2) The *possibly* reasonable argument
- (3) She *must* be sleeping.

Palmer (1986 [2001]) summarizes epistemic modality and evidentiality under the roof term *propositional modality*, from which we can infer that he considers their shared operandum to be the proposition. What a proposition is thought to be, on the other hand, is left unexplained, which conforms to a general reluctance of linguists to provide a meaningful and unambiguous definition of the proposition. There are exceptions such as Dik (1997), who defines propositions as layer 3-entities that entail among other things temporal markers (p. 52), which results in a quite idiosyncratic profile of the proposition that is hardly reconcilable with the idea of propositional modality of the Palmer school.

The inclination to identify the scope of epistemic modality with the proposition, as well as the reticence to define the latter properly constitutes a major trend in the linguistic discourse until today. An important recent attempt to define the scope of evidentiality (which is explicitly linked to epistemic modality, p. 293–294) is Boye (2010), who refutes the view that the scope of evidentiality be either the “state of affairs” or the “speech act” and argues that it is actually the proposition. A clear-cut definition of the proposition that would allow us to identify its material shape (i.e. the formal side of a form-meaning correspondence) is not given, though (cf. p. 293), leaving us with not much more than Palmer’s conception, with the additional merit of reflecting on the issue and presenting arguments for something that was simply taken for granted by Palmer.

The proposed paper tries to explore the range of combinability of epistemic and evidential markers with other operators, and reconsiders the problem of the scope properties of the two categories in the light of the results. It will be attempted to reconcile the notion of proposition with the operandum of epistemic modality and evidentiality, which will necessitate either a modified definition of the proposition, or the inauguration of an alternative category. Moreover, it will be proposed that two types of scope need to be distinguished in order to fully account for the domains that epistemic modality and evidentiality apply to, namely *functional scope*, which comprises all the constituents that are *potentially* in the scope of epistemic and evidential markers, and *semantic scope*, which is selected from the former in concrete utterances on the basis of pragmatic criteria.

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## Do all these eggs belong in the same basket? The morpho-semantic status of the Russian verbal prefixes.

Ressue, Lauren  
(The Ohio State University)

The status of the Russian verbal prefixes, which affect the lexical meaning and aspectual properties of a base verb, have been a source of debate. One major issue is that the prefixes often have more than one meaning, and many of these meanings do not lend themselves to a cohesive description or classification. Some scholars have argued that each prefix has one invariant meaning (Flier, 1975, Van Schooneveld 1978); others argue for semantic variety (Boguslawski 1963, Janda 1988). No study, however, seems able to entirely account for the idiosyncratic meanings that arise from the combination of prefix and verb.

In particular, problems lie in the so-called lexical prefixes, i.e. prefixes that add a spatial-lexical meaning to a verb, as opposed to superlexical prefixes, which have an operator-like function. It is only these lexically prefixed verbs that show idiosyncratic meaning, signifying that they are no longer semantically compositional.

I look at this problem from a morphological point of view. In the existing literature, it is assumed that prefixes are always processed as prefixes. However, working with Schreuder and Baayen's (1995) model of the mental lexicon, I start with the theory that during morphological processing, words may be accessed as whole words or may be broken into morphemes (parsing). It is not immediately clear that Russian speakers themselves actually access verbs with prefixes in a uniform fashion. It seems possible that lexically prefixed verbs are not accessed via this kind of internal structure to the same degree. Some prefixes may be processed as prefixes, others may be processed as part of the root, and others may have a status somewhere between the two extremes. Specifically, the model predicts that lexically prefixed verbs should bias towards whole word storage more than superlexically prefixed verbs, because lexically prefixed verbs (or rather, a subset of these verbs) show less semantic transparency. Significantly, if the verbs are not morphologically processed via decomposition, then the morphological and semantic connection to the root and affix are severed. This suggests that such forms do not belong in the same "semantic basket" as words that are decomposed.

I used a priming lexical decision task to determine whether there are differing degrees of decomposability among prefixes. The preliminary results, based on 14 participants, reveal that lexically prefixed words show significantly less priming effect than superlexically prefixed verbs ( $p < .001$ ), suggesting that the base verb is being accessed less when lexically prefixed verbs are processed. Priming effects for both types of prefixes imply that, while they both bias towards parsing, the lexical verbs are less biased towards parsing, and thus in relative terms bias more towards storage.

In short, using well-established ideas about the mental processing of complex words, this study shows that not all "prefixed" verbs show affixal structure and behavior to the same degree, thus presenting a morphological solution for what has been traditionally treated as a semantic problem.

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### Semantic argument structure across languages.

Rissman, Lilia; Rawlins, Kyle & Landau, Barbara  
(Johns Hopkins University)

The argument/adjunct distinction has been much criticized, due in part to the observation that argumenthood diagnostics often contradict each other (Vater 1978, Croft 2001, Dowty 2003). I focus on three controversial cases, instrumental, locatum and participant location phrases:

- |     |   |                        |
|-----|---|------------------------|
| (1) | a. Chloe cut the bread <u>with a knife</u> .      | (Instrument)           |
|     | b. Chloe covered the bread <u>with a napkin</u> . | (Locatum)              |
|     | c. Chloe boiled the soup <u>in a pot</u> .        | (Participant location) |

I argue that these elements are syntactic adjuncts in English. Nonetheless, Koenig, Mauner & Bienvenue (2003) argue that they are semantic arguments of verbs such as *cut*, *cover* and *boil*. I am currently conducting experiments in English, Spanish and Mandarin to address two questions: 1) are instruments, locata and participant locations encoded in the

semantic argument structure of verbs in these languages? 2) is the encoding of these event elements cross-linguistically variable? The results of these experiments will shed light on the issue of whether semantic and syntactic argumenthood diagnostics reflect separate representations. Additionally, the results will indicate whether instruments, locata and participant locations are encoded in the same way for translationally-equivalent verbs across languages.

**Background:** The underlined phrases in (1) pattern as syntactic adjuncts according to traditional diagnostics such as pro-form replacement and word order restrictions (see Schutze 1995 for review):

- (2) a. John will eat cake with a fork and Bill will do so with a spoon.  
b. Bill will break the door down on Tuesday with a crowbar.
- (3) a. I seasoned the stew with oregano and Sarah did so with basil.  
b. I seasoned the soup last night with oregano.
- (4) a. I hide my money in my sock drawer but Sarah does so in her freezer.  
b. I hid my money last night in my sock drawer.

Despite these syntactic tests, Koenig et al. (2003) argued that some verbs encode these elements as semantic arguments. In a semantic judgment task, they judged that verbs such as *write* and *cut* require an instrument, *fill* and *cover* require a locatum, and *hide* and *boil* require a participant location. Sentence completion and self-paced reading studies supported these classifications. The Koenig et al. results are surprising given the syntactic data, requiring additional experimental scrutiny.

Many studies have addressed cross-linguistic variation in syntactic argument structure (Bowerman & Brown 2008, Hole, Meinunger & Abraham 2006), as well as how different languages divide up semantic space (see Majid, Boster & Bowerman's study of cutting and breaking). We know far less about how semantic argument structure varies across languages.

**Methods:** My experiments adapt Koenig et al.'s sentence completion task: subjects see a verb and create a sentence with that verb. I infer that the elements that get mentioned in the sentence reflect the semantic argument structure of that verb. For example, to assess whether *cut* encodes an instrument as a semantic argument, I measure how often English-speaking subjects produce an instrument in a sentence with *cut*. I then compare this to the rate of instrument production in Spanish *cortar* sentences and Mandarin *qiē* sentences.

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### Lexical stress, utterance rhythm and game theory.

Ritt, Nikolaus  
(University of Vienna)

The paper explores whether the position of word stress in languages like English can be derived from the role which words play in utterance rhythm rather than only from their internal segmental or syllabic structure. It attempts to model the derivational mechanics in terms of game theory.

Established phonological theories (e.g. Chomsky and Halle 1968; Hayes 1995; Burzio 2005) derive word stress in languages like English from the structure of individual lexical items, employing rules or assumedly universal constraints such as a preference for binary feet (F<sub>T</sub>Bin), the weight-to-stress principle (WSP), and others. They capture relevant generalisations well, but usually incorporate assumptions which are difficult to motivate on independent grounds. For instance, they assume that final consonants or syllables can be 'extrametrical' and do not count in stress assignment. This is seen as a problem which justifies the search for alternative approaches.

Taking up a suggestion by Vennemann (1986), this paper assumes that the constraints which lexical stress assignment reflects actually pertain to rhythmically structured utterances rather than to isolated lexical items. That the latter reflect them at all is a secondary effect, produced because words with stress patterns that result in dispreferred utterance rhythm tend to be subject to post-lexical rhythmic repair processes such as stress shifting, or vowel lengthening, and fail to be expressed faithfully. Therefore, suboptimally stressed words are not faithfully transmitted, but replaced by variants whose stress patterns result in better rhythmic configurations.

To operationalise the approach, this paper explores the possibility of modelling stress placement in terms of game theory: if stress placement in an individual word depends on its success at producing preferred rhythmic configurations in actual utterances, then it must clearly also depend on the position of stress in the words with which it combines when uttered. Thus, what is an optimal stress pattern for any single word depends on the patterns assigned to its neighbours. Game theory is an appropriate tool for modelling interactions of this type.

The specific game which will be tested has the following structure: the ‘players’ are polysyllabic word types (e.g.  $[X]_{\sigma_1}[CVC]_{\sigma_2}$  like *hotel* or *lentil*, or  $[X]_{\sigma_1}[CVCC]_{\sigma_2}$  like *concern* or *contact*). Their ‘strategies’ correspond to their stress placement options (for disyllabic words strategy 1 =  $\sigma\sigma$ , strategy 2 =  $\sigma'\sigma$ ). In the game, the two types first line up in one order and then change places. Each word type receives a ‘payoff’ for the quality of the foot that emerges when the word is in first position, and that extends from its stressed syllable up to the stressed syllable in its right-hand neighbour.

Although the game is rudimentary and abstract, some of its implications suggest its potential: for instance, it predicts (albeit somewhat trivially) that languages will be either trochaic or iambic (RhType=I/T, cf. e.g. Hayes 1995). Somewhat less trivially, however, it also suggests that also mixed strategies may become stable, in which individual word types may adopt different, yet equally optimal stress patterns.

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## Demonstratives as the external argument of n.

Roberts, Ian  
 (University of Cambridge)

This paper argues that demonstratives are universally first-merged on the edge of nominal-internal phase (“Spec,nP”). Raising to higher positions in the nominal is parametrised. Demonstratives occupy this position because they bear the external  $\theta$ -role of NP, as identified by Williams (1981): the “Reference” role. Aside from pronouns/variables and subjects of nominal predication (Williams (2004)), only demonstratives can appear in this position: this is because only demonstratives are able to function as “logically proper names” in the sense of Russell (1905). Our proposal makes possible a structural reconstruction of Russell’s theory of descriptions.

1. It is well-known that certain languages constitute exceptions to Greenberg’s Universal 20 in having “low” demonstratives, e.g. the Celtic languages. Guardiano (2010) observes that low-dem (LD) languages are typically VSO. This is clearly true of Celtic and other LD languages such as certain dialects of Arabic and was true of Biblical Hebrew (Modern Hebrew retains certain residual V-initial constructions). It is also true of Rapanui and Jacalteco of the other languages listed by Cinque (2005:320) as showing this order. Guardiano further observes a class of languages, including Spanish, Greek and Rumanian, which are optionally LD. These languages also allow VSO order quite productively at the clausal level.

So we observe a correlation between low demonstratives and VSO order. The generally accepted account of VSO order posits Pollock-style verb-movement to T combined with a low (although not necessarily non-derived) position for the subject (McCloskey (1996)). Assimilating demonstratives to subjects then gives us an account of the correlation: the relevant movement trigger for raising from the edge of the lower phase to some specifier in the higher phase is lacking in both nominals and clauses. Spanish/Greek-style languages show optionality in this respect, while VSO/LD languages lack the relevant feature.

2. We postulate the following structure for the nominal, with the obvious parallels to the clause, and we consider that there is parametric variation in attraction of the external argument from Spec,nP to higher positions (generally Spec,DP):

(3)  $[_{DP} D [_{NumP} Num [_{nP} Dem [ n [_{NP} N ]]]]]$

We posit an Agree relation between D (or Num) and Dem: demonstratives typically bear  $\phi$ -features and are inherently definite. We propose that this Agree relation is what renders D’s  $\phi$ -features interpretable, and therefore able to Agree with clausal heads.

Why should this be? We propose that Dem is the external argument of NP in the Williams (1981) sense that it bears the R(eference) role. In this sense, demonstratives are “logically proper names” in Russell’s (1905) sense: they are the only elements able to directly refer on their own. This property arguably has the formal correlate of contributing a fully specified  $\phi$ -set to the formal-feature system. The nature of the R-argument of N can now be seen as central to the functioning of DP in the Agree system, which seems a very natural conclusion. This conclusion has clear implications for the analysis of definite, indefinite and quantified expressions, which we investigate in depth.

## False friends in everyday communication contexts

Roca Varela, Ma Luisa  
(University of Santiago de Compostela)

Nowadays, the Internet has become an extremely effective means of communication; websites, in particular, function as a springboard to let people know about us (our personal and professional activities, our country, our company, our services or products), or as a way of providing information and spreading news and events all over the world. In order to be effective in our social interactions, it is logical to think that the language used in these webpages should be accurate, clear and communicatively efficient. However, this does not seem to be the case with most websites designed in Spain and including an English version. On many occasions, a high number of grammatical and lexical deficiencies and inaccuracies are found, this being especially true in the area of false friendship (Koessler & Derocquigny, 1928). The linguistic analysis of false friends between British English and Iberian Spanish in this specific genre will be the main purpose of this paper. After providing an operational definition of this lexical category and briefly reviewing the literature (Prado, 1989; Álvarez Lugrís 1997; Chacón-Beltrán, 2006; Chamizo Domínguez, 2009), I will discuss in close detail the use of real life examples extracted from a selection of websites related to four main different sectors: 1) tourism (e.g. *Nature has **conserved** the customs of this old kingdom*), 2) local newspapers and journals (e.g. *To **mark** the third anniversary of the demolition*), 3) information leaflets (e.g. *The **parochial** church of San Martiño*), and 4) advertising (e.g. ***sports installations**,...*). A preliminary analysis shows, firstly, that false friends are not a marginal phenomenon in many of the English websites produced in Spain; secondly, false friends occur at different grammatical levels (phrase level and sentence level) and may affect different parts of speech (verbs, nouns, adjectives and adverbs), being the adjectival group the most common one; thirdly, their presence is not merely anecdotal as they may lead to misunderstanding and confusion, causing very often, as a result, communication breakdown. The paper will conclude with a series of reflections on the factors and causes that may be responsible for this phenomenon and on the implications of the previous findings for the fields of media studies, tourism and translation.

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## The discourse marking effect of pronoun doubling in French generative grammar, DP argument doubling, topic and focus marking adverbs.

Rocquet, Amélie  
(GIST- Ghent University)

**1. Outline.** While Clitic Doubling has received much attention (Cecchetto 2000, De Cat 2002, Alexiadou 2005,...), the doubling of DP arguments by a strong personal pronoun in French has to the best of my knowledge not been studied. The purpose of this paper is to make an initial contribution to the topic in exploring the nature of Strong Doubling Pronouns ('SDPs') in French.

**2. The discursive properties of SDPs.** In (1), the DP subject *Pierre* is doubled by the strong pronoun *lui*.

- (1) Pierre<sub>3rd.MASC.SG</sub> a donné une bague, lui<sub>3rd.MASC.SG</sub>, à Marie.  
Pierre has given a ring HE to Marie  
'As for Pierre, it is to Marie that he gave a ring.'

The presence of this pronoun enables the introduction in the discourse of a contrastive topic, *Pierre* in (1), and signals the focus of the sentence, *à Marie*.

**3. Some syntactic properties of SDPs.** SDPs (i) agree in  $\phi$ -features with the DP they are associated with (1), (ii) may be adjacent to IPs, DPs, PPs, AdvPs (2) and CPs (3), (iii) must be locally c-commanded by their associates (4), (iv) may neither be adjacent to their associates (2) nor to a PRO controlled by their associates (5).

- (2) (\*Eux) les enfants (eux) ont écrit (eux) une lettre (eux) à leurs parents  
(?eux) lundi dernier.  
'As for the children, what they did was to write a letter to their parents/ it is a letter that they wrote to their parents/ it is to their parents that they wrote a letter/ it is last Monday that they wrote a...'

- (3) Les enfants, eux, heureusement, ils ont écrit une lettre à leurs parents.  
The children, THEY, fortunately, they have written a letter to their parents.  
'As for the children, what they fortunately did was to write a letter to their parents.'
- (4) Marie<sub>3rd.FEM.SG</sub> a demandé à Pierre<sub>3rd.MASC.SG</sub> d'acheter lui<sub>3rd.MASC.SG</sub>/\*elle<sub>3rd.FEM.SG</sub> le journal.  
Marie has asked to Pierre to buy HE/ SHE the newspaper  
'As for Pierre, it is the newspaper that Marie asked him to buy.'  
Intended reading of \* : 'As for Marie, it is the newspaper that she asked Pierre to buy.'
- (5) \* Ils<sub>3rd.MASC.PL</sub> ont décidé de eux<sub>3rd.MASC.PL</sub> PRO partir.  
They have decided to THEY PRO leave

**4. Similarities with adverbs.** As (2-3) shows, the distribution of SDPs resembles the one of focus marking adverbs such as *only* and *even*, which are "found preceding DPs, APs, AdvPs, PPs, and VPs, as well as various clausal functional projections" (Cinque 1999:30). Moreover, the discursive effect and the prosodic properties (intonational breaks) of SDPs are close to those of contrastive topic marking adverbs such as *en revanche* ('on the other hand').

**5. An account of this dual nature.** I argue that the contrastive topic marking effect of SDPs comes from the fact that SDPs are the complements of the prepositional adverb *quant à* ('as for') which may be lexically realized. I suggest that this AdvP is endowed with a valued [contrast] feature. The valuation of the SDPs' unvalued  $\phi$ -features by the  $\phi$ -features of the doubled DP results in the valuation of the latter's unvalued [contrast] feature. I provide examples showing that SDPs may adjoin to any focused constituent as long as feature valuation can occur within a phase (Chomsky 2001).

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### Variation across genres in Present-day English exemplifying constructions.

Rodríguez-Abrueñas, Paula  
(University of Santiago de Compostela)

Exemplification is a communicative process which consists in the clarification of something by illustrating it by means of an instance (cf. Quirk et al. (1985: 1315-1316), Meyer (1992: 77) or Hyland (2007: 270) among others). Prototypical exemplifying constructions consist of two units, the first of which has a more general referent whereas the second is more specific and provides an example of that general element. Both units are linked by means of an *exemplifying marker*, as in examples (1) and (2) below.

- (1) Those two studios, MGM and Associated British Picture Corporation, were the home to a string of British-made films, **including** *Secret Ceremony* with Elizabeth Taylor, *Where Eagles Dare* with Richard Burton, Robert Aldrich's *The Dirty Dozen* and Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*. (*BrE06*, G13)
- (2) It's also worth taking a little time to consider, whether or not, a dramatic hair colour change will suit your skin tone. **For example**, *Destiny's Child's Beyoncé*, looks fantastic with her blonde tresses, but the colour suits her skin tone well. (*BrE06*, E19)

The use of such exemplifying constructions varies considerably from genre to genre. Thus, for instance, structures of this kind are especially common in news but scarce in letters (see Brosius (1999: 214)). Such a difference is probably due to the different needs that the readers of these genres have. On the one hand, news is addressed to a heterogeneous sector of people with different backgrounds and a different knowledge of the world. As a result, as much information as possible (including examples) is necessary in order to successfully communicate the information. On the contrary, in letters writer and reader usually share the background knowledge, so that examples are not so necessary to contribute to the communication act.

The aim of this paper is to discuss the use of exemplifying constructions in English in different text-types, paying attention to the factors that favor their use in certain genres (cf. Biber (1988) or Nevalainen and Tanskanen (2007)). For my purposes, I use three Present-day English corpora, namely *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus*, *Freiburg-Lob Corpus of British English* and *British English 2006*. These three corpora show a parallel structure and contain texts from fifteen different categories, ranging from formal types of writing, such as scientific texts, to informal ones (e.g. Westerns and love stories), which allows a contrastive analysis of exemplifying constructions according to the text-type in which they appear. Since these corpora cover the time span from the 1960s to the year 2006, a diachronic study of exemplifying constructions in the recent history of English is also made possible.

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## The distribution of pronouns and the elsewhere principle.

Rooryck, Johan & Vanden Wyngaerd, Guido  
(LUC Leiden & HUBrussel/CRISSP)

**1. Proposal.** The distribution of pronouns is shown to be subject to an Elsewhere Principle. We derive this distribution in terms of a minimalist syntax manipulating formal features, and post-syntactic lexical insertion, as in the framework of distributed morphology (Halle & Marantz 1993, Harley & Noyer 1999).

**2. The distribution of pronouns.** Both cross-linguistically and language-internally, the distribution of pronouns is subject to the following generalisation:

(1) Nonreflexive pronouns can assume reflexive functions when a dedicated class of reflexive pronouns is lacking. *Cross-linguistically*. In English, which has a dedicated reflexive form *himself*, pronouns like *him* cannot express reflexive relationships, as (a) shows. In Northern Haitian Creole, which lacks a dedicated reflexive pronoun, pronouns can express both reflexive and nonreflexive relationships (Carden & Stewart 1988:19).

- (2) a. Max<sub>i</sub> washes him<sub>\*i/j</sub>/himself<sub>i/\*j</sub>.  
b. Emile<sub>i</sub> dwe ede li<sub>i/j</sub>  
Emile should help him  
'Emile should help himself/ him'

*Language-internally*. English has no dedicated reflexive possessive pronouns, and indeed we find that these can express both reflexive and nonreflexive relationships, unlike the personal pronouns:

- (3) He<sub>i</sub> likes his<sub>i/j</sub> dog.

Danish has a dedicated reflexive possessive in the singular but not the plural; only the plural pronoun can double as a reflexive (Pica 1984).

- (4) a. Jørgen<sub>i</sub> elsker sin<sub>i/\*j</sub> kone.  
Jørgen loves self's wife  
b. Jørgen<sub>i</sub> elsker hans<sub>\*i/j</sub> kone.  
Jørgen loves his wife  
(5) a. \*De<sub>i</sub> elsker sine<sub>i</sub> koner.  
They love self's wives  
b. De<sub>i</sub> elsker deres<sub>i/j</sub> koner.  
They love their wives

Diachronic evidence and evidence from language acquisition also supports (1), in the sense that a situation where pronouns double as reflexives often constitutes the initial state. As soon as dedicated reflexives are introduced in the course of language development, pronouns lose their double function.

**3. The Elsewhere Principle.** The distribution of reflexive and nonreflexive pronouns is reminiscent of the Elsewhere Principle in morphology, which states that the application of a more specific rule blocks that of a later more general one (Anderson 1992). In the lexical expression of reflexive relationships, reflexive pronouns are more specific and therefore block the use of nonreflexive pronouns. This gives rise to Condition B effects. In circumstances where dedicated reflexives are unavailable, (nonreflexive) pronouns constitute the 'Elsewhere' case and may serve the double function of expressing both reflexive and nonreflexive relationships. No Condition B effects arise in this case. This Elsewhere distribution has been observed by numerous authors (e.g. Pica 1984, Bouchard 1983, Burzio 1989), but so far has defied adequate explanation.

**4. A Distributed Morphology account.** Lexical items may be underspecified for certain features. In languages lacking dedicated reflexives, the pronominal forms are underspecified on the reflexive-nonreflexive dimension. By Subset Principle (Halle 1997), these may be inserted in reflexive and nonreflexive environments alike. In a language with dedicated reflexives, the rule for inserting the reflexive form will be ordered before the rule for inserting the nonreflexive one. The Elsewhere Principle will then block the insertion of a nonreflexive pronoun.

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### **Give up verbs and constructional alternation: cognitive constraints and conceptual motivation.**

Rosca, Andrea  
(University of La Rioja)

On the basis of corpus data compiled from the BNC, COCA and Webcorp, the present research examines in detail *give up* verbs within the domain of CHANGE OF POSSESSION. In order to throw light on the kinds of constructional realization for this class of verbs, we will make use of Levin's (1993) lexical semantics and Faber & Mairal's (1999) lexematics-oriented taxonomies, plus the explanatory tools provided by the *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM) as propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008). The results of our analysis lend further credence to Levin's (1993) and Faber & Mairal's (1999) contention that the internal semantic parameters of a given verb function as predictors of that verb's syntactic representations. It is true that in a hierarchy of predicates, the hyponyms show a tendency to display the same syntactic configuration as their genus or superordinate predicate. It goes without saying that the verb *relinquish*, which is a hyponym of *give up*, will behave syntactically in the same way as its genus since it inherits the conceptual structure of the latter. Therefore, it is no surprise that *relinquish* can participate in the caused-motion construction, just like *give up* (e.g. *He relinquished the presidency to Clinton* vs. *Whenever I go by bus I give up my seat to elder people*). The present paper is also concerned with explaining why *give up* verbs cannot occur in the ditransitive construction (cf. *\*The republics agreed to surrender the central government certain powers*). The explanation for this resides in the fact that most *give up* verbs do not meet one of Goldberg's (1995) essential conditions for ditransitivity, namely the Agent's willingness to transfer an entity to a Recipient. Nevertheless, the complementation pattern of verbs like *renounce*, *waive*, *resign*, *abdicate* (to give up the position of being a queen/king) runs against inheritance mechanisms by rejecting the caused-motion configuration. This is so because they all belong to the PUBLIC GIVE UP frame whereby an individual says formally or publicly that he/she no longer wants to have a certain position or right. A brief look at their antonyms (*claim* or *assert*) clarifies the whole matter since all these verbs activate the COMMUNICATION frame in which there is no transfer of possession but of information, as evidenced by the example *He renounced his leadership publicly to a host of journalists at the press conference held in Maseru*. Nevertheless, the verb *abdicate* allows the caused-motion construction when what is given up is the responsibility for something as *Construction accidents are often caused by negligent General Contractors or Contractors who've abdicated supervision to negligent sub-contractors*. In this context *abdicate* is more or less synonymous with the verb *delegate* (e.g. *The Contractors delegated the supervision of the work to the sub-contractors*) but what differentiates them is that the former is employed here to criticize the irresponsibility of the superiors who deny any involvement with this task whatsoever whereas the latter indicates that the sub-contractors have been assigned to this task by the contractors and act on their behalf.

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### **Argument structure constructions and grammaticalization.**

Rostila, Jouni  
(University of Tampere)

The purpose of my paper is firstly to present a class of a-(rgument structure) constructions in the sense of Goldberg (1995) in German that have hitherto attracted little attention (cf. Dürscheid 1999: 12; Zifonun et al. 1997: 1368 on

sporadic previous remarks). The constructions in question develop from lexically selected prepositions as object markers known in German linguistics as prepositions of *Präpositionalobjekte* ('prepositional objects', PO). Some such prepositions (PO-Ps) appear to have turned productive, i.e., unlike normal PO-Ps, they can be used with a wide variety of predicates of a certain semantic type, and even with predicates lacking the requisite semantic features, in which case coercion effects result. A case in point is the preposition *auf* typically occurring as the object marker of *warten* 'wait', as well as a wide variety of other prospective predicates, cf. (1) for minimal exemplification. (2) illustrates a case of coercion: *sich freuen* 'delight (in)' is normally neutral with respect to prospectivity, but acquires this feature when combined with *auf*:

- (1) Er wartet/hofft/bereitet sich **auf** einen Börsensturz vor/macht sich **auf** einen Börsensturz gefasst.  
'He waits/hopes/prepares for/takes precautions against a crash of the stock market.'
- (2) Sie freut sich **auf** das Ende des Semesters. 'She looks forward to the end of the term.'

Based on Author (2005; 2007), I will show that such productive PO-Ps can be favourably analyzed as a-constructions, and that their emergence can be regarded as a process of grammaticalization. I will outline the development of locative Ps to lexically selected ones and further to substantive parts of a-constructions and show that this development has striking parallels in cases of grammaticalization such as *ne ... pas* in French (Author 2006) and those described by Mithun (2002). Moreover, I will show how the results of Kolehmainen's (2010) recent study of the grammaticalization of the postposition *perään* 'after' in Finnish corroborate the proposed development line. I also aim at providing preliminary results of a corpus study of the *Bonner Frühneuhochdeutschskorpus*, Early High German being a particularly fruitful period for studying the spread of PO-Ps as a complementation pattern (Korhonen 2006). A specific point of interest is whether the corpus data support the hypothesis of Author (2007) that PO-Ps grammaticalize under conditions similar to those maximally favourable to the acquisition of a-constructions (Goldberg 2006).

Furthermore, I will relate my proposal to the similar suggestion by Schøsler (2007), who considers certain verb valency patterns as products of grammaticalization, and to the counterarguments to this idea by Noël (2007). Since Noël (2007) casts doubt on the analysis of completely schematic constructions as products of grammaticalization, this proves a fruitful context for a comparison with my earlier proposals as to the link between schematicity and grammaticalization (Author 2006). It seems that Noël overestimates the role of the substantive item in partially schematic constructions, and hence unduly draws a demarcation line between partially and completely schematic constructions. A further proposal to be considered in this connection is Diewald (2009).

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## Variation in mixed noun phrases – a statistic analysis of elicited data.

Rothe, Astrid  
(Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim)

When a noun is mixed in the language pairs German-French, German-Spanish and German-Italian, this noun normally needs to be assigned a gender. The assigned gender in these languages can be deduced from the article that agrees with the other-language noun. Several factors interact in the gender assignment to the other-language noun. These factors are amongst others: maintaining the noun's original gender (cf. (i)), assigning the gender of the translation equivalent (cf. (ii)), assigning the gender according to the transparent morphonological form of the other-language noun (cf. (iii)) and assigning the (established) gender of the established loanword (i.e. established in the language community of the receiving language) (cf. (iv)).

- (i) die<sub>D-DET-FEM</sub> *maison*<sub>F-NOUN-FEM</sub> (German equivalent *Haus*<sub>D-NOUN-NEUT</sub>, 'house')
- (ii) il<sub>IT-DET-MASC</sub> *Sonne*<sub>D-NOUN-FEM</sub> (Italian equivalent *sole*<sub>IT-NOUN-MASC</sub>, 'sun')
- (iii) die<sub>D-DET-FEM</sub> *luna*<sub>SP-NOUN-FEM</sub> (German equivalent *Mond*<sub>D-NOUN-MASC</sub>, 'moon')
- (iv) die<sub>D-DET-FEM</sub> *métro*<sub>F-NOUN-MASC</sub> (German equivalent *U(tergrund)-Bahn*<sub>D-NOUN-FEM</sub>, 'subway')

The main factor involved in assigning gender to the other-language noun in nominal mixings however does not lie in the noun itself but in the language proficiency of the speaker.

To test all these factors empirically a large corpus comprising a German-French part, a German-Spanish part and a German-Italian part was collected and analyzed statistically. The corpus consists of questionnaire data, mostly elicited articles for other-language nouns. 405 persons participated and each of them contributed approximately 262 data points (articles in mixed noun phrases). The participants display different language proficiency levels regarding the tested languages of the language pair, so that chosen articles – i.e. the assigned gender – by monolinguals (L2 proficiency in the language of the noun) can be compared to those of bilinguals. The assigned gender is coded and then analyzed by means of chi-square-tests.

The data reveal variation in the mixed noun phrases. The influence of the determining gender assignment factors on this variation is disentangled in a variation analysis. This variation analysis seems to fit the data better than former explanations for mixed noun phrases (e.g. Cantone 2007, Gonzalez 2005, Jake et al. 2002, 2005, Radford 2007).

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## Subjectification via metanalysis: the American vernacular "personal dative" construction.

Rotschy, Liela & Queller, Kurt  
(University of Idaho)

The vernacular American personal dative (PD) construction [I {got / have / need / love} me {a / some} {X}] involves a non-argument dative pronoun coreferential with the subject; it expresses speaker attitude with prototypically benefactive connotations (Christian 1991; Webelhuth & Dannenberg 2006; Conroy 2007; Horn 2008, 2010; Rotschy McLachlan 2011, in prep.).

- (1) **I shot me a elk** with a rack big enough to hold a dozen coats and hats (COCA 6/1/10).
- (2) **He had him a way with words**, did Owen Chantry (COHA 1/11/11).

Taking a construction grammar approach, this paper offers a diachronic analysis of PD semantics that we suggest could, if applied more broadly, provide a basis for a typological understanding of ethical datives cross-linguistically. We use corpus research methods to analyze data from the Corpus of Contemporary American English and from the Corpus of Historical American English (COCA and COHA). Our results show how the PD emerges from the creation/acquisition verb subclass of the ditransitive (Goldberg 1995). Instances like (3) reflect crucial "bridging contexts" (Heine, 2002) in which ditransitive usages may undergo reanalysis in terms of innovative PD semantics.

- (3) **I bought me a pickup truck**.

Such reconstrual results in subjectification (Traugott 1989, 2010) of the dative pronoun. The key mechanism, we argue,

is metanalysis (Croft 2000). Contextual nuances of subjective affect get imported (i.e., *hypoanalyzed*) into the core constructional semantics; the dative pronoun's argument status, meanwhile, gets bleached (or *hyperanalyzed*) away, as hearers perceive its redundancy with the construction's original default semantics (acquisition prototypically being for the acquirer's benefit). The resulting construction licenses usages in which the PD pronoun co-occurs with true recipient/beneficiary arguments:

- (4) **I bought me a pickup truck** for my son (Horn 2010).  
(5) **I made me a promise** to Bubba (COCA 6/1/10).

Loss of argument status further entails that the PD is no longer restricted to the three-argument accomplishment verbs required by the ditransitive, extending also into two-argument stative verbs:

- (6) **i want me that stick of butter**. i need it. i love it. i crave it (Google, 7/22/10).  
(7) You know **I love me some potatoes** (COCA 6/11/11).

Along with this syntactic shift comes a corresponding shift from the ditransitive CAUSE-RECEIVE schema, proposed by Goldberg, to a GETTING schema, consistent with two-argument contexts. The resulting constructional semantics, [GETTING + subjective affect], constrains which verbs occur felicitously with the PD, while accounting elegantly for both prototypical benefactive connotations and exceptional malefactive usages.

In the spirit of Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001), we take each ethical dative to represent a distinctive construction; however, applying our "subjectification via metanalysis" model to each can yield a typology that reveals and accounts for both commonalities and construction-specific constraints. For example, we suggest that the ethical dative reading of French

- (8) Jean **lui** a mangé tout le fromage

arises as a reanalyzed, subjectified version of the corresponding French external possessor construction. Morphosyntactic and semantic contrasts with the American PD are explainable with reference to distinct source constructions that have undergone subjectification via metanalysis.

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## The illocutionary value of subjective transitive constructions in English: a view from the Lexical Constructional Model.

Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco J. & González-García, Francisco  
(University of La Rioja & University of Almería).

The Lexical Constructional Model (LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2008) explains meaning construction at four levels of meaning representation: level 1 or argument structure; level 2 or implicational; level 3 or illocutionary; and level 4 or discursive. At all levels, the basic representational configuration is the constructional template (level 1 adds lexical templates) and meaning representations at any level are obtained *via* two basic cognitive processes: *subsumption* (or the incorporation of low-level structure into higher-level structure) and *cued inferencing* (based on the language user's construal of contextual clues). So far, except for the identification of level-1 illocutionary predicates (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez 2011), the LCM has discussed illocutionary meaning mostly by looking into the properties of level-3 *illocutionary constructions* (e.g. *You Must X; You Will X, Won't You?*). Here we show that speech act meaning can also be coded through level-1 argument structure constructions, with special focus on two variants of the *subjective-transitive* construction (González-García 2009). These configurations can occur with a number of strong manipulation verbs (e.g. *urge, want, need*) as well as verbs of liking and preference (e.g. *like, prefer, wish*). The former group, through subsumption into the construction, ends up conveying a directive illocutionary meaning similar to that of imperatives. Thus, the utterance *I want you out by lunchtime* expresses an order by the speaker compelling the addressee to leave his house by lunchtime. Similar directive meaning, ranging from an order to a forceful expectation, can be observed in other examples (e.g. *I don't want him going missing, I need it back again*), depending on the degree of forcefulness implicit in the lexical semantics of the verb fusing with the construction. Configurations of this type are treated in González-García (2008, 2009) as instances of the *manipulative subjective-wtransitive* construction. Other examples (*I like it that color, I prefer it cold*) convey the expression of a general preference on the part of the speaker in personal, direct terms. These are cases of the *generic subjective-transitive* construction. These two constructions are partially motivated by the cultural convention according to which people are expected to alter a state of affairs to the best of their ability so that it turns beneficial to other people (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi 2007). The higher directive value of the manipulative construction is explained by the explicit expression of desire, while in the generic construction the desire value has to be worked out through contextual clues. On the basis of naturally-occurring data from the British National Corpus, the Corpus of Contemporary American English, and WebCorp, we examine a broad range of examples of the two constructions and more indirect variants, such as those using *would* (e.g. *I would like it that color*). The indirect coloring of these variants is grounded in the potentiality of the state of affairs in question to refer to the actual state of affairs, which is but an application of the high-level POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY metonymy discussed by Panther & Thornburg (1998), and Ruiz de Mendoza & Pérez (2001) with reference to other constructions (cf. *I can see ['I actually see'] the river from my window*). We thus argue that a thorough account of the full communicative import of argument structure illocutionary constructions in English needs to take into account lexical-constructional subsumption, socio-cultural conventions, and high-level cognitive models of various kinds. All these factors are part and parcel of the set of explanatory tools provided by the LCM.

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## Le redoublement syntaxique régulier et irrégulier de l'italien: le rôle de l'accent secondaire dans la gémination de RS.

Russo, Michela  
(Université Paris 8 / UMR 7023 CNRS).

Le redoublement phonosyntaxique (désormais RS) est un phénomène propre à l'italo-toscan. Synchroniquement, on distingue en italien contemporain standard deux types de redoublement (cf. Loporcaro 1997; Camilli 1941; Fiorelli 1958):

RS régulier

(a) redoublement de la consonne initiale d'un mot quand elle est précédée:

(i) d'un polysyllabe oxyton quelconque: sanità, caffè, perché, fini, portò, virtù, così, però città pulita -> città[pp]ulita, così[dd]ice, però[tt]orna

(ii) d'un monosyllabe fort (correspond à toutes les formes à accent graphique): è, già, dà, né, può, ciò, sì, già, giù, là, lì, etc.

è vero -> è[vv]ero, dà[pp]ane < DĀT PANEM

RS irrégulier

(b) redoublement de la consonne initiale d'un mot quand elle est précédée:

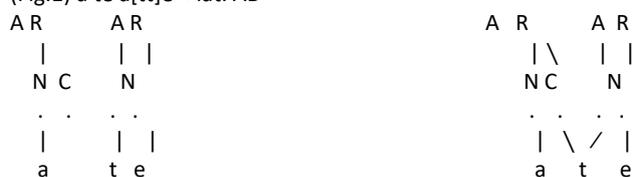
(i) de certains monosyllabes atones: a = AD, da = \*DE + AB, e = ET, fra = INFRA, ma, o = AUT (conjonction), etc.

(ii) de l'un des paroxytons come, dove, qualche, sopra.

RS irrégulier est déterminé lexicalement, et on le ramène historiquement à un processus d'assimilation en sandhi externe de consonne finale latine (de la [-C#] du Mot1 à la [#C-] du Mot2 dans la séquence Mot1Mot2): e ttu, a kkasā, kwalke pparte etc.

RS est phonologiquement prédictible dans la variété toscane et toscanisée, où il est déclenché par l'oxytonie du Mot1 (si Mot1 est un polysyllabe oxyton ou un monosyllabe fort). L'explication fournie pour la reduplication synchronique est que la structure syllabique de l'italien n'admet pas les voyelles accentuées brèves suivies de consonnes simples: \*VC, et que des deux structures possibles: VCC o VVC, le redoublement syntaxique produit la première. L'italien serait donc caractérisé phonologiquement par un « segment flottant », notion qui renvoie à des portées multiples (tiers) dans la structuration segmentale. La position vide représente la trace de /-t/ latin neutralisé. Dans le cadre multilinéaire, une importante littérature (notamment phonologie moraique, phonologie du gouvernement) aborde la représentation phonologique du RF régulier (entre autres Chierchia 1986; Bullock 1994; Larsen 1998). Mais les analyses précédentes n'ont pas pris en compte RS irrégulier ni le rapport entre RS régulier et irrégulier. Rien n'est dit sur la nature de la représentation phonologique de RS irrégulier, qui reste problématique, en l'absence de tout critère de prédictibilité synchronique: il n'apparaît pas de trace directe de RS conditionné par l'oxytonie. Si la motivation diachronique de RS est recherchée dans les phénomènes de sandhi latin évoqués cidessus, les modalités de réalisation distinguent nettement un RS phonologiquement prédictible et un RS irrégulier, non prédictible phonologiquement. Pour ce fait signalé régulièrement il n'a pas été fourni d'explications. Dans un cadre multilinéaire, on pourrait aussi interpréter le RS irrégulier dans son état lexical comme un phénomène dû à une « position » squelettale non spécifiée, C final, position consonantique:

(Fig.1) a te a[tt]e < lat. AD



Mais quel statut donner aux consonnes latentes qui se manifestent dans RS irrégulier? Les analyses multilinéaires distinguent entre position et contenu, et selon cette approche le /-t/ final serait donc phonologiquement flottant (non associé à une position qui serait C, 'consonantique'). Dans notre analyse, nous renonçons à distinguer entre position et contenu segmental. Les positions ou le squelette (positions 'CV') n'encodent pas la linéarité. Mais comment un segment non associé à une position peut-il avoir un ordre? Notre hypothèse est que l'accent secondaire déclenche RS dans les vulgaires italiens anciens (cf. aussi Waltereit 2004). Notre analyse pour ce qui est de l'aire toscane est basée sur les corpus textuels recueillis dans le TLIO à l'Istituto Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (cfr. www.oivi.cnr.it), tous les documents en vulgaire ancien sont antérieurs à 1375:

En toscan ancien:

,tu mmi 'tieni

,Tu mmi la 'sciasti

Le second élément redoublé à l'intérieur du syntagme forme une unité accentuelle avec le mot suivant et à l'intérieur du groupe syntagmatique se créent des hiérarchies accentuelles complexes par lesquelles, par exemple, les

monosyllabes toniques comme *tu*: ,tu mmi 'tieni se voient assigner une position tonique secondaire. En ancien italien les monosyllabes déclencheurs de RS sont atones et peuvent recevoir l'accent secondaire.

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### **Discontinuity - contiguity - continuity: a sociolinguistic analysis of English borrowings in German.**

Russo, Valentina  
(Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale")

This paper is an effort to define the influence of English on German during the last 30 years – with particular reference to young people language. It looks at the degree and nature of the borrowing process as linked to the gradual growth of USA as a cultural model (s. Russo / Buccione in press). The analysis was conducted on several issues of *Bravo* – the most widespread monthly teenager magazine in Germany – from the years 1986, 1996 and 2006. The results (about 11.000 borrowings) were then compared with other studies of the English-German contact (Fink 1970, 1980, 1997; Carstensen et al. 1972; Bus 1978; Viereck K. 1980; Yang 1990; Busse 1993; Inghult 2002, Onysko 2007) in order to extend the corpus to work on.

Corpus-based studies typically account for a quantitative increment of the English loanwords in German (types as well as tokens) and a high morphological productivity of the so-called "Denglish" (*Deutsch plus English*). In this paper I will try to sketch the diachronic cultural and structural development of this particular language contact by highlighting its discontinuous, contiguous and continuous aspects.

By classifying word and phrasal borrowings according to not only their blend degree and nature (s. Weinreich 1953, Haugen 1950, Gusmani 1997, Bombi 2009), but also to their grammatical category, the survey, text, phrasal and semantic frame in which they appear (s. Russo in press), and by linking the use of particular forms to single historical and political events occurred over the time, it is possible to draw discontinuity, contiguity, and continuity as characteristics of the contact scenario.

The three criteria (continuity, contiguity, discontinuity) correspond to three different kind of contact between English and German, each with its own morphologic, lexical, semantic and text features, which can be ascribed to different periods in different ways.

By analysing the corpus, the paper will furnish a general picture of the variation occurred during the aforementioned time frame. In particular, I will look at the relations between different variants of the same word or phrase. Furthermore the study will empirically exemplify the changes of habit in the use of English (British vs. American), German or *Denglish* variants for the same concept from period to period.

The end results will show an interesting phenomenon concerning an opposite trend in the influence of English on German: on the one hand on the morphological construction of mixed words, and on the other on the discourse (i.e. text) as a whole.

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**The unmarked word order of free verbal modifications in Czech.  
(with the main reference to the influence of verbal valency in the utterance)**

Rysova, Katerina  
(Charles University Prague).

The aim of the paper is to verify the unmarked sequence of the chosen contextually non-bound free verbal modifications (adverbials) in Czech depending on, particularly, valency, semantics, form, length and the type of utterance in which they occur. The results reported in the present paper are based on linguistic analysis of more than 1, 700 utterances from the data of the *Prague Dependency Treebank*.

The utterances selected have the form of declarative sentence without negation and they contain two (or more) contextually non-bound free verbal modifications (for example, *Narodila se roku 1984 v Praze – She was born in 1984 in Prague*). It was examined which order of modifications is more frequented (for example, if it is more typical in Czech to use *He was born when where or where when*) and which factors influence this order.

The existing research on unmarked order of free verbal modifications (Sgall, Hajicova, Buranova 1980; Uhlirova 1974; Firbas 1979) explored this matter without regard to the verb (and its valency characteristics) the modifications are connected with. Also the other factors such as the form of modification were explored only marginally rather than systematically. Up to now, the investigations assumed that the main factor influencing the order of verbal modifications is the semantics of the modifications concerned.

In the paper we argue that the factor of the verbal valency has a stronger impact on the unmarked word order sequence than is that of their semantics (the membership in the semantic category, for example, of location, time, manner and so on). In the canonical word order in Czech, the contextually non-bound optional free verbal modifications come first and only then the obligatory follow. The semantics decides the order of the optional free verbal modifications (not expressed by the dependent clause):

The established unmarked order of contextually non-bound examined free verbal modifications in Czech:

1. optional time (when)
- 2.–3. optional location (where)
- 2.–3. optional cause (why)
4. optional manner (how)
- 5.–8. optional direction (to where)
- 5.–8. obligatory location (where)
- 5.–8. obligatory manner (how)
- 5.–8. obligatory direction (to where)

In contrast to the optional free verbal modifications, the obligatory contextually non-bound free verbal modifications also have exhibited a clearly stronger tendency to appear in the role of rheme (focus) proper, i.e. the element carrying the highest degree of communicative dynamism.

At the same time, optional contextually non-bound free verbal modifications occur in both the anteposition and postposition. However, similar behaviour as that of the obligatory free verbal modifications may be also observed in case of the optional free verbal modifications expressing direction (to where).

The position of the contextually non-bound free verbal modification in the word order is also partially influenced by its form (the optional free verbal modifications expressed by adverbs occur in the anteposition more often than those expressed by a prepositional phrase), length (in average, the free verbal modifications in the anteposition tend to be one word shorter than in the postposition) and the type of the utterance (the utterance with the predicate in the second place versus the "appearance-on-the-scene" type of utterances).

The research reported on in the present paper is the initial phase of a more broader investigation on the influence of verbal valency as a word order factor in other (not only Slavic) languages.

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### Exploring the role of age in cL2 phonological acquisition.

Saceda Ulloa, Marta & Lleó, Conxita

(Collaborative Research Centre on Multilingualism - University of Hamburg).

The existence of age effects in L2 phonological acquisition is not controversial. Child–adult comparisons conclude that the older the L2 learners, the less native-like production they are able to achieve. The *Maturational Hypothesis* (MH) explains these differences between adults and children by structural and functional changes in the brain organisation at the age of four (Meisel, 2009). Another possible explanation, provided by the *Interaction Hypothesis* (IH), holds that the L1 transfer into L2 changes as a function of the state of development of the L1 phonological system at the time L2 learning begins (Flege 1992, 1999; Walley & Flege 1999). If these two hypotheses are right, the Age of Onset of Acquisition (AOA) should have a gradient effect in the phonological acquisition of an L2 during the childhood. That is, the younger the children, the more native-like production they achieve.

The aim of the study is to test both hypotheses (MH and IH) in a context of cL2 (second language in childhood) and provide new insights into differences in second language acquisition in childhood. To do that we compared the phonological productions of two German cL2 groups with different AOA (2- to 3-, and 5- to 7-years of age) in the target language (Spanish). We analyzed their Spanish productions with regard to three phonological processes: resyllabification, spirantization and PA assimilation of nasals. Because these processes are applied at all prosodic levels in Spanish, up to the Intonational Phrase, whereas their application is much more restricted in German, they allow for a comparison between the L1 and the L2 of the two groups of children.

The cL2 data have been analyzed after two years of exposure to the L2 Spanish. Our preliminary results show that the older cL2 learners tend to perform better than the younger ones: In Spanish, the older learners show higher percentages, especially of resyllabification and spirantization, than the younger ones. This result is surprising, as it does not agree with the predictions of none of the tested hypotheses (either MH or IH), but rather seems to provide some evidence against these hypotheses. Our findings suggest that in child L2 phonological acquisition, a later AOA may represent an advantage, and not a disadvantage for target-like production. However, an alternative interpretation is that a later AOA is only an acceleration factor, as we will be able to decide on the precise implications of AOA, once the acquisition process is finished.

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### Where do grammars come from?

Saddy, Douglas

(University of Reading)

Linguistics and the study of human grammars attempt to provide explanatory accounts of a particular cognitive phenomenon - language. Importantly, such accounts are not about the physiology that supports language behaviour but rather about the complex correlations and interdependencies found in the available observations. These observations rarely include physiological data and the validity of the theoretical accounts put forward never depend

upon physical parameters - this is a virtue. Neuroscience attempts to understand and explain the physical and physiological properties of the functioning brain. This includes brain processes that underpin cognitive phenomena. Importantly, such accounts are not about the cognitive observations but rather about the complex correlations and interdependencies found in the available physical observations. These observations rarely include cognitive data and the validity of the theoretical accounts put forward never depend upon cognitive parameters - this too is a virtue.

In between these two domains lie Psycho-Linguistics and Cognitive Neuroscience. Psycholinguistics works to marry Linguistic observations and Linguistic theory to theories about cognitive architecture and its fractionation (Psychology) and attempts to take into account and address Neuroscience results. Cognitive Neuroscience works to marry theories and models of brain functioning with broad notions of cognitive architecture and attempts to take into account and address Linguistic and Psycholinguistic results (or cognitive psychology results more generally). A core challenge for Biolinguistics, which occupies a middle ground, is finding a set of observables and a level of description that allows cognitive observation and theory to speak to neuro-physical observation and theory.

In this talk I will approach this challenge in two ways. One approach is through an examination of Lindenmayer Grammar systems (L-systems) and how humans perceive the regularities in the output of such grammars. I will report on a series of experiments that demonstrate that humans are particularly good at discriminating between L-systems and recognising asymmetric regularities in their output despite being poor at recognising other types of regularity. I will argue that L-grammars characterise a wide range of regular phenomena found in human grammars and provide a model of cognitive building blocks that could be linked with lexical information to provide the rudiments of a linguistic system.

The other approach is to investigate the system dynamics found in brain recordings associated with language processing. The kind of self embedding systems characterised by L-grammars are representative of system dynamics that arise from competing physical interactions. Such competitions are known to exist both in the developing and mature brain. EEG and fMRI measurements and non-linear modelling of mesoscopic neural activity associated with language processing show wide spread self-organised criticality; a property also found in the expression of L-systems. I will argue that the system dynamic behaviour found in the neuro-dynamics of language processing is consistent with the properties of certain L-systems. Taken together these observations suggest that portions of both grammar and the physiology that supports it follow from system level properties that derive from physical constraints. At the least, L-systems provide a potential dynamic framework for unifying linguistic and neuroscientific theory.

### Inferring the development of a construction on the basis of synchronic corpus data.

Sahkai, Heete & Vainik, Ene  
(Institute of the Estonian Language).

This paper was inspired by the discovery of an Estonian complex predicate construction which displays a very clear semantic structure in synchronic corpus data: the class of words occurring in the empty slot of the construction is semantically open but clusters around a very coherent core group. We will propose that this structure can be interpreted as reflecting the gradual extension of the construction. The construction can be seen to support the proposal of Barðdal (2008) that productivity of constructions is a function of the inverse relation between semantic coherence and type frequency, but it also suggests other potential factors of the extension of constructions.

The construction consists of the finite verb *minema* 'go' and an event noun in the translative case form, and denotes the beginning of the nominalized event. It occurs primarily in the colloquial register and is expressively marked. The construction occurs in a rare subjectless clause pattern, but the agent of the nominalized event may be optionally expressed as an adjunct-like NP in adessive case form (1):

(1) (Neil)                      läks                      kakluseks  
   3pl.adess go.                      3sg.past fight.                      transl "They started to fight"

Our data consists of the instances of the construction extracted from the Balanced Corpus of Estonian and ordered by association strength using the t-score association measure (Muischnek, Sahkai 2009).

The class of nouns occurring in the construction is semantically open but it has a remarkably coherent structure: more than half of the nouns denote verbal or physical conflict or otherwise non-cooperative collective activities, and most of the remaining nouns constitute a radial family resemblance category around this central group. The conflict words also come at the top of the list ranked by association strength. This can be seen to suggest that the construction was initially restricted to conflict nouns, and may have grown out of just a few fixed expressions. These initial expressions seem to be an extension of a change-of-state construction which consists of the verb *minema* 'go' and a translative adjective or (weather) noun, and may likewise occur in the subjectless clause pattern:

(2) Läheb                      valgeks / tormiks  
   go.3sg                      light.transl / storm.transl "It's getting light / It's starting to storm"

The fact that conflict words belong to a very densely lexicalized semantic area, i.e. have many synonyms, may have facilitated the analogical extension of the initial expression(s). This may have led to a pattern that combined high semantic coherence with some type frequency, opening the way to further extension.

The development of the construction cannot be traced on the basis of historical records, because of its colloquial nature and the scarcity of historical records existing for Estonian. However, there is some evidence that can be taken to support the proposed development. In our paper we will present this evidence and discuss further possible factors of the extension of the construction, suggested by a comparison with another complex predicate construction that seems to fulfill the same preconditions of extension, but has not become productive to the same extent.

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### Hierarchical lexical domains in a french-spanish dictionary for translators.

Sánchez Cárdenas, Beatriz & Faber Benítez, Pamela B.  
(Universidad de Granada)

This article presents the theoretical background of TRANSVERB, an electronic dictionary intended for translators with the language combination French-Spanish. Verbs are used as an example, but this dictionary is to be enlarged to include other word categories, especially nouns.

Based on the hypothesis that human cognition organises concepts in semantic categories (Tranel et al. 2001; Damasio et al. 2004), TRANSVERB is conceptually structured in lexical domains (Mingorance 1985, 1987, 1990, 1995; Faber and Mairal 1999). The specification of these domains is based on premises from the following theoretical frameworks:

(a) Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993, 1997) and the theory of *Aktionsart*, in which verbs are classified into aspectual classes such as *state*, *activity* or *achievement*. Each class determines the actantial structure and the semantic behaviour of the verbs (Vetters 1996; Pustejovsky 1995; François 1990; Lyons 1997).

(b) Stepwise Lexical Decomposition (Dik 1978, 1989). An extraction of information from dictionaries is necessary in order to atomize verb meaning. This factorisation gets to a terminal point in which each verb corresponds to a general verb, called *genus*, which reflects its nuclear meaning. The set of nuclear meanings thus obtained substantial overlap with the Wierzbicka's semantic primitives (1995, 1996). Each nuclear meaning is linked to a lexical domain.

Consequently, verbs that share the same actantial structure and genus belong to the same lexical domain. Once the members of a lexical domain are established, the conceptual structure of the domain is mapped out. According to some linguists (Lyons 1977; Martín Mingorance 1984; Langacker 1988; Apresjan 1993, Croft 1993; Waxman 1994; Faber and Mairal 1999) and terminologists (Sager 1990; Cabré 1998; Bessé 2000) semantic categories are organised in a hierarchical network structure. The concept of hyponymy has been applied to verbs by WordNet researchers. The semantic dependence relation of troponymy (Fellbaum 1990; Miller et Fellbaum 1991; Miller 1992) is conclusive in determining the hierarchical structure of lexical domains.

The interface of TRANSVERB will be shown in a practical example. Counting verbs will be used as a case in point.

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### Is the lexical route a monolingual matter?

Sánchez Gutiérrez, Claudia Helena  
(University of Salamanca)

According to dual route theories of visual word recognition, we can process a lexical unit as a sum of individual features, letters, etc., or as a complete form. Criteria to chose either of these routes are various, even though frequency seems to be unanimously accepted as a relevant variable. Therefore, frequent words would not need to be processed linearly, whereas infrequent words would be decomposed into their constitutive units. The experiment here presented aimed to apply this phenomenon to an immersion context, where native Spanish speakers would be constantly exposed to English. If dual route theories were correct, the frequency of the Spanish vocabulary being diminished because of the contextual predominance of English, we might expect that Spanish speakers could experience some difficulty using the lexical route. In a lexical decision task, we presented Spanish words (*aceptación*), and a series of pseudowords, created by the substitution of their regular Spanish suffix by a new one. Pseudowords were either based on the competition of suffixes in Spanish (-*miento* and -*ción* are used in the same lexical context, so that it is linguistically legal to use *aceptamiento* instead of *aceptación*, even though the latter is the one commonly used) or created according to the similarity to their English equivalent (*aceptancia*, based on *acceptance*). Independently of the correction of the final response, our American pool showed much slower response times than the control group. This difference was particularly noticeable in the *word* condition, which may suggest that well-known Spanish words that should usually be processed through the lexical route have to take the sublexical route when the subjects are in a foreign language environment.

### Evidentiality, mirativity and transitivity: how does the nature of evidence affect the coding of events?

Sandman, Erika & Kittilä, Seppo  
(University of Helsinki)

Evidentiality concerns the nature of evidence we have for our statements; e.g., do we have firsthand knowledge, or are we saying something based on hearsay. Mirativity, in turn, has to do with the unexpectedness of an occurrence: does an event correspond to the speaker's expectations or not. Last, transitivity comprises a bundle of features, such as agency and affectedness that distinguish between different events.

The very brief illustration of the notions above does not seem to point to any features that they should have in common. However, as shown, for example, by DeLancey (e.g. 1986, 1990, 2001), Curnow (2003) and Watanabe

(1984), evidentiality, mirativity and transitivity are closely related notions. Most notably, agency (especially volitionality) is closely related to evidentiality (see Curnow 2003). For example, in Lhasa Tibetan, Wutun and Tsafiki evidential markers are used for expressing a lower degree of volitionality, typically with first person pronouns. Moreover, evidential markers normally not used with first person pronouns may express mirativity when they do occur with first person pronouns. Watanabe, in turn, has shown that in Japanese the formal transitivity of clauses correlates, among other things, with the degree of certainty we have for the occurrence of an event.

In this paper, we will approach the interplay of evidentiality, mirativity and transitivity from a broader, cross-linguistic perspective. In addition to the generally acknowledged relation between evidentiality and volitionality, we will consider other features of transitivity and their relation to evidentiality and mirativity. These include control, expectedness of events, concreteness of events, and person, all of which are relevant to semantic (and formal) transitivity of clauses (see e.g. Naess 2007). What is important is that the discussed elements, e.g. markers of indirect evidence, like inferential or reported evidentials, non-visual sensory evidentials and in some languages, visual evidentials are related to transitivity decrease. We will argue that the most evident property evidentiality and mirativity share with transitivity is salience. Events that we have not witnessed ourselves or that occur unexpectedly are less salient to us than events that we have witnessed, or even instigated ourselves. All features of transitivity expressed by the scrutinized evidentiality/mirativity markers can be explained by referring to a lower degree of salience. For example, habitual, i.e. less concrete, events are not salient to us when we speak about them, and events carried out by others are less salient than our own actions. Second, events that we can witness only via their outcome are, as a whole, clearly less salient, since we do not have direct evidence for their instigation. This kind of backgrounding is readily expressed by evidential markers. For example, in Wutun and Lhasa Tibetan, evidential markers other than ego-evidentials, which indicate speaker's volitional instigation of the event, are related to backgrounding, while in languages such as Tariana and Jarawara, evidential markers other than direct evidentials can also be used to express non-volitional instigation.

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### Linguistic globalization: the nordic experience and experiment.

Sandøy, Helge  
(University of Bergen)

Since the 1960s the Nordic language boards have been concerned and worried about the Anglo-American influence on the languages of the Nordic countries. In 2001 a research group started a comprehensive empirical study both of this influence on language use and of people's attitudes towards loan words (import words). To operationalize the notion of loan word we studied words that had entered the languages after the Second World War (i.e. 'modern import words').

The aim of the project was to obtain more precise knowledge about the extent of import words and to gain insight into both the import process and the development of language attitudes. These insights should be facilitated by making systematic comparative studies of seven language communities, all of which with a specific history and with cultural characteristics. But at the same time the Nordic communities are very similar in economic and social structure, and thus they make up a well-suited laboratory. The seven communities are: Iceland, The Faroe Islands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Swedish-speaking Finland and Finnish-speaking Finland. A set of sub-projects with restricted research topics have been carried out in all communities with identical research methods. Thereby we have been able to compare quantitatively how English-positive or purist each language community is in various perspectives.

I want to present an overview of our results as far as language use is concerned. The results show patterns that do not fully correspond with widespread stereotypes that the people of the Nordic countries have about themselves and of each other, and they demonstrate historical changes in the import rate that are very interesting with respect to testing hypotheses about socio-economical forces causing different inclinations to importing words, and about possible restrictions from linguistic structure on the acceptance of import words. We studied e.g. import words in newspapers from the two years 1975 and 2000 and found that Norway had changed during this quarter of a century from being a rather "purist" country to being the leading language community with respect to using modern import words.

Several aspects of language structure were studied in order to test whether and how language purism differs between lexicon, morphology, phonology and spelling (cf. Thomas 1991). The patterns of these structural levels are obviously not identical, and similar languages "behave" differently.

The Nordic language laboratory has provided us with solid comparative data that can help us describing the language situation more precisely, but also that we can exploit when trying to develop further and more precise hypotheses about linguistic change and causes of change.

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### 'Go' and 'come' as sources of directive constructions.

Sansò, Andrea & Mauri, Caterina  
(Università dell'Insubria; Università di Pavia)

That 'go' and 'come' are possible sources of directive constructions (imperatives, hortatives, etc.) is not new to grammaticalization studies (Heine & Kuteva 2002; 69, 159; Aikhenvald 2010: 346ff.). When it grammaticalizes into a directive marker, the verb 'go' (= motion *away from the speaker*) may maintain its deictic component, giving rise to dislocative directives, or may develop into a general directive marker, without reference to motion. In Tetun, for instance, *bá* 'go' is used to invite the addressee to do something, even when no motion is implied:

(1) Tetun (Williams-van Klinken *et al.* 2002: 68)

*imi hán bá*  
2PL eat go  
'You (plural) eat up!'

The 2nd person directive form of a verb meaning 'come' (= motion *towards the speaker*) develops into a marker of commands addressed to 1st + 2nd person performers in which no motion towards the speaker is implied (cf. (2)-(3)). The source constructions in this path are a family of complex constructions in which the addressee is invited to move towards the speaker, and to undertake the desired action together with her ('come [and] (we will) do X', 'come to do X', etc.):

(2) Colloquial Modern Hebrew (Glinert 1989: 289)

*bo' n-ešev ba-mxonit*  
come:IMP.2SG.M FUT.1PL-sit in-car  
'Let's sit in the car!'

(3) French (web data)

*"Ohlala, un tremblement de terre !!", "Viens on va mettre à jour notre statut sur Facebook !!"*

In this paper we will discuss how directive constructions deriving from forms of deictic motion verbs emerge, based on a 200-language typological sample and on corpus data coming from better-described languages. In particular, we will discuss (i) whether "go" > directive can be considered as an independent development or as connected to the pathway "go" > aspectual prospective marker (given the future-projecting semantics of commands); (ii) whether the path "go" > directive can be considered as a case of verb serialization, given that some of the languages in which such a pathway is attested have serial verb constructions; (iii) which motivations are at play in the reanalysis of biclausal constructions such as [*come* (we) do[1PL] X] as 1st person plural directives; and (iv) which structural phenomena (e.g. loss of categorial status) accompany the grammaticalization of 'go'/'come' as directive markers.

Our conclusion is that in both these pathways it is the salience of the deictic dimension in commands that is responsible for the reinterpretation of a motion verb in a chain of verbs as marking the perspective of the speaker rather than motion proper. 'Go eat' no longer expresses motion + another action, but simply the fact that the eating must be done somewhere else (or where the speaker is situated and together with her in the case of 'come (we) eat'): in other words, the speaker not only orders the performer to move, but also casts herself as the deictic centre of the order. In the course of time, the motion component may become secondary and the simple deictic anchoring connected to 'go'/'come' may become central.

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## Complex sentences and biolinguistics

Sauerland, Uli  
(ZAS, Berlin)

The human ability to produce and comprehend complex sentential structures is of central interest to the biolinguistic enterprise (Chomsky 1957, Hauser et al. 2002). Specifically, recursive application of a generative rule constitutes such complexity. For concreteness, we distinguish between three levels of generative rules: phoneme-level 'Concatenate', morpheme-level 'Merge' and, at the highest level of granularity, sentence-level embedding. Of these three, we focus on the highest level: sentence embedding. In this talk, we present novel evidence on the variability, but also universality of sentence embedding from Teiwa, Pirahã, Matses, and child language and its tight link to false belief. In contrast to our view, a major strand of work in historical linguistics assumes that syntactic complexity has arisen recently in the history of humanity: Deutscher (2000, 2005) claims that Old-Babylonian (1750 b.c.) did not have complex syntax and suggests a more general 'me-Tarzan-you-Jane'-stage of language. More recently, Dahl (2004), Givón (2009), Heine and Kuteva (2007), Sampson et al. (2009) speak of a genesis of complex syntax. Finally, at least some researchers (Everett 2005, Klamer 2010) claim that complex syntax is also not a universal property of all living languages. These views are integrated by Wray and Grace (2007) into a general claim that complex syntax only arises in speech communities where talk with strangers happens, i.e. communities greater than single hunter-gatherer tribes. Embedded sentences are one of the primary uses of recursion in syntactic analysis. But in many languages, embedded sentences cannot be purely syntactically characterized: In formal grammar theory, only central self-embedding requires recursive context-free rules (Chomsky 1956). Hence in languages without centre embedding of clauses, embedding must be justified by appeal to semantic universals. In particular, the assumption that independent sentences (1) can alternate in order without a change in meaning, while an sentence-embedding sequence (2) cannot.

(1) John predicted it. Mary won the lottery. == Mary won the lottery. John predicted it.

(2) John dreamed Mary won the lottery. =/= Mary won the lottery. John dreamed.

We first discuss the distinction between direct and indirect speech. Specifically, we show that in English child language (Hollebrandse 2007) and in languages that have only direct speech (Matses), direct speech allows extraction and shares other properties of indirect speech. Therefore, we see license put aside the distinction between direct and indirect speech for the time being.

We then discuss two living languages that have been claimed not to allow embedded sentences: Teiwa and Pirahã. For both, we present novel evidence from sentence production in a false-belief scenario and from sentence comprehension. The production evidence shows that in sentence production a specific pattern with a fixed order of the verbs for say/think and a second verb characterizing the belief is used by the speakers to describe the false belief. The comprehension evidence on the most frequent construction further substantiates that they are understood as embedded sentences. This establishes the presence of sentence-embedding in two living languages where it has been disputed. The Teiwa evidence furthermore is important to the interpretation of historical data. Namely, Teiwa uses the sequence pronoun+say as complementizer:

(3) Natan a na walas-man [ a wa a xaf karim ol ]  
N. he me tell-not [ he say he boat small buy ]  
'Natan didn't tell me that he bought a small boat.'

In many languages, the complementizer is derived from the verb say or similar verbs (cf. G'uldemann 2008). This has been taken as evidence of a recent origin of embedding from paratactic sequences involving say (e.g. Deutscher 2000). However, Teiwa would represent the origin of such a historical development, but we have shown that it has full embedding. This entails that embedded sentences may be historically older than previously assumed. Overall our evidence supports the claim that complex syntax is an evolved trait closely tied to the expression of belief states.

### Hierarchical alignment and syntactic ergativity in Yakkha (Kiranti).

Schackow, Diana  
(University of Leipzig)

#### Introduction

This paper introduces a recently found construction in Yakkha (Kiranti) that combines hierarchical alignment with long-distance agreement (LDA) and syntactic ergativity in complement clauses.

Syntactic ergativity is defined as the identical treatment of S and P arguments by a syntactic construction such as conjunction reduction, relativization or complementation. There are only few analyses of syntactic ergativity in infinitive complement constructions, cf. Bickel and Nichols (2001) for a case in Belhare (also Kiranti).

Hierarchical alignment is the ‘morphological and syntactic treatment of arguments according to their relative ranking on the referential (...) hierarchies’ (Siwierska, 1998). With reference to agreement, this means that ‘access to inflectional slots for subject and/or object is based on person, number, and/or animacy rather than (or no less than) on syntactic relations’ (Nichols, 1992).

#### The phenomenon

The case described here was found in Yakkha, a language from the eastern branch of the Kiranti family (Tibeto-Burman). The verbal morphology cross-references actors and undergoers in transitive verbs. There is no hierarchical alignment in the agreement morphology. Hierarchical alignment can however be found in one of the complement constructions of Yakkha, namely in the obligative, constructed with a copula as matrix verb. The copula has only forms for first and second person, and agrees with the embedded S in intransitive clauses (zero for third person). As this copula has only one agreement slot, the question arises, which arguments of transitive (and ditransitive) verbs will trigger agreement in the matrix verb. This choice depends on the referential properties of the actor and the undergoer. The matrix verb agrees with whatever is a speech-act participant, as shown in example (1). In competing scenarios (1>2 or 2>1), the copula always agrees with the P argument. Thus, the P argument is aligned with the S argument in this construction, a case of syntactic ergativity, illustrated by example (2).

This construction is worth discussing for many reasons. On the one hand, the syntactic ergativity demonstrates that matrix verbs like ‘must’ and their embedded complements do not always treat their S and A arguments alike, which was stated as a universal by Dixon (1994). On the other hand, it shows that even if the regular agreement of a given language is not organized according to a referential hierarchy, the syntactic constraints may very well access this hierarchy.

The Nakh-Daghestanian language Dargwa exhibits the same pattern in verbal agreement (Zúñiga, 2007), but in Yakkha, only this particular complement verb shows hierarchical alignment. Unfortunately, also recent grammars, e.g. Doornenbal (2009); Rutgers (1998) on other Kiranti languages, are silent about the various patterns one can find in complement constructions. For instance, Yakkha shows at least five different complement constructions, only one of which was introduced here. The construction also raises theoretical questions about which clause a raised argument belongs to. More detailed descriptions would allow better comparison within and between language families, and could work as input and corrective for claims about the universals of language and for theories about raising in general.

#### Examples

- (1) a. **ka**      *uŋci*      *sop-ma*      **ŋan**  
 1s.NOM    3ns.NOM    watch-INF    cop.1s  
 ‘I have to watch them.’ (SAP>3: A)
- b. *uŋ*      **nda**      *sop-ma*      **gan**  
 3s.NOM    2s.NOM    watch-INF    cop.2  
 ‘He has to watch you.’ (3>SAP: P)
- (2) a. *ka*      **nda**      *sop-ma*      **gan**  
 1s.NOM    2s.NOM    watch-INF    cop.2s  
 ‘I have to watch you.’ (SAP>SAP: P)
- b. *nda*      **ka**      *sop-ma*      **ŋan**  
 2s.NOM    1s.NOM    watch-INF    cop.1s  
 ‘You have to watch me.’ (SAP>SAP: P)

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### Mood and the split marking of Emai adjuncts.

Schaefer, Ron & Egbokhare, Francis  
 (Southern Illinois University Edwardsville and University of Ibadan)

The adjunct/argument distinction is widely utilized in language description (Matthews 1981, Croft 2001). It is traditionally associated with optional/obligatory syntactic status or circumstance/participant semantic nature. Within sub-Saharan Africa, however, adjunct/argument nature has received far less descriptive attention (Watters 2000).

This paper explores adjunct and argument behavior in Emai, a West Benue Congo language within southern Nigeria's Edoid group. Typologically, Emai is SVO with lexical and grammatical tone but little inflectional morphology and few prepositions. Its complex predicate reveals verbs in series as well as postverbal particles.

In Emai, verbs such as *re* 'take' and *hian* 'cut' precede event arguments (*òjè ré ópìà híán óràn* [Oje take cutlass cut wood] 'Oje used a cutlass to cut wood.' Adjuncts like *òdè* 'yesterday' and *úkpédè lí ózèèà* 'on the third day' in contrast, tend to be unmarked (*ójé ré ópìà híán óràn òdè* 'Oje used a cutlass to cut wood yesterday') or marked by preposition *vbi* (*ójé híán' óràn vbi úkpédè lí ózèèà* [Oje cut wood LOC day R third] 'The man cut wood on the third day'). Emai adverbial adjuncts also raise to high the right edge low tone of a preceding noun phrase, as in *óràn* versus *óràn òdè*, while arguments do not.

Emai adjunct and argument behavior varies with sentence mood. Both are postverbal in declaratives but occupy the left periphery in interrogatives. Locative adjuncts exhibit preposition marking in declaratives, but in interrogatives, where they correspond to a left periphery pronominal, they add the verb *za* to the predicate. Thus, *ímè* 'farm' in declarative *ójé híán' óràn vbi ímè* [Oje cut wood LOC farm] 'Oje cut wood on the farm' appears in postverbal position preceded only by preposition *vbi*; no *za* marks it. However, when *ímè* corresponds to an interrogative pronoun, the verb *za* must precede predicate elements (*ébé' ójé zá' híán' óràn?* [where Oje BE.L cut wood] 'Where did Oje cut wood?'). Dissimilar behavior characterizes locative arguments. As an argument of verb *o* 'enter' in declaratives, *ímè* in postverbal position follows preposition *vbi* (*òjè ó vbi ímè* [Oje enter LOC farm] 'Oje entered the farm'). In interrogatives, where *ímè* corresponds to left periphery pronoun *ébé'* 'where' (*ébé' ójé ó'-i?* [where Oje enter-F] 'Where did Oje enter?'), *za* is disallowed (*\*ébé' ójé zá' ó?*).

Split marking also characterizes temporal adjuncts, where *re* 'take' in series is obligatory in interrogatives but ungrammatical in declaratives. *íkpédè èèà* 'for three days' is postverbal and unmarked in declaratives (*ójé híán' óràn íkpédè èèà* [Oje cut wood days three] 'Oje cut wood for three days.' When this adjunct corresponds to an interrogative pronominal at the left periphery (*íkpédè èkà*), *re* precedes other predicate forms (*íkpédè èkà ójé ré' híán óràn?* [day quantity Oje take cut wood] 'For how many days did Oje cut wood?'). We interpret these and other Emai facts as support for latent verb marking of locative and temporal adjuncts, thus supporting the notion that adjuncts consist of semantic predicate phrases whose scope relation to the erstwhile declarative predicate must be maintained, regardless of mood.

### A closer look at ergativity in Tundra Yukaghir. Typological implications.

Schmalz, Mark  
(ACLC, University of Amsterdam)

The phenomenon of ergativity in Tundra Yukaghir has, unfortunately, not received the attention it undoubtedly deserves. In fact, its very recognition is half-hearted. Kreinovič (1982: 232-235), who was the most prominent scholar of Tundra Yukaghir preferred to speak of "quasi-ergative sentence structure". Around the same time Comrie (1981a: 261) noted the absolutive-ergative distributional pattern of the argumental focus markers in Yukaghir, only to state in his work dedicated specifically to Yukaghir focus (Comrie 1992: 58) that it seemed 'to be a fairly isolated instance of ergativity' in that language. In one of her recent works Maslova (2006: 177) evokes the notion of 'focus-oriented split intransitivity' in this connection and merely mentions that focal elements follow the ergative-absolutive pattern. All this might have been the reason why the highly remarkable features of Yukaghir ergativity have gone unnoticed among linguists. Ironically, even Dixon (1994: 4) states in his authoritative book on ergativity that "Chukotko-Kamchatkan ... and Yukaghir show ergative grammar", but the corresponding fascinating data from Yukaghir are not reflected in his treatise.

In accordance with the existing definition of ergativity, it is a purely distributional phenomenon (Meščaninov 1967, Klimov 1973, Seely 1977, Dixon 1994) characterized by S and O being treated identically among each other and differently from A. This definition is fully applicable to Tundra Yukaghir. No matter how marginal the manifestations of ergativity in Tundra Yukaghir might appear to someone, it does not make them less real. If "current practice is to label a construction ergative when it contains any ergative or absolutive pattern," (Gildea & de Castro Alves 2010: 161), then a language must be labeled ergative when it contains any ergative pattern. Once it has been accepted that Tundra Yukaghir is a *bona fide* ergative language, it has to be recognized that ergativity in that language displays several features that are typologically very rare, maybe even unique. What are these outstanding properties?

Since it is only the (pro)nominal focus markers that show an ergative distributional pattern, the ergativity is split, the factor conditioning the split being the pragmatic function of the argument. This type of ergativity split has never been described in the typological literature.

Apart from that, the degree of markedness of the core arguments encoded following the ergative scheme is anything but common: A has no formal marking while S and O are overtly marked, which goes against the generalization that absolutive is never more marked than ergative (Dixon 1994: 58).

Finally, the scope of ergativity in Tundra Yukaghir does not allow classifying it as either intra-clausal (morphological) or extra-clausal (syntactic) in terms of Dixon (1994). Since two core arguments with different syntactic functions can only be focalized, and thus follow the ergative encoding pattern, in two separate clauses, I propose the term 'trans-clausal', or 'pragmatic', ergativity to identify the situation in Tundra Yukaghir.

All these extraordinary facts should find a befitting place in the typological inventory of ergativity.

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## Diminutive "-let" across varieties of English.

Schneider, Klaus P.  
(University of Bonn)

The study of diminutives has a long history, yet we still do not know very much about their use in communication. Research has predominantly dealt with formal and structural properties of diminutives, notably with morphological, phonotactic and prosodic features of suffixed forms. Pragmatic and discursal aspects, by contrast, have been largely neglected. It has, however, been argued that the complex nature of diminutives can only be adequately understood if both grammatical and communicative features are taken into consideration (cf. Schneider 2003).

The few available investigations which adopt such a comprehensive framework (first and foremost Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994, and Schneider 2003) offer a wealth of insights, but also display a number of limitations. To begin with, these investigations are essentially qualitative in nature. The researchers are not interested, for instance, in type or token frequencies. Secondly, context and genre are not sufficiently controlled. This applies in particular to macrosocial variation in terms of social distance and power, and to the impact of discourse types and subtypes. Finally, macrosocial variation is not systematically taken into consideration. This concerns, in particular, variables such as nation, region, age and gender. These gaps are addressed in the present paper.

This paper focuses on diminutives in English exclusively, and more specifically on forms in *-let*, i.e. on such forms as *cubelet*, *playlet* or *wifelet*. In the research literature, it has been argued that *-let* is the most typical diminutive suffix of the English language (cf., e.g., Rotzoll 1910), and among the most productive suffixes generally of present-day English (cf. Cannon 1987). Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi (1994), on the other hand, characterize it as only moderately productive. Several authors maintain that *-let* is typically used in American English, but not in British English (e.g. Marchand 1969), and Schneider (2003) observes that it occurs predominantly in writing and more particularly in fictional rather than in non-fictional texts.

These claims are tested by adopting an approach based, in essence, on Schneider's (2003) integrative formal-functional framework, which is, however, supplemented by the systematic analysis of situational, social and regional variation (cf., e.g., Barron & Schneider 2009). This approach combines qualitative and quantitative methods and involves the employment of electronic corpora (cf., e.g., Adolphs 2008, Murphy 2010). The corpora employed include several components of the International Corpus of English (ICE), notably ICE-GB, ICE-Ireland, ICE-Canada and ICE-Jamaica, which permit direct comparison of different spoken and written genres across national varieties of English. Also employed is the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for its enormous size (over 400 million words). Among the tools used in the analysis is the recently developed Google Ngram Viewer.

The results of the present examination provide a more complete picture of English diminutives in *-let* than is currently available. In particular, more detailed evidence is provided about the frequency of these forms, their functions in written and spoken discourse, and their distribution across varieties of English.

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**There is an odd pronoun jumping out at you and me.  
A first person dual inclusive pronoun as an explicit marker of joint attention.**

Schultze-Berndt, Eva  
(University of Manchester)

In Jaminjung, a Non-Pama-Nyungan language of the Western Mindi group, the absolutive form of the first person dual inclusive ('12du') pronominal *mind* has a curious function in addition to its use as an emphatic free S or O pronoun. Cliticized to the inflecting verb, it appears in contexts such as those illustrated in examples (1) to (3). Not only are speaker and addressee not core participants in these examples, but they are also not involved as adversely affected participants (another function fulfilled by absolutive pronominal clitics in Jaminjung) or as beneficiaries (encoded by oblique pronominal clitics).

(1) *wirib-ni*                 *wagurra*                 *nguya-nguyang*                 *gan-angga-m=mind*  
dog-ERG                 rock                 RDP-sniff                 3sg>3sg-get/handle-PRS=12du  
'the dog is sniffing the rock (as you and I can see)' (from a Frog Story narrative)

(2) *majani*                                 *Guyawud*                 *ga-gba=mind*  
maybe                                 Hungry                 3sg-be.PST=12du  
*gani-mindi-ya=*                         *Mindi*                         *ngabulu*                                 *gujarding*  
3sg>3sg-eat-PRS=                         12du                         milk/breast                                 mother  
'maybe it was hungry; it sucks (its) mother's milk/teats'  
(comment on a suckling puppy, visible to both speaker and addressee)

(3) *mayadan*                         *gan-angga-m=mind*  
bark                                 3sg>3sg-get/handle-PRS=12du  
'she is taking bark off' (speaker and addressee are watching a video  
showing a woman cutting bark off a tree with an axe)

Available data suggest that this clitic has the function of marking joint attention, similarly to what has been argued for demonstratives by Diessel (2006). It is only used if speaker and addressee(s) share direct evidence, usually visual evidence, of an event which is either ongoing at speaking time, or the results of which are witnessed at speaking time. Moreover, it is almost always used by the speaker to alert the addressee to the presence of a new participant or event. For example, in the Frog Story narrative from which example (1) is taken, it appears 24 times in total, of which 8 times at the start of new scene (i.e. a new page in picture book), 12 times when introducing a new event or participant within the same scene, and 4 times when offering a new interpretation of a scene or a summary or reflection statement.

To our knowledge, such a use of a personal pronoun has not been discussed in the literature so far. Upon reflection, it seems surprising that it is found more frequently, since as a speaker and addressee deictic, a 1<sup>st</sup> person dual inclusive pronoun would appear to lend itself well to indicating joint attention. It is suggested that a partial answer to the existence of the phenomenon in Jaminjung lies in the highly diversified use of pronominal clitics in general in this and surrounding languages.

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**Competition within the German case system.**

Scott, Alan  
(University of Nottingham)

Standard German is a rarity among the Germanic languages in retaining a morphological case system, although its genitive case is generally said to be in serious decline in modern German (e.g. Hentschel & Weydt 2003); this perception is found also in lay linguistic work (e.g. Sick 2004). In Standard German, the genitive is acquired relatively late (Weerman & de Wit 1999); in all its roles, it competes with at least one other construction.

For German, there is not yet a comprehensive corpus-based portrayal of the state of the genitive and its relationship to its competitors (Petig 1997 focuses on four prepositions). This paper is an attempt to fill this gap by assessing the relative use of the genitive and its competitors in corpora of usage data from various registers. The findings contribute to the research on the development of the genitive in other Germanic languages, e.g. Allen (2008, English) and Börjars (2003, Swedish). The competition addressed is exemplified in (1)-(5).

Adnominally, the genitive competes with the preposition *von* 'of' (1), possessive *-s* (2) and the periphrastic possessive (3):

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | das Auto meines Vaters<br>the car my.GEN father.GEN<br>'my father's car'   | das Auto von meinem Vater<br>the car of my.DAT father |
| (2) | das Auto meines Vaters<br>the car my.GEN father.GEN<br>'(my) father's car' | (?mein) Vaters Auto<br>(?my) father.POSS car          |
| (3) | das Auto meines Vaters<br>the car my.GEN father.GEN<br>'my father's car'   | meinem Vater sein Auto<br>my.DAT father his car       |

As the case governed by some (secondary) prepositions, the genitive competes with the dative (4) and *von* (5).

- |     |   |   |
|-----|---|---|
| (4) | wegen der Verspätungen<br>because of the.GEN delays<br>'because of the delays'    | wegen den Verspätungen<br>because of the.DAT delays           |
| (5) | aufgrund der Verspätungen<br>because of the.GEN delays<br>'because of the delays' | aufgrund von den Verspätungen<br>because of of the.DAT delays |

A constructional approach is taken, in which the genitive and its competitors are considered to be interchangeable constructions (i.e. either one could be used); both variants are grammatical (if not necessarily acceptable to all speakers). Trends in the preference for the individual variants are identified on the basis of data from three corpora: one of formal writing from a news magazine, one of informal writing from chat communication, and one of informal spontaneous speech.

The findings show that, even in informal language, the adnominal genitive is much stronger than its competitors. A previously undescribed extension of *poss-s*, in which a determiner appears in the possessor NP, is identified in informal online communication. As the case assigned by certain prepositions the genitive is, as expected, stronger than its competitors in formal writing; more surprisingly, and contra e.g. Hentschel & Weydt (2003), the genitive is stronger than its competitors in the informal data (although less strong than in formal language). Nonetheless, the competing dative is relatively more frequent than in the spoken data of Petig (1997). The overuse of the genitive at the expense of other cases (e.g. Di Meola 2004) occurs in all registers to a limited extent.

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### The myth of the have+past participle construction across Englishes.

Seoane, Elena & Suárez-Gómez, Cristina  
(University of Vigo - University of the Balearic Islands)

This paper sets out to assess the variation found in the expression of perfect meaning in Asian New Englishes (Singapore, Hong Kong, India and The Philippines). A preliminary analysis of three million words of spoken language in Asian Englishes revealed the use of different variants in contexts where Standard English requires the presence of *have+past participle*, namely contexts expressing recent past with *just*, experiential meaning with *(n)ever*, and resultative meaning with *yet* (Suárez-Gómez & Seoane 2010; cf. also Miller 2000:327-331). Some of the variants found could be structural innovations typical of nativised varieties, such as the use of the base form (*She never explain properly to her*, ICE-Singapore) or the participle (*I just been to the city side of London*, ICE-Hong Kong), and could easily be explained as strategies of simplification commonly found in varieties which are the result of processes of language contact (Schneider 2007:82). Other variants, however, are infrequent and their use seems to respond to the fact that *just*, *(n)ever* and *yet* can be used as perfect-meaning markers, so that the verb form does not need to be explicitly perfect in form (Miller 2000:334f).

In order to find out to what extent perfect meaning resides not in the perfect construction but in the adverbs themselves (following Miller 2000:335; 2004:244) we will analyse all occurrences of the ten most frequent lexical verbs in our database of Asian Englishes (using the ICE- GB, a parallel corpus of British English, as a benchmark corpus), and identify how they express perfect meaning in informal spoken interaction. Our study will also allow us to address the

following issues: (i) the frequency and distribution of the different types of perfect meaning (experiential, recent past, and resultative) and the way they are expressed, essentially whether they require the presence of an adverbial of time or not as compared to Standard English (Miller 2004:240-242; Schlüter 2006:143f; Hundt & Smith 2009:52); (ii) a comparison of the expression of the perfect between the four varieties to see whether the variants used are similar and thus lend support to Schneider's holistic approach, or whether the varieties show differences predominantly in the expression of perfect meaning; (iii) if consistent differences are found, to analyse whether these could be attributed to their different external histories, their superstratum language (American and British English) and substratum language (e.g. the synthetic nature of Hindi and Tagalog or the isolating character of Cantonese and Tamil); (iv) more generally, to determine whether the tendency observed in Standard English, where the present perfect form is losing ground to the simple past tense (as opposed to the alternate drift in other West Germanic languages, such as German and Afrikaans), is also taking place in New Englishes (cf. Van Rooy 2009:311-312; cf. Hundt & Smith 2009).

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### A multivariate approach to that/zero alternation: a diachronic analysis of the grammaticalization of 'I + know'.

Shank, Christopher  
(University of Leuven)

Previous diachronic analysis of that/zero variation with the mental state predicate (MSP) / matrix verb *think* (Rissanen 1991; Finnegan & Biber 1995) has shown clear evidence of the rise and predominance of the *zero*-complementizer form as an object-clause link in PDE. Furthermore, the research has been used to claim empirical support for several structural factors within the matrix and complement clause (e.g. *I* or *You* as matrix clause subject, matrix/predicate subject co-referentiality, absence of intervening elements in matrix and absence of intervening elements between the matrix and complement - summarized in Kaltenböck 2004) which facilitate the use of the *zero* form. These findings have been built upon by Thompson and Mulac (1991), Scheibman (2002), and Kärkkäinen (2003), who have postulated that the *I + think* main clause construction has since grammaticalized, via reanalysis, and is now being used as an epistemic adverb or 'epistemic parenthetical' (Thompson and Mulac 1991). The rise of the *zero*-complementizer and subsequent development of epistemic parenthetical usage has also been documented in varying degrees in other MSPs such as *feel*, *realize*, *guess* and *believe* (author & Cuyckens 2008, Cuyckens & author, 2009).

This paper builds upon this previous work and related findings/claims by exploring the diachrony of that/zero complementizer variation from 1560-2010 in spoken English for the verb *know* and concurrent pathways of grammaticalization in the construction [*I + know + that/zero + finite complement clause*]. Attention is also given to investigating the increasing development of the (inter)subjective nature of the *I + know* collocation and its use as an epistemic parenthetical in PDE; of crucial importance in investigating these developments is the distinction between lexical and more epistemic uses of *I + know*.

Using WordSmith, a total of 10,480 hits were randomly extracted from the following corpora: CEEC and Old Bailey Corpora (1560-1913), the London Lund corpora (1960-1990), the spoken components of the ANC (1990 - 1993) and COCAE (1994-2009) corpora and the Alberta Unset corpus (2010-2010). All of matrix + complement that/zero constructions were coded for 28 structural variables including person, tense, polarity, and presence of modal auxiliaries, syntactic complexity, and complement clause subjects. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ( $n > 30$ ) for all historical periods were extracted and then statistically analyzed. This step was taken to gauge the relative magnitude and actual significance of effect between the different matrix+complement variables and it permitted the reporting the actual significance of an effect rather than the more common presentation of a simple proportion of occurrence between variables.

The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 4 matrix and complement clause features (Kaltenböck 2004); however, stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, etc) are incorporated via a 'weighted' variable analysis. These findings are then used to develop and present a preliminary framework for both evaluating the epistemic potential of the *know* matrix and identifying factors which contribute to more lexical interpretations.

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### **New russian regional database of free associations (2008-2011) as an empirical source for typological and interdisciplinary linguistic research.**

Shaposhnikova, Irina  
(Novosibirsk State University)

In 2007 the department of history and typology of languages and cultures (Novosibirsk State University) in cooperation with the department of psycholinguistics (The Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences) started a new project aimed at widening the basis of evidence for interdisciplinary (mostly psycho- and ethnolinguistic) research on the Russian associative-verbal network. In 2008 we began experimental work at universities to collect data from different Siberian and Far-Eastern regions of the Russian-speaking world (Novosibirsk, Tomsk, Omsk, Vladivostok, Irkutsk, Krasnoyarsk and other cities and towns). The experiment was completed in 2011. The collected materials are still being checked and analysed, yet we are ready to offer a presentation of the first version of the electronic database (The Project of the Regional Russian Associative Dictionary by I.V.Shaposhnikova, A.A.Romanenko, Y.K.Alyoshina) to those who are interested in the subject.

The Russian regionally-marked associative-verbal network project in its basic parameters and principles of organisation is similar to such well-known Russian and English sources as: The Russian Associative Thesaurus (1994-1998) by Y.N.Karaulov, Y.A.Sorokin, E.F. Tarasov, N.V.Ufimtseva, G.A.Cherkasova (<http://www.thesaurus.ru/dict/dict.php>); Kiss G., Armstrong C., Milroy R. The Associative Thesaurus of English. Edinburg, 1972. (<http://www.eat.rl.ac.uk>); Nelson D. L., McEvoy C. L., Schreiber T. A. The University of South Florida Word Association, Rhyme and Word Fragment Norms. University of Kansas (<http://www.usf.edu/> Free Association norms); and the newly-created (at Novosibirsk State University) French Associative Dictionary by M. Debrenn, A.A.Romanenko, N.V. Ufimtseva (<http://dictaverf.nsu.ru/dict>). The comparability of associative bases of several European languages with the regional Russian data will give us the opportunity to make effective comparisons not only between the languages but also between regional varieties within one and the same (Russian) language area.

The first attempts at using the new database for particular aims in pilot comparative-typological and ethnolinguistic studies (at Novosibirsk State University) give us grounds for optimistic hypothesising about the convergence of evidence obtained from free associative experiments and earlier (traditional) logical, cognitive, semantico-syntactic and functional analyses of some linguistic types and subsystems (including the analyses of extralinguistic factors the stability of linguistic types is responsive to). Comparative cross-linguistic research on overlapping fields of associates will probably help to identify regular correspondences between functionally correlating linguistic types in structurally different languages (it concerns primarily lexico-syntactic types with eurysemous verbs in English and Russian). Speech stereotypes being manifested in associative verbal network, the data of free associations broaden the range of ethnolinguistic investigation (the identification of ethno-cultural dominants and ethnic stereotypes in particular) beyond textual evidence to experimental findings. Despite all these possible advantages the methodology of using associative data nowadays, their informative and innovative potential need to be further discussed and evaluated.

## Colour adjectives or colour nouns?

Sharifzadeh, Saghie & De Brabanter, Philippe  
(Université Paris 4-Sorbonne & Université Paris 4-Sorbonne - Institut Jean Nicod)

This paper presents partial results of corpus research into colour terms. Our focus here is on lexical-class membership. Colour terms are known to be either adjectives or nouns. But there may be cases where they have too easily been classified as adjectives.

When a phrase headed by a colour term (or a colour compound) occurs in predicative position, this colour term is sometimes unequivocally a noun, witness the indefinite article:

1) BNC B7G The motorcycle was a **bright red**. It belonged to the Post Office.

These alternate with articleless occurrences:

2) BNC BP1 [...] touching the reeds with golden fingers so that they were **bright yellow**.

In 2), nothing in principle rules out the (uncountable) noun analysis. However, we have found few occurrences of articleless *bright/dark/light/pale colour* in predicative position in the BNC, a finding which supports the adjectival reading.

But it is striking that when *bright/dark/light/pale* appear in the comparative form in predicative colour phrases, as in

3) BNC B0K The coat is red-and-white pied and the Brandrood variety is a **darker red**,  
the colour phrase is almost systematically preceded by the indefinite article.

This reveals some association between comparative modifier and nominal colour term. We believe this association extends to the attributive position as well.

It is usually assumed that strings like <*bright/dark/etc.* + colour term> are compound adjectives (Bauer & Huddleston 2002: 1658; Conti 2007: 134). But there are four possible readings of a phrase like *a very dark green room*:

1. A room that is both very dark and green: a [very dark] [green] room
2. A green room that is very dark: a [very dark] [green room]
3. A room that is dark green to a high degree: a [very [dark green]] room
4. A room that is a very dark green: a [[very dark] green] room

In 1 and 2, both *dark* and *green* are adjectives. More interesting are 3 and 4, where *very dark green* forms a constituent. In 3, *dark green* is a compound. In 4, the nominal paraphrase and the fact that *very dark* can hardly be an adverb phrase suggest that *green* is most likely a noun.

It is this last claim in particular that needs further substantiation. We will therefore explore two patterns that potentially favour a nominal reading of the colour term: multiple premodification (e.g. *rich dark green*), and *attributive* colour phrases modified by comparative *brighter/darker/lighter/paler* (e.g. *a darker green blouse*) – which preclude adjectival compounds (as those are always internally uninflected).

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## Deconstructing hierarchical alignment in ditransitives.

Siewierska, Anna & Van Lier, Eva  
(Lancaster University)

Siewierska (2003) and Malchukov et al (2010+) have identified ditransitive counterparts of the major monotransitive alignment types, namely neutral, accusative (=indirective), ergative (=secundative), and tripartite. These alignment types are based on purely formal patterns of identification of A or P with S (for monotransitives), and of T or R/G with P (for ditransitives).

The efficacy of this approach to alignment has been challenged by recent studies of hierarchical alignment in monotransitives. Witzlack-Makarevich et al. (2010) argue that hierarchical alignment is best described in terms of quantified proportions of basic alignment types linked to specific scenarios, i.e. combinations of A and P arguments with specific referential properties. An additional issue, independent of hierarchical alignment, is identified by Bickel et al. (2010), who show that the alignment patterns displayed by 'default' predicate classes do not serve as good approximations of alignment across the whole lexicon. Moreover, while alignment is thus co-determined by the

(relative) referential properties of arguments as well as by predicate classes, it is not always easy to separate these two types of conditions, especially when predicate classes have lexicalized along the lines of animacy.

Our aim is to apply these observations about monotransitive alignment to ditransitive alignment. In particular, we will argue that it is not sufficient to ask 'whether the T or R/G is formally treated like P'. Rather, the relevant question should be:

What are the formal correspondences between

- (ii) a specific referential type of T (or R/G), occurring in a configuration with a specific lexical predicate and with specific referential types of R/G (or T) and A arguments, and
- (ii) a particular referential type of P argument occurring in a configuration with a specific lexical predicate and a specific referential type of A argument?

The relevance of such a convoluted question may be illustrated on the basis of a language as familiar as Polish, where some ditransitive predicates take specific referential types of R/G arguments, marked for dative case. Whether this corresponds to indirective or secundative alignment depends on whether these R/G arguments are compared with the P argument of a monotransitive predicate type that takes an accusative P or rather with one that takes a dative P, and this arguably correlates to some extent with the affectedness and/or animacy of the Ps in these constructions.

In our presentation, we will propose a typology of ditransitive alignment that adopts an integrative approach to the complex interplay of argument-related and predicate-related conditioning factors. We will show that the applicability of this approach is not at all confined to languages that are traditionally considered as displaying hierarchical alignment.

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### **Extension and persistence in the grammaticalization of the [V1finite (prep) V2infinitive] inceptive construction in Portuguese.**

Sigiliano, Natalia

(Federal University of Rio de Janeiro - Brasil)

Adopting a usage based approach to language, this paper studies the Inceptive Construction in Portuguese. Such construction, understood as a form-meaning pairing (Goldberg, 1995; 2006), presents the [V1<sub>finite</sub> (prep) V2<sub>infinitive</sub>] syntactic schema and indicates broadly the beginning of an action or process. The V1 position can be filled both by typically aspectual verbs, such as *começar* and *principiar* ('begin'), and by other verb types, such as *cair* ('fall'), *danar* ('damage'), *deitar* ('knock down'), *desandar* ('walk backwards'), *desatar* ('untie'), *disparar* ('shoot'), *entrar* ('enter'), *pegar* ('catch') and *romper* ('break').

When the V1 position is filled by the non-typically aspectual verbs, the construction can gain some specific meaning, such as that of abrupt beginning (with *romper* and *desatar* for example). This is predicted by Cognitive Construction Grammar, since, as Goldberg (1995) points out, the semantic schema of the verb can interact with the semantic schema of the construction.

Also, although there are several semantic types of V2 which can occur in the Inceptive Construction, it is possible to ascribe some preferred combination patterns between certain semantic types of V2 and some of the verbs occupying the V1 position. Taking the same *romper* and *desatar* V1s as an example, 67.64% of the occurrences of the Inceptive Construction with *romper* take a verb indicating an uncontrolled emotion as V2 (cry and scream, for example); similarly, 73.41% of the instantiations with *desatar* take the same kind of verb. On the other hand, V1s indicating caused motion, such as *disparar* and *deitar* occur preferably with motion V2s (36.36% and 55.50%, respectively).

Given such observations, we aim at discussing the hypothesis according to which some vestigial semantic structure that is maintained in the finite verbs in this construction defines the possibility of extension of such construction to its deployment with different semantic types of infinitive verbs during its grammaticalization process. We argue, thus, that the persistence of some underlying semantic structure in the verbs occupying the V1 position would guide the extension of the construction towards the incorporation of new V2 semantic types to the schema.

In order to verify this hypothesis, a diachronic survey for the Inceptive Construction was carried out in the Davies and Ferreira Corpus (<http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>). Data showed that the Inceptive Construction has undergone extension of usage contexts when considered as an open syntactic pattern, however, such extension is

conditioned by the vestigial semantic structures found in V1, since the semantic type of the infinitive verbs which can enter the construction seems to be correlated to such structures still found in V1.

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### Covert modality in modal existential wh-constructions.

Simik, Radek  
(Potsdam University)

Modal existential wh-constructions (MECs, Grosu 2004), illustrated in (1) for Czech, are characterized by a cluster of three properties: (i) they are selected by stative predicates expressing existence and availability (*be, have*), or by dynamic predicates whose result state entails existence or availability (*find, send, buy, arrive*, etc.); (ii) they involve a wh-operator-variable dependency; (iii) the main verb is in the infinitive or subjunctive.

- (1) Mám [<sub>MEC</sub> s kým<sub>1</sub> mluvit t<sub>1</sub>]. (Czech)  
Have with whom speak:inf  
'There is somebody that I can speak with.'

MECs have mostly been analyzed as a subspecies of embedded wh-questions (EQ, Izvorski 1998) or free/infinitival relative clauses (RC, Plann 1980). Neither these analyses, nor others (Grosu 2004), however, address the problem of the covert modality in MECs, and on their null hypotheses massively overgenerate. This is because, unlike in infinitival EQs and RCs, the force and flavor of MEC modality is strictly limited to *circumstantial possibility* and hence, one would say, is not subject to contextual specification (Bhatt 2006), but rather is grammatically fixed.

I will present a new account of MEC modality which is based on the “event-extension” analysis put forth in Šimík (2011), combined with the minimal situation semantics of events proposed by Kratzer (2008). Under this analysis, MECs are an integral part of the state of existence denoted by the matrix predicate – stating what the existence/availability of some object/individual *can* lead to. It is therefore assumed that the modality is grammaticalized in the selecting existence predicate, rather than being represented as a covert contextual parameter (as in infinitival EQs and RCs, cf. Bhatt 2006). It will be shown that the properties of the modality (existential force plus circumstantial stereotypical flavor) derive directly from a conversational relevance implicature triggered by existential statements (*There is a garage<sub>1</sub> around the corner* → *One can get gas there<sub>1</sub>*; cf. Grice 1975), of which the MEC is a grammaticalization.

Technically, the matrix existence predicate BE – whether in its atomic form (*be/have*) or as a result state predicate of more complex predicates (*buy, send*, etc.) – introduces three arguments (two of which are syntactically represented): (i) an individual *x* (type *e*) whose existence is predicated (this argument typically remains phonologically null), (ii) a relation between individuals and events/situations (type  $\langle e, vt \rangle$ ) – the MEC ('with whom to speak' in (1)) – and (iii) an eventive/situation variable *s*<sub>0</sub> (type *v*). The reference of the wh-operator-bound individual variable in the MEC is determined by the reference of *x* and the situational variable *s* of the MEC is quantified over by the implicit modal quantifier in BE, which states that there is a possible situation *s*<sub>1</sub> in the set of situations circumstantially accessible from the situation introduced by BE (*s*<sub>0</sub>), such that *s*<sub>1</sub> is characterized by the descriptive content of the MEC. Thus, (1) comes out as true iff there is some human *x* and it is possible (in some accessible situation where the existence of *x* holds) that I speak with *x*.

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**Hot-headed: illogical or impulsive?  
A cross-linguistic corpus exploration of some body-part metaphors.**

Simo, Judit  
(Case Western Reserve University)

The idea of embodiment within conceptual metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) has sparked a great interest in the cross-linguistic figurative uses of body parts. Studies that focus on conceptual metaphors often find remarkable correspondences across languages regarding the emotions that a body part can be associated with (Yu, 1995; Kövecses, 2002). At the same time, studies that focus on a body part have shown that a certain body-part expression can evoke several different emotions (Mischler, 2008). With the advent of cognitive corpus linguistics, the attention to the variability of emotions that the metaphoric usage of a body part can yield cross-linguistically has also intensified (Deignan & Potter, 2004). Within this framework, a special place is occupied by compounds made up of a temperature term and a body part (e.g., *hot-blooded*), since temperature terms have long been acknowledged to have widespread metaphorical uses in most languages, carrying strong evaluative connotations (Lorenzetti, 2009; Wierzbicka, 1996).

The present study contributes to this line of research and aims to shed light on the meaning nuances of the metaphorical uses of the two body parts *head* and *heart* with the four temperature terms *hot*, *warm*, *cool*, and *cold* in American English and Hungarian by examining the collocations and contexts of their adjectival forms (e.g., *hot-headed/forrófejű*; *cold-hearted/hidegszívű*) in two large corpora, the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) and the Magyar Nemzeti Szövegtár (Hungarian National Corpus, HNC). Earlier, it has been found that the compounds with *heart* show substantial similarities in their evaluative connotations in the two languages, whereas the expressions with *head* display more variation (Simó, 2010). For the present study, data were obtained by running a search on the compounds in the whole corpora and identifying the figurative instances. Analysis includes determining and comparing the meanings of the expressions by examining their context and identifying characteristic collocations in the two languages. Findings of the study further emphasize the variance in the usage of these expressions. Most notably, at the cold end of the temperature scale, in its positive meaning, *hidegfejű* (cold-headed, i.e., 'levelheaded') in Hungarian juxtaposes with a host of emotions, love, fear, and sadness among them, whereas *cool-headed* in American English dominantly contrasts with "angry." At the warm end, the negative connotation of *hot-headed/forrófejű* can more often be connected to the social or ethical dimension in American English, and to the logical in Hungarian. Also, it is often associated with youth or with a certain nationality only in Hungarian *Warm-hearted/melegszívű* most often collocates with 'friend' or 'person'/ 'people' in Hungarian and often evokes modesty. In American English, it is more often associated with joy, and is more often used to describe an object than in Hungarian. The findings suggest that, depending on the context, the same metaphorical expression can evoke slightly different meanings both within one language and across languages. Moreover, the same evaluative connotation does not guarantee identical conceptualization, either.

**Lexicon immigration service - How loanword data can inform the theory of grammar.**

Simonovic, Marko  
(Universiteit Utrecht)

In this presentation, I shall propose a paradigm shift in loanword research. As I will show, based on recent overviews (Calabrese & Wetzels 2009 and Kang, forthcoming), loanword research has reached the undesirable point at which a number of competing approaches keep collecting data in their support, without much cross-fertilisation. I argue that this is a consequence of the indiscriminate extension of the generative linguistic heuristics to loanwords. In what I term black-box models, loanword adaptation is seen as a mechanism defined by its input string (the word in the source language) and output string (the word in the borrowing language) and the main question is what is required to get from the input to the output form using independently necessitated mechanisms (such as grammar and perception) as much as possible and introducing loanword-specific mechanisms only when necessary. I will discuss the type of explanations which emerge from such approaches (e.g. that loanword adaptation is perception, see Peperkamp et al. 2008), arguing that they actually present new puzzles (e.g. why language contact, with all different types of speakers has the same outcome as something as different as cross-linguistic perception).

Considering the actual reality of the input and output of the loanword integration process, I arrive at a radically different conclusion. The input of the process is a surface (code-switched) form, typically introduced into the recipient language discourse by bilingual speakers, and the output is a whole new lexical entry of the borrowing language, which crucially comprises different features for different languages. Taking this specificity of the loanword integration process seriously, I will propose a model coached within Optimality Theory (Prince & Smolensky 1993) which takes a surface form (or array of forms) and derives a full-blown lexical entry from it. The previously proposed mechanisms of Lexical Conservatism (Steriade 1997, which plays a role in copying the properties of the surface form in the paradigm formation) and Faithfulness (which protects the properties of loanwords already represented in the recipient language lexicon) will be shown to interact in an insightful way. This model opens up a new agenda of loanword research. Firstly, the data on morphological integration and closed inflectional classes become relevant. I will give examples from the apparently surprising selection of inflection class in nouns in *-o* and *-e* in Serbian/Croatian. Secondly, word class effects in loanword adaptation seem to call for a formalisation of the lexicon stratification with

respect to word classes. I illustrate this point using data from the stress of the Latinate stratum in the Serbian/Croatian lexicon (from the extreme faithfulness in element to the extreme unfaithfulness of elementāran). Finally, I turn to the role which loanword integration can play in informing the general theory. As we have seen, loanword facts preclude the generic statements of the type common in the literature nowadays, due to the fact that different lexicons impose different requirements. However, the novel model enables us to make valid typological predictions and contribute to the theory of the lexicon in an insightful way.

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### Metaphor in political discourse: toward a metaphorical reconceptualization of the EU.

Škara, Daniča  
(University of Split)

Cognitive linguistics has increasingly focused on the use of conceptual metaphors in political discourse in recent years. According to G. Lakoff (2008) our future depends critically on which metaphorical conceptions predominate since these conceptions influence our thoughts, actions and worldviews. Recognising the power of metaphors, the main focus of this research is to find a conceptual model on which the political integration of the EU is based. The following issues will be discussed:

- (1) What conceptual metaphors are used in political discourse related to the political integration of the EU and accession of Croatia to the European Union and?
- (2) What is their frequency in the data?
- (3) How to develop a framework for the classification of conceptual metaphors?
- (3) Are there any strategy (semantic engineering) in the choice of mental images in political discourse?

Cognitive theory is outlined (Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2002), Goatley (1997) and is applied to the lexical database of political discourse as found in 'Euro-speak' and Croatian political debates.

This study provides an overview of the most frequent metaphor clusters used in a selected corpus. Examples are chosen from different sources, such as political debates, public media, EUROVOC, EUROMETA, database of the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, etc. It consists of 1150 conceptual metaphors.

The results of the analysis show that a small set of 'conceptual frames' underlies the principal political metaphors, e.g. *Europa=person/body*, *Europa=process/movement*, *Europa = house/home/family*, *Europa=space*, etc. The body was the predominant metaphor through which the European state was understood (*Europe=person/body parts*> e.g. *Political and economic Europe do not live in separate rooms*). At the same time, in the candidate countries (e.g. Croatia) the alternative schemas emerge.

This paper provides a contrastive overview over the dominant metaphors of Euro-debates. It highlights the characteristic differences of the EU's 'image' within and outside the EU. Synthesis of our results shows that cognitive linguistics offers a solid framework for the identification and analysis of linguistic strategies for manipulation in political discourse.

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## 'Rare'-preposing in French, root clauses, and information structure.

Sleeman, Petra  
(ALCL, University of Amsterdam)

In the literature, root phenomena have been analyzed as a syntactic property of clauses (Haegeman 2006, 2010), as being related to the pragmatic analysis of the clause (Hooper & Thompson 1973), or as involving semantics (Larson & Sawada 2010). In this paper, I investigate whether one of the root phenomena, preposing around *be* in French, can be analyzed on the basis of information structure (cf. De Cat 2010, Lahousse 2010).

According to Hooper & Thompson (1973), preposing around *be*, just like other root phenomena, only occurs in asserted clauses, i.e. main clauses or certain types of subordinate clauses, but not in presupposed clauses. In this paper, I analyze preposing around *be* of the quantificational adjective 'rare' (and 'many') in French. I show that 'rare'-preposing predominantly occurs in main clauses, but also occurs in root-like, asserted, clauses:

- (1) *Rares sont les artistes que le succès ne change pas.*  
rare are the artists whom their success does not alter
- (2) *Nombreux sont les auteurs qui le signalent.*  
many are the authors who it notice  
'Many are the authors who observe it.'
- (3) *Il avait déjà remarqué combien rares sont les grands écrivains nés à Paris.*  
he had already noticed how rare are famous authors born in Paris

I show that preposed 'rare' (and 'many') in French licenses infinitival subject relative clauses (4). If 'rare' is not preposed, infinitival subject relatives are not licensed (5). In that case, only a finite relative clause can be used (6):

- (4) *Rares sont ceux à avoir pu l'observer en liberté.*  
rare are those to have could it-observe in liberty  
'Those who have been able to see it living under natural conditions are rare.'
- (5) *\*Ceux à avoir pu l'observer en liberté sont rares.*  
those to have could it observe in liberty are rare
- (6) *Ceux qui ont pu l'observer en liberté sont rares.*  
those who have could it observe in liberty are rare  
'Those who have been able to see it living under natural conditions are rare.'

I analyze preposed 'rare' (and 'many') as a focalized constituent in a high Focus Phrase, from which it licenses an infinitival subject relative clause.

As Emonds (1976) shows, focalization per se is not excluded in non-root contexts:

- (7) *Comme c'est lui qui a le plus de points, il gagne.*  
since it is he that has most points, he wins

Clefting is a structure-preserving transformation, and, hence, is not a root phenomenon. In this paper, I analyze the contrast between 'rare'-preposing and clefting in terms of a difference in information structure, which is not incompatible with a syntactic, cartographic, approach. Preposing of 'rare' has a focalization effect on the whole sentence (in which the noun phrase can, however, be a topic), whereas clefting can occur as focalization of a constituent in a sentence expressing old information. This explains the root versus non-root distinction.

In sum, in this paper I provide further evidence that the articulation of the sentence in terms of information structure can account for root-phenomena.

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## Constructionalization and constructional change: the diachronic development of constructions.

Smirnova, Elena  
(Leibniz Universität Hannover)

This paper deals with the notions of constructionalization and constructional change. It argues for a theoretical division between these two diachronic processes, which has nontrivial consequences for empirical diachronic studies in CxG. In the recent diachronic literature on constructions, the terms constructionalization and constructional change have been mostly used interchangeably, referring to the diachronic processes of formation, development, changes etc. of constructions or their particular aspects, cf.:

Constructional change [is] understood as changes in form-meaning pairings. We see either the creation of a new construction (rare) or the gradual reconfiguration of extant constructions (more common). (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 28)

That constructionalization and constructional change have not been distinguished in the literature so far, may be due to the close interrelationship between the diachronic studies on constructions and the grammaticalization research. As grammaticalization is a diachronic process that involves the formation as well as the further development of grammatical elements and constructions out of lexical or less grammatical ones, constructionalization might have been associated with similar notions, concerning the initial formation as well as the consequent development of constructions.

As Noël (2006) pointed out, it is however necessary to draw ...

"an explicit distinction between the initial formation of a construction, i.e. a primary association of a meaning with a particular (morpho)syntactic configuration, and the possible subsequent change of a construction". (Noël 2006: 20)

"Even if in practice it might not be possible to determine where (or rather, when) primary schematization [i.e. the initial formation of a construction] ends and where grammaticalization [i.e. the subsequent change of a construction] begins, the two developments need to be kept apart". (Noël 2006: 21)

Taking up the idea presented by Noël (2006), I will argue for a distinction between constructionalization and constructional change. I propose that constructionalization concerns the emergence of a new (micro-)construction out of one or more similar innovative constructs via (initial) conventionalization, entrenchment and (partial) schematization. Constructional change, on the other hand, seizes an already existing construction and affects its form, meaning, frequency, its distribution in the linguistic society (cf. Hilpert to appear), its schematicity, productivity, complexity, or a combination of these.

These two diachronic processes may be thus distinguished with respect to several aspects: (i) the original linguistic unit affected by a process (construct, micro-, meso-, or macro-construction, constructional schema), (ii) the mechanisms involved (conventionalization, entrenchment, semantic changes, morphosyntactic changes, changes in productivity, etc.), and (iii) the ordering of these processes in the diachronic development of constructions.

The question whether every diachronic process of constructional change starts with the stage of constructionalization will be paid particular attention in this paper. Here, the empirical issues of how to draw the line between the initial constructionalization and the subsequent constructional change will be discussed using examples of diachronic developments from different functional domains of German.

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### The morphome: a matter of degree?

Smith, John Charles  
(University of Oxford, St Catherine's College)

A key concept in theories of autonomous morphology is the morphome (Aronoff 1994): a systematic distribution of morphological material within the paradigm which has no unique functional correlate. Morphomes are significant because they demonstrate that regular patterns within paradigms may be undetermined by extramorphological factors, and therefore that morphology may sometimes constitute 'its own meaning'.

Perhaps because of these important theoretical consequences, much research on autonomous morphology has proceeded as if the morphome were a relatively monolithic or undifferentiated concept. In this paper, I shall suggest instead that morphomhood is a gradient phenomenon, and that a given morphome may be situated on a cline of 'coherence', or motivation. Specifically, I shall distinguish between morphomes defined in terms of features which are internal to the grammatical category involved, and those defined in terms of features which are external to this

category. Thus, for instance, in the morphology of the verb, a morpheme which can be defined simply in relation to tense and/or aspect and/or mood will (at least in a language in which these features are restricted to the verb) be more coherent than one which requires definition in terms of person and/or number, which are not purely (or even essentially) verbal features. So (exemplifying from recent work on the Romance languages), the 'PYTA' morpheme (Maiden 2001), involving all cells of the preterite, the pluperfect, the past subjunctive, and the future subjunctive, and the 'FUEC' morpheme (Esher 2010), involving all cells of the future and conditional, will be more coherent than, say, the 'N-pattern' morpheme (Maiden 2004), which distinguishes a collection of person/number forms in the present tense (all singular persons and the third person plural) from all other cells of the paradigm. Within this basic distinction, further degrees of coherence are possible — thus, the collection of features involved in the 'N-pattern' (to repeat, all persons singular and third person plural in the present tense) may be seen as both qualitatively and quantitatively unmarked, whilst no such analysis is available for Maiden's 'L-pattern' (first person singular indicative and all persons subjunctive) or 'U-pattern' (first person singular and third person plural indicative and all persons subjunctive), which therefore appear as less coherent.

I shall show that a characterization of morphemes along these lines is not merely a descriptive device, but that it has explanatory value, as well, in that a correlation arguably exists between this continuum and a scalar approach to morphological phenomena such as syncretism, suppletion, and defectiveness, with these phenomena being more likely to exhibit a morphomic distribution precisely when the morpheme in question is more 'coherent', in the terms defined above. In short, morphological autonomy is a matter of degree, and morphological processes appear to be sensitive to this fact.

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### **Measuring and comparing the use and success of loanwords in Portugal and Brazil: a corpus-based and concept-based sociolectometrical approach.**

Soares da Silva, Augusto  
(Universidade Católica Portuguesa - Braga)

This study intends to measure and compare the use and success of loanwords in European and Brazilian Portuguese within the framework of our research on lexical convergence and divergence between the two national varieties of Portuguese (Soares da Silva 2010). Focusing on the semantic fields of football and clothing concepts, three main issues are addressed by means of a corpus-based and sociolectometrical approach: (i) whether the influence of English and other foreign languages is stronger in the Brazilian variety than in the European variety; (ii) which is the impact of loanwords on onomasiological variation for football and clothing concepts and on the relationship between the two national varieties; and (iii) whether the speakers' subjective knowledge about the origin of words corresponds to actual language behavior as observed in the corpus, and also what is the effect of language planning on the use of loanwords.

The research is concerned with onomasiological variation involving denotational synonyms and, therefore, takes into account the existence of alternative expressions for borrowed items. The corpus analysis was carried out for several thousands of observations of the use of alternative terms designating 43 nominal concepts from football and clothing. Corpus material was extracted from sports newspapers and fashion magazines (from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s/2000s), Internet chats related to football, and labels and price tags pictured from clothes shop windows. The CONDIVport corpus contains 4 million tokens selected from newspapers and magazines, 15 million tokens collected from chats, and 1,300 pictures of labels and price tags (Soares da Silva 2008). The quantitative methods used to measure the success of loanwords are uniformity measures (calculating onomasiological heterogeneity within and between lectal varieties) and featural measures (calculating the proportion of terms possessing a special feature). Both measures are based on *onomasiological profiles* (sets of alternative synonymous terms together with their frequencies) and were developed by Geeraerts et al. (1999) in their sociolectometrical study on Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch. For instance, the impact of the English influence on the onomasiological profile  $GOAL_1$  is measured by making the sum of the relative frequencies of the alternative terms weighted by the membership score (1 for loanwords keeping their original form, and 0.25 for strongly-adapted terms and loanword translations).

As regards the corpus of football, the influence of English borrowings and other loans is clearly stronger in BP than in EP in all the periods studied. As for the corpus of clothing, we observe a decrease in French borrowings (stronger in BP) and an increase in English loans in the two varieties. The influence of loanwords remains stronger in the Brazilian variety. Another result is the greater tendency of BP to adapt loanwords, in contrast with EP which tends to replace them by vernacular terms. These results confirm the hypothesis of the Brazilian variety's greater receptivity to loanwords, whether through direct importation or adaptation.

These differences in the success of loanwords in the two national varieties of Portuguese are suggestive of greater changeability of the Brazilian variety and contribute to a certain extent for a clear divergence between the two varieties in the vocabulary of clothing (and also for restricted convergence in the vocabulary of football). As elicited

through a survey, the speakers' subjective knowledge about the origin of words does not entirely correspond to actual behavior. Regarding language planning, the success of loanwords in the Brazilian variety shows that the attempts to reduce or even forbid the use of loanwords in Brazil (Faraco 2004) are a complete failure.

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### Usage of diminutives in spoken Russian.

Solntseva, Daryana  
(Saint Petersburg State University)

1. In linguistic tradition diminutive is commonly understood as a form of a word expressing "a notion of small size, often additionally (or even instead) a notion of warmth and affection" (Trask 1992: 82). Recently, many researchers agree, that the prevalence of diminutives in Russian spoken language can't be explained only on the basis of their semantics (Protassova, Voeikova 2007). Despite the fact that the category of smallness refers to semantics, in oral Russian, diminutives are rather used for pragmatic and not for semantic reasons.

2. In this paper we analyze the use of diminutives of the semantic group "food and drinks". For many of such words, diminutives are much more frequent in spoken Russian than their simplexes. E.g. the Dictionary of Russian language cites the simplex *kartofel'* as the only form for the word 'potato'. Our analysis shows that its diminutive form *kartoš-ka* is ninth as frequent in spoken language (360 tokens of *kartoš-ka* vs. 40 tokens of *kartofel'*), and is used without any semantic differences from the simplex. Considering such cases we may first assume that in the absence of semantic differences such frequency may be due to the pragmatic reasons (Dressler, Merlini-Barbaresi 1994).

E.g., in the examples (1) and (2), the diminutives *kofe-jok* 'coffee-Dim' and *upakovoč-ka* 'pack-Dim' have nothing to do with the meanings of small size or affection.

(1) *Davajte vyp'iem kofeiku.* 'Let's have some coffee-Dim' (RNC)

(2) *Dajte, požaluista, upakovočku moloka.* 'Give me, please, a pack-Dim of milk' (RNC)

Diminutives in examples (1) and (2) are used in the context of the proposal and request, and these are not the only speech situations in which the usage of diminutives is very frequent if not natural.

3. The formation of such diminutive forms as *morkov-ka* 'carrot-Dim', *seled-ka* 'herring-Dim' suggests the existence of several structural (morphological) reasons. As already shown by Olmsted (1994), diminutive suffixes may be used by Russian native speakers to get rid of the words of unproductive third declension. The same may also refer to the group of Pluralia Tantum and to the words with unusual, or phonologically inconvenient word endings (Protassova, Voeikova 2007). Thus, the simplexes *morkov* 'carrot' and *sel'd'* 'herring' not only refer to the unproductive 3<sup>rd</sup> declensional class but also have phonologically opaque and rare inflectional endings. Due to the diminutive suffixes they shift to the productive and phonologically salient 2<sup>nd</sup> feminine class.

4. Thus, our purpose is to show that in the spoken Russian, besides the obvious semantic function, diminutives are widely used in certain pragmatic situations. Besides that, diminutive suffix *-k-* is frequently used with the simplexes, which for various reasons are morphologically opaque or rare. This suffix provides their shift to the most productive 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> declension classes with the prototypically salient final part. We will present a classification of basic functions of diminutives and calculate the frequency of their different use.

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**The influence of constructions in grammaticalization:  
revisiting category emergence and the development of the definite article in English.**

Sommerer, Lotte  
(University of Vienna)

This paper will revisit the emergence of the definite article in English from a Construction Grammar perspective. Article development has been interpreted as triggered by the loss of nominal morphology (cf. Philipsen 1887: 13; Christophersen 1939; Heinrichs 1954) or as functional reanalysis towards or within DP structure (Lyons 1999; Osawa 2007; Philippi 1997; Roberts & Roussou 2003). Mostly however, the process has been identified as the grammaticalization of the Old English demonstrative *se(-seo-þæt)* (cf. Traugott 1982; Lehmann 1982[95]; Himmelmann 1997).

In this paper it will be argued that a proper understanding of grammaticalization has to take into account the driving force of lexically underspecified constructions (Van de Velde 2010: 291). From that perspective, a construction is a “grammatical primitive” which is “both the source and outcome of grammaticalization” (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 13).

Using evidence from an extensive qualitative and quantitative corpus study it will be suggested that the demonstrative *se* grammaticalized due to the emergence of a positional, syntactic, lexically underspecified ‘determination slot’ in early Old English. This slot becomes functional itself which leads to the recruitment of the demonstrative as a default slot filler (= definite article). It is the employment as an obligatory slotfiller which triggers the grammaticalization of the demonstrative. In other words, the change was driven by the grammaticalization of a “lexically underspecified construction” (van de Velde 2010: 291; Trousdale & Traugott 2010: 12). Thus the demonstrative does not grammaticalize on its own but in the context of an emerging schematic construction, which is formalized as the  $[[X_{\text{determinative}}]_{\text{DETERMINATION}} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$  – construction.

The emergence of this construction is best explained by a non-nativist, usage-based, form-driven, analogical model of morphosyntactic change which takes into account the frequency of linguistic surface forms (i.e. concrete tokens) (Fischer 2007: 4; cf. Bybee 2003; Krug 2003; Tomasello 2003; De Smet 2008; 2009; Sommerer forth.) and the formal influence of taxonomically related constructions (Hopper 1988; Goldberg 2006; Tomasello 2006; Trousdale & Gisborne 2008). Construction Grammar has long been aware of the fact that the formal and functional diachronic development of linguistic forms and constructions is influenced “by the analogical links to other constructions in a larger taxonomic network” (Kaltenböck 2010: 21; cf. Fried & Östman 2004: 12; Croft & Cruse 2004: 262-4). Taking up the idea that more abstract constructions can exert influence on the more concrete, (sometimes purely lexical) constructions (Traugott 2007: 525) it will be suggested that the cognitive entrenchment of the  $[[X_{\text{determinative}}]_{\text{DETERMINATION}} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$  – construction is influenced by the following factors:

a) the process is triggered by complex analogy and frequency effects on various linguistic levels. Influenced by the high frequency of certain prehead patterns in the definite Old English NP (e.g.  $[\text{Dem} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$ ;  $[\text{Poss} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$ , etc.), the learner analogically abstracts a pattern preference for  $[X_{\text{determinative}} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$  which finally licenses the conceptualization of a specific local determination slot and the  $[[X_{\text{determinative}}]_{\text{DETERMINATION}} + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}[\text{def}]}$  – construction.

b) this is also sanctioned by a prehead pattern preference for  $[X + \text{CN}]_{\text{NP}}$  on the level of the general NP (definite and indefinite reference). The frequent occurrence of this more abstract construction also exerts an influence on the level of the definite NP which triggers the emergence of a determination slot.

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### Intonation units of Eastern Khanty.

Sosa, Sachiko  
(University of Helsinki)

Khanty is a Finno-Ugric language spoken in Western Siberia. With about 2 000 speakers, it is an endangered language. The data discussed in this paper consist of Surgut Khanty narrative texts recorded during fieldworks (e.g. Csepregi 1998, Csepregi&Sosa 2009).

*The intonation unit* (=IU) is both an auditory and an informational unit and is thought to be a basic unit of discourse production and information flow (e.g. Chafe 1980 and 1994, Croft 1995, Du Bois et al 1993). In this presentation, I will discuss phonological, pragmatic and syntactic aspects of Khanty IU. I will give some examples of my analysis of the data from the perspective of discourse-based functionalism (e.g. Du Bois 1987) and following the models of earlier studies on IUs (e.g. Croft 1995, Matsumoto 2000).

The tone of Khanty IUs starts at the sharp rise to the top and begins falling more slowly than it rose. The peak of the tone tends to be the first syllable of the head of the first NP. The ending tone is generally lower than the starting one. The pitch is often reset at the new IU after a pause.

Even though an IU can't be equated to a sentence, many IUs, 57 % of the data, are sentential in Khanty, as in many languages. On the other hand, 17 % are single clauses presented in several IUs and 10 % are multiple clauses presented in one IU. The percentage is high comparing with the study of Croft, which indicates 97 % of IUs have no more than one finite verb (Croft 1995).

Similarly to the results of earlier studies based on other languages (e.g. Cruttenden 1986, Croft 1995, Helasvuo 2001), Khanty IUs generally correlate with major syntactic constituents. In Khanty data, more than 66 % of IU boundaries occur after the predicate. Only 1.24 % of IU boundaries in the data are found inside of a NP. The result suggests that an NP forms a tight intonational unit. It is interesting that syntactically seeing, all IU boundaries of both subject- and object-final IUs fall within a sentence, but many of ADV-final ones fall in the end of a sentence in spite of the basic verb-final word order of Khanty.

Like conversational Japanese (Matsumoto 2000), my Khanty data show functional similarities between a sentence and IU from the point of introducing information into discourse. Applying the Preferred Argument Structure-theory (=PAS. Du Bois 1987), the constraints, which the PAS suggests as 'one new full-NP per sentence' and 'one new argument per sentence', are applied to IUs as 'one new full-NP per IU' and 'one new argument per IU' even in IUs presented by several sentences. As the exception to the foregoing, however, in Khanty, cultural issues and information flow motivate the use of two lexical arguments in an IU (and a sentence), regardless of the PAS's grammatical strong tendency in discourse.

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## Argument coding by genitive in Georgian.

Soselia, Ether

(George Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Tbilisi)

In Georgian there are specific clause constructions with certain verbs associated with two arguments coded by dative and genitive, e.g.:

- |     |                                    |                |                   |
|-----|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (1) | <i>nino-s</i>                      | <i>ešinia</i>  | <i>zaŭl-is.</i>   |
|     | Nino-DAT                           | is afraid      | dog-GEN           |
|     | 'Nino is afraid of dogs.'          |                |                   |
| (2) | <i>vano-s</i>                      | <i>šurs</i>    | <i>megobr-is.</i> |
|     | Vano-DAT                           | envies         | friend-GEN        |
|     | 'Vano envies his friend.'          |                |                   |
| (3) | <i>ana-srcxvenia</i>               | <i>ded-is.</i> |                   |
|     | Ann-DAT                            | feels shy      | mother-GEN        |
|     | 'Ann feels shy before her mother.' |                |                   |
| (4) | <i>beka-s</i>                      | <i>sjera</i>   | <i>megobr-is.</i> |
|     | Beka-DAT                           | believes       | friend-GEN        |
|     | 'Beka believes in his friend.'     |                |                   |
| (5) | <i>tina-s sc'ams</i>               | <i>Ūvt-is.</i> |                   |
|     | Thina-DAT                          | trusts         | God-GEN           |
|     | 'Thina trusts in God.'             |                |                   |

The verbs themselves could be characterized as the verbs of emotional experience, having two roles in their semantic structure: a stimulus and an experiencer. An experiencer coded by dative is characteristic for some other verbs with the same semantic roles, e.g. *Liking* type verbs, though the second role, the one of stimulus, is coded by nominative in the corresponding clause structure:

- |     |                     |                |                   |
|-----|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (6) | <i>ana-suq'vars</i> | <i>vano-∅.</i> |                   |
|     | Ann-DAT             | loves          | Vano-NOM          |
|     | 'Ann loves Vano.'   |                |                   |
| (7) | <i>soso-s</i>       | <i>szuls</i>   | <i>kat-eb-i .</i> |
|     | Soso-DAT            | hates          | cat-PL-NOM        |
|     | 'Soso hates cats'.  |                |                   |

According to the same case alignment strategy, parallel clause structures are formed for some verbs of emotional experience:

- |      |                             |                   |                    |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (8)  | <i>ana-srcxvenia</i>        | <i>simyera-∅.</i> |                    |
|      | Ann-DAT                     | feels shy         | singing-NOM        |
|      | 'Ann feels shy of singing.' |                   |                    |
| (9)  | <i>nik'o-s</i>              | <i>sjera</i>      | <i>es ambav-i.</i> |
|      | Nick-DAT                    | believes this     | story-NOM.         |
|      | 'Nick believes the story.'  |                   |                    |
| (10) | <i>nik'o-s</i>              | <i>sc'ams</i>     | <i>ymert-i.</i>    |
|      | Nick-DAT                    | trusts            | God-NOM            |

'Nick trusts in God.'

Mostly argument coded by nominative is a form of a masdar (an infinite form of a verb, a deverbative noun, actually the name of an action/state denoted by the corresponding verb, carrying the lexical meaning of the verb and having case forms like nouns).

(11) *ma-s erideba txovna-∅.*  
she/he-DAT feels shy asking-NOM  
'She/he feels shy of asking.'

(12) *ma-s exatreba uar-is tqma-∅*  
she/he-DAT feels embarrassed refusal-GEN saying-NOM  
'She/he feels embarrassed about saying no.'

Usually a complement clause might appear in the same slot of the clause structure:

(13) *ma-s erideba, rom stxovos.*  
she/he-DAT feels shy that (she/he) asks (subjunctive mood)  
'She/he feels shy that she is going to ask.'

(14) *mas exatreba, rom uar-i utxras.*  
she/he-DAT feels embarrassed that refusal-NOM (she/he) says (subj. mood)

Clause structures having non-canonical Dative/Genitive argument coding and parallel constructions have been analyzed by Georgian and foreign linguist. In the paper all the approaches concerning Georgian clause structure with genitive are summarized, all the verbs of emotional experience are presented and a new interpretation is proposed: The fact that different types of clause structures correspond to the same semantic structure of the verbs of emotional experience is due to the cognitive interpretation of the stimulus: With verbs of emotional experience the stimulus could be perceived as either an addressee (whom the emotion is directed to) or an object of a corresponding emotion. When it is perceived as an object of the emotion, it is coded by nominative case form, but when it is perceived as an addressee, its case form is genitive. As for the experiencer, it is always coded by dative case.

### Verb meaning in context.

Spalek, Alexandra  
(Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

The systematic study of the lexicon within formal linguistics has focused primarily on the study of the relation between word meaning and syntactic behaviour (Levin, 1993), (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1995). Little systematic research has been done on contextual variation of verb meanings related to their argument type selection, so-called complementary polysemy (Pustejovsky, 1995), (Asher, 2007). However, this kind of polysemy is extremely common: Verbs like Spanish *abrir* (open) or *romper* (break) easily reach between 15 and 25 senses in standard dictionaries (Diccionario de uso del Español, 2008), ([www.rae.es](http://www.rae.es)). Where does the large variation in number of senses between the different dictionaries come from, and are these senses not reducible to smaller set? The goal of this research is to explore how to relate the different uses of one verb, like *romper* in example (1) – (4), and this way systematize the apparent idiosyncrasy of sense proliferation in verbs.

- (1) Los manifestantes rompieron varias ventanas.  
The demonstrators broke several windows.  
The demonstrators broke several windows.
- (2) México rompió relaciones diplomáticas con Cuba.  
Mexico broke relations diplomatic with Cuba.  
Mexico broke diplomatic relations with Cuba.
- (3) El Gobierno decidió a romper el grupo parlamentario socialista.  
The Government decided to break the group parliamentary socialist.  
The Government decided to break the socialist parliamentary group.
- (4) El astronauta rompió el récord de permanencia en un transbordador.  
The astronaut broke the record of permanence in a shuttle.

The basic idea is that the multiplicity of senses can be reduced by abstraction from detailed corpus observation of the verbs in context. Based on Asher and Lascarides (1995), we assume that semantically delimited groups of verbs share a consistent semantic component, also called "core meaning" (Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 1998), which is preserved in the distinct uses of the class members. Our study explores to what extent these verbs' core meanings in addition to traditional grammatical concepts like cause, manner, agentivity, mental involvement (Reinhart, to appear) can be used to predict the meaning variation of one semantically restricted class of verbs, namely the much-studied class of change of state verbs (Rappaport Hovav & Levin, 2002), (Alexiadou, 2010), *inter alia*.

We observed verb behaviour in a 250.000.000 word Spanish press corpus by applying the Corpus Pattern Analysis methodology (Hanks, 2008), which allows us to track in great detail the syntactic and semantic behaviour of verbs in context. We marked syntactic patterns and recorded semantic types of arguments. This exhaustive predicate-driven recording and grouping of arguments into lexical classes (Bosque, 2004), comparable with WordNet's synsets, though lacking an explicit hierarchical structure gives an idea of the selectional preferences of a verb.

Detailed corpus observation reveals that discovering repeated contexts in which a verb is used reduces lexical entropy dramatically. Change of state verbs, for example, with great frequency trigger abstract arguments. By establishing fine-grained distinctions between the object arguments (5) – (8) we obtain a particular meaning of the verb:

- (5) [[Human 1] romper [[Physical Object]]  
Los manifestantes rompieron varias ventanas
- (6) [[Human 1 | Institution] romper [[Relation]]  
México rompió relaciones diplomáticas con Cuba.
- (7) [[Human 1 | Institution] romper [[Unity]]  
El Gobierno decidió a romper el grupo parlamentario socialista.
- (8) [[Human 1] romper [[Limit]]  
El astronauta rompió el récord de permanencia en un transbordador.

This way the polysemy of *break*, for example, appears as a dynamic product of insertion of the verb into context. We assign *break* a meaning potential, which represents the core meaning common to change of state verbs; the particular sense of *break* only fleshes out in a concrete context. Thus we present evidence that complementary polysemy is rule governed to a great extent. The study represents one of the very few attempts to account for the phenomenon of meaning elasticity of verbs within a formal method.

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### Language planning and domain dynamics: challenges in term creation

Steurs, Frieda & Kockaert, Hendrik  
(Lessius University College - K.U.Leuven)

This paper deals with the challenges encountered in the creation of terminology for specialized, technical and scientific communication, and focuses especially on the phenomenon of borrowing. Term formation is the process of labeling the concepts within a particular subdomain in order to stimulate the development of cognitive processes and communication. As we are confronted here with the transmission of knowledge, there is a greater awareness of pre-existing patterns in terminology, and there is a definite need for clear terminology in order to facilitate specialized communication.

This brings us to other insights compared to the traditional lexicographical approach on borrowing and word creation. In this paper, we will first of all discuss a number of pragmatic aspects of term formation such as the subject field related factors, the human factor and the possible stimuli for term formation. We will briefly touch upon some of the patterns for the creation of new terms, and the typical problems involved in interlingual borrowing, loan translations, etc.

We can distinguish between simple terms consisting of a single lexical element and compound terms, composed of two or more lexical elements. The combinatory processes are manifold :

- combining existing text materials and even combining “splinters” of existing words e.g. e-learning (electronic and learning), blogging (web and logging) , jegging (jeans and legging);
- derivation by adding suffixes or prefixes;
- creation of simple and complex terms, short forms;
- adoption of terms from different languages;
- adoption of terms from a different subject field.

In a second part in the paper, we will draw the attention to the very specific challenges of domain dynamics and domain loss specialized communication is confronted with. Domain loss was studied previously by terminology institutions in the Nordic countries. Domains are constantly evolving as new concepts emerge. Issues to be considered here are the position of new terms in the ontology mapping of a particular conceptual system, and possible consequences for translation and borrowing into other languages. Specific terms such as “gender” and “governance” will be discussed referring to a case study in the socioeconomic subdomain.

Next to term creation in the source language, another challenge is raised by the need for multilingual communication, where terms have to be translated and equivalents have to be found in different target languages.

Finally, we will briefly touch upon some of the challenges in multilingual specialized communication. Translators should be aware of new terms as they emerge in response to constantly evolving concepts and approaches and should seek out appropriate sources of information to properly render the neologisms.

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### **‘Again’-affixes: cross-linguistic data.**

Stoynova, Natalia  
(Moscow State University)

The paper deals with morphological ‘again’-markers. This label is used (following [Wälchli 2006]) – for markers with the meaning of one-time repetition, restoration of state or backwards motion (such as *re-* in Romance languages).

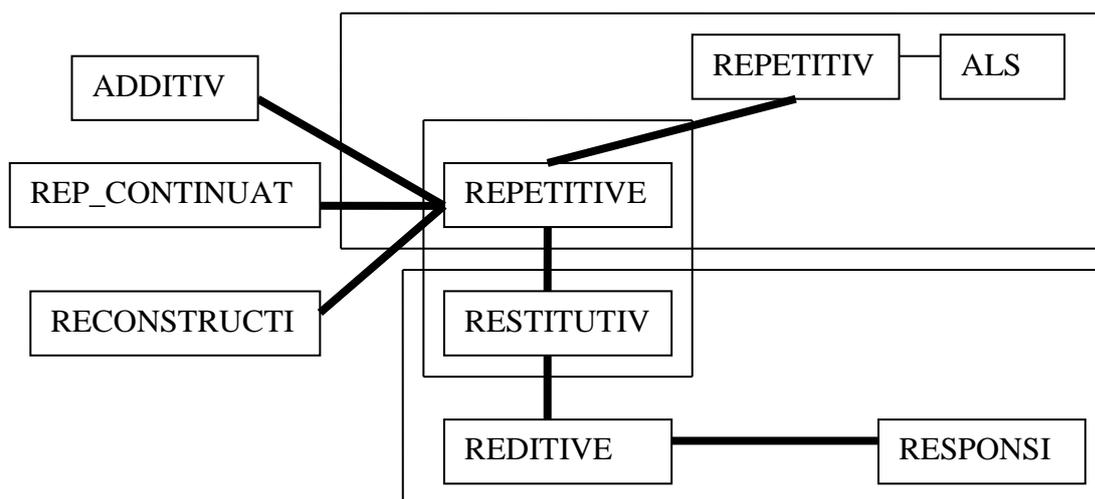
The paper aims to reveal the structure of the semantic domain covered with these affixes in languages of the world. There are a lot of papers focusing on the semantics of ‘again’-adverbs (mostly in English and German: cf. among many others [von Stechow 1996], [Fabricius-Hansen 2001], [Tovena, Donazzan 2008]), less numerous papers dealing with ‘again’-affixes in particular languages (for instance, [Wichmann 1992] for Azoyú Tlapanec) and a single article [Wälchli 2006], that discusses ‘again’-affixes together with adverbs in a cross-linguistic perspective. So the topic still needs investigation.

The preliminary results are based on the data on ‘again’-affixes from 32 languages of different genetic and areal affiliation. For each marker the uses from grammar descriptions (found through the whole book) and from texts (if available) were analyzed. The additional less detailed data on ca. 150 languages were also taken into account.

The following meanings (or functions) of ‘again’-affixes can be distinguished:

- ◆ **repetitive meaning**: ‘to do one more time’;
- ◆ **reditive meaning**: ‘to move backwards’;
- ◆ **reconstructive meaning**: ‘to do over, to do in a different way, better than before’;
- ◆ **responsive meaning**: ‘to do in response’;
- ◆ **repetitive continuative meaning**: ‘to keep on doing after break’;
- ◆ **additive meaning**: ‘to do with a new portion of object’;
- ◆ **wide-repetitive meaning (repetitive+)**: ‘to take place one more time with different participant(s)’;
- ◆ **‘also’**: ‘to take place with participant X (like with participant Y)’.

The preliminary data let us to presume the following links between these meanings:



here are following main cross-linguistic types of ‘again’-affixes attested. The most common type of ‘again’-affixes is a “wide type”, which covers the reditive meaning, the restitutive meaning and the repetitive one. Wide ‘again’-affix can have in addition one or another set of other ‘again’-meanings. The main split of meanings opposes the meanings grouped around the idea of reversion vs. the meanings grouped around the idea of repetition. The “reversion type” covers the reditive meaning, the restitutive one and in some languages also the responsive one. The “repetition type” is clustered around the idea of repetition: it contains the repetitive meanings often in combination with the wide-repetitive one and ‘also’, sometimes with other ‘again’-meanings except the meanings of the reversion-cluster. Another attested type is a “non-spatial again-type”, which combines the restitutive meaning and the repetitive meaning. The types are shown on the semantic map in rectangles.

The different meanings (functions) of this semantic domain cover different parts of verbal lexicon. For some of them it’s evident (for instance, the reditive meaning is compatible only with verbs of motion), for others the applicable semantic class needs empirical control. The coverage of different lexical domains with different ‘again’-meanings also varies across languages and can measure the «weigh» of a particular meaning among other meanings of the ‘again’-marker in a language. The database on compatibility of ‘again’-affixes with 70 verbs from different lexical groups was created to test it. The comparative data for 7 languages (based on dictionaries) will be discussed.

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### Predicative particles and assertion in Dargwa.

Sumbatova, Nina

(Russian State University for the Humanities, Moscow)

In Dargwa (Nakh-Daghestanian) there is a formal opposition of at least three clause types: finite verbal clauses, non-finite verbal clauses (headed by verbal derivatives) and clauses headed by auxiliary elements that we call ‘predicative particles’. Predicative particles constitute a closed syntactic class which includes elements expressing person (second person singular *-di*, second person plural and first person singular and plural *-da*), the past clitic *-di*, the interrogative particles *-i* and *-n(i)*, the actualizing particle *-q’al*, the identificational copula *ca-b*, the existential copulas *le-b/te-b/č’e-b/he-b/že-b*, the negative copula *ak:u* and the negative existential auxiliary *w-ak:u*. Morphologically, most predicative particles are clitics, but their syntactic function is very close to that of auxiliaries in European-type languages.

The predicative particles in Dargwa are a clear case of root phenomena: they are only possible in independent clauses and in the constituents retrieving reported speech, cf. examples (1) and (2) (predicative particles are shown in bold). Predicative particles are ungrammatical in any type of dependent clauses.

- (1)      *ɤurš*                      *se:ɤv-an-da*  
tomorrow                      M.come.IPF-POT-1  
‘I shall come tomorrow’.

- (2)      *du-l*      *t:at:i:c:i*      [ *ɤurš*                      *se:ɤv-an-da*                      *habi:bli* ]      *b-urs-ib-da*

I-ERG father-IN.LAT tomorrow M.come.IPF-POT-1 CIT N-say.PF-PRET-1  
 'I told the father that I would come tomorrow'.

The most obvious semantic counterpart of the predicative particles is the illocutionary force: only constituents having an own illocutionary force (i.e. whole sentences and dependent structures retrieving other people's speech) can be marked with a predicative particle. More than that, predicative particles are only possible in declarative and interrogative sentences. Other sentence types are headed by special verb forms (imperative, prohibitive, optative).

Clauses headed by predicative particles and expressing declaration or interrogation are characterized by a cluster of other root phenomena: e.g., they constitute the only clause type that allows non-verbal predicates; that expresses negation by an auxiliary; that allows morphosyntactic focus-marking, etc.

The main problem discussed in this talk is the relationship between predicative particles (and other main clause phenomena) and expression of assertion (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1973), which is far from being straightforward.

First, Dargwa differentiates between asserting new statements and reminding known facts. In the latter case it uses special predicative particles (3) or a special verb form (*general present*).

(3) wanza-la gubal b-ik-a-t:i-q'al he:l q'aʃ  
 earth-GEN under.N N-grow.IPF-PRG-CONV-but that radishes  
 ['They were sowing radishes under the burnt crops, you know that] radishes grow downwards'.

Second, Dargwa opposes assertive and presupposed argument clauses by choosing a certain type of the non-finite clause head (e.g. deverbal noun for a presupposed clause vs. converb for an asserted clause).

Finally, Dargwa overtly marks the asserted part of the sentence by the linear position of the predicative particle: the latter stands on the right of the head of the asserted (focused) constituent of the sentence, which is especially obvious in argument-focus structures (4).

(4) ih kibij c'il-di-q'al w-aʃr-un-ci u  
 that Gibi later-2-but M-go.PF-PRET-ATR you.SG(ABS)  
 'But you went to that Gibi later on.'

### **Grammaticalization of the Japanese Adverb *Kesshite*. Derivation by Metaphor, Synchronic and Diachronic Changes.**

Takahashi, Mitsuko  
 (Saitama Prefectural University / Ryutsu Keizai University).

The purpose of this presentation is to show the overall process of grammaticalization of the Japanese adverb *kesshite*. The modern Japanese *kesshite* is a negative adverb, whose meaning is "never" or "not". *Kesshite* is an unmotivated grammatical item, and the reason for its derivation from the Japanese verb *kessu* ("to fight a decisive battle in a war") has been unknown.

Based on abundant evidence gathered by thorough investigation into Japanese literature since 10th century, I concluded that *kesshite* which had undergone both synchronic and diachronic changes and the oldest meaning of which still survives in some rural areas of Japan was first used in the works by EJIMA Kiseki, a writer of popular novels, in the early 18th century.

Kiseki used *kesshite* in the sense of "inevitably" or "desperately". Examining these contexts, it is certain that Kiseki intended *kesshite* to provide an implication of urgency that its synonym *kanarazu* ("certainly") could not convey. Since the adverb *kanarazu* was inadequate to imply the particular meaning, Kiseki exploited the existing vocabulary to create a derivative that represented the required meaning. *Kesshite* carried stronger meanings to suggest a speaker's feelings of "urgency" and "resolution", or "ready to die" attitude.

By examining the contexts where *kessu* was used, I extracted the emotional connotations of *samurai* ("warrior") who was facing the danger of death in a decisive battle. I also extracted the contextual meanings of *kesshite*, and concluded that *kessu* and *kesshite* had many connotative meanings in common and that they were bridged by similarities. That is, the metaphorical relationship of similarity occurred between these two distinct parts of speech: the verb *kessu* and the adverb *kesshite*.

*Kesshite* passed through three stages of grammaticalization. Although old meanings and usages coexisted with new ones at each stage, the beginning of each stage was directed toward more abstract grammatical meanings and usages.

*Kesshite* at the beginning stage had many connotative meanings that were derived from the particular implication with the verb *kessu* ("to fight a decisive battle in a war"); it was used in both affirmative and negative sentences.

In the intermediate stage from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 19<sup>th</sup> century, *kesshite* was used to express the negative mood of a speaker; it was used in many kinds of negative sentence and had some connotative meanings that were derived from the negative mood of the speaker.

On the other hand, *kesshite* used in affirmative sentence decreased rapidly from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The abbreviated form of *kesshite* began to be used in the latter part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*Kesshite* at this current stage is used as a negative adverb that requires the negative auxiliary verb *nai* (“do not” and “be not”) which signifies the negative form of verbs and adjectives. It has no lexical meanings, while the importance of the grammatical function of agreement with the negative auxiliary verb *nai* is increased.

The three stages of grammaticalization are depicted by a diagram, which clearly shows the synchronic and diachronic changes of *kesshite*.

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### Linguistic structure adapts to match meaning structure: a quantitative study.

Tamariz, Monica  
(University of Endinburgh)

Linguistic constructions are associations of form and meaning. While arbitrary [1], these associations have been found to be systematic – similar forms tend to have similar meanings – at different levels [2-7]. This study presents a novel quantitative method to explore the influence of systematicity in the emergence and evolution of form-meaning mappings.

I will illustrate the method by showing how sets of *extant* linguistic forms reflect the structure of the meanings they convey. Analyses of the frequency distribution of *n*-grams in lexical items denoting highly structured meaning sets, such as English numerals 1-999 and playing card names, return frequency signatures that are unique to each lexical set (Fig. 1).

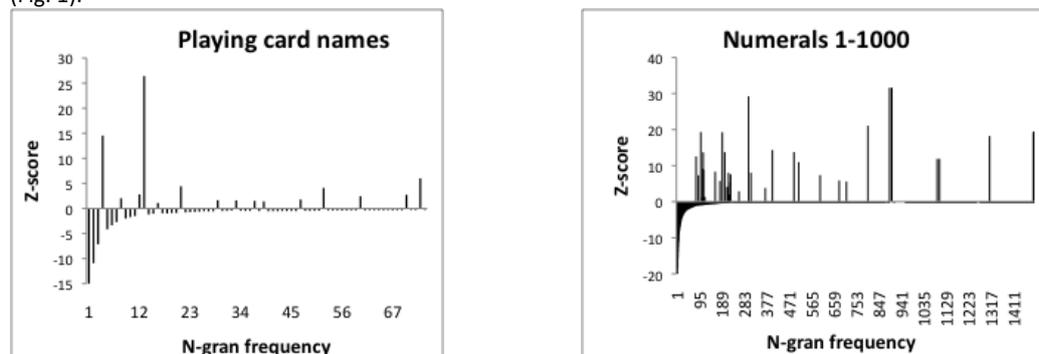


Figure 1. Frequency signatures of two lexical sets, showing the significance (z-score) of the character n-gram frequencies in that set compared to 1,000 random word sets. For playing card names, n-gram frequencies 13 and 4 are the most prevalent, and are clearly related to the underlying meaning space: N-grams of frequency 13 refer to the suits, which occur 13 times each, once for each card value: (ofs, fs, fsp, sp, p, spa, pa, pad, ad, ade, d, de, des, es, es); (ofc, fc, fcl, cl, c, clu, lu, lub, ub, b, bs, bs) etc. N-grams of frequency 4 refer to the numbers, which occur 4 times each, once for each suit: (ac, ace); (tw, two, w, wo); (j, ja, ja, ack, ck); (q, qu, que, ue, uee, een); etc. Results for numerals are equivalent.

These results indicate that linguistic forms alone can inform about the structure of the underlying meaning space. In the very clear case of playing cards, for instance, the method captures that in the underlying meaning space there are 4 items of a kind and 13 elements of another kind.

The same methodology applied to a diachronic corpus of artificial languages [8] quantifies the *process of change* of linguistic form structure (Fig. 2). The results reveal the gradual process of adaptation of the structure of forms to the structure of meanings.

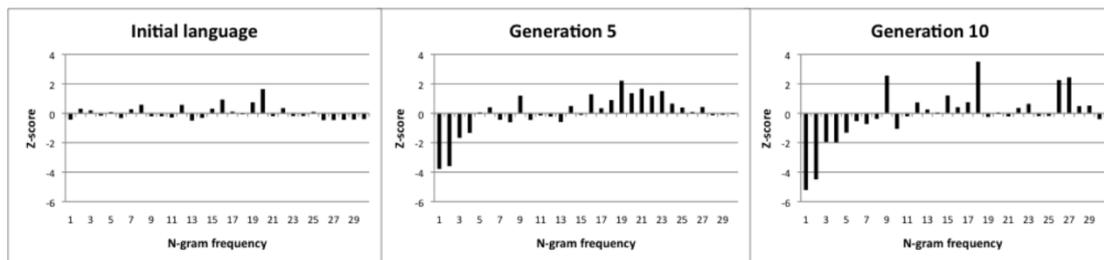


Figure 2. Frequency signatures of an artificial language at three points in time. Initially, the structure is random and no n-gram frequency reaches significance ( $p > 0.05$  for  $z > |1.96|$ ); after 5 generations, the pattern begins to differ from random and after 10, significant frequencies 18 and 9 reflect the number of times meanings occur in the underlying meaning space [see 8].

The above results illustrate how the new methodology reveals quantitative structure in linguistic forms. When we also have access to the meanings, e.g. in the above data or in the case of videoed corpora and controlled experiments, additional new analyses [9,10] can help discover how the structure of forms relates to the structure or meanings. In all, it constitutes an invaluable tool to test the effects of contextual, cognitive and linguistic factors on the emergence and evolution of the mappings between forms and meanings.

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### The grammatical and pragmatic status of 'vaya' in 'vaya + NP': interjection or quantifier?

Tanghe, Sanne  
(Ghent University)

In European Spanish, the particle *vaya* often occurs in combination with a noun phrase. Various authors (cf. Octavio de Toledo y Huerta 2001-2002, Company Company 2008) consider *vaya* in this context as an exclamative quantifier due to its similarities with the exclamative *qué*. Nevertheless, *vaya* is also frequently used with a metadiscursive (reformulation, etc.) and expressive (surprise, etc.) function wherefore *vaya* enters in the category of interjections. As a consequence the categorial status of *vaya* needs to be clarified as it has been assigned to various categories (interjections, quantifiers, etc.). Next to that the pragmatic function(s) the particle fulfils has to be studied as well as its combinatory limits in this particular context.

Therefore this study aspires a detailed description of (1) the meaning(s) *vaya* expresses and (2) the parts of the sentence it can precede. This functional and syntactical analysis will be based on a representative corpus with exclusively oral examples from European Spanish (retrieved from CREA, CdE and MC-NLCH). After having established a description of the particle *vaya*, its syntactic and pragmatic behaviour will be compared with the properties of the exclamative *qué* (cf. López Palma 1999, Leonetti 2007, González Rodríguez 2008).

From a pilot study it results that the behaviour of *vaya* presents some particularities. In the first place, *vaya* usually precedes a noun which, moreover, can have a specifier. In the exclamative with *qué* on the other hand, the presence of a specifier seems ungrammatical:

- (1) *¡Vaya vaya esa humildad!* (CREA: Oral; España, 1996) [*Vaya that humbleness!*]
- (2) *¿Qué esa humildad!* [*¿Qué that humbleness!*]

Next to that it appears that *vaya* usually intensifies a characteristic of the referent which is present only implicitly and, as a consequence, has to be deduced from the context while in the exclamative construction *qué + NP* the intensified

characteristic is often present explicitly (*¡Qué gran noticia!*). In the following example *vaya* intensifies a property of the noun *crédito* without referring explicitly to this property:

- (3) *Pues te pincho las ruedas si no sacas el coche. Tato oye, para joye, que es una broma, tío, que es una broma, para, que es una broma tío. Ven aquí, tío. De hombre, vaya crédito que tienes. (CREA: Oral; España, 1995) [Well I will puncture your tires if you do not take out the car. Tato listen, to listen, it's a joke, man, it's a joke, to, it's a joke man. Come here, man. From man, vaya belief you have.]*

In this way, I will depict the complete behaviour of *vaya* in the combination *vaya + NP* to be able to highlight its particularities and classify *vaya* under the grammatical and functional category it belongs to.

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### Translating sentence complexes (English-Czech interface).

Tárnyiková, Jarmila  
(Palacky University in Olomouc)

This is a sketch of a research in which sentence complexes of written English (from fictional and non-fictional texts) have been compared with their translation counterparts in written Czech. The aim is *firstly*, to identify similarities and differences in the *processes* applied in sentence complexing and their *results*, i.e. configurations of sentence complexes, approached as configurations of clauses, semi-clauses and clause-like units, choreographed either as linear sequences built in a brick-by-brick fashion, or interlaced configurations reminding us of Rubik's cube moves; *secondly*, with a quantitative support of 350 samples of English sentence complexes, to identify some of the facets of explicitation, as emergent from comparing two typologically remote languages, i.e. analytical English and synthetic Czech; *thirdly*, by discussing some of the prototypical differences emergent from the data, to offer an illustrative coverage of suggestions, from which teachers of translation studies as well as translators with hands-on experience, could benefit.

The theoretical framework is that of functional and systemic grammar, as advocated by the Prague school scholars and linguists whose theoretical footing is close to the Prague School tradition (M.A.K. Halliday, S.A. Thompson).

The approach reflects a top-down procedure, in which sentence complexes are looked upon as configurations, sensitive in their semantic representation, grammatical patterning and information structure to global (macro-structure) strategies of text shaping (Van Dijk, 1979), of which they are expected to be coherent and cohesive parts.

The focus is on testing the validity of Blum-Kulka's *explicitation hypothesis*, according to which the target texts display a greater degree of explicitness than their source texts. The validity of explicitation hypothesis will be discussed within the domains reflected in the following research questions:

- how English sentence complexes with verbal condensers (infinitives, gerunds, and participles) tend to be rendered in Czech;
- how Vachek's (1976) findings about a relatively compact structure of ModE sentence complex compared to relatively loose configurations of clauses in Czech are valid for contemporary translation studies;
- how the results of translation processes reflect the typological differences between analytical English and synthetic Czech and to what degree are they influenced by socio-cultural preferences of the respective language communities;
- how the tendency to 'chop' multi-clausal English complexes into smaller autonomous utterances in Czech is consistent in particular text types to allow for general theorizing and what communicative intentions can underlie those structural shifts.

The prototypes of sentence complexes, as emergent from the data, are approached here with Matthiessen (2002) as 'the distillation or echo of innumerable instances of clause complexing in text'.

The ultimate goal is (1) to plea for an empirical research in translation studies, with due attention paid to the *interplay* of textual and syntactic processes; (2) to contribute to a deeper understanding of the nature, manifestation and effects of explicitness on the processes of choice in translating sentence complexes; (3) by discussing unwanted

effects emergent from translations 'immune' text-level approach, to amplify a plea for context sensitive, culture bound choices of functional equivalents in the domain of sentence complexing.

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### **Press discourse and the ideology of racism.**

Tavares, Leonor  
(Universidade de Lisboa - CLUL)

Events concerning minorities in general and ethnic minorities in particular have been portrayed by the press mostly by emphasising aspects that affect public opinion in a negative way. This happens in many countries where ethnic migration has a major expression, such as Spain, Denmark, France, USA, and Portugal, the national context I will focus on.

In the summer of 2008, Portuguese newspapers published a series of front-page news on an incident that took place in July 10 and 11 in the outskirts of Lisbon, the country's capital. The neighbourhood, *Quinta da Fonte*, was a multi-ethnic one: 40% of Gipsy ascendance, 40% of African ascendance and 20% of European ascendance. The incident (a small one, involving two families) promptly received the label of *Quinta da Fonte shooting* and gave rise to a chain of ideologically compromised pieces of news, racist ones, both in the quality press, and in the popular one.

In order to collect data on this historical context, I compiled a sample of 104 pieces of news published in 32 editions of 5 different well-known Lisbon newspapers during that summer.

The event deserves a detained social and discursive study since it contained a peculiar dynamics: after a first wave of anti-Gipsy ideologically compromised reports, the Gipsy community came forward with public accusations of racist language in the papers. Then, a second wave of reports turned to an anti-African choice of topics, lexicon and argumentation and the discourse remain thus tainted until the incident was forgotten since there was no public denunciation of such specific kind of racism.

In this poster I propose to make a critical analysis (Van Dijk, 2009) of the collected sample, both at the level of semantic macro-structures –topics–, and at the level of local meanings – semantic fields, propositions and coherence. I will thus focus on the textual and semantic features of those reports in order to show how axiomatic they were in terms of conveyed beliefs involving race and minorities.

My aim is to take this case study and, within the theoretical frame of Critical Discourse Studies (Van Dijk, 2009), show how the discourse strategies adopted by this kind of influential social actors were estranged from the socio-pragmatic function of descriptive and neutral discourse. Western press is presupposed to be an integrative institution. Nevertheless, when publishing on the ethnic minorities, it can present such structures or strategies that it feeds the development, reinforcement and reproduction of dominant (racist) ideologies (Van Dijk, 1993). Such ideologies can be so pervasive that they get to affect the way minorities see themselves within the larger community.

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### **Persuasive dialogue structures in written texts. Direct mail techniques in the language of women's magazines.**

Temmerman, Martina  
(Erasmus University College Brussels)

This paper analyzes the discursive strategies editors of women's magazines use in order to shape the views of their women readers. The corpus consists of the 2009-2010 volume of the Flemish magazine *Flair*, more in particular the

beauty sections and the sections addressing relationships. Unlike other journalistic genres, the genres in these sections show a high amount of persuasive dialogue structures, characterized by a high occurrence of questions, interpersonal pronouns, imperatives and other phrases addressing the reader directly. This style shows a remarkable resemblance to that of fundraising and direct marketing letters (Crismore 2004; Jansen 1992).

Talbot (1995) states that women frequently draw on resources supplied by women's magazines to construct their own femininity. She shows that the editorial voice in these magazines is presented as that of the expert with special knowledge. This expert position makes it possible to try to influence the readers and to convince them of the proper way to behave (how to behave in relationships, how to raise children, how to use make-up, etc.) On the other hand, Talbot (1995) also developed the notion of *synthetic sisterhood*, indicating a simulated friendship between editor and reader, in which both parties would be on a more equal footing.

We will show the parallels between the persuasive dialogue structure of direct marketing language and the language use in this particular Flemish magazine. After a short description of the overall characteristics of persuasive dialogue structure, we will focus on the usage of the interpersonal pronouns, especially on the various uses of the first person plural pronoun (Dutch *wij* ('we')/ *ons* ('us')/ *onze* ('our')). Depending on the particular usage of the first person plural, speakers/writers can decide to either include or exclude both themselves and the hearer(s)/reader(s) in or from the representation of a state of affairs (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990).

In order to further substantiate the group delineation in relation to the usage of first person pronouns, also Malmström's (2008) concept of *accountability* will be integrated in our analysis. Accountability is a metadiscourse phenomenon which is indexical of the writer's commitment to being the origin or the mediator of the information. We will show that in cases where the accountability of the editorial voice is low (as in articles containing rather commercial messages, e.g. in the beauty sections), first person plural pronouns are used to create a distance between the editorial voice and the readers and that the editorial voice in these cases gets an exemplary, advisory or even compelling overtone. This is reinforced by the use of imperatives and other phrases addressing the reader directly. On the other hand, when the accountability of the editorial voice is high (as in articles with advice on relationships), *inclusive we* is used to create a sisterly 'we-collectivity'.

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### Combinatorial patterns of *-nes* in Old English recursive suffixation.

Torre Alonso, Roberto  
(Universidad de La Rioja)

Affix combination is a trending topic in current morphological studies as the works by Siegel (1979), Fabb (1988), Aronoff and Furthop (2002), Hay and Plagg (2004) or Lieber (2004) show. This paper aims at shedding light upon the combinatorial and operational properties of the Old English suffix *-nes*, which stands out as the most commonly used affix for abstract noun creation. This stage of the language is characterised by a rich inflectional system (Kastovsky 1992), and complex words clearly outnumber simple ones. Moreover, complex words are also used as bases for further derivational steps to operate, thus allowing for the existence of recursively derived words, which are a suitable field of study for the analysis of affix combinations. Thus, this piece of research focuses on recursive word formation, the thrust of this research being the contribution to the study of recursive derivation through the exhaustive analysis of a corpus of Old English derived words in which *-nes* constitutes the final derivative step. The corpus has been obtained from the lexical database Nerthus ([www.nerthusproject.com](http://www.nerthusproject.com)) and consists of a total 1,130 words, which means more than 30% of all derived nouns identified in the database. Of these, over 700 words are cases of recursive word forms, thus proving the combinatorial versatility of the suffix under scrutiny. The morpheme *-nes* can be used along with 29 different prefixes (*ā-*, *æfter-*, *æt-*, *and-*, *be-*, *for(e)-*, *forþ-*, *ful-*, *ge-*, *in-*, *med-*, *of-*, *ofer-*, *on-*, *onweg-*, *or-*, *op-*, *sin-*, *tō-*, *twi-*, *þurh-*, *un-*, *under-*, *ūp-*, *ūt-*, *wan-*, *wiþ-*, *wiþer-*, *ymb-*) and also in combination with 26 suffixes (*bære-*, *-cund*, *-dōm*, *-ed*, *-el*, *-en*, *-end*, *-er*, *-ere*, *-fæst*, *-feald*, *-ful*, *-hād*, *-ig*, *-ing/ung*, *-isc*, *-læc*, *-leas*, *-lic*, *-mōd*, *-ol*, *-ræden*, *-sum*, *-t*, *-wende*, *-wīs*) which turns *-nes* in the most prolific Old English affix, not only as regards the number of words it generates, but also considering its combinatorial properties when recursive derivation is at stake. Regarding the lexical category of the bases to which this affix can be attached, this study identifies nominal (197), verbal (354), adjectival (577) and adverbial (2) bases, which insists on the versatile nature of the suffix. The final part of the analysis tries to set the data against the Monosuffix Constraint, proposed by Aronoff and Fuhrhop (2002). These authors identify closing suffixes that do not

allow for further derivation once they have been attached to a base. The data show the existence of one affix that can occur once *-nes* has occupied its place in the derivation, that being the negative prefix *un-*. Whereas *-nes* does not qualify as a closing suffix, the fact that no other suffix can be attached after it indicates that this morpheme is process final, provided that a strict separation between the processes of prefixation and suffixation is kept.

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### **The diachronic reconfiguration of construction networks: reconciling construction inheritance and grammatical change.**

Torrent, Tiago  
(Federal University of Juiz de Fora, Brasil)

This work aims at arguing in favor of the Construction Network Reconfiguration Hypothesis which attempts to reconcile the study of constructional (radial) inheritance and grammatical (unidirectional and linear) change. It sustains that grammaticalization processes can change constructional patterns in a network, causing new constructions to emerge and, thus, reconfiguring the network along the time.

As a case study for this claim, I analyze eleven constructions from the *Para Infinitive* construction network in Brazilian Portuguese. The analysis carried out in this work is usage-based, in the sense that it is corpus-based, diachronically oriented, and construed in an attempt to account for (i) the formal and functional properties of the constructions in the network as they are used in real interactions; (ii) the internal consistency of the network; and (iii) the development of the constructions and the reconfiguration of such network alongside the history of Portuguese.

In order to achieve such objectives, extensive data collection was performed. For the definition of the synchronic properties and usage patterns of each construction in the network, a speech corpus from the 21st century Brazilian Portuguese with c. 185,000 words was scanned for the *para infinitive* syntactic schema. Through the analysis of the results of this survey, eleven constructions were identified and described.

Based on such analysis, a construction network is proposed in a radial fashion. Both the emergence of the network's prototype and the links between its members are described. Finally, in order to verify whether this synchronic analysis holds diachronically, occurrences of the constructions analyzed were surveyed in written text corpora from both Peninsular Portuguese – ranging from the 13th to the 17th centuries –, and Brazilian Portuguese – 18th and 19th centuries. For each century, a multiple-genre corpus of c. 150,000 words was used. Since this analysis also raised some questions on the origins of the four more ancient patterns in the original network, one last survey was made in corpora of Vulgar Latin so as to track the origins of each one of the ancient patterns.

The analyses showed that the *Para Infinitive* construction network seems to have been reconfigured by speakers since the 13th century, when it was formed by only four constructions. Since then, the emergence of new grammaticalized patterns has led to both the expansion of the network and the reconfiguration of its inheritance links.

### **Diminutive and augmentative types of pluractionality?**

Tovena, L.M.  
(Universite' Paris VII)

This paper presents a semantic characterisation of the diverging properties of event-internal pluractional verbs (Cusic, 1981; Newman, 1980), i.e. morphologically complex verbs that denote events constituted by pluralities of phases and that can take the semantic types diminutive (1a) or augmentative (1b). We work under the assumption that all these verbs describe non-canonical events, where non-canonicity is understood in comparative terms with respect to the description of the events provided by the corresponding morphologically simplex verbs (Tovena, 2010, 2009). Tovena has claimed that in pluractional verbs, the correlation between a dynamic predicate and a form of gradability is disrupted and has modelled the non-canonical flavour of the event description as theta role modification. Specifically, a cover applied to an argument of the verb gets plurality 'out of' an atomic participant, and this modification cancels the

homomorphism between the mereological structures of the entity whose properties provide scales and the event, and allows the emergence of phases within single events.

Tovena's proposal generalises if one considers property scales measuring an abstract di-mension instead of physical entities, however, it might face the same difficulty as Krifka's (1998) proposal to predict telicity via constraints on thematic roles. The issue, we claim, concerns the option of getting at the relevant dimension via a theta role. When no theta role is assigned VP internally, no pluractionality should be found, but intransitive verbs such as in (2) have only pluractional interpretations. We propose that it is not specifically the structure of an entity whose properties provide scales that one should consider, rather, any structure relevant for keeping track of the dynamicity of the event, i.e. measuring it. Event-internal pluractionality cancels the homomorphism between such structure(s) and the internal constitution of the event. A first important possibility opened by this change in perspective is that more than one structure can be targeted and it becomes possible to account for the multi-dimensional alteration typically reported in the literature. E.g. *leggiucchiare* means to read short stretches of text on and off and with little attention, and it is not always possible to say if all dimensions—or which ones—are affected in every specific use. A second advantage is that we can model the interpretations of both the diminutive and the augmentative verbs by taking them to be the reflect of the ways the cells of a cover are handled when trying to measure a dimension relevant to the whole event. The two types are made to correspond to two possible improper ways in which the measures taken on phases are put together. First, identification of the shared parts of the cells is in order for reconstructing the measure of the whole out of several local measures. Simplex verb forms signal that this is done properly and convey the canonical interpretation, pluractional forms say that the identification is not performed properly. Second, measuring can fail in one of two ways. In pluractional verbs of the increase type, the operation of concatenation is used instead of sum when recomposing the measure obtained locally, i.e. identification of shared parts between cells is under-applied. The total exceeds the original measure because overlapping entities are treated as non-overlapping. Conversely, the decrease type is modelled by assuming that identification is over-applied. In this case, cells with shared elements are coidentified, and sum turns into topological gluing when recomposing the cells. In this case, the value that results from the computation is necessarily lower than the total value measured for the standard event.

- (1) a. *dormicchiare* (sleep lightly, on and off) Italian  
b. *kassara* (break with violence, into many pieces) Standard Arabic
- (2) a. *vivoter* (live from hand to mouth) French  
b. *toussoter* (cough lightly and discontinuously) French

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### Towards an integrated account of grammatical constructionalization.

Traugott, Elizabeth Closs  
(Stanford University)

"Diachronic construction grammar" addresses a range of theoretical topics from lexicalization to grammaticalization (Noël 2007). The term also refers to a range of work that has emerged on specific structures in various languages, many of them cited in the call for the workshop, using a variety of models of construction grammar (e.g. HPSG, see Fried 2008; Usage-based (Radical), see Barðdal 2001, Traugott 2008a, Trousdale 2008). In most cases a historical dimension has been added to a largely synchronic theory, or construction grammar has been seen as "a tool for diachronic analysis" (Fried 2009). A coherent account from a construction grammar perspective of the development of constructions over time ("constructionalization", Rostila 2004) is only beginning to be articulated (e.g. Trousdale 2010).

Assuming that change is change in usage (Croft 2000), and that the successive micro-changes that sometimes give rise to systemic shifts are as important as or more important than macro-changes (*contra* Lightfoot 1979), the present paper suggests some issues that a coherent and restrictive account of grammatical constructionalization should address by focusing on how a constructionalization approach strengthens or challenges certain proposals in the grammaticalization literature. Proposals to be discussed are:

- (a) Grammaticalization involves expansion (Himmelmann 2004); whether it also involves increased dependency and reduced form (Lehmann 1995[1982], Haspelmath 2004) is a question of which construction is undergoing change. Contrast *be going to* 'motion with a purpose' > 'future auxiliary' (increased dependency; reduced form *be gonna*) with *surely* adverb 'securely' > epistemic modal > pragmatic marker (increase in scope, decreased dependency, stable form).

(b) Grammaticalization may have non-lexical as well as lexical origins (see already Meillet 1958[1912]; more recently Lehmann 2008), e.g. the development of WH- and ALL-pseudo-clefts (Traugott 2008b).

(c) Structural gradualness is accounted for by step by step changes (Fried 2009, Traugott and Trousdale 2010) in the “component elements, their conceptual integration and relation to other constructions” (Langacker 2009: 80). “Coevolution of form and meaning” (Bybee, Perkins, Pagliuca 1994) should be understood not as simultaneous development but as form-meaning shifts toward a construction (Bisang 2004). “Mismatch” (Francis and Yuasa 2008) is an expected developmental phenomenon.

(d) Analogization (pattern-matching) is an important mechanism (Fischer 2007); there is no “pure” grammaticalization without analogy such as Lehmann (2004) posits. However, all analogization is reanalysis (Traugott Forthcoming; also Kiparsky Forthcoming).

Related proposals in the constructionalization literature that will be discussed are:

(a) Changes need to be studied in terms of sets, hence of competition for constructional space; however, what an appropriate set is may be debatable (how many macro-constructions account for “clefts” or for “degree modifiers” in English?).

(b) Changes need to be studied in terms of the inheritance patterns, networks, and niches which support them (e.g. Torres Cacoullos and Walker 2009).

Grammatical constructionalization can address these issues if it is understood as increase in generality, schematicity, and productivity. Lexical constructionalization, by contrast, is characterized by decrease in these factors (Trousdale 2008, Forthcoming). A feature-based model of construction grammar (e.g. Sag 2010) is a useful heuristic for modeling constructional change.

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### The syntax and semantics of expressive intensifiers in German.

Turgay, Katharina & Gutzmann, Daniel  
(University of Landau & University of Frankfurt)

In informal varieties, German exhibits expressive intensifiers (EIs) like *sau* (lit. "female pig"), *voll* ("fully") *total* ("totally"):

- (1) Gestern hast du eine **sau/total/voll** coole Party verpasst.  
yesterday has you a EI cool party missed  
"Yesterday, you missed a EI cool party."

Since their syntax and semantics is not well documented in any grammar yet, we present their main properties and point out some interesting challenges EIs show for semantic and syntactic analyses. Since there are no references for EIs, we backed up our intuitions with a questionnaire study with 260 informants and small google researches. EIs contrast both semantically and syntactically with ordinary degree words like *very*. Semantically, they convey an additional expressive speaker attitude towards the proposition that is independent of their descriptive function of intensifying their adjective argument.

- (2) a. Descriptive meaning of (1): "Yesterday, you missed a very cool party."  
b. Expressive meaning of (2): "The speaker is emotional about how cool the party was."

To formalize this mixed content, we employ the formal tools developed in McCready 2010.

Syntactically, EIs show an unexpected behavior. Beside a standard position inside a DP directly preceding the adjective, they can show up in a DP-external position, a position from which non-expressive degree words are excluded.

- (3) Gestern hast du **sau/\*sehr** die coole Party verpasst.  
yesterday has you EI / very the cool party missed  
"Yesterday, you missed EI/\*very a cool party."

However, even in the DP-external position, the EI intensifies the adjective inside the DP. In addition, the external position is connected with some special kind of "indefiniteness effect" (Wang & McCready 2007), since it is only available if the DP contains a definite determiner. That is, while *Last is fine*, a DP-external variant of (19) is not. This does also hold for demonstrative or possessive pronouns, or quantifiers.

- (4) \*Gestern hast du **sau** eine coole Party verpasst.  
yesterday has you EI a cool party missed

What is even more puzzling is that in spite of the requirement of a definite determiner, the DP must nevertheless be interpreted as indefinite. Therefore, the DP-external position is disallowed if a definite interpretation is intended.

- (5) \*Da kommt **sau** der coole Typ, von dem ich dir erzählt habe.

there comes EI the cool guy of whom I you told have  
intended: "There comes the EI guy about whom I have told you."

It seems that EIs in the DP-external position somehow reserve the definiteness of the definite determiner. They cannot however, change the interpretation of indefinite articles, because otherwise, an indefinite article should be possible. This pattern is remarkable, both syntactically and semantically. Why should the DP-external position require a definite DP and exclude an indefinite DP, while at the same time enforcing an indefinite interpretation of the DP? DP-external EIs therefore add another serious puzzle to the well known but not yet well understood definiteness and indefiniteness effects.

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### Constructional variation of Estonian dialects.

Uiboaed, Kristel  
(University of Tartu)

The present paper gives an overview of the constructional variation in Estonian dialects based on a verb *saama* ('get, become')-constructions. The verb *saama* is a very polysemous word carrying many different grammatical functions in modern standard Estonian (Tragel & Habicht, to appear). A number of studies have been conducted to investigate *saama*-constructions in modern Estonian standard language and also in old written language (Tragel 2004; 2001; Tragel & Habicht, to appear). However, about Estonian dialects more thorough studies regarding this phenomenon do not exist. The present paper takes a closer look at these constructions in all the ten dialects of Estonian.

Data is provided by the morphologically annotated Corpus of Estonian Dialects, and clause boundaries for construction extraction are set automatically using the parser of Estonian language, which is adapted for dialect parsing (Lindström, Müürisep 2009). Construction candidates have been extracted from the corpus automatically and to measure their constructional strength collostructional methods are applied (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003; 2005). Collostructional analysis focuses on the relationships between words and constructions they form (Stefanowitsch, Gries 2003) and adopts the terminology of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995).

The present paper focuses on the two highest ranked *saama*-constructions in all ten dialects: *saama*+1INF and *saama*+PPP. These constructions show very different productivity in the different dialects and the frequency of usage varies considerably. The paper reveals which meanings these constructions carry in Estonian dialects and also takes a brief look at their morphosyntactic properties by presenting differences between and within the dialect groups. I also attempt to collect evidence for foreign language influences in different areas (for instance Swedish influence in Western dialects, Russian and Latvian influence in Eastern and Southern dialects, respectively).

In the presentation, I give an overview of the results of the constructional analysis. I present similarities and differences of *saama*+PPP and *saama*+INF1 constructions among the ten dialects of Estonian language.

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## Metaphorical borrowings in scientific discourse: An English-Spanish comparative study.

Ureña Gómez-Moreno, José Manuel  
(University of Granada)

This paper examines a set of English-Spanish metaphor term pairs extracted from a large corpus of running texts extracted from academic journal articles on marine biology. The English sub-corpus includes 2,240,327 words and the Spanish sub-corpus is comprised of 2,309,863 words, which means a total of 4,550,190 words. An innovative method was used to semi-automatically retrieve the data (author 2011). In the first phase, the corpus was searched for keywords featuring target domain concepts involved in the metaphorical mappings, as envisaged by Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999). The great potential of this strategy has been documented by various researchers (cf. Stefanowitsch 2006; Koivisto-Alanko & Tissari, 2006), but had never been applied to scientific texts. Secondly, a search was made for a set of lexical markers that are typical of scientific discourse. Thanks to these markers, it was possible to find metaphorical terms that could not be retrieved by means of pre-defined target domain keywords.

The preliminary results show that there is an extensive body of interlinguistic term pairs that are based on the same metaphor (exact term pairs). This may be due to: (i) a common natural way of conceptualising specialised referents in both languages (by virtue of what Lakoff (1987, p. 267) calls *collective biological capacities*); (ii) the influence of English as lingua franca on Spanish. In fact, it is hardly a coincidence that certain English and Spanish equivalents share complex metaphorical motivations, which would lead us to consider the Spanish terms as borrowings of the English ones. Cases of *geographical fragmentation* (Geeraerts & Speelman 2010) concerning terms from different varieties of Spanish (i.e. American Spanish and European Spanish) lend support to this claim.

The opposite phenomenon can also occur. Evidence has been found in the corpus that some Spanish metaphorical terms are taken by English-language biologists in the form of pure borrowings (with no graphic or phonetic adaptations). Furthermore, the corpus data provide interlinguistic metaphorical pairs whose linguistic realisations have a clear Latin origin. Thus, we could speak of indirect borrowings. This assumption is supported by the fact that the English constituents of these pairs have synonyms — i.e. *onomasiological variants* (Geeraerts & Speelman 2010) — grounded in different conceptual metaphors. Moreover, the analysis of the corpus data seems to show that Spanish metaphorical terms designating species that typically occur off the coasts of Spanish-language countries constrain terminologisation of these species in English.

Interestingly, many of the interlinguistic term pairs analysed are phrasal units, which brings them under the label of “phrasal borrowings”. Based on naturally occurring data, this study thus proposes a typology of terminological borrowings, which can be considered to be addressed from a methodological cognitive approach.

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## Zero-correspondence of the English verb *seem* across languages: meaning and function.

Usoniene, Aurelia & Sinkuniene, Jolanta  
(Vilnius University)

A contrastive analysis based on multilingual translation corpora employed in many cross-linguistic studies does not only help decode the semantics of linguistic items in source and target languages, but also reveals cross-linguistic differences and similarities on lexical, syntactic grammatical and conceptual levels (cf. Aijmer 2001, 2007; van der Auwera, Schalley, Nuyts 2005; Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2002-2003, Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2003). Multilingual translational corpora are also a very useful resource for the linguist as “the texts produced by translators can be treated as a collection of informants’ judgements” (Noel 2002: 158).

Zero-translation correspondence of various non-propositional linguistic items (discourse markers, modal expressions) across languages is not a new issue in linguistics. Lack of formal correspondence in translations of modal expressions from English into Swedish was observed by Aijmer, Aijmer and Altenberg (Aijmer 1996; Aijmer & Altenberg 2002).

Our analysis focuses on the multifunctional English verb *seem* which can function as an evidential (Cornillie 2009), epistemic (Usoniene 2000) or hedging (Hyland 1998, Varttala 2001) device and is notorious for its high percentage of zero-correspondences in a cross-linguistic perspective: English – Norwegian (Johansson 2001) and English

– Swedish (Aijmer 2009). Both studies yielded similar results regarding its zero correspondences: 11% of zero correspondences in English - Swedish translations (Aijmer 2009) and 13% in English - Norwegian translations (Johansson 2001). Our cross-linguistic study presents the zero correspondences of the verb *seem* in translations from English into Lithuanian (LT), Polish (PL) and Russian (RU). The four language data contrasted belong to three language groups: Germanic, Baltic and Slavic languages.

A special parallel corpus of two books by J.K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* and *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets*, and their translations into Lithuanian, Russian and Polish has been compiled for this study. Quantitative and qualitative analysis was carried out to identify frequencies and find an explanation for the cases of zero correspondences. The analysis has revealed that the number of zero correspondences is similar in all the three languages coming close to 40% in the first book and roughly 50% in the second book. Some of the omission cases may be explained by a semantic merge of two mental process verbs into one to avoid semantic redundancy as in the examples below:

<b>EN-orig</b>	... he couldn't help <b>noticing</b> that there <b>seemed</b> to be a lot of strangely dressed people about.
<b>LT-trans</b>	... negalėjo <b>nepastebėti</b> , kad aplinkui <b>∅</b> pilna keistai apsirengusių praeivių.
<b>PL-trans</b>	... nie mógł nie <b>zauważyć</b> , że naokoło <b>∅</b> jest mnóstwo dziwacznie ubranych ludzi.
<b>RU-trans</b>	...он не мог не <b>заметит'</b> , что повсюду <b>∅</b> полно очен' strano одетых l'udej.

The purpose of the study is to find out whether our cross-linguistic data could support or reject the claim about the weakening of the lexical meaning of *seem*, which is related to one aspect of grammaticalization (Aijmer 2009). We will also look at the compensation strategies of non-lexical correspondences which might cast light on language-specific realizations of interpersonal function in the languages contrasted.

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#### A split model for category specification.

Uygun, Dilek  
(Marmara University)

The approaches represented by Distributed Morphology (e.g. Marantz 1997, 2000; Harley and Noyer 1998) and Borer (2003, 2005) eliminates the notion of 'lexical' categories altogether and claims that lexical expressions are categoriless roots which *become* 'noun', 'adjective' or 'verb' in syntax. This 'syntactic' view of categorization represents just the opposite of the well-known 'lexicalist' views for which category distinctions such as 'noun', 'verb' and 'adjective' is an inherent property of expressions listed in the lexicon.

This study claims that the data concerning lexical category distinctions in Turkish support both the syntactic and lexicalist views of categorization. It is shown that while the flexibility observed in the morpho-syntactic distribution of certain lexical expressions argues for a category free lexicon, the restrictions illustrated by the morpho-syntactic

behavior of another group of lexical expressions can only be explained by the presence of a pre-syntactic category specification. Firstly, focusing on the noun-adjective distinction in Turkish, it is argued that there is no lexical specification distinguishing roots as 'noun' or 'adjective' prior to syntax. It is demonstrated that morphological and syntactic criteria fail to distinguish root expressions into distinct categories as 'adjective' or 'noun' and those expressions have the capacity to become 'adjective' if they occur in attributive modification structures and have the capacity to become 'noun' if they are subject to case assignment in syntax. Secondly, focusing on the lexical category 'verb', it is demonstrated that a majority of the root expressions in the lexicon bear a category specification with the effect of distinguishing non-verbal roots from verbal ones prior to their insertion into syntactic nodes. Finally, regarding category specifications, it is proposed that the division of labor between the lexicon and syntax is not a universally definable division and the type of pre-syntactic category distinctions available for root expressions may vary both within a particular language and across languages.

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### A Corpus-based Approach to the Possessive Dative Construction in Spanish

Vaamonde, Gael  
(University of Vigo)

Many approaches have focused on the syntactic-semantic relation between a possessive dative construction (e.g. *Ella me besó la mejilla* [lit. *She kissed the cheek to me*]) and an internal possessor construction (e.g. *Ella besó mi mejilla* [*She kissed my cheek*]). In some works, it was argued that this dative construction can be derived by a syntactic process of possessor raising from its internal counterpart (Langacker 1968, Demonte 1995, Landau 1999). Moreover, some authors think that the possessive dative arise as grammatical procedure to express the concept of inalienability, whatever that notion must be applied to in a specific language, and that the internal possessor, on the other side, is restringed to alienability (Bally 1926, Fillmore 1968). This last idea seems to be suggested in some works dealing with Spanish grammar too (Goldin 1972, Cano Aguilar 1981).

In this paper, it is argued that neither of the two approaches aforementioned can be stated for Spanish. From the analysis of the data provided by ADESE (<http://adesse.uvigo.es/>), a database with syntactic and semantic information for all the verbs and clauses in a corpus of Spanish, it will be shown that (i) the possessive dative and the internal possessor counterpart represent two different constructions with two different meanings, and both of them must be regarded as equally basic (Roldán 1972), (ii) inalienability is not a grammatical category in Spanish, and the 'possessive' interpretation of this dative depends more on inference and contextual plausibility than on grammatical factors (Kliffner, 1983) and (iii) the function of the possessive dative (and, in general, the function of the indirect object in Spanish) is to provide its referent with participant status (García 1975, Vázquez Rozas 1995).

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## The adjunct status of recipients and beneficiaries in Kokama-Kokamilla.

Vallejos Yopán, Rosa  
(University of Oregon)

Unregistered participant when the book of abstracts went to press

### That/zero alternation and epistemic parentheticals: a diachronic multivariate constructional study of the grammaticalization of *I think* and *I guess*.

Van Bogaert, Julie & Shank, Christopher  
(University of Gent - Research Foundation Flanders & University of Leuven)

This paper examines the diachronic development of *that/zero* complementation alternation with three mental state predicates (MSPs), viz. *I think*, *I guess* and *I understand*, and its relation to the emergence of these expressions as epistemic parentheticals (EPARs). According to Thompson and Mulac's (1991) matrix clause hypothesis, increased use of the zero complementizer, as in (2), is a precondition for an MSP's grammaticalization into an EPAR with adverb-like distribution, as in (3) and (4).

1. **I think** that the new settlement erm should be as close to York erm city as can be achieved (BNC: HVK 69)
2. **I think** the County Council's behaviour over the Wheatley site is positively immoral. (BNC: KRL 3549)
3. And it's nice, **I think**, to include this plough, if that's what it is. (BNC: HM2 453)
4. Phil's already got a copy anyway. So's everybody else **I think**. (BNC: KLV 1160)

We build upon this previous work and related findings/claims by exploring the diachrony of *that/zero* complementizer variation from 1560-2010 in spoken English for the verb *think/guess/ understand* and concurrent pathways of grammaticalization in the construction [*I + think/guess/understand + that/zero + finite complement clause*]. Attention is also given to investigating the increasing development of the (inter)subjective nature of the *I + think/guess/ understand* collocation and its use as an epistemic parenthetical in PDE. Our methodology utilizes Author2's (2010) research which presents a constructional CxG taxonomy of MSPs in which the high-frequency MSP *I think* acts as a template onto which the other members of the taxonomy are modeled.

Using Wordsmith, a total of 18,124 hits (for all 3 verbs) were randomly extracted from the following corpora: CEEC and Old Bailey Corpora (1560-1913), the London Lund corpora (1960-1990), the spoken components of the ANC (1990 - 1993) and COCAE (1994-2009) corpora and the Alberta Unset corpus (2010-2010). All of matrix + complement *that/zero* constructions were coded for 28 structural variables including person, tense, polarity, and presence of modal auxiliaries, syntactic complexity, and complement clause subjects. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ( $n > 30$ ) for all historical periods were extracted and a diachronic multivariate regression analysis is used to examine the statistical significance of eleven structural factors in regards to the selection of *that/zero* and EPAR development.

The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 11 matrix and complement clause features (Kaltenböck 2004); however, stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, etc) are incorporated via a 'weighted' variable analysis. Furthermore, on the basis of findings put forward in Cuyckens and Author1 (2009), we formulate the hypothesis that with regard to the spread of the zero complementation pattern too, *I think* acts as a 'pacemaker' (Author2, 2010); due to the cognitive salience of this high-frequency MSP and its analogy relationship with the rest of the taxonomy, the other MSPs, which initially lag behind in this development, follow suit. These findings are then used to develop a preliminary framework for both evaluating the epistemic potential of the *think/guess/ understand* matrix and identifying factors which contribute to more lexical interpretations.

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### Indefiniteness and the mass/count distinction.

van der Auwera, Johan & Van Alsenoy, Lauren  
(University of Antwerp)

It is insufficiently realized that the polarity sensitivity of indefinites can be sensitive to the mass/count distinction. Thus in Scandinavian an indefinite ('IND') determiner such as Norwegian *noen* is negatively polar in its singular count use, but not in its mass or plural count uses (Lindstadt 2009: 227).

- |     |   |      |      |       |       |     |        |        |       |      |      |
|-----|---|------|------|-------|-------|-----|--------|--------|-------|------|------|
| (1) | Jeg   | har  | noen | biler | /     | noe | smør   | /      | *noen | bil. |      |
|     | I   | have | IND  | cars  | /     | IND | butter |        | IND   | car  |      |
|     | 'I have some cars /some butter / *some car.'    |      |      |       |       |     |        |        |       |      |      |
| (2) | Jeg   | har  | ikke | noen  | biler | /   | noe    | smør   | /     | noen | bil. |
|     | I   | have | nøgt | IND   | cars  | /   | IND    | butter |       | IND  | car  |
|     | 'I don't have any cars / any butter / any car.' |      |      |       |       |     |        |        |       |      |      |

Pace Lindstadt (2009) this sensitivity is not unique to Scandinavian. A similar sensitivity is manifested by Dutch *enig* (see (3) and (4)) (and, in a 'mild' form, even by English *any*).

- |     |  |       |       |        |   |       |        |   |        |       |
|-----|--|-------|-------|--------|---|-------|--------|---|--------|-------|
| (3) | Ik   | heb   | enige | auto's | / | enige | boter  | / | *enige | auto. |
|     | I  | have  | IND   | cars   | / | IND   | butter |   | IND    | car   |
|     | 'I have some cars /some butter / *some car.' |       |       |        |   |       |        |   |        |       |
| (4) | Niemand                                      | heeft | enige | auto's | / | enige | boter  | / | enige  | auto. |
|     | nobody                                       | has   | IND   | cars   | / | IND   | butter |   | IND    | car   |
|     | 'I have some cars /some butter / *some car.' |       |       |        |   |       |        |   |        |       |

The *noen* and *enig* type indefinites have a different origin: the Scandinavian ones derive from a 'don't know who' structure (Haspelmath 1997: 139-133, 249, 251), whereas Dutch *enig* (and English *any*) is based on the numeral 'one'. Thus the connection between polarity and the mass/count distinction is probably not accidental and needs to be accounted for in a general account of indefiniteness. In the state of the art typological study of indefinites, Haspelmath (1997), however, no mention is made of the mass/count distinction. The connection also seems diachronically unstable: the properties of the Scandinavian *noen* indefinites differ significantly from one language to the next and thus assuming a common origin the variation invites a diachronic interpretation. Similarly, Dutch *enig* has been losing its polarity.

We will aim to describe and explain the connection between polarity and the mass-count distinction through mapping the cross-linguistic differences and similarities on an extended Haspelmath type map (Haspelmath 1997). The extension is to give prominence to an independently motivated link between singularity and negative polarity. On the diachronic side, we study Dutch *enig* in a diachronic corpus and we interpret the Scandinavian synchronic variation in terms of the progressive loss of the polarity.

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### Comparative construction grammar: subordination strategies in South America.

Van Gijn, Rik & Hammarström, Harald  
(Radboud University Nijmegen)

One of the major claims of Construction Grammar is that there is no principled distinction between lexicon and grammar. For diachronic linguistics, this implies that methods that are used to compare vocabulary (and reconstruct proto-vocabulary or contact patterns), should in principle be extendable to constructions. In this paper we look at subordination strategies in South-American languages, and propose a method to measure distances between languages by breaking down constructions into smaller units, thus creating a string of information comparable to a string of phonetic information for lexical items. This string, which is associated with a certain semantic profile, forms the input for a comparison with constructions in other languages.

One of the problems that may arise in traditional lexical comparison, the existence of two forms associated with one meaning, is also relevant when comparing more abstract form-meaning pairs like subordination strategies: a language may have more than one construction to encode e.g. a purpose clause. This may make the comparison of languages more difficult. We will discuss two possible strategies to overcome this problem, again based on methodology for lexical comparison.

Although we do not claim to be able to reconstruct constructions, the resulting distances between languages can be plotted against known language families and (present and/or historical) geographical locations of the languages. In this way we can start answering the question whether more abstract form-meaning pairs such as subordination strategies are good indicators of (long distance) genetic affiliation or rather of diffusion patterns.

### **Pseudo-copular use of the Spanish verbs 'ponerse' and 'quedar(se)': two types of change.**

Van Gorp, Lise  
(University of Leuven)

In Spanish a dozen verbs can be used as pseudo-copula to express a change-of-state (*acabar, caer, devenir, hacerse, ponerse, quedarse, resultar, salir, terminar, tornarse, venir, volverse*). This contribution will focus on the pseudo-copulative relation expressed by the verbs *ponerse* 'put-REFL' and *quedar(se)* 'remain-REFL'. Though various syntactic and semantic features have been put forward (Crespo, 1949; Coste & Redondo, 1965; Fente, 1970; Lorenzo, 1970; Eberenz, 1985; Pountain, 1984; Alba de Diego & Lunell, 1988; Porroche Ballesteros, 1988) they appear to be insufficient and inadequate to distinguish between the uses of these two change-of-state verbs. Instead of searching for general categorical features that could be distinctive, Bybee & Eddington (2006) rely on the frequency and exemplarity of some adjective and prepositional predicates that occur with *ponerse* and *quedar(se)*; they claim that the expression of change-of-state in Spanish is highly conventionalized. However, they only consider the adjective categories in their own right and "leave further specification of the verbs' meanings for future study" (Bybee and Eddington, 2006: 334).

The present study focuses on the very meaning import of the verb in profiling the change-of-state process. In order to grasp its specificity, a cognitive point of view will be adopted. On the basis of the conceptual metaphor that 'change is movement in time' each verb can be assumed to be associated with a different representation of kinesis and evolution. We hypothesize that each verb has developed a proper schematic conceptualization, in accordance with the basic meaning the verb has outside the pseudo-copular construction ("lexical persistence" cf. Hopper 1991). Hence, we postulate that the (causative locative) verb *poner* 'put' expresses the activation of a process whereas the (static locative) verb *quedar* 'remain' rather profiles a state of incapability. Although Bybee and Eddington (2006: 349-350) briefly refer to the original meaning of *quedar(se)* and *ponerse* for explaining the difference between these, they only compare them in combination with the adjective *triste* 'sad'.

We will compare the explanatory value of a cognitive-functional approach of the verbs *ponerse* and *quedar(se)* with that of an analysis in terms of aspectual differences, as it is generally advocated in the literature. To this end, we will verify to what extent the changes expressed by *ponerse* and *quedar(se)* effectively differ as to the interpretation of the duration and quality of the change. To what extent is shortness typical of the state *ponerse* attributes to the subject? And to what extent can a negative evaluation of the result be considered as more characteristic of *quedar(se)*?

To shed more light on the difference in conceptualization, we will introduce a series of novel parameters related to discourse perspective and expectation patterns, especially regarding the agentivity dimension.

The verification of our hypothesis is based on a corpus analysis of contemporary Spanish prose; for each verb we will register up to 800 tokens per pseudo-copular use, drawn from the online *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA).

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## **Doubling, Reduplication and Identity Avoidance**

van Riemsdijk, Henk  
(Tilburg University / Arezzo)

In these introductory remarks I plan to confront doubling phenomena in syntax, along with doubling or reduplication in morphology and phonology, with another, apparently contradictory force, the avoidance of identity (cf. Van Riemsdijk, 2008, Yip, 1998). The most prominent principle accounting for identity avoidance effects is the Obligatory Contour Principle. The OCP has its origins in phonology, but has been extended to a range of phenomena in Syntax. While OT-type theories tend to welcome the coexistence of opposite forces, other approaches to grammar attempt to avoid such situations. This is the broader conceptual backdrop in which I will try to locate the doubling constructions to be discussed at this workshop. What I am particularly interested in is the of semantic differentiation. i.e. where doubling coexists with non-doubling, does it have a semantic impact of its own, and why? My examples will be mostly taken from Swiss German, one of the doubling champions of the world.

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## **Why is English used in job advertisements in the Netherlands? Reasons given by Dutch makers of job ads.**

Van Meurs, Frank, Gerritsen, Marinel, Korzilius, Hubert & Planken, Brigitte  
(Radboud University Nijmegen)

Job advertisements in the Netherlands frequently contain English (loan)words and occasionally are completely in English (e.g. Korzilius et al., 2006; Van Meurs et al., 2006). The reasons given in the literature for the use of English in job advertisements in non-English-speaking countries are based on the researchers' analysis of anecdotal examples (e.g. Larson, 1990; Watts, 2003). While a number of studies have asked makers of product advertisements for their reasons for using English (e.g. Gerritsen et al., 2000; Wetzler, 2006), no such empirical data are available for job ads.

This study aimed to determine what reasons Dutch job ad makers have for using English. Following e.g. Hornikx and Starren (2006) and Kelly-Holmes (2005), it aimed to establish whether these reasons were symbolic (suggesting qualities or characteristics that were not objectively observable, e.g. status) or non-symbolic (referring to aspects that would be objectively observable, e.g. conciseness). It also aimed to determine whether these reasons were found in the literature on English in product and job ads.

Nineteen interviews were held with makers of partly or completely English job ads that had appeared in various Dutch national and local newspapers in the summer of 2006. The interviewees were asked open-ended questions about their reasons for using either all-English ads or for using English words and phrases. Reasons mentioned by a majority of interviewees were labelled "dominant reasons" (cf. Lewis et al., 2006).

The reasons given by the job ad makers for using English were found to be both symbolic and non-symbolic, with non-symbolic reasons being more prevalent. The majority of the reasons were found in the literature about English in job and product ads.

A dominant symbolic reason for using all-English job ads was that they signalled the importance of good communication skills in English. Dominant non-symbolic reasons were that the organisation was international and that the target group was international.

There were no dominant symbolic reasons for using English terms in Dutch job ads. Each symbolic reason given was mentioned by only a single interviewee. Dominant non-symbolic reasons for using English terms were that these terms were common in the organisation, that they had no Dutch equivalents, and that they were common in the sector in which the organisation operated.

It can be concluded that the interview findings confirm the relevance to job ad makers of reasons for using English in advertising discussed in the literature, both in the specific reasons mentioned and in the more general distinction between symbolic and non-symbolic reasons. At the same time, the interviews also revealed reasons that had not been discussed in earlier publications (e.g. lack of time, or signalling that an application letter should be written in English), underlining the importance of getting text producers' perspectives (cf. Bhatia, 1993). The reasons given

relating to sector and the international nature of the organisation concur with the corpus findings in Korzilius et al. (2006) and Van Meurs et al. (2006) which showed that these were factors determining the extent to which English is used in Dutch job ads.

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### NOT-negation, NO-negation and the loss of negative concord in Late Middle English.

Varela Pérez, José Ramón  
(University of Santiago de Compostela)

Historically, the possibility of variation between NO-negation and NOT-negation was only effective after the disappearance of *ne* and the rise of *not* as a marker of verbal negation at the end of the Middle English period (Jespersen 1917; Tottie 1991; Fischer 1992; Rissanen 1999; Mazzon 2004; Ingham 2006). The demise of multiple negation of the type *ne + verb + no/nothing/none*, etc., brought about the construction with NO-negation, i.e. the use of negative indefinites in postverbal position: *I ne saw nothing > I saw nothing*, as in (1) (Mazzon 2004). In addition, the new marker of verbal negation (*not*) could increasingly combine with postverbal non-assertive items such as *any*, the indefinite article, and the zero article (*not...a/any/anything*, etc.), as in (2) (Shanklin 1988; Nevalainen 1998). Although *ne... not* did not tend to occur with other negative indefinite because of the original emphatic nature of *not* (Jack 1978; Fischer 1992), it was possible to find at that time sentences with negative concord of the type *not... no/nothing/none*, etc., as well as the co-occurrence of multiple negated indefinites without *not* (Nevalainen 1998), as in (3) and (4):

- (1) but I can not knowe any error +terin (PASTON,II,33.246.7259) [NOT-negation]
- (2) I can gete no tenaunte to dwell in the maner hous. (PASTON,II,64.268.7764) [NO-negation]
- (3) but they can not fynd no thyng of it. (PASTON,I,538.177.5401) [negative concord]
- (4) as for the carpenteris wages ther may by no reson be no mone due to hym therof (STONOR,I,115.018.281)

This is a corpus-based variationist study of the link between the demise of negative concord of the *not... no/nothing/none* type and the availability of NOT-negation and NO-negation between late Middle English and the beginning of the early Modern English. The data on which this study is based are taken from three time periods of the Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence: Late ME (1420-1499), EModE 1 (1500-1569) and EModE 2 (1570-1639). I will address the impact of several language internal factors on the choice between the different constructions, including some that have not yet been considered in the literature. Ultimately, the variation between NOT-negation and NO-negation must be placed against the backdrop of diachronic typology: the history of sentence negation in English (the so-called Jespersen's Cycle) and two competing typological tendencies that bear opposite results in the expression of negation: (a) the 'Neg First' principle, i.e., the universal psycholinguistic tendency for negative markers to be placed before the verb (Jespersen 1917; Horn 1989); and (b) the End-weight principle, i.e. the tendency to concentrate communicatively significant elements towards the second part of the sentence (Mazzon 2004).

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## Where do agentive senses fit in the polysemy of the Finnish allative?

Västi, Katja

(University of Oulu & University of Helsinki)

As I have argued elsewhere (forthcoming), the Finnish verbless allative-initial construction (cf. 1) is a non-elliptic, i.e., syntactically and semantically independent, structure associated with eight distinct senses that indicate particular event types in which the allative element has a particular participant role.

- (1) *Kuluttaja-ille*                      *reilu-n*                      *kaupa-n*                      *mahdollisuus*  
consumer-ALL                      fair-GEN                      trade-GEN possibility[NOM.SG]  
lit. 'To a consumer a possibility to fair trade.'

The polysemy is expected on the grounds of previous studies on constructional meaning (see, e.g., Goldberg 1995: 31–33 and references therein). It is not expected, however, that two of the allative's senses in this construction involve agentive features, as the Finnish allative case is an exemplar of a goal-marking morphemes that emphatically indicate target participants and not source participants. Thus the questions discussed here are 1) how all the eight senses of the initial-position allative element fit together and 2) where the surprising agentive construals come from.

To address the questions, I will present a diagram that shows how the sense extensions (called *ACTOR*, *PURCHASER*, *TARGET GROUP*, *EXPLOITER*, *AFFECTED*, *IMPLICATED ACTOR*, and *ENCOUNTERER*) can be related to each other and to the core sense (called *RECEIVER*). A broadly defined common feature of all of these senses is that the other participant of the event (i.e., the nominative- or partitive-marked *THEME* argument) ends up in the allative-marked participant's sphere of control or influence. When defining the interrelationships, attention is paid especially to motivation of the typologically very rare and semantically unpredictable (cf. Rice & Kabata 2007) agentive senses *ACTOR* (cf. 2) and *PURCHASER* (cf. 3).

- (2) *Suome-ille*                      *voitollinen*                      *tulos*  
Finland-ALL                      profitable                      result  
'Finland made, achieved, attained etc. a profitable result.'  
(lit. 'To Finland a profitable result.')
- (3) *JOT-ille*                      *tytäryhtiö*                      *Unkari-in*  
JOT-ALL                      subsidiary.company                      Hungary-ILL  
[name of a company]  
'JOT founds a subsidiary company to Hungary.'  
(lit. 'To JOT a subsidiary company to Hungary.')

A part of the explanation is that, in a suitable semantic frame, the canonical subject position the allative element occupies in the construction contributes to the agentive construal. What a suitable semantic frame consists of is also discussed. The other extensions relate in a more apparent way to the previously established semantic functions of the Finnish allative and goal-marking morphemes in general.

The study is carried out within the Frame Semantics and Construction Grammar frameworks. The semantic analysis is based on both an intuitive categorization and experimental method, a paraphrase test with 163 participants, which have been applied to the data of 500 newspaper headlines collected mainly from the Finnish Language Bank. The verbless construction under investigation seems to be largely restricted to written language, and it is particularly common in headlines.

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### **On the absence of grammaticalization of motion verbs: structure and emergence of directional serial verb constructions.**

Veenstra, Tonjes  
(ZAS, Berlin)

Although it is clear that deictic motion verbs like COME and GO in a variety of different language groups develop away from the lexical semantic core meaning, it is ever so often presented as a well-known fact such verbs undergo grammaticalization and develop into a garden variety of grammatical markers. In this paper we argue that the semantic and syntactic developmental paths do not necessarily go hand in hand. We offer semantic and syntactic evidence for the position that directional verbs like GO and COME as they occur in serial verb constructions have not been grammaticalized, but stand in a polysemic relationship with these verbs in their use as main verbs instead. In particular, we argue that metaphorical extension and semantic generalisation and diffusion are not (necessarily) indicative of the process of grammaticalization (cf. Veenstra 1996, Butt & Geuder 2001, Essegbey 2004). We show that the syntactic patterns these directional verbs exhibit in this construction are not different from other (non-grammaticalized) verbs. As such, there exists a clear syntax/semantics mismatch.

A second issue concerns the existence (and emergence) of directional serial verb constructions in creole languages as a feature inherited from West African languages. The basic question to be addressed here is what is actually transferred from the source languages. Is there a wholesale inheritance or do just certain specific properties find their way in the respective creoles, and if the latter is the case, what role do the target languages play in this process? We will argue that source language influence is not a unified phenomenon, and that also in this domain there is a syntax/semantics mismatch. We present two case-studies to substantiate our claim. The first is based on an in-depth comparison of the Gbe languages (Aboh 2004, Da Cruz 1994, Lefebvre & Brousseau 2001) and the Surinam creoles (Migge 1998, Sebba 1987, Veenstra 1996). We show that directional serial verb constructions in the Surinamese creoles and the Gbe languages show similar syntactic patterns, although the specific verbs of direction (*go* and *come*) in these language groups are semantically not equivalent (cf. Essegbey 2004). Second, we compare directionals from Mauritian Creole with those found in Bantu P- languages (DeVos 2010), showing that also in this case the syntax is identical.

### **On the importance of conceptual persistence and analogy in the development of binominal quantifiers in Spanish.**

Verveckken, Katrien & Delbecque, Nicole  
(Research Foundation - Flanders - K.U.Leuven).

The aim is to illustrate the role conceptual persistence and analogy play in the grammaticalization of quantifying nominals in Spanish. We will argue that the quantifying uses evolve around semantically similar domains, which continue the original literal use of the first noun and determine later collocational restrictions.

**Quantifying nominals** (QN) display a quantitative potential as they designate containers (*brazada* 'armful'), configurations (*montón* 'pile', *racimo* 'bunch') or collective entities (*hatajo* 'herd', *tropel* 'mob, heap'). When the QN are followed by a *de* 'of'-PP indicating the mass, they can be considered **binominal quantifiers** (*un montón<sub>N1</sub> de dinero<sub>N2</sub>* 'a pile of money').

The diachronic development of the latter quantifying construction motivates a description in terms of grammaticalisation in progress (Brems 2003; Verveckken 2009): within the binominal syntagm, the QN (or N1) that constitutes the head of the quantifying construction (*[una pila][de libros]* '[a pile] [of books]'), gets reanalyzed as quantifying the mass designated by N2 (*[una pila de] años* '[a pile of] years'). A gradual lifting of the combinatorial restrictions (on N2) thus obtains, possibly giving way to further desemanticization of N1. Yet, QN are unlikely to bleach completely: even the most 'desemanticized' quantifying uses conceptually echo the original head use (Hopper 1991; Verveckken 2009). This conceptual persistence accounts for several concordance phenomena (Verveckken & Cornillie Forthcoming) as well as for the combinatorial restrictions each QN (as a lexical item) imposes on N2. By endowing the binominal construction with a creative potential, conceptual persistence also insures its productivity.

In line with Bybee & Eddington's (2006) exemplar representation of constructions, the quantifying uses of QNs can be considered to develop according to some 'prefab' clusters. In the various uses of the binominal syntagm – i.e.

the head use (as in *un tropel de hombres* ‘a mob of men’), the quantifier use (as in *un tropel de blasfemias* ‘a lot of blasphemy’) and the premodifier use (as in *un tropel de energúmenos* ‘a mob/bunch of madmen’) – particular *N1 de N2* associations stand out (cf. *gente* ‘people’ is the most frequent N2 in combination with the head use of *tropel* until the 20<sup>th</sup> century). However, rather than reproducing particular lexically fixed combinations, we assume that novel instances of the binominal quantifier construction rather cluster around particular conceptual images, i.e. that novel *N1 de N2* combinations are formed by analogy with the existing image schemas. We further hypothesize that the combinatorial restrictions characterizing the synchronic uses of the N1s in Present-Day Spanish (cf. Verveckken 2009) result from the particular semantic clusters observed in their history. The clusters observed for the quantifying uses, therefore, may but need not be semantically related to the associations typical of the original head use.

The data were extracted from three on-line corpora. For nine QN – i.e. *montón, pila, alud, aluvión, hatajo, letanía, tropel, racimo* and *barbaridad* – exhaustive or representative samples (spoken/written, formal/informal, synchronic/diachronic) were extracted from the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* (CREA) and the *Corpus diacrónico del español* (CORDE) from the *Real Academia Española*. For the period from Medieval Spanish up to Present-Day Spanish further completion was sought in the *Corpus del Español* by Mark Davies. In this usage-based approach, data were analysed from a cognitive-functional perspective.

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### Standard and special negators: their evolution and interaction.

Veselinova, Ljuba  
(Stockholm University)

The term **Standard Negation** (hereafter **SN**) refers to the negation of simple indicative sentences with an overt verb predicate as in *Mary doesn't sing* (Dahl 1979; Miestamo 2003/2005). Sentences such as (i) *Mary is not a nurse* (hereafter a **non-verbal sentence**) and (ii) *There are no wild cats* (hereafter **existential sentence**) are excluded from the domain of SN because in many languages they are negated by a strategy different from SN. The negators used in such clauses are referred to as **special negators**. The focus of this paper is the development of such special negators and their interaction with standard negation. The material used in this investigation is based on a family-oriented sample of 14 Slavonic languages and 18 Polynesian languages. A family oriented sample was chosen in order to be able to test the model proposed in Croft (1991) based on historical-comparative data.

Languages may use different negators for (i) and (ii) as illustrated by Serbo-Croatian in (1) and (2) below. The most widespread case of special negation is the use of a special negative existential, which is observed in most Slavonic languages except for Upper and Lower Sorbian, Czech and Slovak. Both types of special negators are also observed in the Polynesian languages; special existential negators are the more common kind of special negators in this family as well. Polynesian languages are well known for a typologically rather unusual feature, namely for employing complex clause structures for the expression of SN as illustrated by Tongan in (6)a below.

This study outlines the processes whereby special negators in these families evolved, the course of their spread to the existential constructions and also, in some cases, to domains of standard negation (cf. (3)-(6) Bulgarian and Tongan). Other lexicalizations of negation and their role in standard negation are also discussed. Finally, the diachronic model of the evolution of negation offered in (Croft 1991) is discussed and expanded based on the comparative data collected here. The model as laid out by Croft puts forth a hypothesis about the evolution of SN from special existential negators as they gradually expand their use into negating verbs. The current study contributes to the model as follows. First, it is suggested that lexicalization and reanalysis of specially negated lexical items should be part of the model as they are also sources for SN cf. Serbo-Croatian *neću* ‘not want’ < *ne* ‘SN’ + *hoću* ‘want’ > SN for future tense. Second, the role of constructional strength, general properties of negative existentials and language specific properties of SN need to be brought in when we seek to outline the processes whereby existential negators evolve into SN markers. The evidence from Slavonic does not corroborate the model in its current form as the use of the existential negator we observe in Bulgarian today is not a result of expansion of the existential negator but rather an inherited negated future construction from Old Church Slavonic. So with Slavonic, it is the strength of a construction that leads to the situation we see today. On the other hand, the evidence from Polynesian languages provides some confirmation for the development suggested by Croft. As pointed out, SN in Polynesian is frequently in the form of a complex clause structure that can be literally translated ‘it is not that X’ where X stands for the negated proposition. SN markers in

Polynesian are lexically very diverse; it is generally impossible to reconstruct a common Proto-Polynesian source for them. However, at least some of them can be successfully shown to go back to a verb meaning ‘lack’ or a negative existential. Both cross-linguistic and comparative evidence suggest that negative existentials easily acquire phrasal properties and start being used as pro-sentences, sentence particles and clause external negators. It is through such uses, especially the latter one, that they evolve into the higher verbs we see used as SN markers in modern Polynesian languages. Thus in Polynesian, it is the characteristics of negative existentials together with family specific SN constructions that lead to the evolution outlined by Croft (1991).

Examples:

- (1) Serbo-Croatian (South Slavonic), (Sonja Petrović Lundberg p.c.): non-verbal negator, in the present tense *nije*  
*Tom nije nastavnik, on je lekar*  
 Tom is.not teacher, he is physician  
 ‘Tom is not a teacher, he is a physician’
- (2) Serbo-Croatian (South Slavonic), (Sonja Petrović Lundberg p.c.): existential negator, in the present tense *nema*  
 a. *Ima divl-jih mač-aka* b. *Nema divl-jih mač-aka*  
 have.3.SG.PRES wild-GEN.PL cat-GEN.PL Not-have.3.SG.PRES wild-GEN.PL cat-GEN.PL  
 ‘There are wild cats’ ‘There aren’t any wild cats’
- (3) Bulgarian (South Slavonic), (Maria Avgustinova, p.c.): standard negator, non-future *ne*  
 a. *Maria pee* b. *Maria ne pee*  
 Maria sing.3.SG.PRES Maria NEG sing.3.SG.PRES  
 ‘Maria sings’ ‘Maria does not sing’
- (4) Bulgarian (South Slavonic), (Maria Avgustinova, p.c.): existential negator *njama*  
 a. *Ima div-i kotk-i* b. *Njama div-i kotk-i*  
 have.3.SG.PRES wild-PL cat-PL Not-have.3.SG.PRES wild-PL cat-PL  
 ‘There are wild cats’ ‘There aren’t any wild cats’
- (5) Bulgarian (South Slavonic), (Maria Avgustinova, p.c.): standard negator, future: *njama*  
 a. *Maria shte pee* b. *Maria njama da pee*  
 Maria FUT Sing.3.SG.PRES Maria not-have.3.SG.PRES to sing.3.SG.PRES  
 ‘Maria will sing’ ‘Maria will not sing’
- (6) Tongan (Austronesian, Malayo-Polynesian, Remote Polynesian, Polynesian, Tongic), (Broschart 1999: 96): SN is expressed by a complex clause where the negation marker is a higher predicate. The negation of non-verbal and existential clauses is expressed by simple clauses  
 a. *Na’e ’ikai ke kata ’a Pita*  
 PAST NEG SUB laugh ABS Pita  
 ‘Pita did not laugh’ ([it] was not that Pita laugh[ed])  
 b. *Ko e tangata c. ’oku ’ikai ko ha faiako ’a Pita*  
 PR ART man PRES:IMPF NEG PR NSP teacher ABS Pita  
 ‘(it is) a man’ ‘Pita is not a teacher’  
 d. *’oku ’i ai ha me’a e. ’oku ’ikai ha me’a*  
 PRES:IMPF LOC there NSP thing PRES:IMPF NEG NSP thing  
 ‘there is something/someone’ ‘there is not anything’

Abbreviations:

ABS	absolutive	GEN	genitive	NSP	non-specific	PRES	present tense
ART	article	IMPF	imperfective	PL	plural	SG	singular
FUT	future	NEG	negator	PR	presentative	SUB	subordinator

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### Impersonal constructions with SER (‘to be’) and mood choice in Portuguese.

Vesterinen, Rainer  
 (Stockholm University)

In the field of Portuguese linguistics, the alteration between the indicative and subjunctive mood has primarily focused on terms like *non-reality*, *subjective distance* and *non-assertion*. That is, the subjunctive mood is claimed to appear in contexts in which the speaker is not committed to the truth of the subjunctive clause, thus creating a subjective distance between the speaker and the conceptual content of the subjunctive clause (cf. Tlâskal 1985; Marques 1995;

Oliveira 2001). However, examples (1-2) displayed below show that this analysis does not account for the occurrence of the subjunctive mood in factive contexts:

- |    |  |             |            |               |               |                          |
|----|--|-------------|------------|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Lamento</i>                           | <i>que</i>  | <i>ela</i> | <i>esteja</i> | <i>doente</i> |                          |
|    | Regret-1P.S                              | that        | she        | be-SUBJ.3P.S  | ill           |                          |
|    | 'I regret that she is ill'               |             |            |               |               |                          |
| 2. | <i>É</i>                                 | <i>pena</i> | <i>que</i> | <i>ela</i>    | <i>não</i>    | <i>possa</i> <i>vir</i>  |
|    | Be-3P.S                                  | unfortunate | that       | she           | not           | can-SUBJ.3.P.S      come |
|    | 'It is unfortunate that she cannot come' |             |            |               |               |                          |

Departing from this apparent problem (cf. also Terrell 1995), the aim of the present study is to provide a conceptual explanation for mood alteration in Portuguese from a cognitive grammar perspective of language and linguistic analysis (Langacker 1987, 1991, 2008). More precisely, focus will be put on mood alteration in Portuguese impersonal constructions with *SER* ('to be'), relating the mood alteration with the notions of *dominion* and *control* (cf. Achard 1998; Maldonado 1995). In order to explain the alteration between the indicative and subjunctive mood in impersonal constructions, the analysis concentrates on the conceptual content of the impersonal construction and its relevance for mood choice.

The claim is made that the notions of dominion and control do not only cover the conceptualizer's conception of reality (cf. Maldonado 1995; Vesterinen 2006, 2007, 2008), but also accounts for the conceptualizer's possibility to actively manipulate and influence the event described in the complement clause (cf. examples 1-2). Consequently, the analysis reveals that mood choice is consistent with the conceptual content of the impersonal construction. Impersonals with epistemic meaning take an indicative complement if the conceptual content of the impersonal construction designates that the event belongs to the conceptualizer's conception of reality, i.e. that the described event is located within the conceptualizer's epistemic dominion. In opposite cases, the subjunctive mood occurs. Moreover, the occurrence of the subjunctive mood in factive contexts can be explained by a reduced possibility to actively control the described event. That is, the event is located outside the conceptualizer's dominion of active control.

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## Mood swings in European Portuguese – the indicative and the subjunctive in complement clauses. A corpus-based analysis.

Vieira, Pedro  
(Portuguese Catholic University , Braga)

This presentation aims to offer a new cognitive approach on the semantics of European Portuguese's *Indicative* and *Subjunctive* moods in complement clauses. We argue that the *Indicative/Subjunctive* contrast reflects the possible *factivity* of an event or its *conceptual manipulation*. Our investigation is *corpus-based* and the *corpus* used is CETEMPúblico – www.linguateca.pt – a Portuguese newspaper *corpus* with 180 million words.

In Cognitive Grammar, *factivity* is regarded “as a particular manifestation of strong identification” (Langacker, 2004: 563) between the virtual ground evoked by a finite clause and the actual one. We argue that the *Indicative* and the *Subjunctive* are instruments to manipulate that degree of identification, i. e., the event's *factivity*: the *Indicative* highlights the *factivity* of a *fact* (a *factive* event), or imposes a *factive construal* on a *non fact* (*attenuating its non factivity*), whereas the *Subjunctive* highlights *non factive* events and attenuates the *factivity* of a fact.

	Without attenuation	Attenuated
Fact	Indicative	Subjunctive
Non fact	Subjunctive	Indicative

We first present the complements of *epistemic verbs* (see examples 1 and 2): these verbs profile an epistemic judgment on the complement, whose *factivity* is *object of conceptualization*. To analyze the contrast between the two moods we use Langacker's *epistemic control cycle* (Langacker, 2004: 540) – an idealized cognitive model that reflects the process of acquisition of epistemic control over a conceptualized event.

1. *Sei / penso que o João **está** [IND] em casa.* (“I know / think that John is at home.”)
2. *Duvido que ele **esteja** [SUBJ] em casa.* (“I doubt that he's at home.”)

The *Indicative* (1) indicates the acceptance (*result stage* of the *e.c.c.*) or a positive inclination (*inclination stage*) towards accepting the subordinated event as a fact, while the *Subjunctive* (2) indicates a negative inclination.

Secondly, we analyze the cases where the event's *factivity* is *not the object of conceptualization*, as the main verb doesn't express an epistemic judgment on the complement's *factivity*. We propose that the *Indicative* is selected if it pragmatic relevant to present the complement as a fact. This happens, for example, with the complements of *commitment verbs* (3), where the speaker anticipates the occurrence of the complement; or in *simulation contexts* (4), which imposes a *make believe factivity*. The *Subjunctive*, on the other hand, will be selected in contexts where the *attenuation* of their (possible) *factivity* is pragmatically relevant, which occurs in, among others, *evaluation contexts* (5), where the occurrence of the subordinated event is irrelevant for the emotion felt, for even if the speaker is mistaken, the feelings are not; or with the complements of *causative* and *volition verbs*, which, respectively, hadn't occurred by the time of the input of energy or describe a pure *non factive* event.

3. *Prometo que **chego** [IND] a horas.* (“I promise I'll arrive on time.”)
4. *Imagina que **estamos** [IND] de férias.* (“Imagine we're on vacations.”)
5. *Lamento que ele **tenha morrido** [SUBJ].* (“I regret that he died.”)
6. *Eu fiz com que ele **caísse** [SUBJ].* (“I made him fall.”)
7. *Quero que **venhas** [SUBJ].* (“I want you to come.”)

Finally, we'll discuss some perspectives that are contradicted by this study, namely, the direct relation between the *Subjunctive* and the description of an event located outside the speaker's dominion (Maldonado, 1995) or outside reality and without tense predications (Achard, 1998, 2002).

### A cross-linguistic comparison of inferential meanings.

Vilkkı, Liisa  
(University of Helsinki)

Inferential expressions indicate the speaker's inference, based on some type of direct information source, such as observational or memorial source. Different kinds of inferential expressions show remarkable cross-linguistic semantic variation. However, the comparison of language-particular inferential meanings is possible by means of comparative concepts. This paper considers the relationship between the suggested comparative concepts and the language-specific semantic distinctions of inferential forms in my large-scale typological study. The study blends ideas from the functional-typological approach and cognitive linguistics, and it uses descriptive data from the sample of 130 languages. One of the purposes of the study is to develop a framework, consisting of comparative concepts which can be used in the identification of language-specific meanings and in making generalizations. Comparative concepts are interpreted as tools which are created by a typologist for the specific purpose of comparison (e.g. Haspelmath 2010).

Four questions are addressed in this paper: What is the status of inferentiality as a semantic domain? What kinds of comparative concepts can be distinguished for language-specific inferential meanings? How can the relationship between language-specific inferential meanings and the proposed comparative concepts be characterized? How can the comparative concepts be depicted on the semantic map?

It will be argued that inferentiality is partly a subdomain of evidentiality, indicating sources of information, and partly an overlap area between evidentiality and epistemic modality, indicating degrees of the speaker's certainty. For example, the Tariana enclitic *-nihka* (Aikhenvald 2006) only indicates 'inference from results', whereas the English modal *must* (Coates 1983) indicates, for instance, 'inference from results' combined with the epistemic property of 'certainty'. The most important comparative concepts in my study are functions which are neutral between language-particular senses and uses and which capture the relevant semantic similarity. Purely inferential functions and functions which combine inferential and epistemic properties are partly elaborated on the basis of psychological views (e.g. Johnson-Laird 2006) on inference and sources of information. Several examples representing the data will be discussed. Language-particular inferential meanings are often members of various types of semantic networks. The examples of these networks illustrate that individual forms not only indicate inferential properties that are more specific than the related comparative concepts, but may also be used to express non-inferential meanings that do not correspond to the comparative concepts of the study. For example, *must* indicates not only inferential-epistemic nuances, but also a deontic meaning of obligation.

All the 33 functions and the 6 subdomains that they represent will be presented on the complete version of the semantic map, constructed by means of a multidimensional scaling computer program PERMAP. On the map, all the subdomains form coherent areas. The interpretation of the map is compared to the theory of conceptual spaces presented by Gärdenfors (2000).

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### Dimensions of human impersonals in dialectal European Portuguese and Finnish.

Vilkuna, Maria & Posio, Pekka

(Research Institute for the Languages of Finland; University of Helsinki)

European Portuguese (EP) and Finnish display a rich variety of impersonal constructions used to defocus human first arguments. Our presentation focuses on the referential dimensions of such constructions (see examples 1–5). Impersonality in the present sense is understood as a means of backgrounding the agent by leaving it referentially unspecified (cf. Fried 2006, Siewierska 2008 and Helasvuo & Vilkuna 2008). From a cognitive-functional perspective, we examine the division of labour between human impersonals in order to find parallelisms and differences between EP and Finnish. While the languages under survey are genealogically different, they have in common the possibility of null subjects and they do not belong to the core area of man-impersonals (cf. Giacalone Ramat & Sansò 2007). Our data, consisting of dialectal interviews, allows us to examine constructions rarely found in standard language (e.g. impersonal 3PL in Finnish).

(1) EP third person plural	<i>Faz-iam</i>		<i>pão.</i>	
		make-IMP.3PL	bread	
(2) EP <i>se</i> -impersonal	<i>Faz-ia=se</i>		<i>pão.</i>	
		make-IMP.3SG=REFL.3	bread	
(3) EP <i>a gente</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>gente</i>	<i>faz-ia</i>	<i>pão.</i>
	DEF	people	make-IMP.3SG	bread
(4) Finnish third person plural	<i>Tek-i-vät</i>		<i>leipä-ä.</i>	
		make-PAST-3PL	bread-PART	
(5) Finnish impersonal passive	<i>Teh-tiin</i>		<i>leipä-ä</i>	
		make-PAST.PASS	bread-PART	

Although all examples from (1) to (5) can be paraphrased as 'bread was made', qualitative analysis of the constructions in dialectal data reveals that they differ with regard to their referential range. While third person plurals (1, 4) are generally speaker-exclusive (cf. Siewierska 2004:211), the EP *se*-impersonal (2) and the Finnish impersonal passive (4) tend to be used for speaker-inclusive impersonal reference. The EP impersonal pronoun *a gente* (3) is also used in a speaker-inclusive fashion to such extent that it has long been in the process of grammaticalizing into a first person plural pronoun (Lopes 2003). In EP, the referential closeness of *a gente*, *se*-impersonals and first person plural is shown by their coreferentiality and hybrid constructions (cf. Martins 2005). In Finnish, the impersonal passive is a flexible

impersonalizing strategy that can be used for both speaker-inclusive and speaker-exclusive reference. However, the Eastern dialects where impersonal 3PLs are most widely used display a division of labour between the two constructions not unlike that between *se*-impersonal and 3PL in EP. The impersonal passive is also generally used for first person plural reference with an overt 1PL pronoun.

The EP and Finnish constructions under discussion illustrate cross-linguistic developments. While 1PL and 3PL markers show a tendency of developing impersonal uses in many languages, some impersonals also show a tendency of evolving towards first person plurals or duals. Further evidence of such development is found from Tariana, Ainu and Caddo, while in Jarawara and Acehnese first person plural inclusive forms have developed impersonal uses (Dixon 2010:205 and references therein). Our presentation will demonstrate that the difference between impersonal and personal readings of constructions is a gradual one, yet the speaker-inclusive character is a prerequisite for the grammaticalization from impersonal into first person plural.

#### Data

CORDIAL-SIN: *Syntactically Annotated Corpus of Portuguese Dialects*. Linguistics Center of Lisbon University. <[http://www.clul.ul.pt/english/sectores/cordialsin/projecto\\_cordialsin.html](http://www.clul.ul.pt/english/sectores/cordialsin/projecto_cordialsin.html)>

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### **“I hereby sentence you to watch this movie again”: On explicit performatives in informal computer-mediated discourse.**

Virtanen, Tuija  
(Åbo Akademi University)

Performatives have received little attention in online environments (but see Cherny 1995 on semi-performative, third-person ‘emotes’ in a social MUD; Harrison & Allton, forthcoming, on apologies in email). Yet, apart from institutional discourse transferred to the internet, the performative marker *hereby* appears on personal websites, discussion boards and blogs. The aim of this study is to account for the communicative success of the explicit performative construction in informal computer-mediated discourse (CMD), using data from discussion boards on fashion and beauty. Unlike performativity, performance has been subject to several studies, concerning, for instance, ‘cyberplay’ (Danet 2001), the social processes of ‘doing genre’ online (Giltrow, forthcoming), and performance through stereotyped offline scripts (Herring 2000). The playfulness, genre-mixing and juggling of scripts of various kinds in the present performative data forcefully evoke Austin’s (1962) notion of ‘etiolation’ as a fundamental dimension of language use.

The explicit performatives under attention are anchored to an identifiable script through formal prefixes, immediately followed by a style-shift to the informal discourse at hand. The authority assumed by uttering these performatives is extended over oneself or (an)other interlocutor(s) in the virtual community. Explicit performatives may be reinforced by emotes (third-person simulated states or actions), relating to their felicity conditions in the virtual world. The discourse-pragmatic functions of the (mock) performatives include contributions to (i) topic management, (ii) mitigation, (ii) bonding, and (iv) identity construction. Performativity needs to be licensed by the virtual community, and interlocutors readily engage in the mediated script by (i) a verbal acknowledgement, (ii) another same-script or other-script performative, (iii) an emote, or (iv) a combination of an emote and another explicit performative. Perlocutionary effects predominantly relate to changing virtual realities, but also, as some of the uptake suggests, the ‘real’ world.

The findings are systematized into an overall discourse-pragmatic model characterizing the explicit (mock) performative in the data. The study adds to our understanding of users’ playful adaptation to the technological and

semiotic affordances of electronic communication, their metapragmatic awareness of scripts and genres, and the intermediality manifest in the uses to which explicit performatives are put for their discourse-internal and discourse-external effects, altering (virtual) realities. The present CMD evidence raises the issue of the limits of performative theory, in its 'received' and re-readings, strongly suggesting full incorporation of 'ontological pluralism' (Sbisà 2007; cf. also Austin 1962).

### Evidentiality in Dutch. The case of 'blijken', 'lijken' and 'schijnen'.

Vliegen, Maurice  
(Free University of Amsterdam)

In the past 20 years evidentiality has been a topic of some interest in cognitive-functional grammar. In contrast to non-European languages that have obligatory evidential elements in their grammar, Romance and Germanic languages show non-obligatory evidential elements in the lexicon. There has been a lively debate with respect to several aspects of evidentiality and epistemic modality (Aikhenvald 2004, Anderson 1986, De Haan 2001, Diewald 2004, Leiss 2009, Nuyts 2001). Cornillie 2009 is an attempt to distinguish between the degrees of reliability of the source of information (evidentiality) and the degrees of speaker commitment, that is the evaluation of likelihood that a given proposition is true (epistemic modality). In this talk I will concentrate on a number of Dutch verbs in order to see whether the results of the analysis of Dutch corpus data are in line with this proposal and whether there may be some need for adjustments or refinements. More generally speaking, so far research has been conducted on the English verb *seem* (Aijmer 2009), its German counterpart *scheinen* (Diewald 2001) and the Spanish verbs *parecer* ('seem') and *resultar* ('appear', 'turn out') (Cornillie 2007). In Dutch there are at least three verbs that have evidential characteristics: *blijken* ('appear'/'turn out'), *schijnen* ('seem') and *lijken* ('seem'). Until now relatively little research has been done. Sanders/Spooren 1995 is an experimental study that concentrates on epistemic modifiers, including the aforementioned verbs, but does not take into account (variation in) syntactic constructions. De Haan 1999 focuses on evidentiality in a broader sense and deals with two constructions of the verb *schijnen*. His main claim being that evidentiality to the degree of grammaticalization. This paper will concentrate on corpus data from the Dutch newspaper NRC (INL: Institute for Dutch Lexicology). The main aspects of the analysis are the following.

Frequency: *schijnen* appears to be significantly less frequent than the other two verbs.

Semantics: where *blijken* lost its lexical meaning long ago, the other verbs still have both a lexical and a evidential/modal meaning.

Constructions: although all verbs can be used as a copula or combined with infinitival constructions, *that*-constructions, parentheticals, to name a few, there are considerable differences with respect to their individual frequencies and their combinability with for instance (pro)nominal referents like experiencers.

Part of the presentation will be a short overview of the historical development of the meaning and constructions of these verbs.

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**A case of grammaticalization in progress:  
from the noun *tipo* to the multifunctional invariable *tipo*.**

Voghera, Miriam  
(University of Salerno)

The principal aim of this work is to document the usage of the Italian noun *tipo* ('type') as invariable word, through a presentation of its functions, meanings and syntax. As can be seen in the following examples, invariable *tipo* fulfils a number of different functions, which can be approximately classified as preposition ((1), (2)), adverb ((3)-(5)), conjunction in (6) and discourse marker in (7):

- (1) Avevo intenzione di fare un gruppo di lavoro **tipo** un ufficio stampa. (Debate)  
"I meant to do a work group **as/like** a press office"
- (2) Droga tipo eroina **tipo** (Headline)  
"Drug **like** heroin"
- (3) Taylor è **tipo** 1.70/72. (Online writing)  
"Taylor is **like** 1.70/1.72 tall"
- (4) Lui tende proprio a colpire l'animo delle persone **tipo** quando dice... (Conversation)  
"He tends to impress the souls of people **for example** when he says..."
- (5) **Tipo** oggi su 22 foto 20 erano sue (Online writing)  
"**In fact** today 20 photos out of 22 were his/hers"
- (6) Non credete alle statistiche **tipo che** il nord è più ricco del sud. (Online writing)  
"Do not trust statistics **like that** north is richer than south"
- (7) Io **tipo** un giorno o l'altro giuro che... (Conversation)  
"I **maybe**(?) one of these days (I) swear that..."

Example of recategorization of nouns as prepositions has been well documented (Giacalone Ramat 1994), but in this case the emergence of invariable *tipo* does not hinder or opacify the use of the nominal use of *tipo* and does not involve bleaching of meaning. On the contrary invariable *tipo* produced new meanings, confirming the theory according to which grammaticalization does not entail necessarily 'absence of meaning' (Hopper&Traugott 2003, Romaine&Lange 1991). In fact, semantically the invariable *tipo* presents a wide range of meanings which are co-present and intertwined, so that their boundaries are not so well clear-cut, also due to the reanalysis process still underway.

Surprisingly, many usages of invariable *tipo* resemble those of English *like* (Romaine&Lange 1991; Miller&Wienert 1995). As *like*, *tipo* has developed the meaning of approximative and similarity as well as the function to relate what it is said to the speaker's attitude (Romaine&Lange 1991). A shift towards a pragmatically richer value would confirm that the early stages of grammaticalization cause pragmatic strengthening and increase of subjective expressiveness (Traugott 1988, 1995). This would explain also the higher frequency of invariable *tipo* in informal spoken registers and online writing, that is in a highly involved style of communication. In fact, the invariable *tipo* represents 34% of total occurrences of *tipo* in conversations and debates (LIP corpus: De Mauro *et al.* 1993).

The strong resemblance between *like* and *tipo* can bring to light new evidences on: 1) the relationship between the lexical sources and the result of grammaticalization, that is on the extent to which the semantics of a particular lexical source determine the kind of grammaticalization that can be undergone; 2) the relationship between the original semantic area of development and the grammaticalized new discourse functions.

Hence, the description of the ongoing grammaticalization process of *tipo* will be enriched by a comparison between invariable *tipo* and the English *like*, taking into account corpus-based data derived from both spoken and written texts (Lindquist&Mair 2004).

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### **From relative frequency to morphological productivity: evidence from French compound nouns A-N and N-A.**

Voskovskaia, Elena  
(University of Toronto)

Recent works in derivational morphology have shown a new interest for the concept of morphological productivity and for its various measuring tools. However, the productivity of compound words has been very little explored, especially in French. This paper investigates a possible correlation between relative frequency and morphological productivity of French compound nouns. The study is based on the results of a quantitative research of two types of French compounds A-N and N-A across four different chronological periods.

The first measure used to evaluate the productivity of French compounds is productivity P in the strict sense (Baayen & Lieber 1991; Baayen 1992) calculated as  $P = n_1 / N$  (where P=rate of productivity;  $n_1$ =the number of hapaxes (the forms that appear once only in a big corpus); N=the total number of observed occurrences). According to this measure, a category with a large number of words of high frequency will have a big value of N and, accordingly, a low degree of productivity.

The second measure applied is relative frequency of Hay (2003) elaborated for the compounds as  $f_{\text{relative}} = f_{\text{compound}}/f_{\text{base}}$ . Hay (2003) suggests that the relative frequency influences the level of morphological productivity: derived forms with lower relative frequency are considered as more productive. While applying the relative frequency notion to the compound nouns, the question that arises is which element in compound word can be considered a base. Fernández-Domínguez (2007; 2009) suggests that the frequency of the base of the compounds can be measured according to three possible variants: a) by adding the frequencies of the separated constituents; b) by dividing the sum of the frequency by the number of constituents to calculate the average frequency of constituents; c) by using only the frequency of the head of the compound. Nevertheless, in our opinion, it is necessary to include in the calculation a variant where the base is an element that is not the head (following the analogy with the base in derived word).

A primary database of French compound nouns A-N and N-A was created from Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1863-1877). The frequency of 137 forms A-N and 39 forms N-A was validated later in the larger Frantext corpus across four chronological periods (1606-1694; 1695-1798; 1799-1872; 1873-1920) related to four important periods in French language history. Our study demonstrated that overall compounds N-A are more productive ( $P_1=0.0360$ ;  $P_2=0.0031$ ;  $P_3=0.0005$ ;  $P_4=0.0019$ ) comparatively to forms A-N ( $P_1=0.0052$ ;  $P_2=0.0011$ ;  $P_3=0.0008$ ;  $P_4=0.0005$ ).

Nevertheless, the inverse correlation between relative frequency and morphological productivity discovered in derivation by Hay (2003) was not fully confirmed in compounding.

For example, in A-N compounds, the same level of productivity was related to different value of measure  $FR_3$  during the second and third periods ( $P_2=0.0010$  vs.  $F_2=0.0065$  and  $P_2=0.0010$  vs.  $F_3=0.0069$ ). The results of this study demonstrated the necessity of additional research on different type of compounds regarding correlation between their relative frequency and P productivity.

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### The Jespersen cycle in Northern Italian dialects.

Vossen, Frens  
(University of Antwerp)

The term 'Jespersen Cycle' refers to a process in which a clausal negator is accompanied by an element which acquires negative meaning and eventually takes over as the sole clausal negator. The reference is to Jespersen (1917) and the most often cited illustration comes from French, which once had *ne*, now *ne ... pas*, and only *pas* in colloquial spoken French. The process is documented best for Western Europe, but most of the work is done on standard languages. The paper focuses on the dialects of Northern Italy and Southern Switzerland. It collects the data found in the literature (esp. the work by M.R. Manzini and L.M. Savoia) and shows to what extent the current geographical distribution can be shown to reflect the stages of a Jespersen Cycle. I also describe the relevance of these Italian dialects for a general understanding of the diachrony of negation.

First, the dialects manifest a Jespersen Cycle that is very similar to what is known about the history of French, but while in French the second negator *pas* outlived its competitors, in Italian dialects many different post-verbal negatives are still present. I will map the spread of all the second negators.

Second, in Northern Italian dialects, these post-verbal particles seem to be still grammaticalizing. In some dialects it is impossible to establish whether they are negative adverbs with a lexical meaning or real negatives. In others, the post-verbal element has two forms: a longer one when it is still an adverb, and a shorter one when it is used as second negative without the original meaning. Other dialects use the same element as their sole negator. This shows the process first indicated by Otto Jespersen, and even better, by Antoine Meillet to be alive and kicking.

Third, the dialects also illustrate the possibility of doubling and even tripling the subject clitics and with them the pre-verbal negative clitics, short variations of the Standard Italian *non*. This doubling is at least partially independent of the Jespersen Cycle, as dialects without a trace of a Jespersen Cycle can have double pre-verbal negative clitics. Doubling of a negative is not unknown. It is attested in for instance Brabantian dialects, Bantu languages, Afrikaans and several South-East Asian languages.

Thus we see that Northern Italian dialects are very useful for illustrating the workings of the Jespersen Cycle. Also, they show the need to look at dialects. As the southern dialects in Italy are not studied as thoroughly as those in the north, there is still work to do there. Two dialects with discontinuous negation are found in the south, so probably the Jespersen Cycle is present in a wider area than is known now.

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### Types of Differential Agent Marking in interaction.

Weber, Tobias  
(University of Zurich)

Differential Agent Marking (henceforth DAM) is a variation in the case-marking of the agent argument of a transitive construction. The following examples from Lower Grand Valley Dani (Bromley 1981) illustrate DAM, where the ergative case is used when the agent is unexpected (1), whereas the unmarked absolutive case is used for expected agents (2):

(1)	<i>ap</i>	<i>palu-nen</i>	<i>na-sikh-e</i>
	man[ABS]	python-ERG	eat-REM.PST-3SG.SBJ
	'The python ate the man.'		
(2)	<i>ap</i>	<i>palu</i>	<i>na-sikh-e</i>
	man[ABS]	python[ABS]	eat-REM.PST-3SG.SBJ
	'The man ate the python.'		

Different instances of DAM can be subdivided in two basic types:

- *Split Agent Marking*, where different marking applies to the agent in different lexico-grammatical environments (see e.g. Silverstein 1976, Dixon 1994). The splits are usually conditioned by the lexical class of the predicate, by semantic properties of the NP, TAM, or the type of the clause (e.g. main vs. subordinate clause).
- *Fluid Agent Marking*, where the agent can be marked differently in the same lexico-grammatical environment. DAM in this sense (often referred to as an instance of Optional Case Marking, if there is an opposition between the presence and the absence of a case marker) depends on semantic (volitionality) or discourse-pragmatic factors (information structure, expectedness, definiteness; see e.g. McGregor 2010).

In many languages various instances of DAM occur. In Lhasa Tibetan, for instance, we find a split according to aspect: in the perfective aspect, the ergative marking is obligatory on all agents, but in the imperfective aspect, the ergative marking occurs only on agents with certain discourse-pragmatic and semantic properties (cf. Zeisler 2004: 258); in Umpithamu, the ergative occurs on all inanimate nouns but only on certain animate nouns (cf. Verstraete 2010). These examples show that Fluid Agent Marking can be restricted to certain grammatical domains which are determined by a split according to the animacy hierarchy: Fluid Agent Marking is found in higher domains than obligatory agent marking.

Furthermore, many languages contain more than one split domain, and there can be more than one factor conditioning Fluid Agent Marking in a specific language.

The present paper aims at discussing functional motivations of different instances of DAM and how they interact in specific domains, focusing on the following questions:

- What types of DAM are found in a specific language?
- What case markers are involved in the agent marking?
- What are the functions of these case markers?
- What domains of DAM interact with each other? What domain is dependent of another domain?
- What interaction patterns can be found?

The present study is based on a worldwide sample of languages that show some sort of DAM.

#### Abbreviations

3SG=3<sup>rd</sup> person singular; ABS=absolute; ERG=ergative; REM.PST=remote past; SBJ=subject

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### Cyclic change in the distribution of indefinites in negative polarity environments.

Willis, David  
(University of Cambridge)

It is well known that changes in indefinite systems often lead to an item becoming restricted to more 'negative' contexts, whether through the introduction of a restriction on its distribution to weak NPI contexts (interrogatives, conditional, comparatives, negatives etc.) or an outright restriction on an item's use to negative environments only. The development of French *rien* 'nothing' or *personne* 'no one' from earlier generic nouns (Latin *rem* 'thing' and *persona* 'person') is a well-known example of this phenomenon, which Ladusaw (1993) terms the 'argument cycle'. New items are created to fulfil the earlier functions (such as French *quelqu'un* 'someone'), giving this process a cyclic nature.

In this paper, I shall argue that there are two related argument cycles, one in which an item specialises for negation, disappearing from non-negative affective environments according to a unidirectional order determined by the hierarchy in (1).

(1) conditional > interrogative > comparative > negation

French *rien* exemplifies this cycle. A second cycle, the free-choice cycle, involves the spread of earlier free-choice indefinites into some of the same contexts. In this cycle, the item spreads to new contexts according to the hierarchy in (2).

(2) free-choice item > comparative > conditional > interrogative > negation

Examples of item that have undergone parts of this second cycle include French *quelqu'un*, Polish *kto-kolwiek* and Russian *kto-libo*. While these two cycles are both compatible with Haspelmath's (1997) semantic map of indefinites, based primarily on synchronic typological generalisations, they restrict somewhat further the possible diachronic pathways via which synchronic distributions may be reached.

These cycles will be illustrated using historical data from Modern Welsh, which I will argue has undergone both cycles: the *neb*-series indefinites have undergone narrowing of their distribution to negatives and comparatives only ('anyone' > 'no one'), while the *unrhyw*-series indefinites, originally free-choice items, have spread to all the contexts in (2). Detailed corpus-based investigation of texts from 1760 to the present day shows these developments to have obeyed the hierarchies in (1) and (2). Further comparative evidence will also be considered from Romance and Finnic and argued to be compatible with these hierarchies. Finally, I will argue that the first cycle is motivated by children's failure to acquire the full set of contexts in which negative polarity items occur, while the second is motivated by pragmatic extensions in adult use.

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### German (S)OV word order in natural and in instructed acquisition insights from a classroom intervention study.

Winkler, Steffi  
(Free University Amsterdam)

German is a so-called V2 language with an SOV basic word order. This means that the underlying position of the lexical verb is clause-final, but properties of finiteness need to be expressed in utterance-second position (cf. 1a). If, however, a clause contains a simple verb form only, the [+finite] lexical verb itself appears in utterance-second position (cf. 1b):

- (1) a. [CP Marco<sub>i</sub> [C **will**<sub>i</sub> [IP t<sub>j</sub> [r [VP eine Pizza **essen** ] t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]  
b. [CP Marco<sub>j</sub> [C **isst**<sub>i</sub> [IP t<sub>j</sub> [r [VP eine Pizza t<sub>i</sub> ] t<sub>i</sub>' ]]]]

When acquiring German clause structure, both L1 and L2 learners start out with simple structures usually exhibiting an OV order as exemplified in (2a). It then follows an intermediate stage in which auxiliaries and modal verbs appear in the V2 finiteness position (2b) and only after that, also [+finite] forms of lexical verbs are used in the utterance-second slot (2c) (compare, for example Mills 1985, Klein & Perdue 1992, Dimroth et al. 2003, Vainikka & Young-Scholten 1996, Winkler 2009):

- (2) a. (Marco) Pizza essen  
b. (Marco) will eine Pizza essen  
c. Marco isst eine Pizza.

Interestingly, as shown by an analysis of popular German as a foreign language textbooks (Winkler, in press), the introduction of German word order starts with V2 structures of type (2c) in instructed acquisition. Only later, after at least 40 hours, modal verbs and auxiliaries are introduced in the foreign language classroom. Remarkably, this introduction order does not only run counter to developmental sequences observed in naturalistic acquisition, but it forcefully "invites" L2 learners, in particular those whose L1 is an SVO language, to interpret the SVO surface structure as in (2c) as being the underlying word order of German (cf. the Alternation Hypothesis by Jansen et al. 1981). This means that the introduction order in textbook curricula negatively supports the (natural) mechanism of L1 structural transfer, as it is evident in the following learner data:

- (3) a. Ich kann spielen Federball.  
b. Wir sind gewesen in den Grand Hotel.

Against the background of these findings, it has been conducted a classroom intervention study with native speakers of Italian (=SVO), all of them beginning learners of German. A test group (n=20) was presented with SOV structures from the first hour of exposure on, while SVO structures were considerably reduced in the classroom input. A control group (n=20), on the other hand, followed the commonly used curriculum. Oral and written data were elicited regularly by three different instruments. Results show that German (S)OV word order is acquired more successfully by test group learners as compared to control group learners. The test group data exhibit less instances of L1 structural transfer.

The outcomes of the present study suggest that – in parallel to strategies found in naturalistic acquisition – SOV structures should be introduced early in instructed acquisition. Moreover, it has been shown that provision of controlled input, which respects cognitive mechanism involved in language acquisition in general, is one of the big potentials of formal instruction in language acquisition.

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## Subject control across an object: a late merge approach.

Witkos, Jacek

(Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan)

This presentation concerns a phenomenon of Subject Control across an object (1) and concerns chiefly English and Polish data but it has a more universal flavor:

- (1) Jan obiecał Marii umyć ręce.  
Jan-NOM promised Maria-DAT wash-INF hands  
'John promised Mary to wash his hands.'

The latest version of the Control-as-Movement approach to control across an object and Control Shift appears in Hornstein and Polinsky (2010). To deal with both problems, they follow Baker (1997) and propose to introduce a fine-grained mapping from the semantic to the syntactic frame:

- (2) a.  $[_{VP} DP_o [v' V_{persuade} [_{infinitive} PRO... ]]]$  affected/patient  
b.  $[_{VP} [_{PP} DP_o] [v' V_{promise} [_{infinitive} PRO... ]]]$  goal/path/location

The contrast between (2a-b) has consequences for the mechanics of movement from the position indicated as PRO and the computation of proper movement and closeness: (a) the DP embedded within PP does not interfere with the raising from the position of PRO (b) it does not undergo Wh-movement and (c) it does not undergo Heavy NP-shift. However, this solution fits poorly with Polish morphosyntax, where the surface indirect object of *obiecac* 'promise' behaves just like the object of *kazać* 'tell': they can both undergo Wh-movement and Heavy NP-shift. Thus, from the empirical perspective, a silent PP could as well be placed within the projection of both. But certainly this step immediately raises awkward questions for the MTC approach. As for Control Shift, Polish has a series of verbs that allow for both Subject and Object Control reading (Bondaruk 2004). A particular problem appears with the verb *prosić* 'ask': it allows for object shift, takes its object in Accusative, whose structural case nature is confirmed by the fact that it shifts to Genitive under negation:

- (3) a. Dzieci<sub>1</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> prosiły [<sub>VP</sub> [nauczycielkę<sub>ACC</sub> pływania]<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> t<sub>prosiły</sub> [żeby PRO<sub>1</sub> skakać z wieży]]]  
children-NOM asked teacher-ACC swimming-GEN so-that jump-INF from tower  
'The children asked the swimming teacher to jump from the tower.'  
b. Dzieci<sub>1</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> nie prosiły [<sub>VP</sub> [nauczycielki<sub>GEN</sub> pływania]<sub>2</sub> [<sub>v'</sub> t<sub>prosiły</sub> [żeby PRO<sub>1</sub> skakać z wieży]]]  
children-NOM not asked teacher-GEN swimming-GEN so-that jump-INF from tower  
'The children didn't ask the swimming teacher to jump from the tower.'

The Accusative-to-Genitive shift shows that the object of *prosić* 'ask' cannot be placed within any PP, as Accusative-marked prepositional complements are insensitive to Neg placement:

Instead of encapsulating the object within the (silent) PP, I propose to capture the facts shown in (1) and (3) through Late Merge, building on work by Stepanov (2001,2007). Stepanov accounts for the islandhood of adjuncts and lack of intervention effects caused by Dative-marked indirect objects in Russian and the PP-experiencer of *seem* in English by allowing these constituents to be merged late in the derivation via pair-Merge, a structure-building option that clashes with Least Tampering of (Chomsky 2000) and is delayed for economy reasons. I adopt this view and propose (4):

- (4) Extended Thematic Adjunction Hypothesis (ETAH):  
a. A theta role assigning head X assigns its theta role to an argument  $\alpha$  either in the position of its specifier  $[_{XP} \alpha [X' X \dots]]$  or adjunct  $[_{XP} \alpha [XP \dots X \dots]]$ .  
b. The (proto)role of Affected/Patient must be discharged by the predicate immediately while the (proto)role of Source/Goal must be discharged during the construction of the phase.  
c. An argument can be late adjoined if its features can be satisfied at the position of Merge.  
d. Least Tampering holds; Set-Merge operations chronologically precede adjunctions.

According to ETAH, in (1) and (3) the surface indirect object is not there to interfere with the raising of the controller from the embedded infinitive. As Accusative is valued vP internally, (c.f. 4c), the derivation of (3) converges. Empirical consequences follow for English- and Polish-type languages.

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### Decomposing hierarchical alignment: participant scenarios as conditions on alignment.

Witzlack-Makarevich, Alena, Taras Zakharko, Lennart Bierkandt & Balthasar Bickel  
(University of Leipzig)

**Introduction** The alignment of argument roles in case or agreement systems can be conditioned by referential properties of arguments, often construed as referential hierarchies or scales. Such conditions fall into two types:

1. uniform conditions, which apply equally to all argument roles, e.g. case assignment is ergative for third, but accusative for first person;
2. co-argument conditions, which apply only to a subset of argument roles, e.g. case assignment in one argument depends on the nature of its co-argument(s) ('argument scenarios').

Both types led to the introduction of additional alignment types (e.g. 'hierarchical' (Nichols 1992) or 'Philippine-type' alignment (Mallinson and Blake 1981)), but Zúñiga (2007) and Creissels (2009) show that these additional types are established on other principles than the comparison of the morphosyntactic properties of S, A, and P and therefore obscure the original concept of alignment. Moreover, they conceal the fact that referentially conditioned systems contain traces of other alignment types (cf. Nichols 1992, Bickel 1995).

We introduce a new analytical method that allows a unified representation of any system with referential conditions.

**Methods** We define the generalized argument roles like S, A, and P by lexical semantic entailments, following Dowty (1991) and Primus (1999). Following Bickel (2010), these roles are in addition indexed for referential properties of arguments and co-arguments.

Under uniform conditions, case assignment depends on the referential properties of the marked arguments, which in turn are applicable to every single argument. In this case, we treat the case system as a split into subsystems (e.g. first/second person subsystem and third person subsystem); within each subsystem, argument roles are compared directly to determine alignment resulting in what is known as differential object and subject marking (e.g. ergative for first/second, neutral for 3rd).

Under co-argument conditions, argument roles cannot be compared directly, because they cannot occur under the same conditions, e.g. the case marking of a third person P argument in Kolyma Yukaghir is conditioned by the nature of its A co-argument (1>3, i.e. first acting on third scenarios, vs. 3>3, i.e. third acting on 3rd; 1a-b), whereas the marking of the S argument can never be conditioned in this way. As a result, it is not clear with which A and P arguments the S argument can be compared: with those in 1>3 or in 3>3 scenarios? In this case, we evaluate triples of all possible argument roles across all scenarios under a given referential condition in a language and then compute the frequencies of alignment types found across all these comparisons. For example, in Kolyma Yukaghir, we compare 3S (third person S) with 3A (>1P, i.e. when acting on first person P) and 3P (<1A) and obtain neutral alignment; and 3S with 3A (>1P) and 3P (<3A) to obtain accusative alignment, etc.

**Results and conclusion** Doing this for all logically possible comparisons, we find 71% accusative and 29% neutral alignments in Kolyma Yukaghir. We show for a sample of 120 languages that such distributions cannot be reliably estimated by classical approaches assuming special types of hierarchical alignment. This calls into question the empirical adequacy of earlier approaches and suggest that they underestimated the true variation.

#### Examples

(1) Kolyma Yukaghir (isolate; Siberia)

a. 1>3

*met tolow kudede.*

I.NOM deer.NOM kill.TR.1s

'I killed a deer.' (Maslova 2003:10)

b. 3>3

*met es'ie tet pulut-kele kudede-m.*  
my father.NOM your husband-ACC kill-TR.3s  
'My father has killed your husband.' (Maslova 2003:89)

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### Expressing mood and modality in Chinese: how we also do it without modal auxiliaries.

Yap, Foong Ha  
(Hong Kong Polytechnic University)

This paper examines how Chinese expresses speaker mood or stance, focusing on strategies that differ from those typically found in Indo-European languages. More specifically, we will focus on some major pathways that give rise to sentence final particles in Chinese, among them (i) the nominalizer pathway (e.g. Yap & Grunow-Hårsta 2010), (ii) the clausal integration pathway (e.g. Yap, Wang & Lam 2010), and (iii) the 'say' and perception/cognition verb pathway (e.g. Simpson & Wu 2002; Yap, Wang & Chor 2010).

One of the differences identified is the prevalent use of head-final nominalizers in Chinese (e.g. Mandarin *zhe* and *di/de*), as in (1a), which is generally lacking among Indo-European languages. These Chinese head-final nominalizers are often derived from general nouns referring to 'person(s)', 'thing(s)' and 'place(s)', and when found in clause-final position, these nominalizers also come to serve as the natural landing site for the speaker's utterance final prosody, which in turn facilitates their reanalysis as sentence final particles that convey the speaker's mood, as in (1b).

Another difference is the prevalence of null subjects in Chinese, while Indo-European languages show varying degrees of acceptability, with English showing rather low tolerance for elided subjects. Thus, while Indo-European languages also often make use of parenthetical epistemic, attitudinal and evaluative clauses following a propositional clause, the null-subject parenthetical clauses in Chinese are more readily integrated as subjective or intersubjective mood markers of the preceding clause, giving rise to (complex) sentence final particles, as in (2), where mitigative 'terminal' clause *er yi* '(but) that's all (there is to it)!' forms a single intonation unit with the preceding clause. Such clausal integration is not typical of non-European languages; this partly explains why these languages are rarely identified with right periphery (RP) stance markers.

The clausal integration strategy also contributes to the emergence of sentence final particles derived from 'say' verbs and psych verbs, as in (3) and (4) respectively. For these verbs, right dislocation (or Comp-to-Spec 'raising') appears to precede clausal integration, suggesting the following grammaticalization pathway: Lexical verb ('say' or psych-verb) > parenthetical evidential or other stance marker (right dislocation or 'raising') > sentence final particle integrated into the preceding clause (clausal integration or 'merge'). With psych-verbs such as Cantonese *tai pa* ('fear' < 'look + afraid'), as in (5), 'raising' may involve topicalization (leftward movement) of the embedded complement subject, and with elision of the matrix subject, facilitates reanalysis of the psych verb as an epistemic adverbial (e.g. '(I) fear' > 'perhaps, maybe, possibly'). Subject elision (i.e. null subject) thus plays an important role in the emergence of sentence final particles and epistemic adverbials in Chinese.

In sum, differences in the type, range and frequency of stance marking strategies between Chinese and Indo-European languages can be traced to factors such as morphosyntactic constraints (e.g. head-initial vs. head-final nominalizers/complementizers), degree of tolerance for subject elision (null vs. obligatory subjects), preferred direction of raising (e.g. leftward topicalization vs. rightward dislocation which gives rise to post-predicate parentheticals), and use vs. non-use of clausal integration.

#### Examples:

- (1) a. *bu neng gan de* cf. *bu neng gan de dianying*  
NEG able.to see NMZ NEG able.to see REL movie  
b. *bu neng gan de(!)*  
NEG able.to see SFP

- ‘(We) can’t watch (it) (!)’ (assertive, exclamative, etc. depending on speaker’s prosody)
- (2) *jun zi zhi zhi jun ye, wu yin qi jun yi dang dao*  
gentleman GEN serve king SFP must lead his king with correct way  
*zhi yu ren er yi*  
aim at goodness only  
‘When the noble-minded serves the sovereign, he leads him in the right path, aiming at goodness **only** (< that’s all and no other ulterior motive).’ (*Mencius*, 12/8)
- (3) a. *keoi waa (keoi) m heoi*  
3SG say 3SG NEG go  
‘(S)he said (s)he is not going.’  
b. *keoi m heoi, (keoi) waa* cf. *keoi m heoi wo*  
3SG NEG go 3SG say 3SG NEG go SFP  
‘(S)he said (s)he is not going.’ ‘(S)he said (s)he is not going(!)’  
c. *keoi waa matje waa*  
3SG say what SFP  
‘(S)he said *what?*’ (requesting repetition of information from prior utterance)
- (4) a. *Ngo tai pa keoi m wui lai laak*  
1SG afraid 3SG NEG will come SFP  
‘I’m afraid (s)he won’t come.’  
b. *Keoi m wui lai laak(,) ngo tai pa.*  
3SG NEG will come SFP 1SG afraid  
Lit. ‘(S)he won’t come, I’m afraid / it looks like.’  
c. *Keoi m wui lai laak(,) tai pa.*  
3SG NEG will come SFP afraid  
‘(S)he won’t come, **perhaps**’  
Lit. ‘(S)he won’t come, I’m afraid / it looks like.’
- (5) a. *Keoi, ngo tai pa, m wui lai laak*  
3SG 1SG afraid NEG will come SFP  
‘(S)he, I’m afraid, won’t come.’  
b. *Keoi tai pa m wui lai laak*  
3SG afraid NEG will come SFP  
‘(S)he **may** not come.’

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#### Pragmatic inferences and literary style.

Yli-Vakkuri, Jussi  
(University of Helsinki)

Authors of literary texts use a variety of stylistic means, which produce a desired impact on the reader but which the reader cannot – and should not – consciously identify. Meaning can be linguistically encoded or it can be pragmatically inferred, and in the case of the present paper I am concerned with the latter point of view. In stylistics there has been an increased recognition of how inferential processes can explain the reader’s response to texts.

For the purpose of this paper I look at the stylistic peculiarities used by Gregorio López y Fuentes in his novel *El indio* (1983) (in Spanish). This is part of a broader forthcoming study, in which I compare several novels of Mexican ‘indigenist literature’ and ‘literature of the revolution’. Typically the authors of these two currents wrote narratives with political and social implications, and consequently achieving a response in the reader was a priority.

In looking at the narrative style used by López y Fuentes, especially useful are the concepts of relevance, implicatures, and the maxims of quality and quantity (Sperber & Wilson, 1986. Grice, 1975; Blakemore, 2002)), as well as the observations put forth in Black (2006) and Clark (2009). López y Fuentes’s style is very dense and in *El indio* dialogue lacks almost completely. I enumerate the various properties in the language used by the narrator: by employing very different sentence structures and means of emphasis when commenting on the ‘whites’ as opposed to

the natives, the narrator clearly wishes to make the reader sympathetic to the cause of the native. I also analyse López y Fuentes's use of parentheticals and discourse markers (Blakemore, 2002, 2007), with which he gives saliency to key passages and directs the interpretation. Combining the results of this initial analysis of one novel with the subsequent study of other novels in this genre I purport to demonstrate that the authors of these novels shared very similar ideas of the stylistic methods they employed to achieve the desired interpretation.

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### A corpus-based study of infinitival complement constructions in Spanish.

Yoon, Jiyoun & Wulff, Stefanie  
(University of North Texas)

This paper presents a constructional profile of the Spanish infinitival complement construction from a constructionist point of view (Goldberg 1995, 2006) employing a quantitative corpus-linguistic approach.

Infinitival complement constructions in Spanish as in (1) often alternate with non-prepositional, full sentential complement constructions as in (2) when subjects in the matrix sentence and in the embedded sentence are the same.

- (1) [...] Creíamos saber acerca de esta historia.  
we thought know about this history  
'We thought that we knew about this history.'
- [example from CREA-Real Academia Española database]
- (2) Creíamos que sabíamos acerca de esta historia.  
we thought that we knew-IND about this history  
'We thought that we knew about this history.'

More traditional and transformational-generative approaches have dealt with this kind of constructional alternation by postulating one construction to be basic and the other one to be derived (cf. Moore 1996). One implication of such derivational approaches is that the two constructions should not exhibit much difference with respect to the kind of verbs that occur in them, or the frequency with which a given verb occurs in either construction. However, while the meanings of the two constructions are nearly synonymous in general, subtle semantic differences exist, and different verbs exhibit varying degrees of preference to occur in one or the other construction. Semantic approaches like construction grammar actually predict that each construction should have its own meaning. So can empirical evidence be furnished to support the claim that the infinitival complement construction in Spanish has its own semantic and syntactic traits that license attributing it the status of a construction, that is, a form-meaning pairing (Goldberg 1995, 2006)? And to what extent do infinitival complement constructions differ from competing constructions such as full sentential complements?

Preliminary data obtained from the *Corpus del Español* consist of 10,888 tokens of the infinitival complement construction with co-referential subjects in the main and embedded clause. These data exclude causatives, perception verbs, the so-called object control verbs, auxiliary/modal verbs such as *poder* 'can', *deber* 'should', *soler* 'used to', the so-called raising verbs such as *parecer* 'seem', *gustar*-type verbs that take an indirect object as semantic subject, and verbs taking perfective infinitival complements composed of an auxiliary *haber* 'have', and a past participle. Our preliminary analyses identified verbs such as *querer* 'want', *saber* 'know (how to); ability meaning', *necesitar* 'need', *pretender* 'intend', *esperar* 'hope', *desear* 'want', *lograr* 'succeed', *demostrar* 'demonstrate' to occur frequently in this construction. For the analysis of the full sentential complement construction, a total of 8,228 tokens have been retrieved as preliminary data. Among those, initial analyses revealed that most verbs occurring with sentential complements are verbs of cognition and communication such as *creer* 'believe', *decir* 'say', *saber* 'know (cognitive meaning)', *pensar* 'think', *considerar* 'consider', *comprender* 'understand', *suponer* 'assume', *conocer* 'know', *asegurar* 'assure', and *afirmar* 'admit'.

So far, our findings confirm Yoon's (2004) hypotheses that formal and functional factors jointly contribute to the profile of the infinitival complement construction, and that several systematically related senses (such as *DESIRE-BECOME* and *ASSESS-STATE*) can be distinguished. In order to provide more solid empirical evidence, we are currently carrying out (i) a distinctive collexeme analysis which identifies lexemes that exhibit a strong preference for one construction as opposed to the other (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004), and (ii) logistic regression analysis to identify the

formal and functional preferences of this construction in contrast to a random sample of sentential complementation constructions.

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### Metonymic conceptualization of WOMAN in the history of Chinese: a usage-based approach.

Zhang Weiwei & Speelman, Dirk  
(University of Leuven)

**Research question.** If we look at the history of Chinese from the 11th century BC to the early 20th century, how stable is the metonymic conceptualization of WOMAN, and to the extent that there is variation in metonymic patterning, what factors determine the variation?

**Background.** As a socially-culturally important subject matter, the conceptualization of WOMAN has been studied by many linguists from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective (cf. Lakoff 1987, Takada et al. 2000, Kövecses 2006). As their research indicates, women are generally conceptualized metaphorically as FOOD, ANIMAL etc. or metonymically by their body parts, salient qualities, typical clothes etc. However, the previous studies were mainly based on an introspective approach or on dictionaries, a method that hardly yields an accurate picture of the phenomenon in a real historical-cultural setting. In the current usage-based trend of Cognitive Linguistics, however, linguists tend to analyze metaphor and metonymy in coherent discourses used by real people (e.g. Stefanowitsch & Gries 2006; Allan 2009). Taking such a usage-based approach, the present study deals with the question what factors govern the variation of metonymic sources for the metonymic target WOMAN. We assume that the choice of source concepts (i.e. CLOTHES, LOCATION etc.) for denoting WOMAN is not determined by free variation, but is socio-culturally determined.

**Method.** We firstly collected 309 metonymic expressions for WOMAN from two Chinese metonymy dictionaries and then confronted them with the Ancient Chinese Corpus (12 million Chinese characters) covering 15 dynasties (11th century BC-the early 20th century) and 15 genres (poetry, fiction, historical works etc). Automated extraction of these 309 expressions from the corpus followed by manual identification of the cases where the use of the expressions was indeed metonymic provided us with a dataset of over 20000 cases. These metonymic cases were further coded for a range of stylistic (genre) and diachronic (time) factors, semantic factors (sources e.g. CLOTHES, LOCATION, and targets e.g. WIFE, CONCUBINE etc.), morphological factors (structure of the expression and the part of speech of the metonymic constituent), and discursive factors (a juxtaposed metonymic expression, a chained or immediate metonymy). At the same time, for each metonymic expression, we calculated their proportion of a metonymic usage of a specific target, and the proportion of all metonymic usage of the expression, irrespective of different metonymic targets found for it.

**Analysis.** We conducted a mixed effects Poisson regression to determine the relative influence of all factors illustrated above. The fixed effect predictors in the model are the aforementioned variables genre, time period, source, target, etc. and their two by two interactions and the response variable is the number of metonymy instances. The expressions are treated as a random effect. The statistic results reveal variation in the choices for different source concepts depending on an intricate interplay of a number of factors (e.g. stylistic, diachronic, semantic factors). The motivations for the stylistic and diachronic variation of metonymic conceptualization of WOMAN are interpreted from a social-cultural point of view.

**Data resources.** Ancient Chinese Corpus: [http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl\\_corpus/index.jsp](http://ccl.pku.edu.cn:8080/ccl_corpus/index.jsp)  
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### Reference as covert modality.

Ziegeler, Debra  
(Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier)

A recent study on the appearance of bare nominals in Colloquial Singapore English (Ziegeler 2010) revealed that the nouns most frequently unmarked for number (countability) or individuation are those most likely to be described as non-specific or generic in reference; for example:

(1) *Beware of pedestrian; Pedestrian this way*

observed on street traffic signs (having generic plural reference to pedestrians as an uncountable 'mass' term). The same observations of bare nominals unmarked for number applied to singular generic nominals; e.g.,

(2) *I use plastic spoon to scoop my honey and keep my honey jar in cool dry place*  
(<http://flowerpod.com.sg/forums/index.php?showtopic=8627,4/08/05>)

in which *plastic spoon* and *cool dry place* are unmarked for number, being also of generic reference. In standard usage, countability distinctions cut across the distinctions of generic versus specific reference which appear to constrain the use of number marking in Colloquial Singapore English, and indeed, in various creoles and contact languages (see, e.g., Mufwene 1981). The use of such unmarked nominals also gives rise to the notion that for speakers of standard varieties, such nominals are 'coerced' into having mass noun status (cf. Michaelis 2004). However, count-mass distinctions are much more restricted in Colloquial Singapore English, so the appearance of coercion need not apply.

The present paper takes up the observed patterns of countability marking in nominal reference as a point of departure from which to examine the grammaticalisation of indefiniteness and non-specific reference in English as a covert, sub-modality specific to nominals, but with implications for a broader and more accommodating description of the entire field of modality itself. Lyons (1977: 190-1) had claimed that non-specific indefinites had no existence; however, the domain of indefiniteness and generic reference will be viewed instead as a referential domain which is associated with *potentially* specific nominals; i.e., those which are presupposed as possessing existence but not identity, from the speaker's point of view. In such ways, then, generic nominals may be considered as reflecting a sub-category of modality. As a result of such considerations, the following questions will be approached in this preliminary study:

- a) Why does the countability distinction lacking in the above examples give rise to the notion that in English, generic reference is a covert form of nominal modality?
- b) Is the covert modality of generic reference related solely to noun-phrase reference, or is it propositional- or even construction-dependent?
- c) What is the total contribution of specificity (in terms of reference identification) to the domain of mood in verbal, as well as in nominal spheres?
- d) How can studies of nominal reference as covert modality contribute to a sharper definition of the general category of mood across languages?

In addition, it is questioned how the data from certain contact varieties of English (which do not mark countability on non-specific nominals) may inform investigation of (a-d); therefore, data from such varieties (e.g., as provided by the ICE-corpora and actual internet resources) will be analysed for comparative purposes.

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## **New and given information in coreference chains: restrictions for pronominalization and ellipsis.**

Zikanova, Sarka  
(Charles University, Prague)

Text structure is created in the cooperation of different kinds of textual relations. In the present paper, we join two points of view on a text and describe the influence of information structure on the organization of coreference chains in Czech.

There are three main questions to be answered in the analysis.

1. How does the value of information structure influence the type of expression (NP, pronoun, ellipsis) in a coreference chain? Especially: What are the conditions for using pronouns in non-trivial cases (e.g. in subject position)? (Czech is a pro-drop language.)
2. What are the strategies to keep two (or more) grammatically similar coreference chains in one text distinguished?
3. What are the rules for repeating a full nominal expression in a coreference chain?

The analysis is carried out on the material of Prague Dependency Treebank 2.0 (PDT 2.0) where both types of relations are annotated in a multi-layer annotation of a set of 49 000 sentences. The annotations are carried out on dependency trees representing the underlying sentence structure (TGTS), according to the theoretical frame of the Functional Generative Description (Hajičová 1993).

1. The coreference annotation in the PDT covers anaphoric relations and bridging anaphora between nominal groups (nouns, adjectives, pronouns). Coreference nodes in a text are connected by oriented arrows and assigned a label of a reference type (e.g. specific, generic). Two aspects of coreference annotation are important: (a) the annotation exceeds sentence borders, therefore large coreference chains can be observed; (b) since the annotation works with reconstructed dependency trees, ellipses can be included into coreference relations.

2. The information structure annotation in Prague Dependency Treebank deals with single nodes in a dependency tree. There are two aspects of IS covered. First, there is a special attribute assigned to each node of the TGTS which can obtain one of the three values reflecting the contextual (non)boundness (CB) and which indicates whether the information carried by the given element can be derived (predicted) from the previous context. There is a subtype of CB called contrastive contextual boundness (CCB). A CCB node usually points to a choice from a set of alternatives that are offered by the preceding context.

The second aspect, namely the so-called communicative dynamism, refers to the degree in which the given element (usually a word) contributes to the development of the information flow. This scale is reflected by the underlying order of the elements of the TGTS.

As far as we know, this is a first attempt to search on the questions mentioned above using such an extent of data in electronic corpus. We assume that the results of the analysis will show that the organization of coreference chains follows tendencies or even rules which can be generalized and serve as a starting point for a comparison with other languages.

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## **DOM and horizontal alignment in Zumaia Basque.**

Zúñiga, Fernando  
(University of Zurich)

The flagging and indexing patterns found in the Zumaia variety of Gipuzkoan (ZB), a dialect of Basque spoken in northeastern Spain, differ from their counterparts in the standard language (StB). In particular, two characteristics of (pro)nominal case and verb agreement make it interesting from the perspective of alignment typology.

The first characteristic is widespread in the languages of the world—differential object marking—and bears relation to a Silverstein-like nominal hierarchy. While in StB NPs all NPs in O function appear in the unmarked absolutive, such constituents behave in a heterogeneous way in ZB: personal pronouns take the dative marker *-(r)i*, lexical NPs are unmarked (especially if inanimate), and proper names are labile. A less frequent feature of this particular

system is the fact that both case and agreement are involved: dative-marked participants trigger dative agreement and dummy 3rd person T-agreement on the auxiliary.

- (1) Standard Basque (p.k.)
- |    |                                 |                 |              |                 |
|----|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>(Zuek)</i>                   | <i>(hura)</i>   | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-zue.</i> |
|    | 2PL                             | 3SG.ABS         | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2PL.A   |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen him/her.'   |                 |              |                 |
| b. | <i>(Zuek)</i>                   | <i>Unai-∅</i>   | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-zue.</i> |
|    | 2PL                             | U.-ABS          | see-PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2PL.A   |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen Unai.'      |                 |              |                 |
| c. | <i>(Zuek)</i>                   | <i>etxe-a-∅</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-zue.</i> |
|    | 2PL                             | house-DEF-ABS   | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2PL.A   |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen the house.' |                 |              |                 |
- (1') Zumaia Basque (Cristina Albizu and Sascha Völlmin, p.c.)
- |    |  |                |              |                     |
|----|--|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| a. | <i>(Zuek)</i>  | <i>(hari)</i>  | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-i-o-zue.</i>   |
|    | 2PL  | 3SG.DAT        | see.PFV      | 3.T-AUX-3SG.R-2PL.A |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen him/her.'                              |                |              |                     |
| b. | <i>(Zuek)</i>  | <i>Unai-ri</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-i-o-zue.</i>   |
|    | 2PL  | Unai-DAT       | see.PFV      | 3.T-AUX-3SG.R-2PL.A |
|    | Or: <i>(Zuek)</i> <i>Unai</i> <i>ikusi</i> <i>d-e-zue.</i> |                |              |                     |
|    |  | 2PL            | Unai         | see.PFV             |
|    | 3.O-AUX-2PL.A  |                |              |                     |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen Unai.'                                 |                |              |                     |
| c. | <i>(Zuek)</i>  | <i>etxe-a</i>  | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-e-zue.</i>     |
|    | 2PL  | house-DEF      | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2PL.A       |
|    | 'You (PL) have seen the house.'                            |                |              |                     |

The second, twofold, characteristic is not only diachronically more intriguing but also crosslinguistically less frequent, and it appears to be related to, but not simply determined by, the DOM pattern. First, ergativity (robust in StB) has been lost in simple matrix clauses (cf. *zu-k* in (2) and *zu-∅* in (2') below). Second, there is a complex mismatch between (as well as, possibly, idiolectal variation in) DOM-informed accusativity in the domain of case on the one hand and horizontal agreement on the other in ZB.

- (2) Standard Basque (p.k.)
- |    |                               |               |              |                 |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>(Zu-k)</i>                 | <i>(ni-∅)</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>na-u-zu.</i> |
|    | 2SG-ERG                       | 1SG-ABS       | see.PFV      | 1SG.O-AUX-2SG.A |
|    | 'You (SG) have seen me.'      |               |              |                 |
| b. | <i>(Zu-k)</i>                 | <i>(hura)</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-zu.</i>  |
|    | 2SG-ERG                       | 3SG.ABS       | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2SG.A   |
|    | 'You (SG) have seen him/her.' |               |              |                 |
| c. | <i>Aitor-ek</i>               | <i>Unai-∅</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-∅.</i>   |
|    | A.-ERG                        | U.-ABS        | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-3SG.A   |
|    | 'Aitor has seen Unai.'        |               |              |                 |
- (2') Zumaia Basque (Cristina Albizu and Sascha Völlmin, p.c.)
- |     |                           |                |              |                                  |
|-----|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| a.  | <i>(Zu)</i>               | <i>(ni-ri)</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-i-(d)a-zu.</i>              |
|     | 2SG                       | 1SG-DAT        | see.PFV      | 3.T-AUX-1SG.R-2SG.A              |
|     | 'You (SG) have seen me.'  |                |              |                                  |
| b.  | <i>(Zu)</i>               | <i>(hari)</i>  | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-e-zu.</i>                   |
|     | 2SG                       | 3SG.DAT        | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-2SG.A                    |
|     | 'You (SG) have seen him.' |                |              |                                  |
| c.  | <i>Aitor</i>              | <i>Unai-ri</i> | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-i-o-∅</i> / <i>/d-u-∅.</i>  |
|     | A.                        | U.-DAT         | see.PFV      | 3.T-AUX-3SG.R-3SG.A3.O-AUX-3SG.A |
| Or: | <i>Aitor</i>              | <i>Unai</i>    | <i>ikusi</i> | <i>d-u-∅.</i>                    |
|     | A.                        | U.             | see.PFV      | 3.O-AUX-3SG.A                    |
|     | 'Aitor has seen Unai.'    |                |              |                                  |

This paper presents the evidence that leads to such an analysis and discusses the relevance of the latter from the perspective of synchronic and diachronic Basque studies, as well as from the perspective of alignment typology.

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### **WS Evaluative morphology**

Convenors: Livia Körvélyessy and Pavol Štekauer (P. J. Šafárik University, Košice, Slovakia)

When Scalise (1984) came up with an idea of evaluative morphology as a third level of morphology, distinct from both derivational morphology and inflectional morphology, he gave an important impetus to research in this field. Contrary to Scalise's view, cross-linguistic research has revealed that the assumption of a "third morphology" is language-specific rather than a universal feature of languages. Thus, for example, Anderson (1992: 80ff.), argues that, while diminutive formation is derivational in many languages, diminutives in Fula (a Niger-Congo language) are integrated into the paradigmatic system of inflection as the marking of number. Brown and Dryer (ms.) give evidence that the category of diminutiveness in Walman, a language of the Torricelli family spoken in Papua New Guinea, is inflectional, too. Similarly, Contini-Morava (pers. com.) shows that diminutives in Swahili are integrated into the inflectional system of paradigmatic classes. As a result, Katamba (1993: 212) aptly notes that one and the same category (e.g. diminutive) may be inflectional in one language but derivational in another." Similar conclusions can also be found in Stump (1993) and Štekauer et al. (in press). In any case, Scalise managed to draw attention of linguists to this field of morphology. While this turn of interest has yielded a number of interesting publications dealing with various aspects of evaluative morphology there are many open questions concerning both language-specific and cross-linguistic issues.

The focus of the proposed session should be on **morphologically expressed diminutives and augmentatives**. Not all languages have morphological devices of this type. Research into typology and universals in word-formation (Štekauer et al., in press) has shown that out of 55 languages of their sample only 37 languages (69%) form morphological diminutives, and only 19 languages of the sample (35%) form morphological augmentatives. The research has also confirmed a former observation (Bakema and Geeraerts, 2000: 106) that the two categories are related by an **implicational universal**: the existence of augmentatives in a language implies the presence of diminutives, but the reverse does not hold. If a language has both categories, diminutives are more frequent and can be formed in more ways than augmentatives. It should be, however, noted that one can find exceptions, such as Hausa and Ilocano.

**Semantics** of diminutives and augmentatives is another area of evaluative morphology which requires a more profound examination. Like with a number of other linguistic topics there has been much confusion in the definition of the **scope of evaluative morphology**, especially in terms of mixing the system-level and the speech-level semantics. Even one of the fundamental papers on the semantics of diminutives (Jurafsky 1993) suffers partly from this flaw. Jurafsky's model of radial category, based on the core sense of CHILD, has – as some of its extensions – the senses of AFFECTION and SMALL, the former of which is evidently a speech-level sense. Similarly, the basic definition of evaluative morphology by Grandi and Montermini (2005) along two axes, in particular, SMALL – BIG and GOOD – BAD, combines the objective (system-level) and the subjective (speech-level) viewpoints. As observed by Ultan (1978: 547), in several languages (e.g. Amharic, Khasi, Pashto, Russian), the same form may have either hypocoristic or pejorative connotations, depending on context. And Supriyanto (pers. comm.) shows that in Javanese a diminutive adjective may also be interpreted as augmentative depending on the context. For this reason, Nieuwenhuis (1985: 39) distinguishes between objective diminutives expressing smallness, limited size, limited duration, small amount, etc., and subjective diminutives expressing positive or negative emotions. The situation gets even more complicated if one reflects **word-formation processes** employed for the generation of diminutives and augmentatives, because one and the same process may bring contradictory results. As a case in point, Mattes (2006) discusses full reduplication in Bikol, a Philippine language, which can produce both augmentative and diminutive meanings of the same form.

To add to the obscure nature of evaluative morphology, recent research (Štekauer et al., in print, Gregová, Körvélyessy, Zimmermann 2010) has confirmed observations by Ultan 1978, Nieuwenhuis 1985, and Bauer 1996 that the postulate of universal validity of **phonetic iconicity** in evaluative morphology (indication of

diminutiveness by high front vowels and palatal consonants) is one of a number of false assumptions in linguistics.

The previous brief outline indicates that there are still many not yet resolved issues concerning diminutives and augmentatives, including, inter alia, the status of evaluative morphology within the morphological component, the scope of evaluative morphology in terms of semantics, synchronic and diachronic aspects of research, evaluative morphology from the perspective of *langue* and *parole*, the relation between the morphological and the genetic type of language, on one hand, and the way of expressing evaluative categories, on the other, the typology of diminutives and augmentatives and the related cross-linguistic research, evaluative morphology and word-classes, evaluative morphology and recursiveness, phonetic symbolism in relation to the categories of diminutiveness and augmentativeness, homonymy/polysemy of evaluative affixes, productivity of morphological processes (suffixation, prefixation, compounding, reduplication, etc.) used for the formation of diminutives/augmentatives etc. It is these topics that should be discussed within the workshop. The following list of workshop participants, the titles of their topics and brief abstracts guarantee that our knowledge about the field of evaluative morphology can benefit from the proposed workshop.

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#### **WS Metaphor in social interaction: Culture, genre and discourse communities**

Convenor: Rosario Caballero (University of Castilla-La Mancha, Spain)

Claiming that human reasoning is largely metaphorical and imaginative not only involves attempting to determine the role of metaphor in cognition, but also how we use metaphor to communicate with each other. Metaphor is both a conceptual and a socialization tool, and one that is partly acquired and effectively put to work through discourse interaction. Hence, there is a need to incorporate the cognitive, linguistic, and cultural aspects of figurative phenomena in metaphor research aimed at explaining why and how

people communicate through metaphor. This makes it necessary to combine both a cognitive and a discourse perspective on metaphor if reliable insights are to be gained.

Indeed, a core assumption underlying this workshop proposal is that metaphor and its verbal instantiations are sensitive to the context(s) where they appear, which suggests that knowledge of the topics articulated by metaphorical scenarios, the community involved, and the social practices articulating their discourse interaction is needed in order to gain insight into how metaphor is actually used by real people and, more interestingly, how metaphors may be further elaborated and become part of a given community cognitive and interaction tools through repeated use. However, the critical role of discourse interaction and everything this encompasses (genres, language, context, etc.) in exploring conceptual metaphors has been often neglected in Cognitive Metaphor Theory (henceforth, CMT). The present workshop sees culture as encompassing two related notions or constructs: on the one hand, Culture with capital c refers to the shared beliefs, knowledge and world view(s) characterizing national, ethnic, speech, etc. communities; on the other, culture also underlies the ways in which particular discourse communities use metaphor – communities which, in this sense, may be seen as subcultures within a much broader cultural frame, and are characterized by specific knowledge schemas, needs, interests and language –as revealed by their metaphors. Moreover, if as claimed by Silverstein (2004), culture is articulated and manifested through patterned—genred—and interactive negotiation of meanings and values, paying attention to the genres where metaphorical language occurs is unavoidable (see also the discussion in Caballero 2006; Cameron & Deignan 2006; Gibbs 1999, 2009; or MacArthur 2005, among others).

In this context, this workshop is intended to be a forum where scholars working within various fields (Cognitive Linguistics, Discourse Analysis, Sociolinguistics or Pragmatics) can discuss both theoretical and applied issues related to the occurrence and function of metaphor in social interaction. The main goal, then, is to provide a collaborative environment where the CMT bottom-up approach to metaphor and other related phenomena can be combined with the top-down procedures of Discourse Analysis, Pragmatics etc., in an attempt to yield a richer view of metaphor, with special emphasis on how metaphor contributes to the shared cultural and cognitive schemas of discourse communities.

Accordingly, the workshop is particularly concerned with the following theoretical and applied topics: (a) how metaphor occurs and is used in discourse contexts and interaction, (b) the roles of metaphor in the construction of social identities through discourse interaction, (c) how metaphor is used, expanded, negotiated, and interpreted in macro-cultures and their local sub-cultures (e.g. professional communities), which covers discussions of metaphor as both an individual and collective tool for cognition and communication as well as the question of metaphor variation across communities, genres etc., (d) the role of discourse interaction and language in the expansion and ‘health’ of metaphor as well as in metaphor acculturation, (e) the organizational and interpersonal role of metaphorical language in discourse interaction, and (f) discussions on the identification, research and interpretation of metaphorical language in real interaction (oral or written).

As it is, the contributions in the workshop cover the aforementioned issues. Thus, several papers address the role of metaphor in building up social identities in various cultures and languages (Spanish, Russian, African) and/or in one or various genres (narratives, face-to-face interviews, news features, etc.). Another set of papers deals with the same issues, yet the discussion is specifically concerned with the role of metaphor in professional communities (e.g. business or academic communities) or in the discussion of ‘broader’ societal issues (e.g. politics). A final group of papers tackles more analytical questions, and explores the identification and classification of metaphor as well as the difficulties involved in interpreting metaphorical language as illustrated by mono- or pluri-lingual users.

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### **WS The sociolinguistics and pragmatics of borrowing**

Convenors: Eline Zenner, University of Leuven (Belgium) & Gitte Kristiansen, Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Spain)

The study of lexical borrowing has for a long time been an important part of (historical) linguistics. Consequently, the issue has been developed from many different angles within a number of linguistic fields (e.g. Whitney 1881, Haugen 1950, Thomason 1998, Field 2002, Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009).

Focusing on corpus-based accounts of borrowing, we see that loanword research has so far predominantly been conducted from a systemic and structural perspective. Attention has mainly been paid to counting and classifying types of loanwords according to the degree of morphological and phonological adaptation to the recipient language (e.g. gender assignment, plural formation ...), to the diachronic evolution in the amount of loanwords or to their lexicographical treatment (see Androutsopolous *in press* and Onysko & Winter-Froemel

*forthcoming* for similar claims). Typically, the data collections rely on small corpora or dictionaries, making it hard for researchers to make reliable empirical claims. As a result, variation in the use, form and success of borrowed lexical units is ignored or is only dealt with in the form of qualitative accounts: quantitative corpus-based approaches addressing variation in lexical and phrasal borrowing are relatively scarce (but see Poplack *et al.* 1988). Of course, exceptions exist. In this workshop, we would like to bring some of these together: we aim at variationist approaches to the study of loanwords (like the use of Italian “pesto” in French) and phrasal borrowing (e.g. the use of English “as good as it gets” in Dutch). Both methodological papers presenting results from quantitative, empirical studies and theoretical papers presenting comprehensive models of borrowing and borrowability are represented. Below, we summarize the main points and research questions we wish to address in this workshop.

#### **Methodological Issues**

We stress the importance of empirical evidence and reliable methods (compare Geeraerts *et al.* 2010). Specifically, we wish to bring together papers which address the following issues. Firstly, *how can we overcome the existing methodological bottleneck in corpus-based loanword research?* Currently, researchers use small data collections mainly because they extract loanwords manually from dictionaries or corpora. In this workshop, we wish to explore which methods (e.g. from computational linguistics) can be introduced to extract loanwords automatically from corpora (see Alex 2008).

Secondly, we believe that *new methods of measuring the success of loanwords* are required in order to obtain a reliable view on the process of borrowing (compare Van Hout & Muysken 1994). This entails that we focus on studies incorporating:

- *onomasiological variation*: we wish to highlight the importance of a transition from term-based accounts to concept-based accounts of borrowing (see Rohde *et al.* 1999, Speelman *et al.* 2003). The main methodological issue here is how we can take the existence of alternative (native) expressions for borrowed items into account (compare “schaduwschrijver” as Dutch alternative for the French loanword “nègre”)?

- *phrasal borrowing*: another way of opening up the term-based perspective is by introducing a shift to expression-based accounts (e.g. Dogruoz & Backus 2009). The question is then how we can study the borrowability of fixed expressions (the use of Spanish “hasta la vista” in English): how should phrasal borrowing be identified (compared to lexical borrowing and code-switching; Myers-Scotton 1993) and how can we incorporate these items in empirical studies (see Zenner *et al.* 2010)?

Thirdly, the *main aim* of this workshop is to inquire into *variation* in the use, form and success of foreign language elements. Of course, different perspectives can be taken:

- *sociolinguistic approaches*: how can we link variation in the use of loanwords to regional and societal differences? E.g. what differences exist in the use, form and success of loanwords when comparing Portuguese speakers from Portugal and Brazil?
- *sociological approaches*: how can we link variation in the use of loanwords to language planning and attitudes? E.g. how effective are prescriptive and normative accounts on loanwords?
- *pragmatic and stylistic approaches*: what is the importance of discursive function and connotational nuance in accounting for the variation we find?
- *cognitive approaches*: how can we explain the attested variation on the basis of metaphors, entrenchment or other cognitive processes?

Finally, we emphasize the value of multivariate studies, i.e. of looking at the simultaneous effect of several levels of variation. In the workshop, we wish to present papers using *statistical analyses* to find out which of the variables introduced account for most of the attested variation and to determine how these variables interact (see Baayen 2008).

### Theoretical Frameworks

The ambition of this workshop is to discuss how we can use the results from the empirical variationist studies to set out the first lines of an overarching theoretical model on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of borrowing. The final discussion of the workshop will be used to verify in what way the findings presented in the different papers can be brought together within such a theoretical model. However, we would like to highlight that the applicability of several frameworks will also be dealt with in individual papers. The main theoretical frameworks the workshop is based on are:

- usage-based models of cognitive processing in borrowing and borrowability
- theoretical models based on insights from the frameworks of Cultural Models, Ideologies, and Intercultural Pragmatics
- comprehensive models on the introduction of variationist perspectives in research on borrowing and borrowability

### Descriptive Demarcation

We invite papers presenting studies on specific contact situations (e.g. the nature of English influence in Germany / France / Europe at large / ...), on the comparison of different contact situations (e.g. the influence of French in Belgium and the Netherlands) and on general theoretical models of the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of borrowings.

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### **WS Construction Grammar beyond English: observational and experimental approaches**

Convenors: Jiyoung Yoon (University of North Texas) & Stefan Th. Gries (University of California, Santa Barbara)

#### **Overview**

The notion of constructions, understood as learned form-meaning pairings of non-predictable as well as highly frequent predictable linguistic expressions, has introduced a new perspective on language: grammatical knowledge is not viewed as modular, but rather as knowledge of a highly structured and interconnected network of symbolic units, which in turn is viewed as a lexico-semantic continuum, the so-called *constructicon* (Langacker 1987; Goldberg 1995, 2006). While an increasing number of constructional studies have been adopting the usage-based model of constructions in which it is assumed that grammar is shaped by usage (Goldberg 2006) and children learn a language in a bottom-up fashion (Tomasello 2003), the range of existing studies is narrower than it would ideally be. On the one hand, there is the usual predominance of work on English: with the exception of Fried & Östman (2004) and Croft's typological work on Radical Construction Grammar (e.g., Croft 2001), there is as yet unsatisfactorily little construction-grammar work on different languages.

On the other hand, even though Construction Grammarians have been embracing different methodologies and sources of data, there is still a need for more methodologically diverse and comprehensive studies, especially since while all types of data can provide linguistic evidence to a certain degree, there is no single linguistic method that can cover and answer all types of research questions (cf. Arppe et al. 2010).

#### **Objectives and description**

This workshop brings together empirically-oriented Construction Grammar approaches with the specific aims to (i) advance promote interaction and cross-fertilization between researchers interested in constructional approaches on languages other than English and (ii) further the growing trend towards empirically rigorous research that takes seriously a commitment not only to usage-based theories, but also to usage-based methodologies that involve more than just intuition-based data of what can or cannot be said.

Accordingly, the papers in this workshop comprise a wider range of studies involving non-English data than are typically found, including both mono-lingual studies of data that are not synchronic English and cross-linguistic analyses between English and other languages. The languages studied include Dutch, old English, Finnish, German, Icelandic, Innu, Italian, Russian, and Spanish. A total of thirteen papers will be included in this theme session to fit in a 1.5-day workshop. The topics to be presented include, but are not limited to: Dutch dative alternation; resultative constructions in English and German; word order alternations in Dutch verb clusters; conjunct order (i.e., a distinct set of inflections which all Innu verbs exhibit in subordinate clauses) in Innu, an Algonquian language from North Eastern Québec, Canada; idiomatic expressions called "snowclone" identified as a customizable, instantly recognizable and time-worn phrase or sentence in Spanish; Finnish spatial particle constructions; analytic causatives in Dutch and English; quirky subjects in Icelandic, Italian, and Spanish; the availability/prototypicality in Spanish of constructions of the "English" type and the "Spanish" type in the domain of motion events; Light Verb Constructions in Italian; diachronic development of *that*/zero complementation alternation with three

mental state predicates in English; Russian Universal Concessive-Conditional Construction; and infinitival complement constructions in Spanish.

Methodologically, nearly all of the papers are based on observational data, but they use quite a variety of different sources: language acquisition corpora, diachronic corpora, web data, as well as ‘regular’ synchronic corpora. In addition to this diversity of data, the workshop also features papers from a wider range of statistical sophistication: some papers use more traditional approaches and are concerned with what is attested and what is not, some papers use inferential statistical techniques to explore lexically specific preferences and patterns in constructional slots, and some papers use multifactorial hypothesis-testing techniques or multivariate exploratory tools to discover patterns in corpus data that a mere eye-balling or simple statistical tools would not uncover.

### **Research questions**

The research questions to be addressed in this theme session are the following:

- What do language users of a given language have to know in order to use certain form-meaning pairings (i.e., construction) successfully?
- Why do language users choose one construction over another when both constructions convey more or less the same meaning?
- How do typologically more diverse studies advance our understanding of specific constructions in particular and of the conceptual apparatus of Construction Grammar in general? Put differently, to what degree do phenomena from languages other than English force us to revise or refine existing work, which is largely based on English?

### **WS The argument/adjunct distinction cross-linguistically**

Convenors: Søren Wichmann, Iren Hartmann, Andrej Malchukov, Martin Haspelmath and Bernard Comrie (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology)

#### **Description**

The envisaged workshop is organized by several members of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, under the auspices of [the Leipzig Valency Classes Project](#), and is devoted to the topic of argument/adjunct distinction, a distinction which is essential to the issue of valency classification.

The distinction between arguments and adjuncts has been hotly debated since the 1970s (e.g., contributions to Vater (ed.) 1977), yet the issue remains largely unresolved. One of the challenges is that some of the most reliable tests (such as verb-anaphoric tests, especially popular in generative approaches), are not applicable to all languages. Another challenge is that the notion of valency is understood both at the levels of semantics and syntax (see, e.g., contributions to Herbst (ed.) 2007 for some complexities involved discussed primarily from lexicographic perspective), with some theories also introducing intermediate levels (e.g., in the work by Apresjan and Mel’čuk; e.g., Mel’čuk 1988). Yet, this topic is of obvious typological relevance, as it has been suggested that the distinction might correlate with other typologically significant parameters (such as the pro-arg hypothesis by Jelinik 1984, Baker 1996 and others predicting that NPs show an adjunct-like behavior in radically head-marking (“polysynthetic”) languages).

For the envisaged workshop we invite contributions dealing with the following topics (where contributions discussing lesser-studied languages are particularly welcome, as the present workshop is intended to explore the degree of convergence and variation in this domain.):

- the distinctions between arguments and adjuncts in individual languages;
- diagnostics for the argument/adjunct distinction in individual languages and across languages;
- cross-linguistic applicability/universality of diagnostics for argumenthood;
- the question of whether the distinction between arguments and adjuncts is dichotomous or rather gradient (as argued by Croft 2001 ch. 7, following Langacker 1987);
- mismatches between semantic and syntactic valency.

From preliminary abstracts already received as well as from a plain consideration of these issues it is clear that a distinction needs to be made between the conceptual dimension, where the argument/adjunct

distinction is either categorical or gradient, and the empirical dimension, where the distinction is applied to either individual languages (the language-specific domain), languages belonging to different types (the type-domain) or across different types (the typological domain). A choice made in the conceptual dimension does not carry the same implications in all empirical domains. Thus, a categorical application of the argument-adjunct distinction making reference to specific criteria such as obligatoriness or case-marking may be highly useful for the description of a particular language, whereas the application of the distinction as a gradient may be less meaningful within this domain, raising the question to what extent the distinction then reveals anything interesting about the language in question. Within a given type of language (e.g., a dependent-marking language making case distinctions) similar criteria for argumenthood may apply, and the nature of the gradient obtained may be typologically revealing. Across different types, however, it is possible that the argument-adjunct distinction is so weakly motivated that it ceases to be of any relevance whether interpreted categorically or as a gradient

Viewed in this way, a discussion of the argument-adjunct distinction is part of a larger discussion of how to apply theoretical notions in linguistics and the relationship between description and typology.

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## WS Covert patterns of modality

Convenors: Werner Abraham (Vienna & Munich) & Elisabeth Leiss (Munich)

The main concern of this workshop is covert patterns of modality in a cross-linguistic perspective. We assume that covert, or silent, modality is far more frequent than its overt expression. In this respect, modal categories behave completely different compared with their aspectual and temporal counterparts. The main reasons for this behavior are the far more complex functions of modality and the strategies used to encode these functions in an economical way. Modality uses parasitically less complex categories as building blocks to encode the illocutive functions of a sentence. This might be the very reason why aspect seems, at first sight, to be the most frequent grammatical overt category in a cross-linguistic perspective followed by tense, whereas mood and modality are quite rare.

Patterns of modality may be hidden for two reasons: First, they are formed by intricate patterns yet undiscovered. Second, the functions of modality are not yet well enough defined, and they are additionally blurred by different terminologies due to different descriptive linguistic traditions. Thus, the functional equivalents of modal particles in languages without overtly expressed modal particles are yet to be discovered. Third, modality seems to be the most ubiquitous category of language. For this very reason, it is difficult to perceive and conceive its presence in discourse. The overarching reason for modal expressivity is the existence of, and the expressive reference to, a common ground of knowledge and assumptions shared, or not shared, between Speaker and Hearer. The strategy for the Speaker to fathom out such common knowledge ground on the Hearer's part is *Foreign Conscience Alignment/FCA* (Abraham to appear). *FCA* will be the leading methodological criterion uniting all approaches to the topic of modality as represented by an autonomous type of illocutive force.

We invite contributions to the following topics concerning the intricate patterns of modality:

1. Aspect and tense and their respective features as building blocks of modality.
2. Covert epistemicity in evidentials, and covert evidentiality in epistemic modals.
3. Sources of illocutive force in subordinate clauses.
4. Covert modality in pronouns and applicative datives.

## 5. Modality in non-finite contexts such as root infinitives and infinitival relatives.

Recent linguistic literature on modality discusses links with aspect, primarily in languages that have a scarcer representation of direct expressions of modality such as modal verbs and, in particular, their systematic epistemic readings (see Kotin 2008 and the volumes edited by W. Abraham & E. Leiss 2008, 2009). We expect a large amount of still undisclosed patterns of modality, where aspect is involved as a trigger of readings related to modality.

Aspectual selectional restrictions are also regularly at the core of studies on evidentials and epistemics. Far better attested are epistemic readings in evidentials, as well as evidential readings in epistemics. Here, the common function of both categories might be blurred by different descriptive traditions.

Another most intriguing phenomenon concerning modality is the fact that, counter to prior convictions, we find dependent clauses that react sensitively to the insertion of epistemic modal elements forcing the conclusion that they have the root property of independent clauses, i.e. an autonomous illocutive function. Subordinate clauses are conventionally taken to carry no illocutive power of their own (e.g., you cannot express imperativity or interrogativity through dependent clause status). But there are three types of dependent clauses that autonomously bear illocutive power: non-factive complement clauses, causal/adversative adverbial clauses, and non-restrictive relative clauses (Kayne 2005, Haegeman 2006, Coniglio 2009, Abraham (submitted), Introductions in Abraham & Leiss (eds.) 2008, 2009). We invite contributions which disclose the patterns of hidden modality in dependent clauses.

Quite a new field of study is the amount of illocutionary force transported by pronouns such as (*ein gewisser* (*X*)), which, in contrast to (*ein bestimmer* (*X*)), refers to the common knowledge ground of both speaker and hearer (Aloni in prep., Alonso-Ovalle & Menendez-Benito 2010, Port 2010, Van der Auwera & Van Alsenoy 2010). Phenomena of this kind give additional support to the hypothesis that modality might ubiquitously found in all sentences and even constituents we produce. Other candidates for covert modality are applicative dative objects in Polish as discussed by Rivero et al. (2010). As appears, Polish human datives are amenable to modal readings under specific contextual circumstances. One might argue that, on a similar line, the German(ic) ethical dative may be regarded as a modal particle leaving undecided, or, more precisely, making assessable to the hearer, the truth value of the proposition. There seem to be islands of modality in sentences yet to be undisclosed. We invite the investigation of such islands of modality.

A classical field of covert modality are embedded infinitives (with or without a preposition): There appears to be a general occurrence of covert modality in root infinitives and infinitival relatives (*this is to be done soon / this has to be so / middle constructions such as this field plays well* with the notion “can/may be played upon well”; see in detail and for examples Bhatt 2006 as well as others). The phenomenon appears to be a cross-linguistic one (shown to also hold for German, French, and Hindi-Urdu). Covert modality is not associated with any lexical item in the structure that is interpreted as above. The main question to solve is: Where does the modal flavor come from? What is its source: Is it syntactic, semantic, or unsystematically pragmatic?

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### **WS Advances in Biolinguistics**

Convenors: Cedric Boeckx (ICREA, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona) and Kleantes K. Grohmann (University of Cyprus)

Biolinguistics is concerned with exploring the basic properties of the language faculty, how it matures in the individual, how it is put to use in thought and action (including communication), what brain circuits may implement it, and how it emerged in the human species. In asking these questions, biolinguists try to determine which components of the brain are unique to language, as opposed to shared with other cognitive domains such as music and mathematics, and especially those that also seem unique to humans. If, as seems reasonable to suppose, our linguistic capacity is both uniquely human and, in part, uniquely comprised of language-specific mechanisms, significant conceptual and empirical issues arise concerning its evolution, form, maturation, and function.

Today, in light of advances in theoretical linguistics (under the rubric of 'linguistic minimalism'), genetics (FOXP2 and its interactome), developmental and comparative psychology, the evo-devo program in biology, and systems neuroscience, novel, more testable hypotheses are being formulated. The kind of convergence envisaged by mavericks like Eric Lenneberg (in his 1967 *Biological Foundations of Language*) is again being actively sought by a variety of researchers working across traditional disciplines, making biolinguistics an interdisciplinary science par excellence.

The *Advances in Biolinguistics* workshop is aimed at showcasing this kind of renewed appreciation for interdisciplinarity, and highlighting advances and directions in biolinguistics, by inviting contributions articulating how some insights can only be gathered by synthesizing work in two or more areas of research. We propose to structure contributions thematically across the one-and-a-half day workshop:

language development, language evolution, and attempts to establish precise connections between 'mind, brain, and behavior' (contributions from psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, and theoretical linguistics). Presentations in both language development and language evolution will focus on how humans get/got to the mature state of the language faculty, while the third part on 'mind, brain, behavior' would focus on more 'synchronic' issues pertaining to the language faculty.

Boeckx and Grohmann (2007), in the inaugural issue of the open-access journal *Biolinguistics*, point out that there is both a weak and a strong sense to the term 'biolinguistics'. The weak sense of the term refers to 'business as usual' for theoretical linguists, so to speak, to the extent that they are seriously engaged in discovering the properties of grammar from a mentalist stance, in effect carrying out the research program Chomsky (1957) initiated in *Syntactic Structures*. The strong sense of the term 'biolinguistics' refers to attempts to provide explicit answers to questions that necessarily require the combination of linguistic insights and insights from related disciplines (evolutionary biology, genetics, neurology, psychology, etc.), such as:

- (1) Which aspects of the language faculty are unique to language?
- (2) Which are unique to human cognition?
- (3) What are the factors that influence language development and the ways language is put to use?
- (4) What are the neural substrates of linguistic concepts; what are the origins of this or that aspect of the language faculty?

All presenters at the workshop will be asked to demonstrate the viability and advantages of the biolinguistic approach in the strong sense.

We feel that it has certainly become more common to see theoretical linguists speculate at some of the biolinguistic (in the strong sense) implications of their proposals, or even motivate their premises on biolinguistic grounds (again in the strong sense). Thus it is more and more common to find introductory statements such as this (taken from a recent article by Charles Yang):

How much should we ask of Universal Grammar? Not too little, for there must be a place for our unique ability to acquire a language along with its intricacies and curiosities. But asking for too much won't do either. A theory of Universal Grammar is a statement of human biology, and one needs to be mindful of the limited structural modification that would have been plausible under the extremely brief history of *Homo sapiens* evolution. (Yang 2010: 1160)

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#### **WS Meaning construction at the crossroads of grammar, cognition and communication**

Convenor: Francisco J. Cortés-Rodríguez (Universidad de La Laguna, Spain)

This workshop is intended to be a forum for the discussion of the different factors that play a role in the construction of the meaning of linguistic expressions. Providing an account of meaning is still one of the most controversial topics both within and outside the realm of Linguistics, given the disparate as well as wide range of factors at play in meaning construction, which may go beyond language and involve the interaction of neuroscience, psychology and other disciplines.

Even if we confine ourselves to the purely linguistic domain, the construction and interpretation of semantic structures encompasses many problematic issues, among which the following should be mentioned: the (non-)compositionality of meaning (construction); the interaction of lexis and syntax; the (lack of) boundaries between different areas of grammar, semantics and pragmatics; the role of constructions *vis-à-vis* the lexicon; the contribution of metaphor and metonymy to non-lexical levels of linguistic description; semantic and grammatical coercion; the role of implicature and illocution as descriptive levels, etc.

With this scenario in mind, this workshop seeks to host recent work on such problematic topics; it also has the purpose of promoting the collaboration of researchers from different theoretical standpoints, including functional, cognitivist and/or constructionist approaches to language.

Some of the topics that this workshop includes are listed below. The presentations should place emphasis on the value of addressing these topics from a perspective that integrates different approaches and/or dimensions of analysis:

- The architecture of the lexicon: proposals for lexical organization (lexematics, lexical classes and domains, frames, scripts, etc).
- Meaning construction below and above word level: the role of constructions in Morphology in general, with special focus on word formation processes, the interaction of constructions and affixes, the relation between word internal and word external syntax, etc. Meaning construction above the word level: from phrasal syntax to texts.

- The nature of semantic representations: Cognitive modeling, primes, logical and/or event structures, qualia, etc.
- The interaction between lexical units and constructions: the (non-) existence and nature of a lexicon-grammar continuum, lexical-constructional fusion, semantic and grammatical coercion, etc.
- Layers of meaning and layers of grammar: layering proposals in functional models vs. form-meaning pairings.
- Whether linguistic processes attested in one domain of linguistic inquiry are active –and, if so, to what extent– in other domains (cf. the equipollence hypothesis in the Lexical Constructional Model).
- The explanatory value of postulating semantic and/or pragmatic dimensions of meaning, with special emphasis on the communicative function(s) of lexical items and the constructions with which they fuse.
- Principles and constraints in meaning construction and interpretation: e.g. conceptual compatibility between lexical and constructional structure, metaphor and metonymy as possible constraining factors on grammar.

The workshop will have an introductory session by Professor Mairal Usón, from the Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (Madrid-Spain), who will address the central issues concerning the crucial notion of “meaning construction”. There will also be a final discussion session on the topics addressed in the workshop papers. Dr. Christopher Butler (Hon. Professor-Swansea University) will act as a discussant in this final session.

### **WS Referential Hierarchies in Alignment Typology**

Convenors: Balthasar Bickel (University of Leipzig), Anna Siewierska (Lancaster University) & Alena Witzlack-Makarevich (University of Leipzig)

Since the first comprehensive descriptions of languages with ergative patterns in the 70s (Dixon 1972, Comrie 1978), alignment figures as a prominent typological feature both in cross-linguistic investigations and in the descriptions of individual languages. The term ‘alignment’ refers to the way argument roles S, A, and P—and T and G, if one extends the analysis to ditransitives—are organized relative to each other in the morphosyntax, that is, which arguments are marked identically or exhibit identical syntactic behavior.

The taxonomy of all logical possibilities of grouping the three argument roles yields five alignment types: neutral, accusative, ergative, tripartite, and horizontal. These basic alignment types are still common in characterizing whole languages or language systems (e.g. case marking or agreement, syntactic behavior) and serve as a basis for typological investigations (Greenberg 1963; Nichols 1992; Siewierska 1996; Dryer 2002; Bickel and Nichols 2008). However, as not all systems of morphological marking or syntactic behavior fit neatly into one of the basic alignment patterns, this resulted in the modification of the basic taxonomy and introduction of additional types.

Particularly challenging for alignment typology are the patterns of argument identification found in languages in which the morphosyntactic properties of arguments are affected by referential hierarchies (e.g. in which speech-act participants rank higher than third persons, animate entities higher than inanimate ones, and known entities higher than unknown ones). Basically, three different types of effects of referential hierarchies can be distinguished. First, the hierarchical ranking of nominal referents can directly affect the marking of a particular argument resulting in what is known as differential object and differential subject marking. This phenomenon is frequently treated as a split in the alignment of a language system, such that arguments on different positions of a referential hierarchy exhibit different alignment types (e.g. 1st and 2nd person is neutral, whereas 3rd person is ergative). Another type of effects is represented by so-called “direct/inverse” systems, as found e.g. in Algonquian languages. Here, morphological markers on transitive verbs indicate whether the agent is higher or lower in the referential hierarchy than the patient, i.e., whether the action goes in the expected direction (“direct”) or against it (“inverse”). Usually, such

patterns are not discussed in terms of alignment. Finally, the referential hierarchy may determine the choice and/or order of person indices on the verb, a system often characterized as “hierarchical agreement” (e.g. in Tupi- Guaranian languages): when there is only one affixal person-marking slot on the verb, it is the higher-ranking person that is indexed, regardless of its role. A similar kind of effect is observed in many Austronesian languages, such as Tagalog, where the constituent highest on an information-structural hierarchy (an argument or an adjunct) is marked in a special way and gains certain syntactic privileges. At the same time, the voice marking on the verbs indicates the semantic roles of this privileged constituent (cf. Schachter & Otanes 1972; Schachter 1976). One way to accommodate such systems into the alignment typology is to introduce additional alignment types called hierarchical alignment (Nichols 1992; Siewierska 1998, 2005) or Philippine-type alignment (Mallinson & Blake 1981). Such additional types are, however, problematic because they are based on other principles than the basic alignment types, namely, not on semantic roles (agent/patient), but on referential properties of event participants (Zúñiga 2007, Creissels 2009). Moreover, the introduction of the special alignment types conceals the fact that hierarchical systems contain traces of the basic alignment types (cf. Nichols 1992; Bickel 1995; Bickel and Nichols 2008).

The proposed workshop is intended to bring together scholars interested in the effects of referential hierarchies on the morphosyntactic properties of arguments and in the position of such systems in the typology of alignment or grammatical relations more generally. The main topics of the workshop will include, but are not limited to, the following:

- The theoretical status of systems exhibiting referential hierarchy effects in alignment typology.
- The diachronic development of referential hierarchy effects in individual languages, language families or linguistic areas from any part of the world.
- Case studies of hierarchical systems in less documented languages. Authors working on individual languages are encouraged to situate their findings in a broader theoretical/typological perspective.

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## WS Indefinites in diachronic and comparative perspective

Convenors: Johan van der Auwera (Antwerp) & Volker Gast (Jena)

The category of indefinite pronouns comprises a broad range of expressions such as existential, universal and negative pronominal quantifiers (*someone, everyone, no one*), free choice items (e.g. *whoever* [+ VP]) and generic or impersonal pronouns (*one* as in *one should not do this*), to name just the most prominent English representatives of this class. It constitutes a notoriously difficult topic of linguistic investigation for several reasons. Most importantly perhaps, the interpretation of indefinite pronouns is often heavily context dependent, and it is not clear how much meaning should be assigned to the pronouns themselves, and how much should be attributed to the context. For instance, existential pronouns such as *anyone* are often (apparently) interpreted as universal quantifiers (e.g. in conditionals, cf. [1]), negative polarity items turn into free choice items under specific circumstances (i.e. they assume a universal reading, cf. [2]), and negative pronouns may be negative all by themselves or may step into a concord structure. The question arises, thus, where negation is *encoded*, and where it is *reflected*. For example, in multiple negation structures as in French *ne ... personne* (cf. [3]), the negative force can be attributed to either *ne*, or *personne*, or both items.

(1) If anyone even looks at the king, he will get into trouble.

(~ 'For all x, if x looks at ...')

(2) ANYBODY can understand this.

(3) a. Je n'ai vu personne.

b. Personne ne m'a vu.

The fact that the 'division of labour' within such structures is subject to historical change, often rather rapid and with variation showing up within historical corpora, adds an additional layer of complexity to the problem. Given the proneness of indefinite pronouns to undergo diachronic changes, through which they sometimes leave the indefinite domain altogether (e.g. via a 'Jespersen' path to sentential negation), their exact meaning and distribution is often difficult to pin down from a purely synchronic point of view. Moreover, historical changes appear to spread through the lexicon, rather than applying generally. For example, in episodic contexts Engl. *one* is used as an impersonal pronoun in combination with specific verbs such as *suspect, feel, or hope* (cf. [4]), but not with *say* or *believe* (cf. [5]):

(4) Sometimes the discussion of rebirth sounds like Shirley Maclean's writings on 'channelling', though one suspects it is not meant to. (BNC A36 90)

(5) \* ... though one says it is not meant to.

As a consequence of these difficulties, many contemporary linguists have investigated the occurrence of indefinite pronouns in specific sets of contexts rather than determining a single reading for any given pronoun, e.g. with the help of semantic maps as proposed by Haspelmath (1997). This, however, raises the question of how the contexts for indefinite pronouns can be characterized or defined independently, and the question remains how much meaning is to be attributed to the pronouns themselves, and how much is contributed by the context. For instance, Haspelmath's (1997) map is based on categories such as 'free choice', which seems to concern the interpretation of an indefinite pronoun as a universal quantifier, but also contains 'purely contextual' categories such as 'conditional'. An obvious solution is to separate the quantificational force of a pronoun (e.g. existential) from the context (e.g. conditional clause), and to regard the resultant meaning as a function of an interplay between these factors. However, as relevant research has shown, such a clear separation between 'lexical content' and 'contextual embedding' is mostly an idealization at best. Moreover, it cannot account for the lexical idiosyncrasies that are often observed in the domain of indefinite pronouns.

Finally, the relationships between major sub-classes of indefinite pronouns, as well as their relations to other types of (non-indefinite) pronouns and grammatical categories, provide an interesting field of investigation that has not so far received much attention. For example, the study of 'impersonal' indefinites such as *one* is typically separated from that of 'personal' indefinites such as *someone, anyone* and *no one*, even though there are obvious formal and semantic relationships between these elements. The impersonal indefinites are furthermore linked up with personal definites such as *you* or *we* as well as with non-pronominal strategies of impersonal indefiniteness such as the passive (see e.g. Malchukov & Siewierska forthcoming). For instance, as is well known, the French impersonal pronoun *on* is regularly used

as a first person plural form, and English *you* is in fact the most common impersonal pronoun of contemporary English, ousting *one* in contexts of the type illustrated in (6):

(6) You shouldn't try to work when you are drunk or tired.

In our workshop we aim to bring together semantically oriented scholars working on indefinite pronouns from a diachronic and/or comparative point of view in order to discuss questions like the following:

- How can the contexts licensing specific types of pronouns be characterized?
- What is the relationship between (licensing) contexts and the lexical content of the relevant pronouns?
- What factors (in addition to semantic and pragmatic ones) determine the distribution of indefinite pronouns (e.g. register, politeness)? Can any relevant crosslinguistic generalizations be made?
- How can the meaning and distribution of indefinite pronouns be modeled in contemporary semantic and pragmatic theories?
- What types of patterns of polysemy are attested, and with what frequencies?
- Can semantic maps be derived directly from textual sources such as parallel corpora?
- What types of historical development can be observed? Which of them are restricted by universal principles and which ones seem to be more or less random?
- Can diachronic developments be traced in historical corpora? To what extent are such changes lexically specific?
- How can language change in the domain of indefinites best be modeled, esp. with respect to the high degree of 'dynamicity' typical of this class of expressions?
- What relation holds between (specific types of) negative pronouns and (specific types of) sentential negators?
- How do impersonal and personal indefinites relate to one another?
- How do indefinite pronouns relate to question words?
- What role do 'Boolean' expressions such as 'and' and 'or' play in the formation of indefinite pronouns, and how do they interact with quantificational components?
- In what ways does (in)definiteness interact with other nominal categories such as number or the mass/count distinction?

Some fifteen years have passed since Haspelmath (1997) and the field shows no signs of waning. It is time to take stock and explore new avenues.

### **WS Come and go off the beaten grammaticalisation path**

Convenors: Maud Devos & Jenneke van der Wal (GRAMIS project, Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren, Belgium)

It is often presented as a well-known fact that the deictic motion verbs 'come' and 'go' develop into tense-aspect markers, expressing e.g. anterior, andative or future. However, the lexical semantics and pragmatics of verbs like 'come' and 'go' are not identical cross-linguistically, as remarked by Wilkins and Hill (1995). Moreover, recent studies show that the grammatical functions to which they develop are much more diverse than just tense-aspect markers. The Bantu language Shangaci exemplifies both the lexical diversity of 'go' and its development to a function other than tense-aspect. In Shangaci, there are two verbs that can be translated as 'to go'. For one verb the motion is inherently salient, whereas the other focuses on the goal. Only the latter has grammaticalised to become an inflectional prefix that expresses verb focus (Devos and Van der Wal 2010). This shows that the lexical semantics of 'come' and 'go' cannot be taken for granted and that the grammaticalisation paths can be fairly unusual.

We intend to organise a workshop focussing on the lesser known targets of 'come' and 'go' verbs, taking into account the lexical semantics that form the input to grammaticalisation. The questions we would like to discuss include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Which different uses do 'come' and 'go' verbs have? What is the range of targets in grammaticalisation that have 'come' and 'go' verbs as their source? Apart from tense-aspect markers (see e.g. Bybee et al. 1994, Bybee and Dahl 1989, Heine and Kuteva 2002), 'come' and 'go'

verbs can also develop functions as discourse connectors (Ebert 2003), textual connectivity (Bourdin 2008), and subjectivity and social deixis (Nicolle 2002).

2. How do the discourse-related uses of grammaticalised 'come' and 'go' verbs fit into the cline propositional > textual > expressive, which is usually associated with discourse markers (Traugott 1995, Brinton 1996)?
3. In how far is the grammaticalisation path, and hence the target, determined and/or constrained by the original meaning of 'come' or 'go'? That is, can we account for the various developments by reference to their persistent original lexical semantics (Hopper 1991)?
4. In which respects do various expressions for 'come' and for 'go' differ, within a language as well as cross-linguistically? Factors associated with motion verbs include SOURCE, GOAL, PATH, and MANNER (Talmy 1975), but further research can show whether these are the only relevant properties and also whether there are properties related to all 'come' and 'go' verbs. Botne (2005) shows for Ndali that the relative saliency of these components should also be taken into account, and Wilkins and Hill (1995) demonstrate that 'come' and 'go' verbs are not universally deictic.

The aim of the workshop is thus to bring together linguists working on typologically different languages to broaden our view on the semantics as well as the formal and functional developments of these motion verbs; aspects that are too often assumed to be known or standard.

### **WS New Forays into Root Phenomena**

Convenors: Cécile De Cat (University of Leeds, U.K.) Karen Lahousse (University of Leuven, Belgium)

Root phenomena (or main clause phenomena) typically occur in matrix clauses and in a restricted set of embedded ("root-like") clauses (Heycock 2005). Classic examples for English include subject auxiliary inversion (including negative inversion), argument fronting (both topicalisation and focalisation), VP preposing, preposing around *be*, locative inversion, left dislocation, tag formation, subject omission and imperatives.

Since Emonds (1970), many have attempted to capture root phenomena as a syntactic property of clauses. Recent instantiations of the syntactic approach include the Cartographic analysis (Haegeman 2006), in which root properties are entirely dependent on the presence of a dedicated functional projection in the CP field, and the Movement analysis (Haegeman 2010, to appear), in which root phenomena are allowed by default, but blocked in clauses derived by movement to the CP field of an epistemic operator, over which further movement is impossible because of intervention effects.

In their influential paper, Hooper & Thompson (1973) put forward a pragmatic analysis and argue that root phenomena are possible in clauses that are asserted, but not those that are presupposed. Peripheral adverbial clauses (such as *because* clauses) display a surprising behaviour in that respect. When sentence-initial (1), they are presupposed, and hence unable to host root phenomena. When sentence-final (2), they are asserted, and hence able to host such phenomena.

(1) \*Because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox, Mildred drives a Mercedes.

(2) Mildred drives a Mercedes because her son, he owns stocks in Xerox.

(Examples from Larson & Sawada 2010.)

As recently pointed out by Larson & Sawada (2010), this contrast is particularly challenging for strictly syntactic approaches: can we postulate different structures depending on the position of the adverbial clause? Larson & Sawada propose to capture the contrast in (1-2) as a consequence of event quantification. This suggests that the interpretive component is involved in the licensing of Root Phenomena, at least in adverbial clauses.

The aim of this workshop is double.

First, we would like to investigate the extent to which Root Phenomena require the involvement of the interpretive component, and its nature: is it Pragmatics, Semantics, Information Structure? A combination of these?

Questions to be addressed under this theme include the following:

- What is the division of labour between syntax and the interpretive component in capturing root phenomena?
- Which root phenomena display information structural or semantic effects?
- Can a semantic characterisation of clauses account for the restrictions on all Root Phenomena?

Second, we would like to extend the field of investigation to include not only 'standard' Root Phenomena (i.e. those that are strictly (?) impossible in non-root contexts, such as VP preposing, locative inversion, exclamatory inversion, etc. in English) but also phenomena that are not excluded from non-root contexts but nonetheless sensitive to the +/- root distinction. In French, these include verb-subject inversion (Lahousse 2010) and Clitic Left Dislocation (De Cat 2007, 2010). These have been shown to be subject to different constraints depending on the host clause: CLLD is fully acceptable in main clauses and 'embedded roots' such as peripheral adverbial clauses, but much degraded in central adverbial clauses, which have been shown not to allow root phenomena (see e.g. Haegeman 2006, 2009, 2010); verb-subject inversion in French is limited by heavy constraints in main clauses and peripheral adverbial clauses, but not in central adverbial clauses.

Questions to be addressed under this theme include the following:

- Which phenomena are sensitive to the +/- root distinction, across languages?
- What can these phenomena tell us about the properties of the clauses hosting them?
- Is their sensitivity to the +/- root distinction of a similar nature to that operating in 'standard' Root Phenomena?

### **WS Functionally motivated computational approaches to models of language and grammar**

Convenors: Brian Nolan (Institute of Technology Blanchardstown Dublin Ireland) & Carlos Perrián Pascual (Universidad Católica de San Antonio, Murcia Spain)

The **purpose** of the workshop is to examine and discuss recent and current work in the use of functional, cognitive and constructional approaches to the computational modelling of language and grammars.

The workshop will address the following main **topics and research issues**:

- The deployment of functional models in parse and generation
- The architecture of the lexicon
- Motivating the linking system between semantics, lexicon and morphosyntax
- Interpretation of the linguistic model into an algorithm specification
- Issues for the layered structure of the clause, NP and word
- Complexity issues
- Concept formation
- Linguistically motivated computational approaches to gesture in language

While recognising that in recent times much work has concentrated on statistical models, we wish to examine in particular computational models that are linguistically motivated and that deal with problems at the interfaces between concept, semantics, lexicon, syntax and morphology. Many functionally oriented models of grammar, including Functional Grammar, Functional Discourse Grammar and Role and reference Grammar have lent themselves to work as diverse as lexically motivated machine translation from Arabic to English (Nolan and Salem 2009, Salem and Nolan 2009a and 2009b) to the conceptual ontological work on FunGramKB (Perrián-Pascual & Arcas-Túnez 2005, 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Perrián-Pascual & Mairal Usón 2009) plus recent work undertaken within the Lexical-Constructional Model (Mairal Usón, R. & Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza. 2008 and 2009, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José and Mairal, Ricardo. 2008, Guest, Nolan & Mairal-Uson. 2009) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Indeed, similar work has been ongoing quietly within the domain of Sign Linguistics where various initiatives based upon variations of the original Mental Spaces Model (Fauconnier 1994) have been productively used in the creation of digital intelligent avatars to translate spoken/written languages into several Sign Languages (Morrissey & Way 2006, Cassell et al 2000, Prendinger & Ishizuka 2010). Sign Languages, as

visual gestural languages, pose interesting problems for functional models of grammar (Leeson & Nolan 2008, Leeson et al 2006).

The organisers of this workshop are a European group of linguists, computational linguists and computer scientists who, since the 2004 Role and Reference Grammar International Conference in Dublin, have formulated computational proposals in different areas concerned with the lexicon and concept ontologies, and the computational processing of the syntax, morphology and semantics of a variety of languages. Thus far, these actual computational projects have encompassed 1) rule-based lexicalist interlingua bridge machine translation, 2) ontological engineering of concepts that enhance and enrich logical structures in a machine tractable way, 3) the implementation of a unified lexical meta-language in software, and 4) the parsing of complex sentences. The languages that have undergone a computation treatment in RRG have included English, Arabic and Spanish, and others.

A consequence of this computational work has been the enrichment of the theoretical elements of the RRG theory, especially in its semantics and lexical underpinnings where they connect with concepts, and the building of frame based applications in software that demonstrate its viability in natural language processing. Furthermore, this computational work provides compelling evidence that functional approaches to grammar have a positive and crucial role to play in natural language processing. We claim that a functional approach to grammar delivers a credible and realistic linguistic model to underpin these kinds of NLP applications.

We would like to present a forum for a functional and cognitive linguistic, computational research agenda, based around an inclusive model consisting of the various cognitive and functional approaches to grammar. In sum, the aim of this workshop is to offer a forum for discussion and critical evaluation of the full gamut of research projects concerned with a broadly functional computational linguistics and that also contributes to our understanding of languages in a functionally oriented way.

### **WS Ethical Datives and Related Constructions**

Convenors: Mirjam Fried (Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague) & Francesca Masini (University of Bologna)

#### **Description**

The label Ethical Dative appears frequently in the literature on dative marking and on argument structure, as well as in traditional grammars of various European languages. It refers to a dative-marked personal pronoun that is not required by the valence of the verb and tends to be interpreted, broadly, as an expression of the referent's interest in the described event. Current understanding of the topic is rather sketchy and impressionistic, and Ethical Dative is far from being a well-defined grammatical category. A comprehensive crosslinguistic overview of the phenomenon is still missing and its contours, including its relationship to other dative constructions, are still to be traced. The goal of this workshop is to start filling this gap by bringing together scholars whose research concentrates on the issues surrounding certain pronominal datives in various languages and whose contributions can advance our understanding of this topic.

#### **1. Data**

In (1), there is an example from Latin, in which the pronoun *mihi* 'to me' is described as an Ethical Dative; similarly in (2) from Old Czech:

(1) *Quid mihi facis?*

what 1.SG.DAT make.2.SG.PRS  
'What are you doing "on me"?''

(2) *Kak mi nevesele vzhledaš!*

how 1.SG.DAT not.merrily look. 2.SG.PRS  
'How out of spirits you look, I [see].'

The Latin usage seems to have passed into Romance languages as well, as shown by the examples from French (3) and Italian (4):

(3) *Jean lui a mange tout le fromage*

Jean 3.SG.DAT has eaten all the cheese

'Jean ate all the cheese "on him/her"' (adapted from Shibatani 1994: 469)

(4) *Luca mi mangia troppo*

Luca 1.SG.DAT eat.3.SG.PRES too\_much

'Luca eats too much "on me"' (Masini In press)

Ethical Datives are quite widespread also in present-day Slavic languages (especially West and South), exemplified by Bulgarian (5) and Polish (6):

(5) *Toj si pijva*

3.SG.M self.DAT drink.3SG.SMLF

'He likes to take a drop' (adapted from Scatton 1993: 204)

(6) *Ona ci mu wtedy nagadala*

she 2.SG.DAT 3.SG.DAT then tell\_off.SG.PAST

'And then she gave him a piece of her mind' (adapted from Franks & King 2000: 157)

The situation is less clear in the Germanic family. German has been said to have a kind of Ethical Dative (7), and although it is not commonly found in contemporary English, certain usages suggest a relationship to Ethical Datives as well. They are attested both in diachronic material (8a) and in present-day English (8b-8c): (8c) illustrates the "Southern Double Object Construction", typical of Southern American English (Webelhuth & Dannenberg 2006: 38), whereas (8d) exemplifies the use of the preposition *on* with a pseudo-ethical reading (Konig & Haspelmath 1988: 560).

(7) *Mir ist meine Mutter gestorben*

1.SG.DAT is my mother dead

'I had my mother die on me' (adapted from Shibatani 1994: 472)

(8) a. *Come, knock me at that door!* (Shakespeare, *Romeo and Juliet*)

b. *Stepped outside and I smoked myself a J* (Paul Simon's song)

c. *Hei bought himi a car*

d. *The rest of the children died on me*

Candidates for the status of Ethical Datives can be found in non-Indo-European languages as well, e.g. Chechen (Molochieva 2006), Modern Hebrew (9), or in the Japanese adversative passive (10), which Shibatani (1994) proposes to regard as semantically related to Ethical Datives.

(9) *be' emca haseret hem nixnasim li*

in-the-middle the-movie they enter 1.SG.DAT

'They enter in the middle of the movie (aggravating me)' (adapted from Borer & Grodzinsky 1983: 179)

(10) *Taroowa Hanakoni sinareta*

Taroo-TOP Hanako-DAT die-PASS-PST

'Taro had Hanako die on him' (adapted from Shibatani 1994: 467)

## 2. Issues to address

It is clear that the phenomena usually gathered under the label Ethical Dative are possibly widespread in the languages of the world, although linguists' attention has been so far focused mostly on their manifestations in Indo-European languages. This notwithstanding, thorough descriptions are scarce. Moreover, the label tends to be applied very broadly. This poses both

(i) theoretical and (ii) empirical problems:

(i) It is crucial to identify (clusters of) features that can help delimit the category in the first place and set it apart from other, albeit related, uses of pronominal datives. No such understanding exists, and it may easily turn out that not all of the usages that have been called Ethical Datives should be included in this category. Some of the examples above may well be regarded as instances of other constructions, some of which are relatively well understood at this point and have been established as distinct categories, such as External Possessors (e.g. (3), (7)); cf. Konig & Haspelmath 1998, Payne & Barshi 1999, McGregor 2009) and Middles or Indirect Reflexives, e.g. (5) (cf. Kemmer 1993, Kazenin 2001).

(ii) It is often difficult to evaluate the meaning and/or pragmatic function of the dative pronoun, given that the relevant data mostly consist of isolated examples without any context. Reliable sources of material, better methodology for its analysis, and more fine-grained approaches are thus needed (a corpus-based approach, with the aid of conversation analysis, has been introduced in Fried 2010 and In press, as a viable route toward greater empirical grounding).

The workshop is expected to shed light on Ethical Datives by providing more accurate and informative linguistic descriptions of relevant empirical material, thereby also leading toward a well-grounded characterization of Ethical Datives as a distinct linguistic category. In particular, the workshop aims at getting:

- a) a clearer idea about the spread of Ethical Datives and related constructions in the languages of the world;
- b) a better understanding of their “form”, such as the role of the case (e.g., why dative?), the clitic status of the form, the interaction with voice (reflexives, middles, etc.);
- c) a better understanding of the “meaning” or “function” pole of these constructions, e.g. the semantic roles involved (benefactive, malefactive, affectee, etc.), the interaction with argument structure and verb classes, pragmatic function(s) in discourse, possible textual restrictions;
- d) a better definition of the domain that properly delimits Ethical Datives with respect to related constructions, such as External Possessors, Middles, Ditransitives, Applicatives, Miratives;
- e) suitable theoretical proposals that would account for the attested patterns.

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## WS Doubling in Syntax, Semantics and Morphology

Convenors: Lobke Aelbrecht, Anne Breitbarth, Karen De Clercq, Liliane Haegeman, Will Harwood, Rachel Nye, Amélie Rocquet and Reiko Vermeulen (GIST, University of Ghent)

Doubling is manifested on different levels, including syntax, semantics, morphology and phonology (in the latter two domains it is also known as ‘reduplication’). This workshop aims to investigate the nature of syntactic, semantic and morphological doubling and the interaction between them, from both formal and functional perspectives. We begin by exemplifying doubling phenomena in the domains listed above, identifying specific issues related to doubling. This leads to a series of questions which we hope to address.

Syntactic doubling is crosslinguistically very common. One example is *wh*-doubling in German and Dutch, where the *wh*-element occurs both in the matrix and embedded clause (Barbiers et al. 2009, (1)). Another example is subject doubling, where in main clauses the subject can occur once preceding and once following the finite verb ((2)), in this instance with no added meaning (Haegeman 2004; van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002,2008; De Vogelaer&Devos 2008).

1. **Wie** denk je **wie** ik gezien heb? (Drenthe Dutch)

*who think you who I seen have*

‘Who do you think I have seen?’

2. **Zij** heeft **zij** daar niks mee te maken. (Flemish Brabant Dutch)

*she has she there nothing with to make*

‘She doesn’t have anything to do with it.’

Doubling also occurs in morphology. For instance in the word formation process which derives the deverbal agent noun *picker-upper* from the particle verb *pick up*, the affix *-er* is realised on both verb and particle. Another example is the formation of certain adjectives in Tz’utujil, spoken in Guatemala: the first consonant of an adjective is repeated before suffix *-oχ* (Dayley 1985), resulting in an approximative reading:

3. a. [kaq] ‘red’ → [kaqkoχ] ‘reddish’

b. [jaʔ] ‘water’ → [jaʔjoχ] ‘watery’

In child language too words are frequently formed by repeating the first syllable of an existing word: in French *un dodo* ‘a nap’ is formed from *dormir* ‘to sleep’ by reduplication. Although in some instances doubling is clearly syntactic or morphological, quite often the line between the two domains is unclear. One such case is found in Ilocano (spoken in the Philippines), where doubling of the word stem expresses plurality:

4. a. pingan ‘dish’ → **ping**pingan ‘dishes’

b. talon ‘field’ → **talt**talon ‘fields’

One could argue that doubling here is not part of morphology, but involves a syntactic plurality head in the structure of the noun phrase (see Borer 2005). A similar account could be given for adjective doubling in Italian, e.g. *forte forte* ‘very strong’, which arguably involves a syntactic degree head. Another example is Japanese verb reduplication, which results in an expression that behaves more like an adverb, syntactically and semantically (Poser 1990):

5. a. nak ‘cry’ → naki-naki ‘while crying’

b. tab ‘eat’ → tabe-tabe ‘while eating’

Semantic doubling can be illustrated by French and Dutch verbs that receive an iterative meaning when a certain infix is added. Similarly, verbs in Chechen receive an iterative meaning when the stem vowel is altered:

6. a. saut-er ‘jump’ → saut-ill-er ‘skip along, jump up and down’ (French)

b. hupp-en ‘jump, hop’ → hupp-el-en ‘skip’ (Dutch)

c. *saca* ‘stop once’ → *sieca* ‘stop many times’ (Chechen; Yu 2003)

Postma (1995) identifies another semantic doubling effect. He discusses NP-P-NP constructions such as (7), where the distributive universal quantification reading is the result of NP doubling: one NP yields the lexical meaning ‘raam’ (‘window’) whilst the other NP is in so-called “zero semantics”, i.e. it has no lexical meaning and gives a quantificational interpretation to the entire construction.

7. In de rosse buurt zit **raam aan raam** een meisje. (Dutch)  
in the red-light district sits window to window a girl.  
'In the red-light district there is a girl at every window.'

Another issue related to doubling involves iconicity (Haiman 1980). While doubling with semantic effects involving greater quantity or quality (such as plurality or intensity) is traditionally seen as iconic, the double formal expression of one single meaning violates the principle of iconicity. Negative concord, where two (or more) negative elements express one logical negation, is arguably a case of semantically vacuous, and therefore non-iconic, doubling:

8. **Non vedo niente.** (Italian)  
*not I.see nothing*  
'I don't see anything.'

Finally, there are phenomena which look like doubling, but have been argued not to involve doubling at all, e.g. perfective doubling in Dutch dialects (Barbiers et al 2010):

9. Ik heb het **gezegd gehad.**  
*I have it said had*  
'I have said it.'

Taking into account the discussion and illustrations above, questions that we would like to see addressed in our workshop include, but are not limited to:

- Given recent developments in Distributed Morphology (Halle&Marantz 1993,1994; Harley&Noyer 1998), can morphological doubling be considered a syntactic phenomenon?
- If the hypothesis that the structure of lexical items is similar to that of clauses holds (Cardinaletti&Starke 1999, Hale&Keyser 1993), we would expect that morphological and syntactic doubling have similar semantic/pragmatic effects (plurality, emphasis, contrast...). Are there indeed common points between doubling in syntax and in morphology? And are there effects that are the consequences of either syntactic or morphological doubling alone?
- Do the semantic/pragmatic effects caused by syntactic and morphological doubling argue for additional covert syntactic structure (e.g. a Number head in case doubling expresses plurality) or do these effects result from inferential reasoning?
- By what formal means is semantic doubling realized? How general is the mapping between formal doubling (of a morpheme, lexical item or phrase) and semantic doubling?
- Formally similar types of doubling sometimes have different semantic effects. For instance, in the Italian *forte forte* and doubling in Tz'utujil ((3)), the same formal means expresses what seems to be the opposite meaning. Can this observation find a theoretical explanation?
- Are there distributional and syntactic differences between doubling phenomena that affect the interpretation of a lexical item/clause and those that do not? How can these be captured?
- Are concord and agreement particular types of doubling phenomena? If so, how can they be reconciled with the principle of iconicity?
- Is what appears to be a doubling phenomenon always a real instance of doubling?

### **WS Cognition in Context. Empirical approaches to social cognition and emergent language structure**

Convenors: Dylan Glynn (Lund University) & Karolina Krawczak (A. Mickiewicz University, Poznan)

This workshop focuses on empirical methodology for the description of emergent language structure. More specifically, it seeks to bring together cognitive and functional linguists applying such methodology to the analysis of situated language use, emergent language structure and socio-cognitive processes conditioning communication.

Social Cognition and emergent grammar have enjoyed a great deal of attention in recent years. Pioneering work such as Langacker (1990, 2001), Stein & Wright (1995), Nuyts (2000), Kärkkäinen (2003), Givón (2005), Verhagen (2005), Athanasiadou & al. (2006), Cornillie (2007), Zlatev & al. (2008), Holšánová (2008), Ekberg & Paradis (2009), and Pishwa (2009) belongs to a diverse and growing field of research that crosses the

traditional boundaries of language science, psychology, and sociology. This workshop endeavours to advance the state of the art by developing the methods used in the field.

The term social cognition refers to the speaker's sensitivity to and competence in communication. An emergent understanding of linguistic structure places situated usage events at the heart of linguistic research. It follows that the study of usage events necessarily entails the study of interaction and variation. In this light, contextualised communicative behaviour patterns are seen as clues to language structure, which, in turn, is taken as an index of cognition. As the implications of this theoretical and analytical move are becoming better understood, we need to develop descriptive techniques that can capture such structure.

Since this workshop focuses on empirical methods for the description of emergent language structure, authors will be invited to stress the strengths and weaknesses of each method employed. It is assumed that different questions warrant different methods. Three methods are employed in the workshop:

- corpus analysis
- psycholinguistic experimentation
- elicitation and attitudinal studies

The notions of emergent grammar and social cognition are relevant to a wide range of linguistic phenomena. The above methods are applied to the following areas of research:

- conceptual construal
- epistemic stance
- intersubjectivity
- social cognition
- subjectification
- language variation and change

Lastly, the authors will be asked to interpret their results in terms of certain overarching theoretical questions:

- How does language use reflect socio-cognitive organisation?
- How does language use reflect language structure?
- How does socio-cultural context condition inter- and intra-lingual variation?
- How can we investigate social cognition empirically?

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## WS Diachronic Construction Grammar

Convenors: Jóhanna Barðdal (University of Bergen) & Spike Gildea (University of Oregon)

The theoretical framework of Construction Grammar has by now become an established framework in the international linguistic community, and a viable alternative to more formal approaches to language and linguistic structure. So far, constructional analyses have mostly been focused on synchronic, comparative and typological data, while the emergence of a diachronic construction grammar is a more recent development.

The beginning of diachronic construction grammar was marked by Israel's (1996) influential paper on the development of the *way* construction in the history of English. Since then, work has been done on the development of case in Germanic (Barðdal 2001, 2009), changes in periphrastic causatives in English (Hollmann 2003), future constructions in Germanic (Hilpert 2008), raising constructions in English and Dutch (Noël & Coleman 2010), the development of pragmatic particles in Czech (Fried 2007, 2009), possessive constructions in the history of Russian (Eckhoff 2009), historical variation in case marking (Berg-Olsen 2009, Barðdal 2011), as well as the rise of the *there* construction from Old to Early Modern English (Jenset 2010), to mention a few. Work within diachronic construction grammar has also been tuned in on how insights from the grammaticalization approach can be incorporated into the constructional framework (Traugott 2007, 2008a–b, Noël 2007, Trousdale 2008a–b, Bisang 2010) and how construction grammar aids in historical-comparative reconstruction (Gildea 1997, 1998, 2000, Haig 2008, Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009, Barðdal 2010). At the moment, the community is experiencing a boom in the amount of research being carried out within diachronic construction grammar.

More generally, a constructional approach to diachronic linguistics and language change may be focused on how new constructions arise, how competition in diachronic variation should be accounted for, how constructions fall into disuse, as well as how constructions change in general, formally and/or semantically, and the implications for the language system as a whole. Another area of focus is the value of a constructional approach to the reconstruction of morphosyntax. Further, the role of corpus data, frequency, language contact, and the interaction between item-specific and more general abstract constructions may also be important ingredients in any diachronic constructional analysis, claiming to do justice to language development and change.

This workshop is particularly focused on research where the notion of construction as a form-function pairing is needed to account for the diachronic data and development. We welcome contributions where a comparison between models is facilitated, both with regard to reconstructing grammatical change and to explaining attested grammatical change. The workshop's aim is to promote construction grammar as a viable diachronic framework alongside other linguistic frameworks dealing with language change.

## WS Representations in phonology: hierarchical vs. linear models

Convenors: Björn Köhnlein & Emilie Caratini

**The issue.** Prosodic structure, prosodic representations and prosodic relations in phonology are far from consensual. There is no agreement regarding which different prosodic units should be assumed in phonological theory or how such units should be organised in the prosodic hierarchy. The prosodic tree argued for in Nespor & Vogel [2007 (1986)] may be the most widespread one, yet it certainly does not find unanimous support in the literature – not even concerning its lowest tiers (i.e. mora, syllable, foot, prosodic word). Whereas the existence of these units is acknowledged in a number of approaches (e.g. certain versions of Optimality Theory, cf. Downing 2006, van Oostendorp 2002, Prince & Smolensky 2002 (1993) among others), there is a variety of frameworks that dispense with some of these constituents – or even with all of them – (e.g. Kaye et al. 1990, Kaye 1990, Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004, Neeleman & van de Koot 2006, Samuels 2009). The more hierarchical structure is dismissed from phonological representations, the more lateral relations come into play.

**Hierarchical models.** Among the defendants of a hierarchical prosodic structure, we find different concepts that are largely incompatible with each other. Consider the notion of the syllable as an example. Despite

the enormous amount of literature that has been published on the subject over the years (as was already noted by Pulgram 1968), there is no solid agreement what concerns the internal organization of the syllable. Whereas early views on the subject assumed a direct relation between segments and the syllable along the lines sonority principles (see e.g. Whitney 1874, Kahn 1976, de Saussure 1995), more recent developments added structural units below the syllable (cf. Cairns & Feinstein [1982]).

We find approaches that postulate subsyllabic constituents such as rhymes, onsets, nuclei, codas – or a subset thereof – and make use of timing units (x-slots – cf. Cairns & Feinstein 1982 – or  $C_s$  and  $V_s$  – cf. Clements & Keyser 1983). The skeleton (i.e. x- or C/V-tier) can thus be seen as a *timing tier*, i.e. as the tier where phonological *linearity* is achieved.

Moras are regarded as units that determine syllable weight. Moraic theory has been proposed as a concept replacing skeletal positions and subsyllabic constituency (e.g. Hyman 1985). It has been claimed to have advantages in relation to processes as for instance compensatory lengthening (e.g. Hayes 1989) or the representation of geminates (e.g. Davis 1994). On the other hand, skeletal positions and/or subsyllabic constituents are able to do the job as well (van Oostendorp 1995, Kaye et al. 1990 among others). Similar discussions can be found concerning the foot level (cf. Hayes 1995, Kager 1993, 1999 among others).

**Linear models.** Next to these competing hierarchical approaches, a rising number of alternative theories reduce prosodic hierarchy to a minimum. In frameworks like Government Phonology (cf. Kaye & Pöchtrager 2009, Lowenstamm 1996, Pöchtrager 2006, Scheer 2004, Szigetvári 1999 among others), the existence of prosodic units like moras, syllables, and feet is dismissed. That is, instead of a strict hierarchical order, linearity is assumed. The effects of prosodic structure on the phonological string are achieved by other means: for instance, so-called Strict-CV Phonology (Lowenstamm 1996, Scheer 2004) replaces hierarchical structures by postulating lateral relations (government and licensing). These relations regulate, among other things, the occurrence of long and short vowels (e.g. when these are distributed as a function of syllable structure) and vowel-zero alternations. The absence of hierarchical structure does not prevent Strict-CV to account for the different stress patterns found across languages (cf. Scheer & Szigetvári 2005).

**Goals of the workshop.** This workshop aims at confronting the existing approaches to (low-level) prosodic representations and to their effects on the phonological string. We thus welcome contributions couched in any theoretical framework which address topics related to low-level prosodic representations and prosodic relations (non-restrictive list):

- Are there (morpho)phonological mechanisms which may be accounted for in a more restrictive way by assuming the existence of a prosodic hierarchy and which cannot be accounted for without the help of such prosodic units (e.g. stress assignment, tonal mechanisms etc.) [or vice versa]?
- Are there (morpho)phonological mechanisms which may be accounted for in a more restrictive way by assuming lateral relations rather than a hierarchical prosodic structure, or vice versa? Or are there processes that can only be accounted for in one of these competing approaches (e.g. stress assignment, tonal mechanisms, etc.)?
- Can the non-consensus and the increasing variety of incompatible competing proposals concerning the internal structure of the prosodic hierarchy (e.g. at the syllable level, the foot level) be regarded as an indication that we should aim at abolishing any hierarchical prosodic structure in phonology?
- Are there (as yet untreated) phonological phenomena that may be accounted for using moras but not using subsyllabic constituents / skeletal positions [or vice-versa]?
- May there be ways of combining insights from different hierarchical frameworks to develop a more consensual model of the prosodic hierarchy?