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Book of Abstracts

Part II



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Animal vocalizations: the evolution of animal names in contrast to their sound and cultural taxonomy

We investigate names of animals from the perspective of linguistic and cultural evolution. Names of birds with a distinct call often mimic call of the animal (Marttila 2011). By using large data, it is possible to reconstruct a proto-form of these birds, defined by overrepresentation of particular sounds in a specific order (AUTHOR). This representation of sounds in names has not been investigated for non-bird animals such as Bovine, Feline, Ovine, Caprine, Canine, and Ursidae. We will use a data set of 30 selected Eurasian bird and animal species with a distinct sound (plus 10 animals with no distinct sound). Data includes lexical material from around 150 languages and 25 families, extracted from the databases NorthEuraLex (Dellert and al. 2019) and DiACL (Carling 2017) via the resource Lexibank (List et al. 2022). Data is coded by IPA, which will be simplified into vocal iconicity prototype sound groups, using the system of (Erben Johansson et al. 2020) and (Dellert et al. 2021). The species will further be divided into cultural subtypes, following the OCM-based system used to group concepts in (Carling 2019) (e.g., domestic/wild, large-scale/small-scale farming). The cultural classification will be accounted for by analyzing colexification between the species concepts, using the semantic map method (François 2008). When analysing the data, we will account for linguistic genetic bias and then extract the most proto-typical combination of sound groups for each species. We will extract the sound of the species from the Macaulay Library database and contrast the sound structure to the lexical prototype structure. We will also compare the lexical prototype structure to the cultural taxonomy, which will allow us to assess the impact of cultural taxonomy on the vocalization pattern.

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Negation in Tuparían languages (Tupían): From synchrony to diachrony

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This study examines the morphological negator in five languages of the Tuparian branch (Tupían) in a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. The research aims to achieve two main objectives: 1) presenting a comprehensive overview of verbal and nonverbal negation in Makurap, Sakurabiat, Tuparí, Wayoro, and providing an updated analysis for Akuntsú; 2) comparing the reflexes of the negative bound morpheme *-(er)om* and attempting to reconstruct its origins in Proto-Tuparían. Negative predicates in Tuparían languages exhibit distinct negative suffixes. For instance, Akuntsú, Makurap employ *-(er)om* (Aragon 2014, Braga 2005, Alves 2004, Singerman 2018b, Nogueira 2019), while Tuparí verbs require nominalization to be marked by the negative suffix *-ɔom* (Singerman 2018). Sakurabiat expresses negation through *-(a)p(o)* and *-bõ*, and Wayoro uses *-ap* and *-(r)om* (Galucio 2001, Nogueira 2019). The Tuparían negative morpheme *=(er)om* and its variants are found outside of the languages of the family that are most closely related to Tuparí. Aweti-Tupí-Guaraní (Vieira 2007; Rodrigues and Cabral 2012; Dietrich 2017) has a reflex of *=(er)om*, where **-eɔim* was reconstructed for Proto-Tupí-Guaraní, a morpheme typical of nonverbal predicates (Corrêa-da-Silva 2010; Dietrich 2017). Corrêa-da-Silva (2010) suggests that this morpheme already existed at an earlier stage before the separation of the eastern branch of Tupían, and reconstructs the negative suffix *** -eɔim* for Proto-Tupían. From this point of view, this study investigates whether the reflexes of the Proto-Tuparían negative suffix *-(er)om* originated from an **-eɔim* marker (Singerman 2018a), which subsequently acquired a broader function within the Tuparían branch. Notably, in some languages, such as Akuntsú, the reflexes are still seen in the type of variant placed in nonverbal, *=(e)rom* (1-2), and in verbal clauses, *=(r)om* (3-4).

1. *i=t-et=erom*.

3=R-name=NEG

‘(He/she) doesn't have a name.’ (Aragon 2014, p.77)

2. *jẽ kem+ki=rom*.

DEM breast+liquid=NEG

‘This one doesn't have breast-milk.’ (Aragon 2014, p.142)

3. [...] *nom i=at=om*.

no 3=get=NEG

‘[...] (You) don't get it.’ (Aragon 2014, p.233)

4. *nom et=om*.

no sleep=NEG

‘She doesn't sleep.’ (Aragon 2014, p.298)

Moreover, understanding the distribution of negation in the Tuparían branch may be facilitated by examining the 'thematic vowel' *-a*, an inflectional suffix with a vague meaning and function, triggered by the presence of TAM markers on the verb. Among the Tuparian languages, Makurap stands out as the only language allowing the co-occurrence of the bound negative morpheme and the thematic vowel in verbal constructions, whereas other languages do not exhibit this feature. This paper argues that the behaviour of the negative morpheme with the thematic vowel might be an indication of the morpheme *-(er)om* in Tuparían languages being, historically, a morpheme exclusively of nonverbal

predicates. Additionally, the work suggests that Makurap introduced an innovation by allowing the negative suffix to attach to the thematic vowel.

Key-words: Negation; Diachronic; Akuntsú; Tuparían languages; Amazonian languages.

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Null nouns in definites and the structure of pronouns

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Keywords: pronouns, definites, ellipsis, empty nouns, anaphora

Indefinite DPs have systematic “noun-less” variants (e.g. *some* [_{NP}∅]), which often rely on the recovery of an NP-property from the context (“N(P)-ellipsis” or “N(ominal)-anaphora”). We mark null nouns which have a linguistic antecedent as [_N∅]_{anaph}, and those that do not as [_N∅]_{non-anaph}. This systematicity leads to the expectation that the definite article (THE) should also occur in “noun-less” DPs. In the case of THE, however, an unexpected difference appears between: (a) DPs where D’s complement contains an overt constituent (e.g. *the* [*second* [_N∅]]) – ‘partial emptiness’ – and (b) DPs where it doesn’t – ‘total emptiness’.

In many languages, THE only occurs with partial emptiness (sometimes via special strong forms). For total emptiness, a widespread view is that the combination THE+[_{NP}∅] is spelled-out as 3rd person pronouns (Postal 1969, Panagiotidis 2002, Elbourne 2005, Patel-Grosz & Grosz 2017). The presence of an anaphoric null N in some personal pronouns is supported by (i) the use of grammatical gender on pronouns (reflecting a formal feature of the missing N) and (ii) by cases where the only anaphoric connection between a pronoun and its antecedent is N-anaphora (‘paycheck’ or ‘neontological’ pronouns’, see Elbourne 2005). However, the identification of THE+[_{NP}∅] with 3rd person pronouns faces some issues: (a) differences in *semantic* features between pronouns and THE (see gender in English); (b) the existence of several series of pronominal forms (null, clitic/weak, strong) that are sometimes distinguished in terms of different degrees of accessibility/salience of the antecedent, (c) different behaviors with respect to binding.

We propose that pronouns do contain an N-component and a determiner similar to THE (*iota* with a situation argument +/- an index argument, see Schwarz 2009), but that this D_{pron} is featurally distinct from THE, because, as a D used with total emptiness, it must bear formal features necessary for licensing an empty complement. With total ellipsis, D_{pron} bears the [E] feature that licenses ellipsis (Merchant 2001, Saab 2019); in partial ellipsis, the [E] feature is on a lower head (n or Num). This is supported by data showing that Num is inside the elided constituent in pronouns (neontological pronouns preserve the number of their antecedent).

The null N can also be interpreted non-anaphorically ([_N∅]_{non-anaph}). Showing that its distribution and interpretation are constrained, we conclude that [_N∅]_{non-anaph} needs licensing as well. We propose that null nominal constituents are licensed by being the complement of a head carrying [+∅]. In the configuration [THE [_N∅]_{non-anaph} XP_{overt}], [+∅] is on a lower head (Num or n). In pronouns with a non-N-anaphoric interpretation, [+∅] is on D.

This proposal allows us to address a previously unnoticed gap in the possible interpretations of pronouns. Using THE_{idx} for pronouns with a referential antecedent (cf. Jenks & Konate 2022 for the Idx feature), 4 interpretive possibilities are predicted: (i) THE_{idx} [_N∅]_{anaph}; (ii) THE_{idx} [_N∅]_{non-anaph}; (iii) THE [_N∅]_{anaph}; (iv) THE [_N∅]_{non-anaph}. (iv) is not attested. We explain this as a lexical gap: there is no D_{pron} [+∅] but lacking [idx].

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Middle and Early Modern Welsh translations: A case study in subject pronouns

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Keywords: Subject pronouns, null subjects, translation, Early Modern Welsh, verbal morphology

Translations have played a particular role in the formation of the Welsh literary language and in Welsh philology. In the medieval and Early Modern period, translations form the majority of Welsh prose texts, but the attitude towards them in Welsh philology has not always been a positive one. Thus, an opinion on a collection of translated religious texts found in Oxford, Jesus College MS 119, was that ‘these texts cannot be regarded as models of Welsh prose, and are infinitely inferior in style to that of original compositions like the *Mabinogion*’ (Jones 1937: 69). It is widely believed that the Bible translation of the sixteenth century saved the Welsh language and set the standard for literary Modern Welsh – but again, the texts following these models are criticised as not natural.

This paper has a double focus. First, we want to present two sets of translated texts, the aforementioned religious texts from Oxford Jesus College ms. 119 and a sample of texts translated into Welsh from Latin and English in the long sixteenth century, which are part of PARSHCWL, the Parsed Historical Corpus of the Welsh language (Meelen & Willis 2021, 2022) – and discuss their significance for the history of Welsh.

Secondly, we use this data to elucidate the use of null vs. overt subject pronouns in Middle and Early Modern Welsh. Subject pronouns are interesting from a crosslinguistic perspective. While languages like Latin, Greek and Biblical Hebrew could rely exclusively on rich inflectional verbal morphology to express the subject, other languages like Modern Colloquial French and Welsh need overt pronominal forms to convey the same information (Taraldsen 1980). From a diachronic point of view, the loss of rich verbal suffixes is often accompanied by the loss of null subjects: when person–number agreement is no longer overt in verbal morphology, subject pronouns are necessary to express this information. Changes in the history of Germanic or from Latin to Modern French are good examples of this, but these trends are not always so straightforward (Roberts 1993 on French). Furthermore, pronouns come in phonologically stronger and weaker forms, cf. Cardinaletti & Starke’s (1999) three-way opposition between strong, weak and clitic pronouns, differentiated on the basis of semantically-based, referential oppositions.

Welsh presents an excellent case-study in this regard, since Middle Welsh had a rich paradigm of pronominal forms, with not only two series of strong pronouns, but also weak, cliticised and null options, alongside rich verbal agreement morphology (Willis 2007, Meelen 2016). Strong pronouns started to weaken at the end of the medieval period (Willis 1998), alongside changes in both syntax and information structure that interact with the use of (overt) subject pronouns, but many questions remain.

To shed further light on this, we will compare the use of subject pronouns in the sixteenth-century Welsh Bible translations with Middle and Early Modern Welsh religious prose from the corpus presented in the first part of our paper set against the known base-line of contemporary non-translated Welsh.

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Middle voice and mirativity in Mexican Spanish

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It has been suggested that so called reflexive markers in Spanish (*me, te, se, nos, os*) are actually middle markers that designate events remaining in the subject's dominion (Maldonado 1999). Instead of having the split-representation of the subject as two interacting entities, as it pertains to reflexives (*me entiendo a mi mismo* 'I understand myself'), middles profile simple events in which the action does not leave the subject's sphere of action (*me fastidié de trabajar* 'I got fed up of working', *me quedé dormido* 'I fell asleep'). Consequently, middle marked events are radically compressed. The mental scanning of the event is reduced to the actual moment of change leading to *energetic construals* (Langacker 2000), mostly inceptive or inchoative, where actions emerge in a fast and abrupt manner. It has also been suggested that the middle marker *se* has specialized as a counter-expectations marker (Maldonado 1988, 1993, 1999; Torres Cacoullos & Schwenter 2008; De la Mora 2011). This is particularly the case for intransitive verbs of motion and change. The unmarked form designates natural predictable events (absolutes), as in (1), while the middle-marked event runs against normal expectations (energetic). This takes place in physical realms (2) and extends to figurative abstract representations (3):

1. El agua cae de las nubes en forma de lluvia nieve o granizo
'Water falls from the clouds as rain, snow or hail'
2. ¿Qué hacer cuando tu bebé *se cae* de la cama?
'What to do when your baby falls out of bed?'
3. *Se cayó* el sistema BBVA hoy
'The BBVA system crashed today'

In this paper we propose that, as a predictable consequence of event compression, middle markers have developed mirative values in collocation with a wide variety of verbs having negative implicatures (motion, psych change-of-state, consumption). While middle *se* is not a fully grammaticalized mirative marker (Aikhenvald 2012, and DeLancey 1997), it provides the conceptual basis for mirative construals. In trends with a usage base model, this paper focuses on oral data. It compares the use of middle miratives in three corpora representing different levels of formality: The CREA-Mex corpus representing mostly Mexican parliamentary discourse (Real Academia Española), The Corpus sociolingüístico de la Ciudad de México (Lastra and Martín Butragueño 2011) containing semi-guided informal interviews which provides a considerable degree of informal use of language and the AMERESCO-Ciudad de México (Maldonado 2021) with totally spontaneous samples of language use in informal dialog. Besides attempting to paint the semantic basis for mirativity in middle constructions, we will also identify the interactional circumstances determining the emergence of mirative construals in current Mexican Spanish.

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Requests, thanking and politeness in Old French: *vostre merci, multes merciz, merci!*

Keywords: Old French, politeness markers, thanking, historical pragmatics, speech acts.

The study focuses on the politeness markers of request or thanking based on the noun *la merci* in Old French. It also deals with the linguistic realisation of thanking. Our corpus comes from the Base du Français Médiéval. Thanking and requests are speech acts that reveal the social rituals of a hierarchical society, as is the case with medieval society. There are no pragmatic studies on *la merci* and thanking in Old French. There is Denoyelle (2018) for Middle French and Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2011; 2012) from Classical to Contemporary French. Our study is also based on studies on historical politeness (see Culpeper 2011).

In Old French, the noun *la merci* presents four different uses:

1. In the act of request *Merci!* or *Aiez merci!*, and in *crier merci*, *merci* is used to ask for compassion. It is by far the most frequent use.
2. *Merci*, *vostre merci*, *les voz granz merciz* can have an act of request in their scope. They develop a meaning “it is a grace that I ask from you”, that is “please, I pray you”. They are often coincident with a verb in the imperative mood:

(1) *Vostre merci*, mun cheval me rendez. (Guillaume p. 79, v. 1910)

(*Vostre merci*, give me my horse back)

Very frequently, *merci* or *vostre merci* mean “listen to me, I pray you”. They are followed by a number of arguments intended to convince somebody to do something. *Merci* is also a softener used when asking for forgiveness or when contradicting the hearer.

3. *Merci* means “grace” in *Dieu merci*, *la Dieu merci*, *soluc la merci Deu*, “by the grace of God”.

4. *Merci* performs an act of thanking in *Multes merciz!* or *Multes merciz de Dé!* These are originally formulae expressing a wish “may God bestow many favours on you”. Also *vostre merci*, *tue merci* mean “may you be thanked for that”.

These different uses are closely linked. The meaning of *merci* is always the same in Old French. It is interpreted in different ways depending on the context. When saying *Aiez merci!*, the speaker appeals to the *merci*, the favour, of a superior being. *Dieu merci* means “I acknowledge that this is a *merci* from God to me”. *Vostre merci* is addressed to the hearer and must be understood as “I acknowledge that this is a *merci* from you to me”. It is interpreted as a thanking formula.

Thanking may adopt different structures in a dialogue:

1. Verbal performative formulae: with the verb *mercier* or expressions like *rendre merciz*: *ce fait a mercier*; *toi doi ge mercier*, etc
2. Nominal sentences like: 2a) *Multes merciz!* ou *Multes merciz de Dé!*; *granz merciz*; .*V.C. merciz*, or 2b) *vostre merci*, *tue merci*, *c'est la vostre merci*.
3. Wishing formulae with a verb in the subjunctive mood: *granz merciz en aiez*, .*C. merciz en aiez!*

The structures based on the noun *la merci* highlight social speaking habits. They are part of the social rituals that facilitate the interaction between individuals.

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Typological variation in Italiot Greek: Manner features in the coda

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Keywords: Manner of Articulation, coda, Italiot Greek, typology, Property Theory

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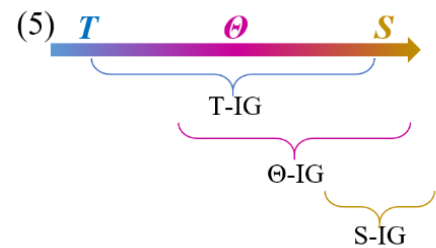
One of the characteristics that distinguishes contemporary versions of IG from older stages is the elimination of certain manner features in the coda (henceforth the reference to the coda position is omitted). The common ancestor of all IG varieties (here *Pre-IG* for simplicity) permitted a wide range of segments in terms of manner of articulation: plosives, ([−cont(inuant)] segments, henceforth *T*), non-sibilant fricatives ([−str(ident), +cont], henceforth *θ*), sibilants ([+str, +cont]), and sonorants ([+son(orant)]; henceforth, sibilants and sonorants are collectively referred to as *S*) (1). The dawn of IG (here *EarlyIG*) was arguably marked by the conversion of all *T* to *θ* (2a). This is retained to date in generally conservative varieties, e.g. Martano and Roghudi (2b–c). However, varieties such as Bova and Zollino proceeded to avoid all [−str] or [−son] (henceforth *nonS*) by shifting *nonS* to *S* (3a–b). Etymological *S* was preserved intact in all diachronic stages and geographical varieties of IG, e.g. *ás.pro* ‘white’, *kar.pó(s)* ‘fruit’ (data from Rohlfs 1950 and own fieldwork; other changes are to be ignored).

(1)	a.	ok.tó ‘eight’	ex.θés ‘yesterday’	<i>Pre-IG</i>
(2)	a.	ox.tó	ex.té	<i>EarlyIG</i>
	b.	of.tó	ef.té	<i>Martano</i>
	c.	oθ.tó	eθ.té	<i>Roghudi</i>
(3)	a.	os.tó	es.té	<i>Bova</i>
	b.	or.tó	er.té	<i>Zollino</i>

Table (4) summarizes the admissible manner features in the above historical and geographical varieties of IG, dubbed *T-IG*, *θ-IG*, and *S-IG*:

(4)	<i>T</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>S</i>	
T-IG: Pre-IG	✓	✓	✓	<i>no change</i>
θ-IG: EarlyIG, Martano, Roghudi		✓	✓	$T \rightarrow \theta$
S-IG: Bova, Zollino			✓	$T\&\theta \rightarrow S$

I argue that historical change led to grammars permitting less marked codas via the prohibition of manner features reflecting low sonority values (5). I propose a typological analysis within Property Theory (Alber & Prince 2015, in prep.) employing two m(arkedness).constraints and two f(aithfulness).constraints.



Simply put, m.T penalizes [T] and m.nonS penalizes both [T] and [Θ]. Moreover, f.T militates against the mapping of /T/ onto [Θ] or [S] and the mapping of /nonS/ onto [T], and, finally, f.nonS is violated when /nonS/ becomes [S] and vice versa. I identify three *properties* defining the system at hand, i.e. the ranking conditions which generate the factorial typology (8; M.dom is the dominant between the m.constraints):

(8)	PROPERTY_1	f.nonS < > m.nonS	all/not all nonS are realized as nonS
	PROPERTY_2	f.T < > m.T	faithfulness does/does not protect T
	PROPERTY_3	f.T < > M.dom	changes ignore/affect T

Table (9) illustrates the property values defining each grammar of the factorial typology. Mootness arises when neither value of a property is true of the grammar at hand.

(9)	PROPERTY_1	PROPERTY_2	PROPERTY_3
/T/ → [T] /Θ/ → [Θ]	f.nonS >> m.nonS	f.T >> m.T	<i>moot</i>
/T/ → [Θ] /Θ/ → [Θ]	f.nonS >> m.nonS	m.T >> f.T	M.dom >> f.T
/T/ → [T] /Θ/ → [S]	m.nonS >> f.nonS	f.T >> m.T	f.T >> M.dom
/T/ → [S] /Θ/ → [S]	m.nonS >> f.nonS	<i>moot</i>	M.dom >> f.T

(created with the aid of OTWorkplace, Prince et al. 2017)

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Finding Common Ground: Frames of Reference and Differential Place Marking in three Australian languages

The concept of a GROUND—the object/entity/place against which something is located—is foundational to the crosslinguistic classification of spatial semantics (Talmy 1983; Levinson 1996: 359) and informs the analysis of both topological relations and projective spatial frames (i.e. ‘Frames of Reference’, or FoR). Much of the FoR literature has focussed on conceptually distinguishing frames and exploring their use across different languages. Much less attention has been paid to constraints on ground relations themselves. Recent research has determined that there is considerable variation in not only how grounds are formally expressed in languages, but also how specific spatial frames can place constraints on the overt expression of grounds (Hoffman 2019; Hoffmann, Palmer & Gaby 2022; Palmer et al. 2021; Wilkins 2006). Concurrently, a resurgence in typological studies exploring language-internal variation in the marking of spatial adjuncts has found that noun categorisation is a primary factor underlying spatial adjunct alternations (Cablitz 2006; Rybka 2015) now referred to as ‘differential place marking’ (DPM; Haspelmath 2019). In this paper, we draw together these two important research threads by exploring and accounting for variability in ground marking (in spatial frames) in three Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia: Kukatja (Western Desert), Arrernte (Arandic) and Wik Mungkan (Paman) – on the basis of existing descriptions (Arrernte) and our own fieldwork (Kukatja, Wik Mungkan).

In these three languages, we find considerable diversity in the expression of ground relations. First, we find familiar evidence that variation in marking of ground arguments can be hierarchically motivated by the properties of the noun itself. For example, ‘unexpected’ animate grounds may be marked with separate formal marking (e.g. case or pronominal enclitics) while certain ‘expected’ nominals (e.g. placenames) may receive no marking at all. In other contexts, differences in ground marking align with conceptual distinctions established in FoR typologies. In Arrernte, for instance, nominal expressions instantiating grounds in projective relations must be ablative case marked (1) while those instantiating grounds in non-disjunctive (i.e. topological) relations appear unmarked in a part-whole relationship with the spatial relation (2) (Wilkins 2006: 33–34).

- (1) *Alkngethe-Ø* (*ampe-rle.e-me*) *tipwele-ngeakertne-le.*
light-NOM burn-CONT-npp **table**-ABL up/top/above-LOC

‘The light is burning above the table.’ (Arrernte: Wilkins 2006: 33)

- (2) *Panikane-Ø* *tipwele* *akertne-le* (*ane-me*)
cup-NOM **table** up/top/above-LOC sit-npp

‘The cup is on top of the table. (i.e. ‘the cup is sitting at the table’s top.’) (Arrernte: Wilkins 2006: 33)

Finally, we also find variation in ground marking of a different kind—conditioned not just by the nominal denoting the ground but by the spatial predicate itself. In Kukatja, ground arguments are typically locative case-marked with most spatial predicates, but the subclass of cardinal terms generally prohibits overt ground marking entirely. Findings from our survey not only contribute a more nuanced understanding of crosslinguistic constraints on FoRs in the world’s languages but also directly support a view of DPM as being conditioned not just by noun categorisation, but by a more complex suite of factors (Skilton & Obert 2022).

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Adjectival typology in four ancient Indo-European languages

Scholars usually agree that the part of speech (PoS) system of Proto-Indo-European (PIE) is similar to that in Latin, Greek, Sanskrit and Hittite and, in each case, it is based on three major classes: nouns, verbs and adjectives or [N, A, V] (implicitly, Nussbaum 2022). Still, adjectives show the same endings as nouns, comparative morphology is lacking in Hittite, Tocharian, Armenian and Albanian, and most PIE adjectives show the “recent” inflection in **-e/o-*. Thus, many scholars argued that the adjective is a recent category in PIE (Wackernagel 2009: 466, Lehmann 1974: 208, Comrie 1997: 101). Still, this idea was further developed into two opposite directions: some scholars claimed that quality concepts are merged with nouns and PIE is a language with “noun-like adjectives” or a language of type [(NA) V] (Balles 2006, 2009); others claimed that quality concepts are merged with verbs and PIE is a language with “verb-like adjectives” or a language of type [N (AV)] (Alfieri 2016, 2021; Bozzzone 2016). The talk aims to demonstrate that the latter view is preferable, if a functional-typological definition of the adjective is accepted.

As a result, Croft’s definition of the “adjective” as the most typical Quality Modifier construction that is found across languages is accepted as the starting point of the research, and this definition is applied to four IE languages, namely Rig-Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, Classical Latin and Hittite. A sample of texts is gathered for each language – 51 hymns of the *Rig-Veda*, book I of Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Sallust’s *De coniuratione Catilinae*, and an anthology of Hittite texts –, all the Quality Modifiers in each sample are collected (800-1000 in each case) and their internal structure is analysed (the data on Sanskrit and Greek come from Alfieri 2021, Alfieri & Gasbarra 2021, while those on Latin and Hittite have never been discussed before).

The results are the following. Basically, the same six construction types code the “adjective” in each IE language (RV Sanskrit is used for exemplification): 1) the simple adjective or [adjective]-Agr (Skt. *kṛṣṇá-* ‘black’); 2) the deverbal adjective or [verb-ADJ]-Agr (Skt. *tap-ú-* ‘hot’, *mah-ánt-* ‘big’ < *tap-* ‘become/make hot’, *mah-* ‘be/make big’); 3) the denominative adjective or [noun-ADJ]-Agr (Skt. *pitr-íya-* ‘paternal’ < *pítár-* ‘father’); 4) the prepositional adjective or [preposition-ADJ]-Agr (Skt. *paramá-* ‘most distant’ < *pārā-* ‘away’); 5) the prefixed adjective that is, a nominal stem attached to a prefix or PRE-[...]-Agr (Skt. *su-vīra-* ‘having good heroes’ < *vīra-* ‘hero’); 6) the compound adjective or [...]_N-[...]N-Agr (Skt. *hīranya-pāñi-* ‘golden-palmed’). Still, the frequency of each construction type is far different from a language to another:

	RV Skt.	Hom. Gk.	Hittite	Latin
[adjective]-Agr	7.6%	48.1%	65.7%	80.4%
[verb-NM]-Agr	45.9%	12.9%	25.7%	6.0%
[noun-ADJ]-Agr	10.4%	10.5%	0.8%	6.5%
[preposition]-Agr	2.1%	0.3%	7.9%	0.5%
Pre-[...]-Agr	14.4%	12.1%	0%	6.5%
[...]N-[...]N-Agr	19.9%	15.6%	0%	0%

The table shows that the most frequent “adjective” is [adjective]-Agr in Latin, Homeric Greek and Hittite, which are *specialized* languages of type [N, A, V] in Hengeveld’s terms (1992), while it is [verb-NM]-Agr in RV Sanskrit, which is a *rigid* language with verb-like adjectives in Hengeveld’s terms and falls into type [N (AV)]. The easiest way for assessing such difference is to think that PIE was a language a language of type [N (AV)], in which quality concepts were coded “verbally” and the typical “adjective” was *[verb-NM]-Agr; this PoS system was still preserved in Sanskrit, but an independent change of type [N (AV)] → [N, A, V] came about in the prehistory of Greek, Latin and Hittite.

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Ukrainian President Zelenskyy's resistance discourse: An idea-turned-impression analysis

Ukrainian President Zelenskyy's 2022 international resistance discourse includes the speeches delivered to other countries' parliaments in search of international support to oppose the Russian aggression. The texts are organized according to a six-section model combining the speech acts of address, gratitude and request with the sections of resistance, Ukraine's unity with the country addressed and an appeal to similar events in the listeners' national history. The research question of the presentation concerns determining how the president's discourse forms an impression of resistance despite the absence of the corresponding noun. The material of the study is the addresses to the UK, Polish and German parliaments beginning with reference to an armed conflict by the constructions *13 days of war*, *16 days of war*, *three weeks of invasion / war* respectively.

The idea-turned-impression procedure rests on image schemas representing the interaction of human body with an environment (Johnson 1987). The meaning of the noun *war* and its synonyms is related to the COUNTERFORCE image schema representing head-on meetings of forces (Johnson 1987: 46) while resistance as exerting force in opposition (MWD 2022) is associated with the BLOCKAGE schema impersonating a barrier (Johnson 1987: 45). The application of the idea-turned-impression procedure reveals that the image schemas form the resistance effect differently due to the existing relations between Ukraine and the country addressed.

The speech in the UK parliament (Zelenskyy 2022a) begins with reference to war-COUNTERFORCE by the noun *struggle*, the verb *fire* with balance between source and target denoted by the Shakespearean prototypical "To be or not to be?" question. Meanwhile the impression of resistance-BLOCKAGE is constructed by a more numerous group of lexemes: the verb *fought off* and the units *protest*, *stop*, *unbreakable*, *save*, *defend* supported by reference to Winston Churchill's 1940 iconic speech evoking resistance-BLOCKAGE by the constructions *shall not give up*, *shall not lose*, *shall fight*, *shall defend*.

In the address to the Polish parliament (Zelenskyy 2022b) the formation of the resistance impression is preceded by constructing the concept of unity between Poles and Ukrainians. It constitutes a powerful source of resistance-BLOCKAGE denoted by the construction *90 million of us together* and the inclusive pronoun *we* while the vector is indicated by the verb *fight*, e.g. *We are fighting for such a bad time for Poland and the Baltic States to never come. We fight together. We have strength*.

The introduction to the address to the German parliament (Zelenskyy 2022c) refers to Russia as a COUNTERFORCE source by the constructions *full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine*, *Russia is bombing our cities*, *the occupiers killed 108 children* etc. The text body evokes BLOCKAGE which refers to an imaginary *wall* prevention the Germans' help and associated with the Berlin Wall while the text that follows urges the politicians to raise over it and ruin it.

To conclude, the creation of resistance effect begins with reference to war-COUNTERFORCE with an emphasis on its source or existing barriers. The resistance impression is evoked by reference to BLOCKAGE with an emphasis on its source powered by unity.

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Mirativity in the Realm of Stance

Establishing the concept of mirativity involves distinguishing it from related, or at least neighboring, stance categories, particularly modality and evidentiality, and then identifying the “essence” (Aikhenvald 2012) of the category itself. Mirative constructions are distinguishable from neighboring stance categories by both semantic and simple structural criteria, in particular the possibility of co-occurrence with these other categories (DeLancey 2012, Aikhenvald 2012). So we can establish objectively that the category exists, and is formally marked in some languages. Despite a few dissenting voices, this is no longer really an active debate. Calls for a “commonly accepted set of independently motivated diagnostics for testing mirativity that makes use of the best practices and first principles of semantic and pragmatic investigation” (Peterson 2017) presuppose that mirativity is indeed essential and distinct.

We have broadly defined and analyzed in essentially logical terms, with some but hardly complete success. A parallel definition of mirativity might be something like the marking of a sentence as presenting information requiring an update of the (speaker’s) world representation. Remaining questions have to do with the content of the category – if a language marks mirativity, what exactly is a speaker using that construction saying? (And why is this a category which speakers feel a need to express?) Aikhenvald (2012) and Peterson (2017) detail some of the various notions which we find connected with the broad category of “unexpected information”.

Obviously one approach is to compare grammatical mirative constructions to identify the “essence” of the category (Aikhenvald 2012). Another is to look at “pre-grammaticalized” constructions, like English (*It turns out (that) S*). These are by definition more lexical than some of our other comparanda, and thus carry additional meaning the relevance of which to “essential” mirativity must be determined. Is mirativity “expressing surprise”? Indexing an update of the speaker’s representation of the world, and/or of the addressee’s? All of these are real things, which may have formal expression in a language. Consider, for example, the following possible English replies to a statement “*See you at the meeting tomorrow!*”

- 1) *The meeting’s on Friday.* [I assume you know this, did you forget what day it is today?]
- 2) *Actually, the meeting’s on Friday.* [I see you didn’t know this, now you do]
- 3) *Turns out the meeting’s on Friday.* [as I only just found out myself]
- 4) *Oh - the meeting’s on Friday!.* [I just glanced at my e-mail as you were speaking, and guess what, we were both wrong]

Arguably *actually* (2) is not a “real” mirative construction, since it is lexical rather than grammatical, and its meaning is more than just that the statement represents new information. *Turns out* is closer to a typical mirative, but still has a strong sense that the unexpected information is specifically the outcome of a situation which the speaker (or others) explicitly expected to turn out some other way, as we see in a common use in headlines:

- 5) *Man Keeps Rock For Years, Hoping It's Gold. It Turns Out to Be Far More Valuable*
- 6) *Man Thought It Was an RV Show...Turns Out it Was Something Totally Different*

This likewise is not a necessary implication of a “real” mirative.

To identify the “essence” of mirativity, we can compare constructions like these, within or across languages.

Peripheral vs. non-peripheral optative particles

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Keywords: optative particles, peripheries, grammaticalization, morphosyntax, epistemicity.

In the literature, discourse particles have often been associated with the sentence peripheries. However, considering for instance optative particles, we observe that their distribution can vary among languages, since e.g. German (and the Germanic languages in general) often use middle-field particles (I-particles), while Italian and other languages also display left-peripheral particles (C-particles):

- (1) Hätte ich *nur* genug Geld!
(2) *Magari* avessi abbastanza soldi!
'If only I had enough money.'

By expanding on Grosz' (2011) analysis on optative constructions and their association with a scalar expressive operator EX, we argue that the grammaticalization process of optative C-particles is different from that of I-particles. While I-particles have grammaticalized from (lower) adverbial uses (see Coniglio 2022) – as in the case of It. *solo* or Germ. *doch* and *nur* —, C-particles, such as It. *magari* (and possibly *chissà che* lit. 'who knows that') or Sp. *quizás* (< *quicab[e]* 'who knows'; RAE 2014) were grammaticalized from sentential constructions with specific meanings like "(it) may be", "I wish", "who knows", etc. (cf. Grosz 2011). Thus, two different grammaticalization paths can be envisaged, one starting from below and one from outside the clause.

In addition, the distribution of these particles affects the interpretation: both It. *magari* and Basque *agian* (< ***agia* 'appearance'; Euskaltzaindia 2016) developed epistemic interpretations, but, when their interpretation is close to 'I wish', their position is typically on the left edge of the clause. Notice that the epistemic interpretation of *magari* is possible both in a lower and in a higher position, but the optative interpretation is clearly preferred in a higher position, as for Basque *agian*:

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|------------|--------|
| (3) a. | < <i>magari</i> ₁ > | avessi | <?? <i>magari</i> ₁ > | abbastanza | soldi! |
| | PART | I.had.SUBJ | PART | enough | money |
| | 'If only I had enough money.' | | | | |
| b. | < <i>magari</i> ₂ > | avevo | < <i>magari</i> ₂ > | abbastanza | soldi. |
| | PART | I.had.IND | PART | enough | money |
| | 'Maybe, I had enough money.' | | | | |

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|--|----------|---------|-------------------------------|------------|-----|
| (4) | < <i>agian</i> ₁ > | zu | negarrez | ekustek | < <i>agian</i> ₂ > | biginduko | du. |
| | PART | you | crying | see.ERG | PART | soften.FUT | AUX |
| | <i>agian</i> ₁ | 'I hope seeing you crying will soften her/him.' | | | | | |
| | <i>agian</i> ₂ | 'Seeing you crying will perhaps soften her/him.' | | | | | |

In our paper, we intend to shed light on the grammaticalization of optative particles and their distribution by linking their clause-typing function to other morphosyntactic properties of the clause (cf. Grosz 2011, and Houle & Martínez-Gómez 2011), such as the obligatory use of the subjunctive

mood in some languages, such as Italian (3a) and Spanish (but not in Basque, see (4)). The subjunctive mood is a necessary and sufficient condition for the licensing of C-particles in these languages. In contrast, the special mood marking seems not to be sufficient for the licensing of I-particles, such as German *nur*, *doch*, Italian *solo*, etc. In these cases, the additional fronting of the finite verb or the use of conditional complementizers (German *wenn*, Italian *se*, etc.) are assumed to activate the left periphery of the clause and, consequently, license those I-particles:

- (5) a. Avessi *solo* abbastanza soldi!
 I.had.SUBJ PART enough money
 b. Se *solo* avessi abbastanza soldi!
 if PART I.had.SUBJ enough money
 ‘If only I had enough money.’

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On binary tense systems

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Keywords: <tense, aspect, actionality, time reference, typology>

As is well known, (absolute) tense as a grammatical category serves to temporally locate situations with respect to the time of speaking. Given that situations can either precede, follow or coincide with the time of speaking, tense systems could be expected to make a straightforward distinction between past, present and future. Spanish (Romance) is an example of such a language:

- (1) *Yo cant-é / cant-o / cant-aré.*
1SG sing-PST.1SG sing-PRS.1SG sing-FUT.1SG
'I sang/am singing/will sing.'

While many languages do indeed make use of such a three-way division, there is also a significant number of tensed languages which divide the timeline in only two zones. In these languages, the present is grouped together with either the future or the past, resulting in a past/non-past or a future/non-future tense system, respectively. Warao (isolate, Venezuela) is an example of a binary tense system making a distinction between past and non-past (Romero-Figeroa 1997: 96 and 94, resp.):

- (2) *Warao isaka wiri-n-a-te.*
Warao one navigate-SG-PUNC-NPST
'A Warao is navigating.' or 'A Warao will navigate.'

- (3) *Tira isaka wab-a-e.*
woman one die-PUNC-PST
'A woman died.'

While the existence of binary and tertiary tense systems is taken for granted in most cross-linguistic works on tense, the distribution of these systems across languages and the factors governing this distribution have not been studied in much detail. The present paper investigates the phenomenon of binary tense systems from a typological perspective, using a genetically and geographically stratified sample of 180 languages (Miestamo 2005).

The first important observation is that tertiary tense systems are more frequent than binary ones (54% vs. 36% of the sample), as has already been observed by Velupillai (2016). Within binary systems, future/non-future systems are more frequent than past/non-past systems (28% vs. 8% of the sample). Possible reasons for these distributions, such as the closer connection between the past and the present as opposed to the future, will be discussed.

The second observation concerns the connection between tense system type and related semantic properties. Given that binary systems allow a given marker to refer to two different zones on the timeline, these systems might be expected to make more use of additional devices to avoid temporal ambiguity, such as grammatical aspect marking or actionality. This, however, does not seem to be the case: obligatory aspect marking is even more frequent in tertiary tense systems compared to binary

ones, and a systematic interaction between actionality and time reference can be found equally frequently in tertiary and binary systems. These results underscore the importance of non-grammatical cues such as non-linguistic context and adverbial specification for temporal reference. Finally, within the context of binary systems, the current study also looks into the existence of non-present systems, in which tense markers would display past/future ambiguity. While my sample does not feature such non-present tenses in the strict sense, it is worth noting that there are many unrelated languages using adverbs and particles with non-present semantics. Interestingly, these are mostly languages with tertiary tense systems.

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Peripheral significance: a neo-emergentist perspective on the grammaticalization of expletives

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Keywords: expletive/pleonastic elements, subjects, grammaticalization, Minimalist generative syntax, phases

English-style, specifically subject-oriented expletives are crosslinguistically unusual (Newmeyer 2005). What is striking, however, is the consistency of the diachronic pathway along which these elements have developed in the languages that have them: in all cases, phase-peripheral (Spec-CP and then Spec-vP) uses have become established prior to phase-internal (Spec-TP) ones (see Williams 2000 for English, and Richards & Biberauer 2005 for Germanic more generally). In languages with non-English-style nominal expletives (e.g. Icelandic, Dominican Spanish, Finnish, and Vietnamese), the locus of dedicated expletives remains exclusively phase-peripheral. The objective of this paper is (i) to propose a neo-emergentist generative account of this seemingly recurring grammaticalization pattern and (ii) to demonstrate how this approach leads to a new perspective on the nature of modern English varieties' various *there*- and *it*-expletives.

We take as our point of departure the Three-Factors-inspired Maximise Minimal Means (MMM) model (Biberauer 2019). In terms of this model, grammars are expected to develop, both diachronically and over the course of first-language acquisition, in such a way that elements and/or structure that is already incorporated in the grammar will serve as the basis for further modification and/or elaboration of that grammar. From this perspective, we can understand the “recycling” aspect of grammaticalization – in terms of which existing contentful elements take on new, more grammar-oriented properties – as one of the reflexes of the general cognitive bias to maximise the use of already-present formal components (e.g. features, roots) and operations (Merge and Agree). I adopt the perspective that roots rather than formal-feature-bearing lexical items are the elements typically assigned new Merge-positions in grammaticalization, and, additionally, the MMM-centred neo-emergentist assumptions (i-ii):

- (i) phasal peripheries systematically serve to facilitate a “way in” for the integration of new grammatical elements (roots) by virtue of the formal feature-free way in which Merge can operate at phase-edges, but not elsewhere (Zyman 2022; see also Bosch 2022 on ‘edge-of-chaos’ zones, facilitating creativity and innovation in Dynamic Systems);
- (ii) phase-peripherally merged roots are interpreted at LF as relating to the here-and-now and speaker-hearer (stance)-related aspects of the utterance, thus leading us to expect early grammaticalizations which reflect more of a “discourse”-oriented flavour (consider i.a. recurring patterns in cyclic developments, where optional-use stages have (inter)subjective pragmatic significance; Hansen 2020).

From this perspective, systems featuring the kinds of exclusively CP-peripheral, information-structurally sensitive expletive elements mentioned above are expected; English-style systems, in which expletives appear in Spec-TP in the absence of suitable alternative subjects only arise where one or more dedicated subject positions (subsequently) arise, triggering a further cycle of grammaticalization (discourse expletivization > subject expletivization). Additionally, specific closer consideration of English points to the role of a further phase-periphery, at the nominal phase-edge, in establishing modern English's peculiar expletive system. Following Kayne (2008), I show how originally deictic *there*'s DP-peripheral location contributed to the rise of a subject-system with not one, but two dedicated subject-positions, as argued in Kiss (2008), each with a dedicated expletive, *there* vs *it* respectively.

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Resultative constructions with denominal/deadjectival verbs in ancient Greek and Latin: at the morphosyntax-semantics interface

This paper addresses the question of the principles underlying the distribution of resultative constructions (RCs) with denominal (DN) and deadjectival (DA) verbs in ancient Greek and Latin. While a great deal has been learnt on the typology and use of RCs in modern languages [10], [2], [3], [7], including Romance varieties [8], [9], English [4], [5] and Japanese [10], crucial questions on ancient Greek and Latin RCs remain unresolved. Only a few studies, in fact, investigated their use in Latin [1]; moreover, studies focusing on ancient Greek RCs are still lacking.

The present study tests the hypothesis that the distribution of RCs in ancient Greek and Latin is related to differences between distinct classes of DN and DA verbs. The analysis focuses on RCs in which the secondary predicate may correspond to either an adjectival (AP) or a determiner phrase (DP):

- a. *John hammered the metal* [AP flat].
- b. *John painted the barn* [DP a fiery red].

The ancient Greek corpus comprises literary texts from the 8th B.C. to the 4th century B.C.

The Latin corpus comprises literary texts from the 3rd B.C. to the 1st century A.C.

DN and DA verbs were collected and semantically classified, in relation to the following categories:

- a. Instrumental: φάρμακον, ὁ ‘poison’ → φαρμάσσω ‘to enchant by poison’; aries, -tis ‘ram’ → arietō ‘to strike with a ram’
- b. Agent: Βάκχος, ὁ ‘Bacchus’ → Βακχεύω ‘to behave like Bacchus’; ancilla ‘servant’ → ancillō ‘to serve’
- c. Locatum: ἔλαιον, τό ‘olive-oil’ → ἐλαιόω ‘to oil’; χαλινός, ὁ ‘horse bit’ → χαλινόω ‘to bridle’
- d. Locative: στρατόπεδον, τό ‘camp’ → στρατοπεδεύω ‘to encamp’
- e. Scope (i.e. change-of-state): κενός, ἡ, ὅν ‘empty’ → κενόω ‘to empty out’; artus, a, um ‘close’ → artio ‘to fit close’

RCs including verbs from each semantic class were analyzed, to verify the linking mechanisms of different verb classes with the distinction between strong and weak RCs [10], with either an AP or a DP as a secondary predicate.

Data analysis shows that agent, instrumental and locatum verbs, largely corresponding to manner verbs with no resulting state, mainly (or exclusively) occur in strong RCs; whereas locative and scope verbs that entail a specified endpoint, mainly (or exclusively) occur in weak RCs:

	DN/DA classes	predicate decomposition	actionality	lexicalized result	strong RC	weak RC
MANNER	instrumental	[x ACT<INSTRUMENT>]	activity	no	yes	no
	agent	[x ACT<MANNER>]	activity	no	yes	no
	locatum	[x CAUSE [<LOCATUM> BECOME AT <Z>]]	activity/accomplishment	no	yes	no
RESULT	scope	[[x ACT] CAUSE [y BECOME <RESULT-STATE>]]	accomplishment	yes	no	yes
	locative	[x CAUSE [y BECOME AT <LOCATION>]]	resultative	yes	no	yes

The results of this study, which are consistent with typological observations on the distinction between manner and result verbs [6], [3], provide new evidence on the principles underlying the distribution of strong and weak RCs in ancient Greek and Latin, and shed light on a morphosyntactic strategy for encoding resultative aspect in these ancient Indo-European languages that was not fully investigated in previous studies.

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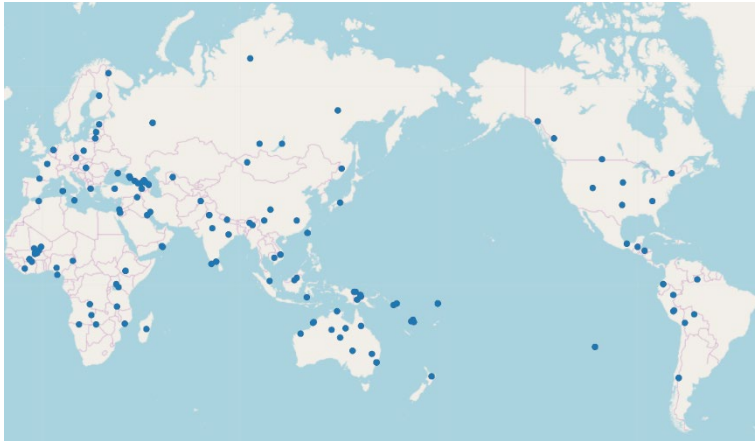
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Typology of partitives

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Keywords: partitives, pseudo-partitives, typology, aspect, negation

The present paper explores the way of encoding and functional extensions of partitives based on a convenience sample of 138 languages from 46 families covering all six macroareas (Figure 1). Partitives



are defined as expressions that may encode the proportional relation of a subset being part of its superset. First, it is demonstrated that, cross-linguistically, partitives take different shapes both in terms of syntactic structure and the morphology selected. As for the former, there is a cline from loose – possibly less grammaticalized – structures that do not require

Figure 1: Languages of the sample

adjacency and constituency between the quantifier and the restrictor NPs, to partitives with a rigid head-dependency relations and, finally, to partitives in which both the quantifier and the restrictor form one word. Furthermore, marked partitives involve markers that may be based on (i) the separative, (ii) the locative and (iii) the possessive metaphor between the quantifier and the restrictor.

These marking strategies are not evenly distributed across the globe: the separative strategy is shown to be strongly biased for Eurasia while Africa is biased for the locative strategy (Figure 2). In addition, there is the strategy that leaves the true-partitivity relation between the subset and the restrictor unmarked. While this strategy is found in all areas, there is a strong bias against this strategy in Eurasia.

Secondly, the paper explores the following functional extensions of partitives: simple quantification (pseudo-partitives), hypothetical



Figure 2: Areal distributions of the coding patterns of partitives

events, predicate negation and aspectuality. It is argued that partitives tend to co-express these functions obeying the following cline: *pseudo-partitivity* > *affinity to predicate negation / aspectual interpretation of the event*. That is, for a partitive to have one of the latter functions, it must be able to express simple quantification, i.e. to pattern as a pseudo-partitive (but not vice versa). Finally, it is shown that there is a bias towards homonymy between two semantically distinct concepts of true-partitivity and simple quantification which might reflect a natural preference for encoding these alike.

To fog or not to fog: syntactic analysis of ‘fog’-verbs in English and Russian and of their equivalents in French

Although more and more attention has been drawn lately to the linguistic analysis of weather expressions (*cf.* among others Eriksen *et al.* 2010, 2012, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2010, Levin & Krejci 2019), central phenomena, such as various precipitation events or temperature, continue to steal the limelight, leaving peripheral phenomena most often neglected. Our presentation will focus exclusively on one of these forsaken items, namely the fog, and its linguistic expression in English, French and Russian.

It has been previously argued that weather verbs are motion verbs (*cf.* Langacker 1991, Talmy 2000). In this presentation we will tackle the question whether verbal forms referring to ‘fog’, *a priori* a static phenomenon, can still be analyzed as motion verbs and to what extent their use corresponds to typological difference between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages. While French and English possess a whole range of impersonal weather verbs, Russian is rather known to encode weather phenomena through a weather noun due to the almost complete lack of impersonal weather verbs. As far as ‘fog’-phenomenon is concerned, French encodes it through impersonal constructions *il y a* ‘there is’ and *il fait* (lit. it makes), not through a verbal form, while English and, unexpectedly, Russian do possess corresponding verbs. The impersonal form of the ‘fog’-verb in the latter languages, although quite rare, is used to denote a weather phenomenon, as illustrated in (1a-b), while the personal form is mostly used in the metaphorical sense, as illustrated in (2a-b), both languages showing similar collocation preferences for the semantic domain of the direct object.

1. a. *Yesterday it was fogging.* (CoCA)
b. *Fevral'skij den' byl seryj, ne ital'janskij: tuman-i-l-o nad zalivom [...].* (RNC)
February day was gray, not Italian: fog-IMPRF-PST-IMPRS above bay
‘The day of February was gray, not Italian: there was fog above the bay [...].’
2. a. *They tug at the heart and fog the mind.* (CoCA)
b. *Vino tuman-i-lo emu golovu i razžigalo krov'.* (RNC)
wine.SG.N fog-IMPRF-PST-3SG.N head and kindle-IMPRF-PST-3SG.N blood
‘The wine was fogging his brain and kindling his blood.’

On the basis of various corpora (CoCA for English, *Frantext* for French and *Russian National Corpus* (RNC) for Russian), we analyze the syntactic behavior of English and Russian ‘fog’-verbs, both in their atmospheric and metaphorical uses, as well as different strategies available in French to make up for the absence of the corresponding verb. Although French opposes English and Russian in its quasi lack of ‘fog’-verbs, we will still question Talmy’s binary typology between verb-framed and satellite-framed languages when applied to the weather domain, considering that all three languages tend to incorporate MANNER directly in the weather verb root.

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Appellative onomatopes in the languages of the Iberian Peninsula

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Keywords: Onomatopoeia, Iconicity, Interjections, Phonosymbolism, Semiotics

In different languages we find special words used to call, drive, urge, stop, make go back, divert or scare away animals in rural areas. For example, in English, *whoa!*, *ho!* are used to stop horses, in Spanish *¡sooo!* is used in the same way. In English, *gee!* is used as a command to a horse or other draft animal directing it to turn right and *gee up!* is an expression of command to a horse or other draft animal directing it to go faster; in Spanish the corresponding word is *¡arre!*. Some of these words are based on onomatopoeias and present sound symbolism. I will call them *Appellative onomatopes* (AOs). In the relevant literature, little attention has been paid to this type of onomatopoeic words, usually seen as interjections (Meinard 2015: 153-154). They are called *huchements* in French (Enckell & Rézeau 2003: 14, Dor 2003, Ferret 2013) and *domestic animal calling* (Bynon 1976), *animal-oriented interjections* (Smith 2012), *directives to domestic animals* (Amha 2013) or *conative calls to animals* (Andrason & Karani 2021).

In this paper, I will look into the sound symbolic aspects of AOs in the Iberian languages. Here are some examples of calling AOs:

- To call pigs: Dialectal Spanish *kier*, *kirr*, *corr*, *cur*, *curr*, *gurri*, *guto*, *coch*; Navarrese Spanish *cush*; Galician *cuch*; Catalan *cutx*; Portuguese *reco*, *quia*, *chua*, *bicá*, *bico*; Basque *txiki*, *txuku*, *ttipri*.
- To call hens: Spanish *pita*; Catalan *titi*; Basque *tita*, *irra*; Portuguese *chi*, *chi-chu*, *chari*

The above onomatopes are usually reduplicated and can be subjected to a sound symbolic analysis. For example, the rhotic trill (*rr*) appears frequently in Calling AOs related to pigs. It can be associated to an imitation of pig grunting but, at the same time, the trill sound, with its multiple vibrations is used to call the animal's attention and to induce movement; this can also be seen in the Spanish *arre* AO to urge horses. Therefore, this phoneme seems to have both an onomatopoeic and a sound symbolic significance. The Calling AOs related to hens present a high vowel, frequently the vowel /i/, normally associated with high pitched sounds made by small animals.

In the Iberian languages, there are also scaring or driving away AOs, stopping AOs, making go back AOs and diverting AOs that differ depending of the animals addressed to (goats, pigs, hens, cats, sheep, ducks, turkeys, pigs and cows) and some of them have an onomatopoeic nature. In this paper I will discuss in a systematic way the sound symbolic aspects of AOs in the Iberian languages and I will propose some generalizations that could be useful to study AOs in other languages and language families.

The data on the Iberian languages will be taken from several onomatopoeic dictionaries: García de Diego (1968), Kloe (1977), Riera & Sanjaume (2011), Ibarretxe-Antuñano (2006), and Santisteban (2007).

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Grammaticalization as conventionalization of discursively secondary status: Isolating what is unique to grammaticalization, and deconstructing the lexical-grammatical continuum

While there is wide agreement about approximately what grammaticalization is, a more profound understanding faces two major challenges. One is that the presupposed distinction between grammatical and lexical is itself hard to get a grip on (e.g. Boye & Harder 2012: 1-6). The other challenge is that even with a theoretically anchored and well-defined distinction between grammatical and lexical, it is not clear that grammaticalization is a distinct type of language change rather than an epiphenomenon (e.g. Campbell 2001: 151; see also Section 4).

Boye & Harder (2012) offered a solution to the first challenge, arguing for an understanding of grammatical elements as defined by conventionalized discursively secondary status (roughly, attentional background status). However, they circumvented the second challenge. Rather than attempting to define grammaticalization as a diachronic phenomenon, they defined it in terms of its result, namely as “the diachronic change that gives rise to linguistic expressions that are by convention ancillary and as such discursively secondary” (Boye & Harder 2012: 22). This definition is problematic as it includes all changes under grammaticalization as long as the output is a grammatical (i.e. secondary by convention) element.

This paper has two aims: Firstly, it proposes a definition of grammaticalization which is still based on the understanding of grammatical elements in Boye & Harder (2012), but which targets the nature of grammaticalization as a diachronic phenomenon: Grammaticalization is the conventionalization of discursively secondary status.

Secondly, it discusses important implications of the proposed definition: 1) Grammaticalization basically applies to meaning. What is conventionalized as discursively secondary is basically a meaning; a sign is only ‘discursively secondary by convention’ by virtue of its meaning. 2) grammaticalization is a special case of a well-known type of change, viz. conventionalization. 3) Grammaticalization covers a restricted range of phenomena. For instance, changes like phonological reduction and semantic bleaching that are often associated with grammaticalization are external to grammaticalization. 4) Grammaticalization is not a type of overall development like, for instance *go* > *gonna*, but a small and well-defined part of such larger changes. 5) Grammaticalization is a gradual process to the extent that conventionalization is a gradual process. However, 6) the lexical-grammatical continuum must be deconstructed into other continua, including the conventionalization continuum, a splitting continuum (e.g. Heine & Reh 1984: 57), and a discourse prominence continuum. 7) Degrammaticalization (understood as a process in which grammatical elements give rise to lexical ones) is infrequent because it requires attention to discursively secondary (i.e. attentionally backgrounded) elements.

The paper is theoretical in intent, but invokes both standard examples of grammaticalization (e.g. the grammaticalization of future tense auxiliaries) and non-standard examples (e.g. what Jespersen 1922 called ‘secretion’) to illustrate its points.

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Allocutive at the crossroads: What does it mean after all?

The category of allocutive was first described and got its name in the context of Basque (Bonaparte 1862). It had not been given attention on a cross-linguistic level until a series of papers by Antonov (2013; 2015) appeared. In the latter paper, the allocutive is typologically defined as “the linguistic encoding (in certain sociopragmatic and syntactic circumstances) of a non-argumental addressee in some or all main clause predicates” (Antonov 2015: 55). Since Antonov’s work, a number of language-particular studies of allocutives from various theoretical standpoints have appeared such as Haddican (2019) or McFadden (2019). A prototypical allocutive is illustrated by Basque examples in which the gender of the addressee is overtly expressed by the speaker:

- a. *Bilbo-ra* *n-oa-k*
Bilbao-ALL 1.SG-go-ALLOC:M
‘I am going to Bilbao.’ [male addressee]
- b. *Bilbo-ra* *n-oa-n*
Bilbao-ALL 1.SG-go-ALLOC:F
‘I am going to Bilbao.’ [female addressee] (Antonov 2015: 57)

Subsequently in his paper, Antonov narrows down his definition and only includes bound verbal marking.

Here, I build on Antonov’s observations but reassess his conclusions and present an updated and theoretically contextualized analysis of the allocutive. I argue that the core question about the allocutive is its actual function. Indeed, why would one need to overtly mark the presence of a non-argument addressee? In this light, I focus on the part of Antonov’s definition which is not discussed in his own work, namely, the “sociopragmatic and syntactic conditions of the use of allocutive.” The research question is thus reformulated as: What are the conditions of use of allocutive forms in interaction language-particularly and cross-linguistically?

I then present a preliminary study of the use of allocutive forms in dialogical speech in a number of languages – Modern Greek (*re*), Bulgarian (*be*), Turkish (*ya*), and 19th century Russian (*-s*). All these languages have not previously been described as languages with allocutives but I argue that Antonov’s definition is too narrow and a larger scale of phenomena should be taken into account if one wants to properly answer the question formulated above. Building on data from spoken language corpora and dialogical speech transcripts (for Modern Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish) and fiction dialogues (in 19th century Russian), I argue that the core function of the allocutive is the expression of distributed agency, e.g. Enfield & Kockelman (2017), Etelämäki et al (2021). This conclusion makes one reflect on the adequacy of the traditional notion of argument in general linguistics.

In the conclusion, I argue that the allocutive is a category which can only be properly understood if one abandons the traditional structuralist view of language as a fixed shared thought code. In fact, the conclusions of the present study speak in favor of the non-individualistic and non-representationalist views of linguistic interaction represented in a number of diverse but mutually compatible approaches such as emergent grammar (Hopper 1987), interactional linguistics (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2017), dialogism (Linell 2009), practice theory (Hanks 1996), and enactivism (Di Paolo, Cuffari & De Jaegher 2018).

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Which periphrasis? Some considerations on the progressive in Ladin and Swiss Romansh

This study aims to shed light on the origin of Ladin and Swiss Romansh progressive periphrastic constructions. Unlike other Romance varieties exhibiting a stative verb + gerund progressive periphrasis (e.g. Ita. *Sto mangiando una mela* ‘I am eating an apple’), Ladin and Romansh both display grammaticalized constructions using an aspectual marker, as in (1) and (2).

(1) *Son (dò) che chante.*

be.1SG behind that sing.1SG

‘I am singing’ lit. ‘I am behind that I sing’

(Ladin; Gsell 2008)

(2) *Jeu erel vid mirar televisium cu che jeu hai udiu ina ramur.*

I be.IPFV.1SG ASP watch.INF television when that I AUX hear.PP a noise

‘I was watching TV, when I heard a noise’

(Romansh)

Both examples at first sight seem to be structurally equivalent representations of the regional Italian *son qui che canto* lit. ‘I am here that I sing’ in (1) and of the German *Ich war am fernsehen, als ich ein verdächtiges Geräusch hörte* ‘I was watching TV when I heard a suspicious noise’ in (2). Maraffino (2021) claims that such constructions are contact-induced by providing evidence of the diatopic variation in the expression of progressive across the Alpine area. Indeed, we find further structural affinities in progressive constructions, such as *gist* + finite structure in Romansh, for instance *Jeu ves, ti legias gist Italo Calvino, mes autur preferí* ‘I see you’re reading Italo Calvino, my favorite author’, with *gist* being an equivalent aspectual marker to the German *gerade*. The matching distribution between the Italian/German and the Ladin/Romansh constructions makes the idea of contact-induced structures plausible.

The present study aims to bridge the gap between the state-of-the-art and the empirical observations by providing a comparative diachronic investigation of the existing Romansh and Germanic data, which compensate the lack of Ladin written records attesting older stages of this variety.

Furthermore, the understanding of progressive patterns brings additional insight in a comprehensive examination of the development of Romance morphosyntactic features and in the discussion on the classification of Romance according to the central-centripetal status vs. the north-south continuum (Zamboni 2000, Ledgey 2012, but also Drinka 2017, 2020).

Keywords: progressive periphrasis, periphrastic constructions, Ladin, Swiss Romansh, Rhaeto-Romance

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Lies we don't say: Figurative language, commitment, and deniability

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Keywords: lies, commitment, implicatures, irony, deniability.

Most pragmatic approaches defend that among all the different ways in which we can deceive others, only when we say something that we believe is false do we lie. Here I will contend that this is a too narrow conception, and I will defend that insincere implicatures should also be considered lies. Particularly, I will refute two arguments that might seem to run in favor of the narrow view. To this end, I will compare lies and figurative language; irony, in particular.

Firstly, I will claim that a say-based definition is not needed to differentiate lies and figurative language. In fact, accepting that lies are said might seem a necessary condition if we want to differentiate lies and uses of figurative language: irony and metaphor are not lies (nor even deceptive) because the speaker does not *say* that which she believes to be false –and the liar does. But I will argue that we can distinguish lies and figurative language without appealing to this narrow view on lies. The key is to delve into the notion of saying, and, especially, to clarify why we consider that we don't *say* when we use figurative language. I will articulate my arguments using the basic ideas of Critical Pragmatics (Korta & Perry 2007, 2011, 2013) and Marsili's (2021) idea of commitment.

Secondly, I will argue that speakers are committed to their implicatures (Meibauer 2005, 2011); it is because the cancelability of implicatures has been misinterpreted that most theories take implicatures to be deniable and, therefore, free of the speaker's commitments. Analyzing figurative lies proves that speakers are committed to some of their implicatures as much as they are to what they say. I shall conclude that these cases should also be considered lies, and that a commitment-based approach can best account for them.

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Hypoanalysis as a distinct type of language change (and certain futures as paradigm cases)

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Keywords: hypoanalysis, future tense, present tense, subjunctives, Indo-European

According to Croft (2000: 126f.), ‘hypoanalysis’ consists in the reanalysis of “a contextual semantic/functional property as an inherent property of the syntactic unit”; by this reanalysis, a meaning (“property”) implied by (grammatical) contexts is “attributed to the syntactic unit, and so the syntactic unit in question gains a new meaning or function”. Among Croft’s examples are (i) the German umlaut (“hypoanalyzed” as plural marker), (ii) subjunctives and futures as reinterpretations of earlier present indicatives. The last case was discussed in Bybee et al. (1994:232-236), Haspelmath (1998a) and Reinöhl/Himmelman (2017: 406f.), without using the notion ‘hypoanalysis’. In general, hypoanalysis has remained a stepchild in diachronic studies, although the process described by Croft does not seem to be rare; in fact, the development of futures can be explained by hypoanalysis at least in some Indo-European languages (cf. McCone 1991, Rix 1998, Hackstein 2004, Hill 2004, de Melo 2007, Fries et al. 2023). Admittedly, one needs to slightly modify Croft’s above-cited definition in two respects. First, it should be expanded from syntactic units to categorial oppositions; hypoanalysis does not hinge on any source expressions in their syntagmatic surroundings, but applies to the interpretation of functional oppositions, however expressed. Second, instead of acquiring new meanings, a member of such an opposition simply undergoes narrowing of default interpretations. Paradigmatic contrasts are crucial and, presumably, binary contrasts particularly favor hypoanalysis. A paradigm example is the process whereby present tense of perfective stems in North Slavic shifted into future (pfv.) meaning as a (cancellable) default interpretation (Wiemer 2022: 64); future reference had been among possible interpretations already prior to this shift (in a system based on a simple \pm past distinction).

Our talk pursues two aims. First, we will present a stock-taking of futures in IE languages that arose via hypoanalysis and show that these cases differ from futures arisen via (“canonical”) grammaticalization (with discernible source etyma) not only in the involved steps of change, but sometimes in the functional range as well (e.g., for modal meanings). Moreover, it is non-indicative moods (‘subjunctives’), not present tenses, that prominently feature as “input” of futures (e.g., Lat. FUT.3SG *erit* ‘will be’ which corresponds to Sanskrit SBJV.3SG *asat(i)* ‘may be’, Greek FUT.1SG *ἔδομαι* ‘I will eat’ ~ Skt. SBJV.*adat(i)* ‘is likely to/shall eat’). Possibly, some subjunctives themselves hypoanalyzed from present tenses before future became their most prominent function (cf. Bozzone 2012, Dahl 2013), so that hypoanalysis applied recursively. Second, we will argue for hypoanalysis as a distinct, hitherto neglected, type of language change that cannot be subsumed under regrammation (Andersen 2006) or syntactic reanalysis (as defined in Langacker 1977, Harris/Campbell 1995, Haspelmath 1998b), nor does it correspond to any of the conceivable understandings of ‘secondary grammaticalization’ (as critically revised in Breban 2014), since no ‘primary grammaticalization’ can even be reconstructed. Finally, hypoanalysis does not fit “nonstandard cases of grammaticalization” (cf. Boye/Harder 2012: 24f., Wiemer 2014: 451-455), since no syntactic tightening occurs and we are dealing not with functional expansion, but with narrowing (see above).

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Differential Object Marking and Affectedness in Old Aragonese and Old Catalan. A cross-linguistic approach

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This presentation deals with the diachronic development of Differential Object Marking (henceforth DOM) in Old Aragonese and Old Catalan (c. 13th-15th). The literature on DOM (Kabatek, Obrist & Wall, 2021) shows that the phenomenon develops diachronically according to *a*) the animacy and referential properties of the direct object (DO), governed by the Animacy Scale (ia) and the Referentiality Scale (ib), and *b*) the degree of affectedness or change imposed on the DO by the verbal predicate (Affectedness Scale) (ii).

- (i) a. human > animate > inanimate
- b. personal pronoun > proper noun > definite NP > indefinite specific NP > indefinite non-specific NP > non-argumental
- (ii) effective action > perception > pursuit > knowledge > feeling > relation > ability (cf. Tsunoda, 1985)

Some early instances in Old Aragonese (1) and Old Catalan (2) show that DOM follows the constraints foreseen in these scales (Pineda, 2021). However, there seem to be cross-linguistic diachronic differences as for the development of the phenomenon and the various interactions amongst the scales, mainly in the case of the lower grades of affectedness.

- (1) a. oyestes contar delos tres Reyes que vinjeron *buscar a Jhesu Xpisto* que era nado (*Libro de los tres reyes de oriente*, folio 82v [1250]) DOM: HUMAN, PROPER NOUN, PURSUIT VERB

 ‘you heard telling of the three kings who came to look for.DOM Jesus Christ who was born’
- b. aquel hombre *conosciendo a César* respondió (Heredia, *Crónica de los conquiridores* (2), folio 67r [1377-1385]) DOM: HUMAN, PROPER NOUN, KNOWLEDGE VERB

 ‘that man knowing.DOM Caesar answered’
- (2) a. en temps que era ffadri *conexia a aquells* (*Clams i crits de la València medieval* (2), p. 180 [1306-1321]) DOM: HUMAN, DEFINITE, KNOWLEDGE VERB

 ‘in a time when he was a bachelor he knew.DOM those’
- b. e foren vists anar *cercar lo dit Ffrancesc Monrroig* (*Llibre de cort del Justícia de València*, 104, folio 30r [1441-1442]) NON-DOM: HUMAN, PROPER NOUN, PURSUIT VERB

 ‘and they were seen going to search for.NON DOM the aforementioned Francesc Monroig’

Considering the occurrences of several representative verbs of the first five classes of Tsunoda’s Scale (von Heusinger & Kaiser, 2011) in the Aragonese section of the OSTA and in the Corpus Informatitzat del Català Antic (CICA), this study aims to shed light onto the following questions:

- a) Does DOM in both languages follow the evolution foreseen by the Affectedness Scale?
- b) What diachronic cross-linguistic similarities and differences may be observed?

- c) How interact the Affectedness Scale and the Animacy and Referentiality Scales in each language?

In order to answer these questions, firstly, the occurrences of the various verbs with lexical DO have been delimited. Secondly, the DOM and non-DOM occurrences have been analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Finally, the figures obtained have been submitted to statistical logistic regression.

The results show that DOM is early active in both languages in the case of action verbs (such as *matar* 'kill' and *ferir* 'hurt'). However, in Aragonese, it occurs in all the configurations of the Animacy and Referentiality Scales, even with bare non-specific NPs, whereas in Catalan it is only (but not systematically) observed with strong pronouns and the indefinite *altre*, that behaves as a pronominal NP. In the rest of the verb classes, both languages show a progressive development of DOM from the 14th c. onwards, mainly in the case of proper nouns and definite NP, but it develops at a slower pace in Catalan. Moreover, the Affectedness Scale seems to follow different ordering in Catalan with respect to pursuit, knowledge and feeling verbs.

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On the (lack of) semantic conditioning in overabundant English verbs

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Keywords: morphology, overabundance, semantic conditioning, English, inflection

Overabundance is when two forms exist for the same paradigm cell. For example, both *strove* and *strived* are well-attested past tense forms of STRIVE in English. Defectiveness is when no form exists for a paradigm cell. For example, BEWARE does not occur in the past tense, e.g., **bewared*. Overabundance and defectiveness are both deviations from canonical inflection (Corbett 2007) in which one form exists for each paradigm cell. Defectiveness and overabundance are both possible outcomes of competition among multiple realizations for a paradigm cell. Some argue that a lack of resolution between competing realizations results in defectiveness (Hudson 2000, though see Sims 2015). Competition among realizations may also resolve when form preference is conditioned by context. For example, WET means both (1) to moisten and (2) to urinate. In the first sense, both *wet* and *wetted* occur, though *wetted* is more frequent. In the second sense, *wet* is highly preferred, e.g. ??*He wetted the bed*. Various scholars claim that such differentiation always exists, i.e., a difference in form entails a difference in meaning/function (Antilla 1989, Clark 1987, Kroch 1994). Recent work on overabundance challenges these claims with examples of overabundant forms that lack any kind of conditioning (e.g., Thornton 2012). Given that a lack in resolution between competing realizations may result in defectiveness, the existence of unconditioned overabundance is surprising. Not only the existence of unconditioned overabundance, but how frequently it occurs is, thus, an important question about the possible outcomes of competing realizations. In this paper we investigate semantic conditioning in overabundant English verbs to better understand the role conditioning plays in potential outcomes of competing realizations of paradigm cells.

We provide a corpus-based investigation of the types and distribution of semantic conditioning in overabundant English verbs. We identify 74 overabundant lexemes among the 60,000 most frequent lexemes in COCA (Davies 2008-). We collected 100 corpus examples of each form in 57 overabundant pairs and compiled a set of possible meanings for each lexeme. We tagged each corpus example for its meaning (average ~9.5 attested definitions/lexeme). For each meaning with 15+ examples in our sample, we classified it as no significant preference between forms (not significantly different from 50/50 distribution in Chi-squared test), categorically associated with one form (not significantly different from a categorical distribution in Fisher exact test), or probabilistic preference for one form (significant results in both other tests). Interestingly, among the 171 meanings, 76 of them exhibit no form preference. While other types of conditioning may exist for these forms (e.g., diastatic, diaphasic, etc., Thornton 2019), the fact that many overabundant forms lack semantic conditioning substantiates that semantic conditioning is not an inherent trait of overabundance, and it may be less frequent than previously assumed as a possible resolution to competing realizations of a paradigm cell.

Type of preference	Type frequency
no preference	76
categorical	48
probabilistic	47

Table 1. Type of form preference among all senses of 57 overabundant verb pairs

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Proto-Piaroa-Mako genitive classifiers: Reconstruction and implications

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Keywords: reconstruction, genitive classifiers, grammaticalization, Amazonian languages, Sáliban

In both Piaroa and Mako—two closely related languages belonging to the Jodí-Sáliban language family and spoken in the Colombia-Venezuela border region—, certain nouns denoting plants, animals, and objects enter in an indirect alienable possession construction that relies on genitive classifiers as in (1). This presentation reconstructs the Proto-Piaroa-Mako genitive classifier system and explores its origin. The data stems from primary fieldwork on these two languages as well as from prior work (e.g., Krute 1989, 81–95).

- | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (1) | <i>cɨcuḡ</i> | <i>kǎnḡyu</i> | Piaroa |
| | k-ũkʷǎ | kǎnǎ-d̥ʒu | |
| | 2SG-ALIMENTARY | pineapple-CL:HEAD | |
| | ‘your pineapple’ | (Babel021:172) | |

Krute (1989, 93) explains that the Piaroa possessive classifiers (all marked for 1SG here) are: *chǎji* /t̥ǎhi/ for domesticated animals, *chǒ’ɔya* /t̥jǒʔǒɲa/ for dead animals, *chɨcuḡ* /t̥jũkʷǎ/ for plants/foods, and *chǒ’äre* /t̥jǐʔǎre/ for borrowed objects (from Spanish or Western culture) and that these are based on the words for ‘pet’, ‘corpse’, ‘food’, and ‘thing’, respectively. Firsthand fieldwork data shows that the first two classifiers have a plural variant, namely *chǎjjimɨ* and *chǒʔtǒ* (2).

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---------------|------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| (2) | <i>ojusode</i> | <i>ǎ’ärǎ</i> | <i>imi</i> | <i>ɔʔtǒ</i> | <i>kǎyǒ</i> | Piaroa |
| | Ø-ohus-ode | ǎʔǎ-rǎ | imi | ǒ-ǒtǐ | kʰǎd̥ʒ-ĩ | |
| | 3SG.M-house-CL:HOUSE | yard-CL:CLEAR | outside | 3SG.M-PREY+PL.ANIM ₁ | worm-PL.ANIM ₁ | |
| | ‘outside his house’s yard, (there were) his edible worms’ | | | | (Babel014:116) | |

The Mako genitive classifier system closely resembles the Piaroa one, with three cognate classifiers documented: *-ahʷi* for domesticated animals, *-ũkʷǎ* for edible and other objects, and *-ǎle* for borrowed objects (Rosés Labrada 2015). Based on regular sound correspondences (Rosés Labrada 2018; 2019), the Proto-Piaroa-Mako genitive classifiers can be reconstructed as **ǎhi*, **ũkʷǎ*, and **ǎre*. Their origin as nouns is supported not only by the plural marking strategies employed since they signal an animate/inanimate distinction (e.g. the plural suffixes *-mu* and *-(t)ĩ* are exclusively used with animate nouns; see (2)) but also by their use as referential nouns as shown in (3) for the Piaroa genitive classifier *-ɨcuḡ*.

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (3) | <i>tjɨtjɨmɨ</i> | <i>tjɨcuḡ</i> | Piaroa |
| | tʰ-ĩtʰĩ-mũ | tʰ-ũkʷǎ | |
| | 3PL-child-PL.ANIM ₂ | 3PL-food | |
| | ‘their children’s food’ | (Babel032:69) | |

I further explore the grammaticalization of generic nouns as genitive classifiers through an analysis of Piaroa *pəj* /põĩ/ ‘fish (PL)’ as an incipient genitive classifier for ‘game’. The meaning of ‘fish’ has been extended to include land animals as shown in lines 205-208 in (4) and in this use, and when possessed as in line 249, the word is translated as ‘game’ by Piaroa speakers—competing with the word *pəyq* ‘prey/game.SG’ and *pəttə* ‘prey/game.PL’ from which the genitive classifier *-əyq* originates. However, *pəj* never occurs with an accompanying noun and speakers switch to using *-əyq* if a noun is specified.

(4)	...		
205	<i>de’a pəjttə</i>		‘jungle game’
206	<i>hui’tä jmö</i>		‘spider monkey, howler monkey’
207	<i>əcuq</i>		‘large armadillo’
208	<i>jmə mə’quirä</i>		‘collared peccary, white-lipped peccary’
	...		
249	<i>ttəjə ttəpəj əməhuqme jəmə</i>		‘where they caught people’s game was
	<i>juənemə</i>		there’
			(excerpted from Babel029)

This presentation not only contributes to the description of Piaroa and the reconstruction of Proto-Piaroa-Mako but also expands our cross-linguistic understanding of genitive classifier systems and their genesis, providing additional evidence in support of the grammaticalization path whereby genitive classifiers arise via specialization of a generic noun (Aikhenvald 2000, Carlson and Payne 1989, Grinevald 2000, Lichtenberk 2018).

Abbreviations: ANIM = animate, CL = classifier, M = masculine, PL = plural, SG = singular

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The morpho-syntactic characteristics of switch-reference systems according to region: Towards a global typology of switch-reference

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Keywords: switch-reference, typology, clause combining, reference tracking, areal linguistics

In this talk, I will discuss and exemplify the preliminary findings of a global typology of switch-reference systems and show that certain morpho-syntactic characteristics of these systems cluster according to geographical regions. This project represents the first detailed, global typology of switch-reference and is also the first in which areal specifics are systematically addressed.

Switch-reference, henceforth SR, is a cross-linguistic phenomenon, whose main function is to track the continuity/discontinuity of subjects across clauses, while typically also indicating various inter-clausal semantic and pragmatic properties (see van Gijn 2016a). SR exists in a significant number of the world's languages and occurs mainly in certain languages of New Guinea (Roberts 1997), Australia (Austin 1981), North America (Mithun 2001, McKenzie 2015), South America (van Gijn 2016b), East Africa (Treis 2012) and Siberia.

In sentence (1), the subjects of both clauses 'the man' are the same, which is obligatorily coded on the dependent verb with the same-subject marker. In sentence (2) the subjects are different and the verb is obligatorily coded with the different-subject marker.

Diyari (Pama-Nyungan, Australia; adapted from Austin 1981) SS= Same Subject, DS = Different Subject

(1) karna wapa-yi, yathayatha- rna	(2) karna-li wilha nhayi-yi, kirli- rnanhi
man:ABS go-PRES speak- SS	man-ERG woman:ABS see-PRES dance- DS
'The man goes along talking'	'The man sees the woman dancing'

Central questions to be addressed in this talk are: what are the main morpho-syntactic characteristics of SR according to region and why do those characteristics tend to occur in those regional contexts? The data for this typology of SR come from available grammatical descriptions of individual languages. Data collection involves the identification of SR features based on pre-defined parameter values, with the data points coded into a database to facilitate the analysis of features and their distributions across languages for large-scale typological comparison.

After broadly exemplifying some of the main characteristics of SR, I will show that certain SR features have a tendency to cluster in regions. Examples of some of these features and their distributions are: locative and other oblique case marking functioning as SR markers in Australia (Austin 1981), the

coalescence of core case marking and SR markers in South Western North America, object-tracking SR in Western Amazonia (Overall and Vuillermet 2015) and medial clause chaining structures with varying degrees of de-ranked medial clause types in New Guinea (Roberts 1997).

In some regions, such as Australia and certain sub-regions of South America and North America, the evidence indicates that this clustering of features is due to the propagation of SR through diffusion in language contact situations (Mithun 2014 and 2020). In other areas, such as sub-regions of New Guinea, South Western North America and Western Amazon, there are indications that feature clustering is attributable to underlying, general typological characteristics common to specific regions (also the result of diffusion, as well as inheritance) such as SOV word order in New Guinea, for instance. I will show that these underlying typological characteristics in a number of ways determine and shape many of the specific characteristics of SR in those regions.

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The expression of the passive voice through periphrases in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period: Some insights from Latin-Spanish translations

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Keywords: Passive and active voice, Translation, Latinising syntax, Historical Linguistics, Spanish periphrasis.

The analysis of passive diathesis in Romance languages and, specifically, in Spanish entails a research field in which it is still necessary to shed light, not only with respect to the concrete mechanisms that serve as a way of expression for the passive voice (as opposed to the active voice, cf. Siewierska 1984), but also to the variational status (cf. Del Rey 2021) that such mechanisms have associated with them. In this paper I propose to identify the most common periphrastic forms for the expression of the passive voice in Medieval and Early Modern Period Castilian (*ser* + participle, *ser de* + infinitive, *ser* + adjective with the suffix *-d(u)ero*, etc.) through the selection of various translated texts in comparison with the original Latin text (Alfonso X, Juan Rodríguez de Padrón, Villena, Mena, Cartagena and other translators of the 16th and 17th centuries). Beyond the important findings made by Elvira (2002), Melis and Peña-Alfaro (2007), Garachana (2016) or Octavio de Toledo (2017) on the evolution of this type of periphrasis, in this paper I will insist on the perspective of translation studies to analyze the interference processes, between convergence and divergence (Del Rey 2018), that take place in the target texts with respect to the corresponding source texts. Likewise, quantitative data will be offered on the percentage of use of passive voice periphrases in the translations in comparison with the active and passive forms of the original Latin texts, with the purpose of determining chronological trends in the manifestation of passive/active diathesis and/or stylistic preferences among the authors and testimonies considered.

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Reconstructing Uralic kinship

The way kinship terminologies are organised vary; some terminologies are more classificatory in nature, e.g. one term for ‘father’ and ‘father’s brother’ whereas other terminologies are descriptive with more fine-grained divisions, e.g. distinction to ‘elder sister’ and ‘younger sister’ instead of only having a category of ‘sister’. These kinds of features create the structural patterns of kinship terminologies. The aim of our research is to explore what Uralic kinship terminologies and their structural patterns (for different patterns see e.g. Murdock 1968; 1970) can reveal about the history of Uralic languages. Modern Uralic kinship terminologies differ greatly from branch to branch. Finnic languages have become thoroughly Europeanised while the Saami and Samoyedic languages have their own unique patterns. For instance, Saami has a system of self-reciprocal terms, the closest parallels for which are found in Sino-Tibetan and Dravidian (Dziebel 2007: 218–219).

By now there has been relatively little research into the historical aspects of Uralic kinship terminologies. Earlier research has tended to be more interested in certain social customs reflected in kinship terminology (Harva 1939–1940) or it has been heavily branch-specific (Steinitz 1974). The comparative work that has been done has focused on the reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic kinship terms, which has interestingly revealed that kinship terminology is quite poorly reconstructable and even many “basic terms” such as ‘father’, ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ cannot be reliably reconstructed (Aikio 2022: 24). In the absence of lexical comparanda, by examining the structural patterns of kinship terminologies we can therefore broaden the perspective above individual kin terms and have more material to discuss the Proto-Uralic kinship.

The data we use is a kin term corpus collected in project XXX. As the basis of data collection was ca. 140 kin categories and twenty Uralic languages featuring at least one language from each branch of Uralic: Finnic, Khanty, Samoyedic etc. The lexical material was mainly collected from different dictionaries. Based on the materials, we seek to answer 1) what structural patterns there are in Uralic, 2) can any of these patterns be reconstructed for Proto-Uralic as well, 3) can these patterns help us locate the Proto-Uralic Urheimat?

Structural patterns can be of considerable antiquity and certain patterns are typical of certain macro areas. For example, the Saami languages exhibit a pattern for uncles, which consists of three terms, e.g. North Saami *eahki* ‘father’s elder brother’, *čeahci* ‘father’s younger brother’ and *eanu* ‘mother’s brother’. This particular pattern is uncommon in Europe and thus unlikely to have been borrowed from neighbouring languages into Saami. The pattern, assuming it can be reconstructed for Proto-Uralic, occurs mostly in East Eurasia (Murdock 1970: 168–170), which would seem to correlate with the idea that Proto-Uralic was spoken in Siberia (Janhunen 2009). In conclusion, although singular patterns probably are bound to be inconclusive, we are confident that by taking a wider perspective and by looking at the patterns as a whole, new insights into the diachrony of Uralic can be achieved.

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Psych construction types: root-based or category-based?

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Keywords: psych events, psych types, root syntax, category syntax, distributed morphology

Psych expressions denote mental eventualities or experiences, and their syntactic types have been chiefly instantiated by verbal predicates, exhibiting non-canonical linking (or binding) properties (Belletti & Rizzi 1988 =BR; Dowty 1991; Iwata 1995; Landau 2010; Pesetsky 1995), despite the fact that they also occur in various non-verbal constructions across languages (Bouchard 1995, Arad 1998, Verhoeven 2007, Rozwadowska 2017, Alexiadou 2018, among others), in addition to verbless sentences, as illustrated below.

In BR seminal article, a tripartite verbal classification is established for Italian, which is echoed in the Arabic constructions (1)-(3); SubjExp for Subject Experiencer; Obj for Object, Dat for dative; Stim for Stimulus:

(1) Class I: <i>SubjExp verbs</i>	(2) Class II: <i>ObjExp verbs</i>	(3) Class III: <i>DatExp verbs</i>
<i>y-axšaa l-mudiir-u t-taqriir-a</i>	<i>y-ašğal-u l-xabar-u l-ibn-a</i>	<i>t-aruuqu l-qišş-at-u t-tifl-a</i>
3-fear the-director the-report	3-occupy the-news the-son	f.-please the-story the-child
'The director fears the report'.	'The news preoccupies the son'.	'The story pleases the child'.

But the rich diversity of psych constructions urges us to go beyond BR tripartite classification (or its elaborated variants), in addition to investigating the nature of the various components of their event semantics, rather than just one or two of their thematic roles (Exp and/or Stim). We motivate a *root* based classification of psych eventualities (established chiefly on evidence from Arabic and Hebrew) as more appropriate than BR's *category* based analysis. We also implement an event rooted typology in a DM distributed model of grammar and lexicon, to illustrate the distinct roles of roots and categories in building words of psych expressions (see Marantz 1997, 2001, Hale and Keyser 1998, 2002, Harley 2014, among others).

A *first* evidence comes from the fact that mental states are quite equivalently expressed by various categories: a noun in (4a), an adjective in (4b), or a state verb in (4c), with no primacy of any verbal category source:

(4)	a. <i>y-askunu-n-ii fazaş-un</i>	(b) <i>ʔanaa faziş-un</i>	c. <i>faziş-tu</i>
	3-inhabit-me scare-nom	I scary	scared-I
	'A fright inhabits me'.	'I am scary, frightened'	'I became scared'.

Not only is there no verbal primacy in such constructions, but the verb in (4a) does not contribute any (ingredient of) psych meaning, nor is it a psych verb.

Second, psych expressions are productively expressed through verbless sentences, such as (4b), or (5), a fact that underscores the primacy of the psych verb:

(5)	a. <i>l-ii walaş-un bi-š-š iřr-i</i>	b. <i>b-ii ʔaniin-un wa-šawq-un</i>
	to-me passion-nom with-the-poetry	with-me tenderness-nom and-longing-nom
	'I have passion for poetry'	'I have (feel) tenderness and longing'

Third, the mental state event (Bouchard's *psych-chose*) is found as a subject of the PP (and Exp as its complement), and its salience as an argument subject in (4a) or (5) is unexpected in thematic theories such as BR (where syntactic types depend mainly on the place of Exp). The event psych argument is

the most basic component in event-based approaches (Dowty 1991, Klein & Kutscher 2005, Grimshaw 1990), a view that we adhere to here.

Fourth, more evidence comes from analyzing cross-linguistic morpho-syntactic and semantic psych complexities.

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Structural positions and focal stress dictate functions and interpretations of Japanese manner adverbs

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Key words: Japanese manner adverbs, Japanese particles, Structural positions, focal stress, scope

It is well known that particles dictate Japanese adverb types. Nakau (1984) and Endo (2007), among many others, argue that adverbs shown as in (1a), suffixed by the particle *ni*, operate as manner adverbs. In contrast, those suffixed by the particle *mo* function as middle adverbs. This is illustrated in (1b). Furthermore, as is detected in (1c), those suffixed by the particle *ni*, together with the noun *koto*, act as high adverbs.

- (1) a. Taro-wa majime-ni syukudai-o si-ta
T-Top seriously assignment-Acc do-Past
'Taro did the assignment seriously.'
b. Taro-wa majime-ni-mo syukudai-o si-ta
T-Top seriously assignment-Acc do-Past
'Taro seriously did the assignment.'
c. Majimena-koto-ni Taro-wa syukudai-o si-ta
seriously-fact-Dat T-Top assignment-Acc do-Past
'Seriously, Taro did the assignment.'

The aim of this paper is to argue, against the widely-held view that only particles decide adverb functions, that the structural positions together with the focal stress determine the functions of manner adverbs. Let us begin with the following paradigms.

- (2) a. Taro-wa takumi-ni syukudai-o si-ta
T-Top skillfully assignment-Acc do-Past
'Taro did the assignment skillfully.'
b. Takumi-ni Taro-wa syukudai-o si-ta
skillfully T-Top assignment-Acc do-Past
'Skillfully, Taro did the assignment.'
c. ??Takumi-na-koto-ni Taro-wa syukudai-o si-ta

In (2a), *takumi-ni* is a manner adverb. In contrast, in (2b), the same adverb can serve as a high adverb. Moreover, (2c), where the adverb is attached with *koto-ni*, is highly degraded. These facts cast doubt on the validity of the schema proposed in the literature.

Let us next demonstrate the scopal interactions between adverbs and negation.

- (3) a. Taro-wa takumi-ni syukudai-o si-na-katta
T-Top skillfully assignment-Acc do-Neg-Past
'It was in a skillful way that Taro didn't do the assignment.' **takumi-ni>Negation**
b. Taro-wa takumi-ni-WA syukudai-o si-na-katta
T-Top skillfully-Top assignment-Acc do-Neg-Past
'Taro did the assignment, but it was not done in a skillful way.' **Negation>takumi-ni**
c. Takumi-ni Taro-wa syukudai-o si-na-katta
skillfully T-Top assignment-Acc do-Neg-Past
'Skillfully, Taro didn't do the assignment.' **takumi-ni>Negation**

In (3a), *takumi-ni* scopes over negation. This is not predicted if the adverb acts as a low adverb. Actually, the adverb acts as a middle adverb, even without the particle *mo*. On the other hand, in (3b), where the focally stressed particle *wa* attaches to *takumi-ni*, the adverb is under the scope of negation. This suggests that the adverb is in the lower Focus Phrase in the sense of Belletti (2004), which is below negation. Moreover, in (3c), where *takumi-ni* appears sentence initially, it scopes over negation. The

adverb plays a part of a high adverb. These facts clearly signify that the structural positions and the focal stress manifests the functions and the meanings of adverbs.

Summarizing, we have argued that Japanese manner adverbs, even without the forms *mo* or *koto*, act as a middle or a high adverb. We have also demonstrated that focal stress on the particle *wa* determine the function of Japanese manner adverbs. Finally, a theoretical implication this paper provokes is that we have proposed a novel analysis of Japanese manner adverbs, in which regardless of the particles on adverbs, structural positions determine their functions.

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The role of vowel quality in shaping phonotactic systems: Evidence from English, Polish and Georgian

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Keywords: phonotactics, markedness, Polish, English, Georgian

Phonotactics investigates permissible sound combinations in a language. For example, word-initial /pt-/ is permissible in Polish but impermissible in English. Traditionally, the phonological structure of consonant sequences has been captured by means of the Sonority Sequencing Generalization: in a well-formed consonant cluster, the sonority of segments increases towards the vowel. The SSG exploits one parameter of consonant description, i.e. the manner of articulation. The principle has been extensively tested in areas of external evidence (Parker 2017) with moderate support for the importance of sonority in regulating the linguistic behaviour of clusters. The concept of sonority has been criticized by Ohala and Kawasaki-Fukumori (1997) who consider it an empty contrast and propose instead the principle of syntagmatic contrast which explains why sequences such as /ji/ and /wu/ are avoided in languages of the world despite being compatible with sonority.

An alternative model defining well-formedness conditions for clusters, the Net Auditory Distance principle (NAD), exploits three criteria of consonant description: manner and place of articulation (MoA & PoA) as well as the distinction between an obstruent and a sonorant in a sequence (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2014, and Dziubalska-Kołaczyk et. al. 2014). For example, the condition for a preferred word-initial or -final CC cluster states that the distance between the two neighbouring consonants (C1C2) must be greater than (or equal to) the distance between the vowel and the neighbouring consonant. Clusters which fulfill this condition are considered preferred. The principle has been applied to the study of phonotactics in corpora as well as cluster behaviour in first and second language acquisition (Dressler et. al. 2015, Dressler & Kononenko 2021).

In this contribution, the NAD principle is revised and extended, partly on the basis the hierarchy of relative sonority proposed by Parker (2008). Revised NAD has richer MoA and PoA scales for consonants and, crucially, differentiates between vowels neighbouring on the cluster in order to account for such differences as the ones between (dis)preferred CV transitions such as /wa/ vs /wu/ or /ja/ vs /ji/. Its predictive power is tested on the basis of written corpora in English, Polish and Georgian. We hypothesize the revised NAD to be more predictive of the actual frequency of clusters in a language primarily due to the inclusion of

vowel qualities. We also test the role of vowel quality and CV connectivity in shaping consonant clusters.

Preliminary results for Polish demonstrate that the more words contain a given initial CCV cluster, the more likely this cluster is to have a preferred NAD value. This is independent of the cluster typology in the language which features only ca 35% of the NAD-preferred clusters (38% according to the original NAD). This points to the hypothesized predictive power of the revised NAD with reference to frequency. Further, the results for Polish show that initial CC clusters are bound to the neighbouring vowel in the following order of frequency: e>o/a>u/y>i. Parallel analyses are applied to phonotactics of English and Georgian.

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The diachronic evolution of participles in Greek: results from a parallel intralingual corpus

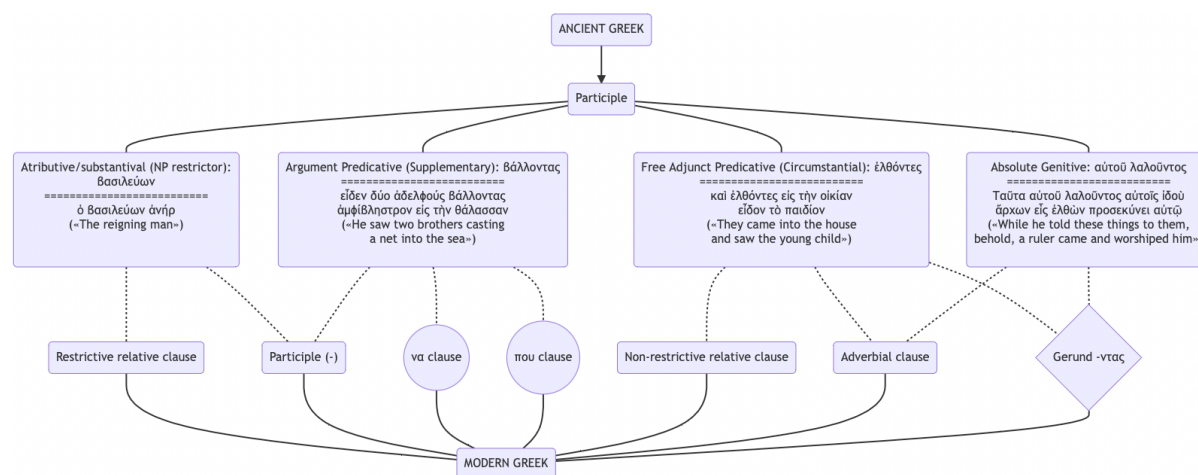
The purpose of this paper is to study and describe the evolution of the Greek participle from antiquity to the present day by using a corpus of intralingual translations. This description constitutes a practical case of how intralingual translations can be used as a sound tool for studying the diachronic evolution of languages despite all its difficulties, since the need for translations derives from language change.

Usually, diachronic studies on the participle focus on how this word class is kept in Modern Greek (MG) or has developed into (i) an adjective, (ii) a noun (Holton *et alii* 2012), or (iii) a gerund (Manolessou 2005, Mirambel 1961). The present study includes and focuses on an additional factor, since it tries to cover not only the form and syntactic positions occupied by the participle during its diachronic evolution, but also (i) the syntactic positions that this word class has abandoned and (ii) how these positions have been occupied by other old and new constructions.

The data are taken from an intralingual Greek parallel corpus under expansion (intralingual translations). Texts coming from different periods of the Greek language (Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Medieval Greek) have been aligned with their translation in Modern Greek, as the following table shows.

Plato's Apology of Socrates	
Ancient Greek (original)	Modern Greek (translation)
ἐμναυτῷ γὰρ 22d1 συνήδη οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τούτους δέ γ' ἤδη ὅτι <u>εὐρήσοιμι</u> πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐπισταμένους .	Γιατί ἤξερα ὅτι ἐγὼ δὲν γνωρίζω τίποτα, ἤξερα ὁμως ὅτι αὐτούς θα τους ἐβρίσκα να γνωρίζουν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ.
(For I was conscious that I knew practically nothing, but I knew <u>I should find</u> that they knew many fine things.)	

This corpus is exploited using different digital tools like SketchEngine. The method consists in (i) searching (the corpus is morphologically tagged) for the occurrences of the participle in the original source text (see ἐπισταμένους on the left column of the table) and (ii) registering the structure occupying the same syntactic position in the modern Greek translation (see να γνωρίζουν in the table). This methodology gives us a catalogue of syntactic positions occupied by participles in previous phases of Greek and a list of possible evolutions in MG: (a) old participles are kept in MG; (b) participles disappear, but (b1) old constructions occupy their place (e.g. relative or adverbial subordinate clauses, see the rectangles in the figure), (b2) the gerund originating from the participle replaces them (see the rhombus), (b3) or new constructions —developed at the same time diachronically— occupy their syntactic positions (mainly να and που subordinate clauses, Joseph 1983, Nicholas 1998, see the circles). The following graphic shows some of the possible correspondences (there are many more):



The intralingual parallel corpus so created could be used to study other diachronic phenomena.

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Gradual weakening of aspiration contrasts as an areal phenomenon

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Keywords: areality, aspiration, Hindu Kush Indo-Aryan, phonology, vergence

In the linguistically diverse and multilingual Hindu Kush region of Inner Asia, the presence of particular laryngeal contrasts in plosive (and some affricate) sets correlate convincingly with geography. A two-way contrast (voiced vs. voiceless) characterizes the western and northern parts of the Hindu Kush, a three-way contrast (voiced vs. aspirated voiceless vs. unaspirated voiceless) is found in the languages in the east, and a four-way contrast (aspirated voiceless vs. unaspirated voiceless vs. aspirated voiced vs. unaspirated voiced) is found in at least a handful of languages, all spoken in the central and southern-most parts of the region (Liljégren 2020: 213–215; Kochetov et al. 2021: 470–472; Hussain 2018: 285). While this distribution partly corresponds to phylogenetic identity (involving Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Nuristani, Sino-Tibetan, Turkic, and isolate Burushaski), the Indo-Aryan component is well-represented in all three categories.

From a combined diachronic and synchronic perspective, this study shows how Hindu Kush Indo-Aryan varieties situated along an “aspiration fault line” have lost phonemic aspiration contrasts over time (Morgenstierne 1945: 247–248; 1950: 7–8; 1967: 48–49, 145–146, 206–207, 253; Grjunberg 1971: 8; Lamuwal & Baker 2013: 243; Lehr 2014: 110; Bashir 2003: 822), and, at least in a couple of cases, supported by recently collected and acoustically analysed field data (e.g., measuring VOT), display language-internal variation more or less coinciding with today’s international border between Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is suggested that the present distribution as well as these relatively recent, and possibly accelerating, changes can be attributed to a combination of factors: a) the modern-day spread and consolidation of two dominant lingua franca and media of instruction, Dari Persian and Urdu, respectively (Bashir 2016; Rzehak 2016: 296–299); b) long-standing areal and sub-areal

“vergence” patterns with a similar east vs. west distribution, involving morphosyntax, lexical structure as well as phonology (Liljegren 2020: 213–217; 2019; Zoller 2005: 12–13); and c) the uneven ratio of corresponding aspirated and unaspirated phonemes in individual languages.

Apart from the more conclusive evidence of waning aspiration in the western part of the region, the study also discusses a few individual examples of what appears to be emerging new contrasts related to aspiration (Kieffer 2009: 694–695), as well as language-particular reflexes of erstwhile aspiration differentiation as remaining, e.g., tonal or voice-quality related, contrasts (Bart 1997: 20; 2014: 1; Tikkanen 2008: 252; Liljegren 2013: 136, 143; Liljegren & Khan 2017: 225–226).

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East Timorese Hakka between China and Timor-Leste

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Keywords: Overseas Chinese language varieties, Timor-Leste, dialectology, language contact, language change

The Sinitic language varieties spoken by Chinese-descended communities in Southeast Asia have great potential to inform research on language contact and change, language attrition and maintenance as well as the sociolinguistic factors enabling them. However, to date they have not received much attention in linguistics. This talk focuses on the language variety of one of the least known and most remote Chinese-descended communities of Southeast Asia, that of Timor-Leste.

Following the young nation's tumultuous recent history, some 4,000 Chinese-descended Timorese people are estimated to live in Timor-Leste today. The overwhelming majority belong to the Hakka linguistic group. Anecdotal reports suggest that a distinct localized Timorese variety of Hakka, which diverges significantly from other Hakka dialects, has developed in Timor-Leste (e.g. Wise 2006: 149). Whilst language competence is declining, Hakka is an important identity marker.

To date, little is known about the linguistic characteristics of East Timorese Hakka. Three factors are likely to have been involved in its emergence as a distinct variety, namely: a) the particular Hakka dialect brought to Timor from China by a significant portion of the original immigrants; b) the development of a koine variety in Timor by immigrants speaking different dialects or languages; and c) contact with local languages as well as the colonial language.

In this talk, I will focus on the first and the third factors. Firstly, I seek to establish the place of Timor Hakka within Hakka dialectology by comparing lexical forms from East Timorese Hakka to Coblin's (2019) list of cognate sets across 26 Hakka dialects of mainland China. Timor Hakka closely matches the Méixiàn (梅縣) dialect in many cases (1), consistent with historical data on the origin of Chinese immigrants to Timor (Kammen and Chen 2019; the differences between the East Timorese and the Méixiàn Hakka data are owed to different transcription conventions and not indicative of actual differences). Of special interest, however, is a range of divergent lexical forms (2), which may either reflect other Hakka dialects or have emerged through internal changes. Secondly, I highlight cases where local languages have left a mark on East Timorese Hakka, including instances of lexical (3) as well as structural borrowing, providing a comparison to other Southeast Asian varieties of Hakka or related Sinitic varieties where possible.

(1)	East Timorese Hakka	Méixiàn Hakka
'house'	[vʊkʰ5]	[vuk7]
'fat'	[pʰi2]	[phi2]
'fire'	[fɔ1]	[fɔ3]
'foot'	[k'ɔkʰ5]	[kiɔk7]

(2)	East Timorese Hakka	Méixiàn Hakka
'body hair'	[mɔ1]	[mau1]

	'five'	[m̩1]	[ŋ3]
	'blood'	[ɕʰat5 ~ sʰat5]	[hiat7]
	'ten'	[sɔp̩6]	[səp8]
(3)		East Timorese Hakka	Donor language
	'motorbike'	[mo1tok̚5]	Malay <i>motor</i>
	'coffee'	[ko1pi1 ~ ko1pi1t̚cha2]	Malay <i>kopi</i>
	'fence'	[lu1tuk̚5]	Tetun <i>lutu</i>
	'breadfruit'	[ku1lu2]	Tetun <i>kulu</i>

This talk reports on ongoing field research on the linguistic properties of East Timorese Hakka. Aiming to put it on the map as a distinct localized Hakka variety, it highlights similarities with and differences from other dialects of the language. Given differences in speakers' backgrounds and linguistic competence, it will also address the fact that much variation is attested. East Timorese Hakka is thus shown to reflect the numerous historical and regional influences to which it has been subject.

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Three types of -yva-

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Keywords: perfectivity, secondary imperfectives, habituais, progressives, morphosyntax

I discuss morphosyntactic properties of North Slavic predicates, focusing on the suffix *-yva-*, its positioning and related properties in verbs, participles and nominalizations (*-yva-* is a shorthand for allomorphs of the secondary imperfective suffix and the habitual suffix). I claim that there are at least three types of *-yva-*, progressive (PROG), iterative (ITER) and habitual (HAB), that differ morphosyntactically, semantically and phonologically to some extent (factuals are left aside).

-*Yva-* brings about ITER as well as PROG meanings but with delimitative/diminutive *po-* (see (1)), it only induces the ITER meaning (e.g. Zaliznjak & Šmelëv 1997, Kačny 1994).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) a. po-čit-yva-t ^{IPF} (Russian)
DEL-read-YVA-INF
‘to read a little from time to time’
*‘to be reading for a while’ | b. po-łłak-iwa-ć ^{IPF} (Polish)
DEL-cry-YVA-INF
‘to cry a little from time to time’
*‘to be crying for a while’ |
|--|---|

The generative literature (e.g. Romanova 2004, Tatevosov 2008, and Klimek-Jankowska & Błaszczak 2021) mostly locates delimitative *po-* above the imperfectivizing *-yva-*, which explains ungrammaticality of the PROG imperfectivization. However, it makes two false scope predictions wrt. the ITER meaning: diminutive-iterative verbs like (1) should be perfective and denote the repetition of actions in a short time frame, contrary to the facts. This suggests placing ITER *-yva-* higher than DEL *po-*, which in turn is higher than PROG *-yva-*.

Consequently, assuming the measure function meaning of DEL *po*- from Součková (2004) and ITER operator that derives non-atomic events (based on Lasersohn 1995), the resulting meaning of e.g. (1b) is as follows:

(2) $[[poptakiwa-]] = \lambda e[\text{cry}(e) \wedge m(e) = c_{\text{relatively.small}} \wedge |e| > 1 \wedge \forall e', e'' \subseteq e [-\tau(e') \supset \tau(e'')]]$

For the PROG operator, I assume (3), with the *proper* part relation (modified Krifka 1992; see also Filip 1999).

$$(3) \lambda P \lambda e \exists e' [P(e') \wedge e < e']$$

Since PROG *-yva-* standardly selects perfective, telic stems, verbs in (1) cannot be derived as shown in (4), i.e. as delimited progressives.

- (4) a. * [po-čit-yva]-t' b. * [po-płak-iwa]-ć

Also, since PROG brings about homogeneity (see (3)) but ITER needs a quantized stem, the combination of ITER -yva- and PROG -yva- is ungrammatical. Therefore, in *dáváva!* the higher -va- can only be habitual:

- (5) dá-vá-va-l (Czech)
give-PROG/ITER-HAB-PAST
'he had the habit of giving'

PROG -yva- is not responsible for imperfectivity; morphological aspect (operators) is determined in AspP via Agree with aspectual markers.

HAB -*yva*- differs from ITER and PROG -*yva*-: It selects imperfective stems (6); induces only the HAB interpretation (6); cannot occur in nominalizations in Czech (7); in certain cases uses different markers (see (8) and also Matushansky 2009 and Tatevosov 2013).

- (6) a. [pis^{IPF}]-yva^{IPF}-ť (Russian) b. [pis^{IPF}]-ywa^{IPF}-ć (Polish) c. [psá^{IPF}]-va^{IPF}-t (Czech)
All: 'to have the habit of writing'
- (7) a. vy-pis-ová-n-í b. *ps-á-vá-n-í (Czech)
out-write-PROG/ITER-N/T-N.NOM write-TH-HAB-N/T-N.NOM
'excerpting'
- (8) a. vy-proš-ova-t b. pros-í-va-t (Czech)
out-beg-PROG/ITER-INF beg-TH-HAB-INF
'to beg repeatedly' 'to have the habit of begging'
'to be begging'

Since HAB scopes over ITER (not shown here) and Czech stem nominalizations have morphological aspect (=AspP) but not HAB (7b), the simplified structure is:

- (9) [HAB -yva- ... [Asp ... [Voice ... [ITER -yva- ... [DEL po- ... [PROG -yva-...v]]]]]]]

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Tense Distinction in Argumentation: A contrastive analysis of two tenses associated with the French verb of thought *penser* [think]

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Keywords: Pragmatics, Argumentation, Verb of thought, Tense, Interaction

This contribution focuses on the pragmatic multifunctionality of the French verb of opinion *penser* [think], which, when associated with the first person present tense, can either work as an epistemic modal mitigating the speaker's certainty or as a subjective marker reporting the speaker's point of view (Gosselin, 2015). Our contribution intends to investigate this multifunctionality when considering two different tense forms, namely the compound past *j'ai pensé* [I thought / I have thought] and the pluperfect *j'avais pensé* [I had thought]. As compound forms, these two tenses can both express a perfect aspect. That is, they can refer to the post-processive (or resultative) phase of a prior situation, the difference between the two being that the former locates this phase in the present, at the time of the production of the utterance, while the latter locates it in the past, at the time of an anterior reference point (e.g., Apothéloz, 2021; Comrie, 1976; de Saussure, 2003).

Our working hypothesis is that those two aspectual meanings behave differently in relationship with implicatures (and more precisely presupposition) and in terms of "argumentative orientation" (Anscombe & Ducrot, 1983; Ducrot, 1980). While both forms can introduce some propositional content *P* as a prior thought, the French pluperfect *j'avais pensé* [I had thought] allows the speaker to refer to a past time span via a past reference point at which a resulting state held for some time. *P* then appears to be only "taken-into-account" by the actual speaker as a previous idea, in a self-dissociative way of thinking (Coltier et al., 2009). This is shown by the following example: "*on avait pensé à Dasani non?*" [we had thought about Dasani right?]. On the other hand, speakers tend to orient to the perfect meaning of *j'ai pensé* [I have thought] to implicate that *P* still has relevant consequences or is even pursued in the present time (see also Comrie, 1976, p. 52). Content *P* then appears to be "taken-in-charge", as an opinion that the speaker still holds (Coltier et al., 2009). This is shown by this second example: "*j'ai pensé à votre décorateur qui peut faire des choses brillantes*" [I (have) thought about your decorator whose work is brilliant] (to be contrasted with the forged version: "*j'avais pensé* [I had thought] à votre décorateur qui peut faire des choses brillantes").

To explore this hypothesis, we have extracted the compound past and pluperfect tokens of *penser* with first person subjects from a 14h video-recorded corpus of professional meetings. Our goal is to provide a qualitative analysis of the collection to assess the extent to which the difference of tenses is associated with variations in the way the propositional content is managed at the interactional and argumentative levels. In this way, we intend to shed light on the pragmatic resources that these tenses afford, and the way speakers orient to them in order to formulate their proposals as thoughts (Stevanovic, 2022), thus negotiating collaboratively and interactively the process of joint decision-making in the workplace.

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***There was a guy and a chick with such talentless face paintings in front of Club Tallinn that I just started laughing.* Gender-marked words in Estonian language and their portrayal in lexicography**

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Keywords: gender-marked vocabulary, Estonian, lexicography, usage-based linguistics
corpus linguistics

Every language contains ways to distinguish referents of different genders, whether through grammatical resources, pronouns or lexically (Stahlberg et al. 2007). Estonian, being a Finnic language, is grammatically genderless, thus gender is expressed lexically, either by using compound words, e.g. *jahinaine* ('huntswoman'), *esimees* ('chairman'), *naisarst* ('female doctor'), *meesmodell* ('male model'), or derived words, e.g. *hertsoginna* ('duchess'). (Kasik 2015; Hasselblatt 2015).

Previously, the use of compound words ending with *-naine* ('woman'), *-mees* ('man'), also *-tädi* ('aunt') and *-onu* ('uncle') have been studied in Estonian (see Puna 2006, Kaukonen 2022, Kaukonen *upcoming*). The focus of this paper is a corpus-based analysis of the use of compound words ending with *-tibi* ('babe, chick') and *-kutt* ('guy'). In the analysis it has been compared with the use of compound words ending with *-tädi* ('aunt') and *-onu* ('uncle'). These word pairs represent more vivid and less neutral language referring to women and men at different ages, belonging to the colloquial, unstandardized vocabulary in Estonian, reflecting the actual language use.

On the example of gender-marked compound words *-tibi*, *-kutt*, *-tädi* and *-onu*, this paper examines the lexicographic descriptions of Estonian gender-marked vocabulary. It is analyzed how the description of compound words expressing gender has changed in Estonian monolingual dictionaries. Previously, the example sentences of the *Dictionary of Standard Estonian* (2013) have been studied (Raadik 2016), and the results showed that the dictionary conveys (outdated) gender stereotypes.

In the study, the descriptive and prescriptive dictionaries of Estonian (since 20th century) and Estonian National Corpus 2021 (Koppel, Kallas 2022) are used as data. By engaging methods of usage-based linguistics, corpus linguistics and critical text analysis (Baker 2006; Partington et al. 2013; Diessel 2017; Stefanowitsch 2020), the study has been aiming to find answers to following research questions:

1. How are compound words ending with *-tibi*, *-kutt*, *-tädi* and *-onu* used in modern Estonian? What do these compound words express?
2. Are compound words referring to men and women used differently? Is the use of compound words marked in any ways (e.g. derogatory, jocose, etc.)?
3. How are these words described in descriptive and prescriptive dictionaries (both in Estonian and, for comparison, in those of other languages)? Which gender stereotypes are present in dictionary explanations and example sentences?

Among the results is that there are gender stereotypes in the use of gender-marked compound words and in the fields of what the compound words express. Furthermore, since several studies in other languages have described the derogatory uses of kin terms *tädi* (aunt) and *onu* (uncle) (see Kiss 2022, Clyne et al. 2009), it will be expected that the words such as *tibi* and *kutt*, especially words denoting female gender such as *tibi* can also be used in derogatory or jocose contexts. It is also expected that dictionary descriptions of gender-marked words have become more neutral over time. With this study, we would also like to start a discussion on how gender-marked words should be reflected in the dictionary – should they be censored for gender neutrality or equality, or rather reflect these (compound) words as they have been used in language?

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A longitudinal study of the development of complexity, accuracy, and fluency in second language writing

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Keywords: second language writing, linguistic complexity, linguistic accuracy, fluency, longitudinal

Despite calls for more research on the nature and causes of second language (L2) writing development, most previous studies tend to be limited to examining task effects on L2 writing performance at one point in time. These studies generally explore L2 writing performance in terms of linguistic complexity, accuracy, and fluency (collectively known as CAF) (Johnson, 2017; Michel, 2017). These three dimensions play an important role in writing and can provide important insights about L2 performance and development.

From a development perspective, as L2 learners progress in their writing competence, they should be able to produce more complex, accurate, and fluent language. However, L2 learners tend to struggle to address all three dimensions at the same time. Generally, L2 learners may focus on one dimension at the expense of the other two (Bui et al, 2018; Skehan, 2015). Additionally, the three dimensions do not often progress in tandem because they “are interrelated in complex and not necessarily linear ways” (Michel, 2017, p. 53). Consequently, to understand L2 writing development, it is important to examine the extent to which the three CAF dimensions are in(ter)dependent in L2 performance and development and what factors influence the manifestations, inter-relationships, and development of CAF in L2 writing (Housen & Kuiken, 2009).

To address these questions, a longitudinal approach was adopted to examine changes over time in multiple CAF measures, their inter-relationships, and their relationships to writing quality in the texts of a large sample of L2 learners. Each of 402 English language learners from different first language (L1) backgrounds and at five different levels of English language proficiency (B2 to A1 on the CEFR) wrote three essays (before, during and after a period of English language study), resulting in a corpus of 1,206 essays. Each essay was analysed in terms of eight CAF indices: number of words, error ratio per 100 words, global syntactic complexity, noun-phrase complexity, syntactic sophistication, and lexical density, variation, and sophistication. Next, multilevel modeling was used to statistically examine (a) the rate of change in CAF indices over time and (b) how the rate of changes in CAF indices varied in relation to learner English proficiency, L1, and length of English language study. Additionally, correlations analyses were conducted to examine (c) the relationships between CAF indices and essay quality and (d) whether the relationships among the eight CAF measures varied across time points and English proficiency levels.

The findings indicated that students with higher English language proficiency tended to have significantly higher indices for fluency, accuracy, lexical complexity, and some aspects of syntactic complexity. Second, fluency and accuracy improved significantly over time, while lexical complexity did not change significantly, and some indices of syntactic complexity declined. Third, the relationships between the eight

CAF measures varied across proficiency levels and time points. Finally, fluency, accuracy, and some indices of syntactic and lexical complexity were significantly associated with essay quality. The findings and their implications for theory, instruction, assessment, and research on CAF in relation to L2 writing development will be discussed.

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Evidential readings of the determiner *uno* in Spanish

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Keywords: <evidentiality, general knowledge, generic operator, indefinite article, arbitrariness>

In this talk, we will show that the arbitrary reading (1a) of the determiner *uno* ('one') in Spanish has a different syntax from the concealing reading (1b), as proposed in Gómez Torrego (1992) and RAE-ASALE (2009: 15.8o). Our hypothesis differs from others that attribute the difference between these two values to pragmatic or discursive factors connected with varying degrees of impersonalization (Fernández 2008, González & Hugo 2012). In the second part of the talk, we will also defend that arbitrary reading is related to the evidential category of *general knowledge* as an inference from the notion of genericity.

- (1) a. Cuando uno mira al sol se queda como ciego.
 When you look at the sun you become blind
 b. ¿Por qué —se pregunta uno— hay tanta corrupción?
 Why —one wonders— is there so much corruption?

With respect to our syntactic proposal, we will assume, along with Hernanz 1990, Moltman 2006 and Gutiérrez 2018, that arbitrary reading is a last resort option where the determiner acts as a variable bound by a generic operator. However, for the concealing reading, which admits paraphrasing by the pronoun *yo* ('I'), we propose that it is a specific and non-arbitrary referential use.

The arbitrary interpretation of *uno* arises from how non-specific indefinite determiners behave in generic contexts (Leonetti 1999). On the basis of this hypothesis, we will explain the distribution of arbitrary and concealing reading. First, concealing reading is compatible with appositive relatives (2) since it has the same interpretation as the pronoun *yo* (Gómez Torrego 1992: 17):

- (2) Uno, que ya está harto de todo, solo piensa en dimitir.
 One, who has had enough of everything, can only think of resigning

Second, arbitrary reading is possible in generic contexts (Hernanz 1990). However, when there are no generic triggers and the tense is perfective, the concealing reading appears:

- (3) En esta vida, uno {hace/hizo} lo que {puede/pudo}.
 'In this life, one {does/did} what one {can/could}'

Based on Bermúdez's (2005) model, we will show the evidential readings of *uno* in the second part of the talk. With the concealing *uno*, the speaker indicates that the source of information is

personal and that access to the information is privative. With the arbitrary *uno*, access is shared. Descriptively speaking, the values attributed to arbitrary reading fit into the category of *general knowledge* (Hintz and Hintz 2014; Kittilä 2019). However, if, as we will argue, evidential values are derived from other areas of grammar, such as arbitrariness or genericity, what role does evidentiality play? We will suggest that arbitrary reading is related to the evidential category of *general knowledge* as an inference from genericity. The intuition is that, by making a generic statement, it is understood that access to information is not only through personal experience, but also through general knowledge.

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Retranslation and diachronic change in Modern Hebrew

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Key words: Retranslation, language change, Modern Hebrew, usage based.

Modern Hebrew is one of the rare languages whose previous versions since its 19th century renaissance were mainly written. In fact, the first speakers of Hebrew borrowed speech formulas from literary texts; many of them were translations (Even-Zohar 1990; Toury 2010). By now, Modern Hebrew has reached its standardization stage and seems to develop along the general paths described by historical linguistics researchers (Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot 2001; Brinton & Traugott 2005; Heine & Kuteva 2006, Hopper 2018). Although translation norms have been known to follow language norms with considerable delay, retranslation of the same literary text within a relatively short period may reflect unexpected changes in language (Karas & Bat-Zeev Shyldkrot). Moreover, changes in Modern Hebrew show signs of acceleration, and literary translations may provide a significant tool to study it (Muchnik 2003). A general look at Hebrew retranslations, however, reflects a process similar to that outlined by Antoine Berman (1990) i.e., going from assimilating to increasingly faithful renditions of the source text.

This proposal aims at examining the fast changes in Modern Hebrew detected in retranslations of literature, consequently pointing at the processes involved throughout. In a corpus comprising retranslated texts from English and French of the same source-texts, we investigate the accelerated changes in the Hebrew language. For this purpose, a representative sample of classical or best-selling written texts in prose was selected from the period of 1960-2000, ca. 40 years. We selected a limited number of world-wide recognized masterpieces that have been retranslated at least twice, with its last version done recently. This is a part of an ongoing research, yet the accelerated process manifested in this period already create the impression that each retranslation belongs to a different era, both linguistically and stylistically (Woodworth 2022). Also reflected in this sample is the change from predominantly male translators to a high percentage of female translators (Ben-Ari 2022).

In a corpus based methodology, using heTenTen and Google Ngram among other tools, we will present examples of the ongoing process. We will show how a study of even a short sample of a given text, already offers significant results. Within a relatively short time, lexical items, collocations, phrases and grammatical structures that have been the stock and store of literary translations have been wiped out. Words and expressions, especially deriving from Biblical or Michnaic sources have been erased, simplified or replaced by modern equivalents. Stock grammatical formulas have been rejected or modernized.

The study of the texts may demonstrate the way Hebrew develops and even suggest how literary retranslation may not only reflect changes in the language but also create them.

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Short Literary Corpus

English/Hebrew

- F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*. Trans. Gideon Toury, 1974; Lyor Shternberg 2013.
- D.H. Lawrence, *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. Trans. Baruch Karu, 1965; Aharon Amir, 1971; Ophira Rahat, 2006.
- William Faulkner, *The Reivers*. Trans. Aliza Netzer, 1963; Sharon Preminger, 2019.
- Virginia Woolf, *Mrs Dalloway*. Trans. Rina Litvin, 1976; Sharon Preminger, 2008.

French/Hebrew

- Marcel Proust, *A la recherche du Temps perdu; Du coté de chez Swann*. Trans. Israel Zmora, 1972; Helit Yeshurun, 1992.
- Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Le Petit prince*. Trans. Arie Lerner, 1952; Ilana Hammerman, 1993 (a second edition 2000); Dror Grin, 2014; Talma Elyagon-Roz, 2015; Revital Shalem, 2015.
- Alber Camus, *L'Etranger*. Trans. Aharon Amir, 1977; Ilana Hammerman, [1985] 2011.

Linguistic Corpora

- <https://www.nli.org.il/he/discover/newspapers/jpress>
- <https://books.google.com/ngrams>
- <https://www.sketchengine.eu/hetenten-hebrew-corpus/>
- <https://hebrewcorpus.byu.edu/>

A closer look at terminative periphrases

The study of verbal periphrases as complex predicates and relatedly, of the properties of auxiliary verbs, is a classic topic of Romance linguistics at the syntax/semantics interface. One of the syntactic properties of verbal periphrases is that in the passive voice, the verb that undergoes passivization is the main verb, not the auxiliary verb. Several works on Spanish note that a non-normative exception to this pattern is found in aspectual periphrases also known as phasal periphrases, e.g. with *empezar* ‘to begin’ or *terminar* ‘to finish’ (García Fernández 2006, 2012; RAE-ASALE 2009: 3044-3045), as exemplified in (1), with the corresponding passive form on the main verb in (1’). But to the best of my knowledge no systematic empirically-based study has been done on this topic. This paper addresses this gap by focusing on the passivization of terminative periphrases with the verbs *terminar* and *acabar* ‘to finish V’ in both Spanish and Portuguese.

- (1) El monoblock fue diseñado por el arquitecto Emilio Villanueva y
fue terminado de edificar en 1948.
be.PST.3SG finish.PPART of build.INF in 1948
(*Razón*, Bolivia, 28/4/2009, *apud* García Fernández 2012: 20)

- (1’) El monoblock fue diseñado por el arquitecto Emilio Villanueva y
terminó de ser edificado en 1948.
finish. PST.3SG of be.INF build.PPART in 1948

First, I analyze the semantic properties of terminative periphrases, based on previous work: they describe the final phase or culmination of an event (Bertucci 2011; Amaral and Del Prete 2020). Accordingly, the V complement in such periphrases must be an accomplishment. Second, I present corpus data from the *Corpus del Español* (<https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/>) and the *Corpus do Português* (<https://www.corpusdoportugues.org/>) showing that the passivization of the aspectual verbs is widespread. I propose that this pattern provides further support for Smith’s account of “superlexical verbs”, i.e. verbs that lexically denote parts of an eventuality (Smith 1991; García Fernández and Krivochen 2019). Such verbs often take event-denoting nouns as direct objects and contribute a description of either the initial phase or the culmination of such events. An analysis of the semantic and syntactic properties of the nouns found with such periphrases along the lines of *qualia* structure (Pustejovsky 1995) helps us understand the pattern of passivization of these aspectual verbs.

This paper contributes to our knowledge of aspectual periphrases in Ibero-Romance and more broadly to our understanding of verb meaning and event structure.

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Constructional (a)symmetries in polar interrogatives

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Keywords: polar interrogatives, yes/no questions, typology, symmetry, asymmetry

In Mandarin, declaratives (Ds) and polar interrogatives (PIs) often differ only in the addition of the sentence-final particle *ma* in PIs, as *nǐ shì Lǐ Huá* ‘you are Li Hua’ versus *nǐ shì Lǐ Huá ma?* ‘are you Li Hua?’ shows. In Scottish Gaelic, however, PIs employ a different verb stem, also found in negative Ds and imperatives, than their corresponding Ds (Lamb 2001:59). In terms of Miestamo’s (2005) (a)symmetry notion—i.e. the linguistic expression of domain $f(X)$ diverges from X (not) only in the occurrence of the $f()$ marker—the Mandarin PI construction would be symmetric vis-à-vis its D counterpart, and the Scottish Gaelic one asymmetric. This is because the former simply involves the extra question marker while the latter requires a different verb form, which is arguably associated with irrealis. The current paper seeks to document and account for such (a)symmetries in PI constructions across the world’s languages.

PIs have been studied typologically before (e.g. Siemund 2001, Dryer 2013) but the research, typically not based on balanced samples, has paid little attention to more fine-grained grammatical (dis)similarities between PIs and Ds, like the issue of irrealis in Scottish Gaelic. The only exception in the literature is Miestamo’s (2007, 2011) work. It is, however, based on small samples and, to identify and explain relevant (a)symmetries in polar interrogation, a more extensive dataset is needed (cf. Miestamo 2007:306 himself). Our paper aims to fill this gap, by applying the (a)symmetry notion to PIs versus Ds in a large, geographically and genetically stratified sample of 200 languages. We adopt Miestamo et al.’s (2016:256-259) genus/macro-area method with predetermined sample size but use Nichols et al.’s (2022) ten macro-areas rather than their six.

This talk will present our preliminary analysis of PI (a)symmetries in our sample. Functional motivations will be postulated for the (a)symmetries found. An initial finding reveals that symmetry is much more frequent in PIs than in domains like standard and imperative negation (Miestamo 2005, Van Olmen 2019). Symmetry is arguably motivated by language-internal or form-to-form analogy (Itkonen 2005)—for reasons of cohesion, PIs just “copy” their corresponding Ds’ construction—and PIs appear to exhibit fewer semantic/pragmatic traits potentially interfering with this analogy than negation. We nevertheless find asymmetries in our data that echo those postulated by Miestamo (2005) for standard negation: finiteness (verbs are less finite in PIs than in Ds), irrealis (unlike Ds, PIs are marked as irrealis) and tense-aspect-mood (verbal categories are expressed differently in PIs than in Ds). We also find new types, though, like speech act asymmetry (PI marking forms a paradigm with D as well as imperative marking) and focus asymmetry (unlike Ds, PIs are always expressed using a focus construction, e.g. in Tamil). These asymmetries can be explained through language-external or function-to-form analogy, although their motivations are different for PIs than for negation. PIs finiteness asymmetry, for instance, has arguably little to do with stativity (cf. Miestamo 2005:206) but reflects PI’s scope over the entire state of affairs (e.g. ‘is them sleeping the case?’).

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Intercultural performative hybridization: A case of mixed couples' identity (co)construction on TikTok

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Keywords: TikTok, mixed couples, performative hybridization, identities, linguistic/semiotic choices

Social media, such as TikTok, emerged as a new space where cultural, national and intercultural identities are constructed through visual, textual, interactive and other modes (Korhonen, 2010). In this concept, many mixed couples- partners with different national background- use TikTok in order to present themselves and construct identities with memetic and intersectional aspects (Civila & Jaramillo- Dent, 2022). Mixed couples on TikTok were chosen, because they are part of a hybridization process, often facing negativity from both cultures, being considered the "Other" (Al Areqi, 2016).

In this study, we aim to explore the linguistic and semiotic resources that Albanian-Greek couples and Turkish/Arabic-Greek couples use to represent their cultural distinct identities or construct hybrid identities; whether they formate cultural dynamics to achieve different levels of visibility or overthrow; and how these identities, perfomatives and cultural dynamics are consumed by other users of TikTok.

As a method to collect the data, we used a modified virtual snowball sampling (Baltar & Brunet, 2012). We began by identifying TikTok videos using the hashtags #mixedcouples, #albaniangreek, #greeturkishcouple, #arabicgreek. Then, we used other hashtags which have appeared with videos and found other relevant videos. We selected 6 videos which have the most views and comments. For the analysis, we have chosen critical discourse analysis and particularly Van Dijk's (2001) sociocognitive approach in combination with multimodal analysis. Both of them accommodate the interpretation of verbal and nonverbal data and representative modes and provide new readings of established notions.

As our study is still in process, we expect the users' negotiation of their own practices with existing material structures to be highlighted, a process that is called *vernacular affordance* by McWeigh-Shultz & Baym (2015), such as combinations audio, answer-comment, emoticons. Furthermore, we anticipate that mixed couples will be bearers of different structures and practices, previously existing in separate forms and then combined to generate new structures, characterized by cultural hybridity.

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Semantic relations in Basque ideophones

Ideophones are marked linguistic elements due to their foregrounded structural characteristics and their compact and multifaceted depictive meaning (Dingemanse, 2012, 2022; author; Akita and Dingemanse, 2019). Basque is a highly-ideophonic language due to both the number and scope of its ideophone inventory (see, author). One defining characteristic of Basque ideophones is their high degree of antonymy, partial synonymy, and polysemy. Ideophones can be usually grouped together into semantic categories whose members share general characteristics but exhibit an opposite meaning (*zapar-zapar* ‘to rain cats and dogs’ vs. *zirimiri* ‘drizzle’) or differ in the nuances that specify their semantic scope (e.g., both *dzaust* and *dzast* mean ‘insert’ but the latter depicts a ‘deeper insertion’). At the same time, many of these elements undergo semantic extension processes: their schematic or general meaning widens its scope to cover different specific situations (e.g., *barra-barra* ‘profusely’ applies a wide variety of contexts ‘to spend a lot of money’, ‘to speak non-stop’, ‘to spread something’, etc.), or figuratively expands its meaning (*pil-pil* ‘boiling’ means ‘hot news, the latest’).

This talk examines onomasiological and semasiological relations in Basque ideophones from two complementary viewpoints. On the one hand, it provides an informed description of these semantic relations with special attention to domains such as natural phenomena, motion, and ingestion. On the other hand, it explores the morphophonological devices that may trigger the semantic relations among these ideophones; namely, vowel alternation, phonestemes, palatalisation, reduplication, *i.a.*.

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Adult Vernacular Production in Island Southeast Asia and the Pacific

In this paper, we present an overview of Adult Vernacular Production (AVP) in Island Southeast Asia (ISEA) and the Pacific. AVP is an under-researched pattern of language acquisition that may occur when a local vernacular language is in contact with a more dominant lingua franca. Individuals with AVP acquire both languages in childhood; however, while they are active users of the lingua franca in childhood and into adolescence, they only become active users of the vernacular in early adulthood (Anderbeck, 2015). An increasing body of evidence indicates that AVP is widespread in ISEA and the Pacific (Saad, 2020), with at least two dozen cases attested across the region (Peddie, 2021). Based on the available documentation, factors that favour AVP include: the use of the lingua franca in educational contexts, combined with positive community attitudes towards the vernacular and a strong sense of local identity. However, more research is required in order to understand whether AVP arises under similar conditions across various communities in Melanesia.

As a baseline, we present a case study of language acquisition and AVP in Abui, a Papuan language spoken on Alor, eastern Indonesia. AVP was first detected by Kratochvíl (2007) and then fleshed out in Saad (2020), where the impact of AVP on grammar was investigated. Here, it was found that AVP had affected the domain of verbal semantics more than other aspects of grammar, such as reflexivity in possession and reduplication.

Finally, we explore the theoretical implications of AVP for conventional models of language acquisition, language change, and language endangerment. We explore how AVP may interact with critical age hypothesis in bilingual language acquisition. In addition, we look at what impact this may have on the apparent-time hypothesis, which has been assumed to be much more prevalent than age-grading (Sankoff, 2006). Regarding language endangerment: all of the standard models for determining the endangerment status of a language use stability of intergenerational transmission as one of the primary criteria (e.g. Lewis & Simons, 2010; UNESCO, 2003; Language Endangerment Index, Lee & Van Way, 2018). However, intergenerational transmission is typically determined by taking a snapshot of children's language use, rather than paying attention to the more complex, evolving patterns of language use – in other words, a linguist observes that children are not producing the vernacular at one given point and thus concludes that intergenerational transmission has broken. We argue that, in at least some cases, generational asymmetries of language use may be better explained by a linguistic ecology involving AVP.

We conclude this paper by sketching out questions for future research, including what the implications of AVP may be for typological change as well as language revitalization.

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Overabundance at the intersection with diglossia and variationism

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Keywords: *corpus; diglossia; inferential statistics; overabundance; sociolinguistic variables.*

Previous studies on morphological typology have primarily focused on language-internal processes as the origin of OVERABUNDANCE (e.g. heteroclisia or suppletion) (Thornton 2011, 2019). In this paper, we highlight the relevance of language-external factors for explaining the origin and preservation of overabundance, based on fieldwork data and inferential statistics.

Overabundance is prominent in West Polesian/Podlasian (East Slavic) at intra- and inter-speaker level, even within the same household. The use of West Polesian is stigmatised, and speakers belong to the same socio-economic class, which according to Dorian (2010), creates an ecosystem that favours the conservation of overabundance. Concomitantly, they are exposed to four standardised and closely related Slavic languages (EXTENDED DIGLOSSIA) (cf. Fishman 1967). Hence, unsurprisingly, many of the overabundant forms in the paradigms have cognates in the more prestigious neighbouring languages. In this paper, we tackle the following question: is this extensive variation (and thus, overabundance) related to any sociolinguistic variables or is it mostly the result of language contact and the lack of a standard?

We use multi-level Logistic Regression to determine whether there is any association between sociolinguistic variables (AGE, GENDER and VILLAGE OF ORIGIN; as indicators of exposure to more prestigious related varieties) and measures of overabundance in the language (i.e. how many different forms speakers use for a single cell). We focus on the suppletive nouns for ‘person’ and ‘year’, which in many Slavic languages display two stems (e.g. [Polish] *jeden rok*; [Russian] *odin god* ‘one year’; vs. [Polish] *pięć lat*; [Russian] *pjat’ ljet* ‘five years’). In West Polesian such nouns have up to three different stems in some idiolects and are also heterogeneous concerning suffixation and stress (e.g. for the GEN. PL of ‘year’ either *rk*, *rok-IV* or *ro’k-IV*). Data are drawn from a corpus of free texts by c. 60 speakers, collected through fieldwork in Belarus and Poland and containing 960 tokens of the nouns. Some paradigm cells only show evidence of one or two possible combinations (e.g. ACC.SG, INS.SG); in part due to their lower frequency in the corpus. Conversely, we have recorded up to eight different forms for other cells e.g. ‘year’[LOC.SG] *hodu* ~ *ho’du* ~ *hod* ~ *’hodz’ie* ~ *ro’kovI* ~ *’rotsI* ~ *’roku* ~ *’vjekovI*. Note that we have excluded dialectal differences in phonology; e.g. *tfolo’vzk* ~ *tfila’?ek* ~ *tfulo’vjek* ‘person’ [NOM.SG].

The results of our analysis suggest that this may be a canonical instance of sociolinguistically-neutral variation, combined with extended diglossia, resulting in high overabundance. Concerning the noun ‘person’, there is a statistically significant association between AGE and the suppletive stems available (i.e. the older the person, the more stems they use). However, this applies neither to other forms of variation (stress position or suffix type) nor to the noun ‘year’; i.e. speakers of all AGES, GENDERS and ORIGINS have shown high levels of overabundance in free speech. This leaves the sociolinguistic diglossic landscape as the most plausible relevant factor triggering and preserving overabundance, which calls for an expansion of current theories on morphological typology.

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On the mirative use of quotative complementizers and exclamatives in Japanese

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Keywords: quotative complementizer, mirativity, emphasis, exclamatives, illocutionary force

In languages like Spanish, European Portuguese, Catalan, Korean and Japanese, complementizers can occur in root clauses without being embedded (Etxepare 2010, Corr 2016, 2018, Ceong 2019, and Kocher 2022; cf. Beijering, Kaltenböck & Sansiñena 2019). Quotative complementizer *to* and its colloquial variant *tte* in Japanese can behave as root complementizers. Root complementizers usually occur in colloquial speech, and when speakers hear information which they have not expected, they may quote their interlocutor's utterance with a quotative complementizer at the end, as in (1). This is the mirative use (i.e. expression of a speaker's surprise or incredulity) of a quotative complementizer.

- (1) E, Taroo-ga koros-are-ta-to/tte?!
oh Taro-NOM kill-PASS-PST-TO/TTE
'Really, (did you say that) Taro was killed?!'

As this affect-loaded mirative use became frequent, quotative complementizers in appropriate contexts gave rise to mirative markers. Ishihara (2021) claims that they are recategorized as Sentence Final Particles (SFPs), which occur in a Speech Act Phrase at the top of a root clause, since they cannot be embedded and do not cooccur with other SFPs. This paper investigates other expansions of the use of the quotative *to*/*tte*.

In idiomatic emphatic expressions like (2), a predicate and its negative counterpart are followed by *tte*, and degree of a state denoted by the positive form of the predicate is emphasized by a speaker out of their own experience.

- (2) Atu-i-no atuku-na-i-no-tte(-*naa)!
hot-NPST-PRT hot-NEG-NPST-PRT-TTE-*SFP
'It is very hot!'

A sequence preceding *tte* in (2) is not a quotation. Rather, *tte* in this type of emphatic expressions, like mirative *tte*, shows properties such as non-embeddability, non-cooccurrence with other SFPs and the expressiveness of speakers' emotions, so it is closely related to the mirative *tte*.

Exclamative sentences in Japanese take the forms in (3) and (4) (Sasai 2006). What is noteworthy is the fact that both forms contain *te*.

- (3) Nanto/nante (i-u) kireina hana daroo!
NANTO/NANTE say-NPST pretty flower MODAL
'What a pretty flower it is!'

- (4) Konnani kirei nante!
so pretty NANTE
'It is so pretty!'

nanto/nante in (3) derived from *nani* 'what' and *to/te*. Though *to/te* follow a *wh*-phrase rather than a clause in (3), they are related to a quotative complementizer, as indicated by the optional occurrence

of a verb of saying *i-u* in the sentence. Here the speaker expresses their surprise of finding a beautiful flower. In (4) *nante* functions as an exclamative marker, which derived from *nado* ‘et cetera’ and *to*. Thus, both types of exclamative sentences involve the quotative complementizer *to/tte* and are similar to the mirative *to/tte* in allowing a speaker to express their emotions in their utterances.

Other Japanese complementizers *no* and *koto* have been analyzed as mirative markers by Shimada and Nagano (2017), and the root complementizer *que* in Ibero-Romance languages has an exclamative use in addition to a quotative use. This case study gives yet another support for the close connection between root complementizers and illocutionary force, and demonstrates the interaction between syntactic structures and speech acts.

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Illeisms as metonymic mirrors

In this paper, we will reconstruct the cognitive background of illeism as a specific phenomenon in public discourse. Illeisms are rhetorical figures of referring to one's self by using one's own name or a third person singular pronoun form, and they have been observed as a very common occurrence in the public discourse across languages. Often considered to be a breach of social etiquette and conventional communicational patterns, illeisms are usually classified as a stylistic device used to create a mental leap in the process of referring to the person using a personal name and the potential pool of concepts associated with that person.

Based on the data set of spoken or written statements from various printed and electronic media, we have determined that there is a cognitive motivation for the use of personal names in such contexts, and that there is a shift from their referential, onomastic function by figurative extensions based on certain cognitive-linguistic processes. Previous research points to a strong cognitive motivation when using personal names as typical referential metonymies (Barcelona 2003a, 2003b, 2004; Berberović 2009; Brdar and Brdar-Szabó 2007). They are based on the gradual introduction of metonymic chains that activate our encyclopedic knowledge about the person as a referent and they occasionally impose specific metaphorical mappings, in this case between the domain of a private and a public person.

It is observed that they are anchored in typically pragmatic contexts of manipulation of the audience, where there are certain tendencies to establish different levels of dominance of the speaker over the listener (Lovrić 2011). In view of this we take the position of the pragmatic function of metonymy (Barcelona 2002, Benczes et al. 2011) when it links the source and the target domain within the same functional domain represented in the complex structure of self a person may have. At the same time, illeisms reveal the organizational force of metonymy in the process of shaping the individual's view of reality and omnipotence as defense.

Our research of the data set has shown that there is a specific profile of people, more or less familiar to the wider audience, who have a specific discourse style when they use their names to refer to themselves. Typically, they switch between the use of 'I' and 'we', crossing the border line between the individual self and the collective self quite freely, but the use of their own names or even of the common noun denoting their professional capacity or function ('mayor', 'director') is symptomatic in terms of facilitating the creation of a figurative class of distinct individuals having some specific, usually socially desirable property. The role of metonymy is to provide a direct reference to the desired functional domain so that illeisms create a strong discourse effect by imposing the image of the speaker's superior self and the proper name attracts the desired reading of the context creating an effective 'buffer zone' against potential malvolent intentions from the audience.

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Demonstrative pronouns as determiners in Estonian temporal expressions

Keywords: demonstrative determiners, temporal reference, referential functions, corpus analysis, Estonian

Introduction. Over the past decades, much attention has been paid to demonstrative pronouns, such as English *this* and *that*, and particularly in their use in the spatial context. As another typical usage context, demonstrative pronouns can occur in time expressions (e.g. *these days* and *that time*). However, such temporal usages have received only limited research attention and, thus, little is known about the functions of demonstrative pronouns in the temporal domain (see also Zulaica-Hernández & Gutiérrez-Rexach 2009; Diessel & Coventry 2020; Todisco, Rocca & Wallentin 2021).

Aim and research questions. The aim of the current study is to investigate the usage of demonstrative pronouns in Estonian temporal expressions and to provide a descriptive account of demonstrative pronouns as determiners in temporal NPs. The research questions are as follows:

- (i) What are the referential functions of demonstrative pronouns (*see* ‘this’ vs. *too* ‘that’) as determiners in the temporal NPs in Estonian?
- (ii) What morphosyntactic patterns emerge for demonstrative pronouns (*see* ‘this’ vs. *too* ‘that’) in temporal NPs (also in relation to their referential functions)?
- (iii) In the spatial context, *too* ‘that’ in Estonian is used to refer to more distal objects and *see* ‘this’ to closer objects. Do similar differences in distance occur in the temporal sphere?

Data and method. Corpus data was taken from the Estonian National Corpus 2021 (ENC 2021). Ten most frequent temporal nouns in the ENC 2021 were used as search items, being preceded either by *see* or *too* (e.g., *see aeg* ‘this time’, *too aeg* ‘that time’). If enough data was available, 50 sentences per word pair were randomly selected, resulting in 969 sentences in total (there was one word pair that occurred in 19 sentences). The sentences were tagged for a range of variables, such as the grammatical form and syntactic role of the word pair, temporal reference, and anaphoric vs. deictic function of the demonstrative.

Results. Comparing the two demonstratives, word pairs with *see* ‘this’ (*seeNP*) were more frequently in the nominative case, plural number, and subject or object function than word pairs with *too* ‘that’ (*tooNP*). In contrast, *tooNPs* were more frequently in the adessive case, singular number, and adverbial function than *seeNPs*. In addition, *seeNPs* had more frequent present and future time reference than *tooNPs*, whereas *tooNPs* had more frequent past time reference. As for their referential functions, *seeNPs* were equally frequently used for deictic and anaphoric functions, while *tooNPs* were almost exclusively used anaphorically.

Conclusions. These results suggest that *see* ‘this’ and *too* ‘that’ in temporal reference display significantly different usage patterns in their morphosyntactic behaviour and referential functions. Similarly to spatial reference, *too* ‘that’ in Estonian tends to be used for more distant events in time than *see* ‘this’. Differently from spatial reference, *too* ‘that’ cannot be easily used for deictic reference of time. This is presumably due to the substantial difference between space and time in that time cannot be visible (contrary to space) and, thus, deictic reference is only possible in case the referred time is ongoing at the time of speech act.

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Existentials in Forest Nenets

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Keywords: Forest Nenets, existentials, existential verb, copula, Samoyed languages

The connection between locative, existential and possessive predication has been well established in the literature (e.g. Lyons 1967, Clark 1978, Freeze 1992, Koch 2012). In Northern Samoyedic languages (Nenets, Enets and Nganasan; <Uralic), locatives can be distinguished from existentials and possessives based on the verbal element (among other features), i.e. there is a copula used with locatives and a special existential verb used with the latter structures (Wagner-Nagy 2016).

The following table presents these verbal elements as outlined in grammatical descriptions (see e.g. Tereshchenko 1973, Wagner-Nagy 2011, Nikolaeva 2014) for both Tundra and Forest Nenets. The study presented here takes a focus on the less described Forest Nenets variant and the existential structures within; it is based on a corpus currently being built in Hamburg (19,944 tokens).

Tunda Nenets	Forest Nenets	function	clause type
<i>ŋa-</i>	<i>ŋa-</i>	copula used with inanimate referents	locative
<i>me-</i>	<i>me-</i>	copula used with animate referents	locative
<i>tan'a-</i>	<i>tad'a-, tat'a-</i>	affirmative existential verb	existential (+ possessive)
<i>jan̄ko-</i>	<i>d'ako-</i>	negative existential verb	existential (+ possessive)

Following the descriptions above, one should find the existential verbs exclusively in existential (and possessive) sentences, while *me-* and *ŋa-* are expected in locative sentences. But when looking at Forest Nenets existential clauses in the data, some irregularities appear:

- 1) The existential verb is in some incidences not the only verbal element but is combined with the copula: both with *ŋa-* (1a) and *me-* (1b); the latter yielding a possessive reading due to the animateness of the referent.
- 2) For Tundra Nenets, Hegedűs et al. (2017, 2018) and Mus (2022) suggest that the use of the copula verb in existential clauses is only possible if the theme is definite but do not mention the combination of both elements. In the examples shown here from Forest Nenets, the referents are not definite, but can be seen as specific making a discourse explanation also possible for this variant of Nenets.
- 3) There are also some occurrences of posture verbs in Forest Nenets (2) but they are not used systematically. It is, however, notable that similar structures can be found in other Uralic languages (e. g. Selkup (< Samoyedic), Khanty and Mansi (both < Ob-Ugric), see Däbritz 2022).

In summary, it can be said that the verbal system in existential clauses in Nenets appears very clear at first glance, but shows some deviations that can maybe be explained by discourse factors, namely

definiteness or specificity of the figure element. The aim of the study is to present the use of verbal elements in existential clauses in contrast to locative sentences in Forest Nenets and to make it possible to compare this variety with both Tundra Nenets and other (areal) languages.

Examples

- (1a) Čik'i mani-ŋku-ŋ m'u-n'a ŋaj lapka-ŋ maniŋku tat'a
 this bag-DIM-GEN inside-LOC.ADV also store-GEN bag-DIM exist.CVB
 ŋa, [...] be.3SG
 'And in the backpack, there is also a bag from the store, [...]'
 (APY_200311_WalkHome_nar.059)

- (1b) Puxša-tta tad'a me-maj, n'e n'uta
 wife-POSS3SG exist.CVB be.there-NAR.3SG woman.GEN child
 tad'a me-maj.
 exist.CVB be.there-NAR.3SG
 'He had a wife and a daughter.' (TPG_2002_OldShaman_flk.003)

- (2) Ŋaŋka t'et'aj m'aŋ-t'aaŋ kăw-xăna n'uča t'et'aj m'at-uut'i
 big leather.covered tent-AUG side-LOCsmall leather.covered tent-DIM
 nu-štu.
 stand-HAB.3SG
 'Near the big tent, there usually was [lit. stood] a small tent.' (ILA_200411_Lake_nar.017)

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Found in space - insights from non-standardized word demarcation

This study investigates orthographic wordhood in a non-standardized system, Swiss German, showcasing the conflicts between phonetics and syntax when it comes to chunking in writing.

A lot of importance is attributed to the orthographic word (OW): it constitutes material for stimuli in psycholinguistic experiments and is a popular object of study when it comes to language storage and processing (Sandra 2020). Spaces and other separators are thus considered as demarcating basic building blocks of language.

Until the Middle Ages, *scriptio continua* was prevalent in Europe. The common view is that space insertion originated in Ireland in the seventh century, and spread from there (Saenger 1997). Since then, the OW as it is found in many orthographic systems today has been conventionalized and entrenched over centuries, sometimes based on authoritative decisions.

It is now widely accepted that the *word* in general can be questioned as a cross-linguistically valid concept, and that at least a distinction has to be made between units of morphosyntax and of phonology (Haspelmath 2011, Tallman 2020). The OW does not necessarily coincide with either (Wray 2014). Still, word demarcation is clearly functional: Spaces or other separators facilitate reading efficiency, even in readers of writing systems which usually do without (Kohsom and Gobet 1997 on Thai, Bai et al. 2008 on Chinese).

Given the conventionalized character of the OW on the one hand, and the importance of chunking for processing on the other, the question arises what OWs emerge naturally. Investigations of writings produced by semi-literates suggest that there are often conflicting—phonological vs. syntactic—drivers for space insertion (Wray 2014: 733). Similar results are reported for native speakers' perception of OWs in a previously unwritten language (Peterson 2011, Busch & Fleischer 2015).

This study explores chunking in Swiss German, which is largely confined to spoken registers and has no standardized orthography. Writers are usually literate in Standard German. The corpus used comprises 131.670 tokens from Swiss German whatsapp messages (Stark et al. 2014-2020). One of the biggest factors which can lead to OWs in Swiss German varieties deviating from Standard German is the extensive use of clitics in the pronominal and article paradigm (Nübling 1992).

As expected, there is more chunking (i.e. fewer OWs) in Swiss German than in the Standard German word-by-word translation. However, not all deviations are due to phonological deficiency of certain parts of speech. Others are chunked as well, such as adverbs with adjectives (e.g. <*sochli*>, <*soguet*>) or adjectives with nouns (<*scheisskälti*>, <*schönabe*>). Also, there is variation within the corpus, especially with the attachment of articles, which cannot be attributed to the influence of Standard German orthography: in PPs comprised of two chunks, the pronominal article can be either attached to the preposition or to the noun, e.g. <*fürd föteli*> vs. <*für dnochfroog*>. Overall, there are very strong tendencies, especially with bound reduced pronominal forms and articles. The results open up a discussion on

what properties of language are actually measured when linguistic analyses are based on OWs.

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Converb clauses as clausal manner adverbials?

In this talk I discuss non-finite adverbial clauses formed with converbs in Uralic and Turkic. I show that these clauses are typically used to express either manner clauses or temporal clauses. This is illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) Udmurt ‘manner converbs’ (Georgieva 2018: 128)

Koľa Maša-jez [jaratj-sa] kjšno bašt-i-z.
Kolya Masha-ACC love-CVB wife take-PST-3SG
‘Kolya married Masha for love (lit. loving).’

(2) Udmurt ‘temporal converbs’ (Georgieva 2016: 33, as cited in Georgieva 2018: 151)

[Gurt-e bertj-sa] Koľa Liza-lj khiga-ze šot-i-z.
home-ILL go.home-CVB Kolya Liza-DAT book-3SG.ACC give-PST-3SG
‘_i/*_j having gone home, Kolya_i gave his book to Liza_j.’

The manner converbs are in fact argued to correspond to ‘transparent adverbials’ in Geuder’s (2004) terms, i.e., they denote a state and predicate of an individual involved in the event (the subject of the matrix clause) rather than predicate of the event variable (cf. *He ate quickly*); this has been proposed for Hungarian (Bartos 2009) and Udmurt (Georgieva 2018). Converbs used as transparent adverbials, unlike those used as temporal adjuncts, denote a situation that is always simultaneous with the one expressed in the matrix clause; this straightforwardly follows from the idea that they predicate of the subject. Furthermore, it has been shown that the distinction between converbs used as transparent adverbials and the ones used as temporal clauses also correlates with the size of the converb clause and its height of attachment in the matrix clause (Tóth 2000 and Bartos 2009 on Hungarian; Ótót-Kovács 2016 on Kazakh; Georgieva 2018 on Udmurt). The size of the converb clause can be diagnosed by the (im)possibility of licensing an overt subject: overt independent subjects are not licit in converbs used as transparent adverbials, for example. Hence, the above-mentioned studies have argued that transparent adverbials are smaller in size, i.e., VoicePs, while temporal converb clauses are argued to have an inflectional domain.

In addition to the transparent adverbial use, Hungarian also allows for converbs to be used as pure depictives. Bartos (2009) argues that this correlates with the choice of controller: pure depictives show object control, while transparent adverbials prefer subject control. Example (3) shows these non-finite clauses can have both readings and thus correspond to two different structures. Interestingly, Udmurt and Kazakh do not allow object control into converb clauses, cf. (4), thus indicating that these clauses can only be transparent adverbials, but not depictives (Georgieva 2018 and Ótót-Kovács 2016, respectively).

(3) Hungarian transparent adverbials vs depictives (Bartos 2009: 94)

Laci_i [mosolyogva] fotózta le Mari_j.
Laci smile.CVB photograph.PST.3SG down Mari.ACC
‘Laci_i photographed Mary_j _i/*_j smiling.’

(4) Udmurt converbs used as transparent adverbials (Georgieva 2018: 167)

Saša Maša-jez [divan vjljn kjšlj-sa] / [mįnja-sa] tuspukt-i-z.
Sasha Masha-ACC sofa on lie-CVB smile-CVB photograph-PST-3SG
‘Sasha_i photographed Masha_j _i/*_j sitting on the sofa/smiling.’

The Uralic and Turkic data allow us to gain a better understanding of clausal manner adverbials and phenomena related to them, such as control and clause size diagnostics.

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Comprehensive database of sound changes reveals tree-like and wave-like processes in the Mixtec language family

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Keywords: sound change, reconstruction, subgrouping, Mixtec, database

The comparative method of historical linguistics based on the principle of regular sound change remains the primary tool for reconstructing proto-languages, describing sound changes, and understanding language relationships and linguistic history. However, the methods face challenges in situations where continued contact between languages produces so-called ‘dialect areas’ or ‘dialect continua’ (Ross & Durie 1996, and Kalyan & François 2018). The Mixtec languages have been characterized as a dialect continuum (Longacre 1957, and Josserand 1983). Mixtec (or Tu’un Savi) refers to the languages spoken traditionally and currently by the Nuu Savi people in southern Mexico (Julián Caballero 1999) and in diaspora communities in other parts of Mexico and the US. Our work is based on an extensive database of Mixtec cognate sets, builds on previous work on proto-Mixtec reconstruction (Rensch 1976, Longacre 1957, Bradley & Josserand 1982, Josserand 1983, Dürr 1987, and Kaufman in press), and includes novel data from ongoing documentation projects in the Mixteca.

We identify 206 segmental sound changes across 104 Mixtec varieties and analyze their distribution and conditioning environments (see Table 1). We investigate whether and to what extent the patterns and distribution of these sound changes align with previous classifications of the language family (Josserand 1983, and AUTHOR et al. submitted). We build our inventory of sound changes in a bottom-up fashion, adding new changes as identified in the data. We establish the sound changes by evaluating each cognate set in light of the modern reflexes using the comparative method. To allow for the database to be expanded with more data in the future, we largely refrain from specifying environments with sound classes and rather list each conditioning environment separately (see Table 2). Given the large number of languages and data points, we handled this by creating multiple, interlinked databases following AUTOTYP principles such as modularity, autotypology, separation of definition and data files, and late aggregation (Witzlack-Makarevich et al. 2022).

This fine-grained, bottom-up coding of the sound changes served as the basis for applying correlation measures, clustering techniques and principal components analysis (PCA). The former show that the distribution of most sound changes aligns well with previously proposed dialect areas (Josserand 1983) and subgroups (Auderset et al. forthcoming). In addition, the results of the PCA (see Figure 1) show that there are more tree-like and more wave-like parts of the family, rather than the whole family being characterized as a dialect continuum with overlapping distributions of sound changes. Our study adds detail to understanding Mixtec language history, which is of importance to communities and their language-related needs and goals in language maintenance and access. Our methods provide a model for handling large data sets of diversified language groups for refining questions in reconstruction and subgrouping that continued contact may have obscured.

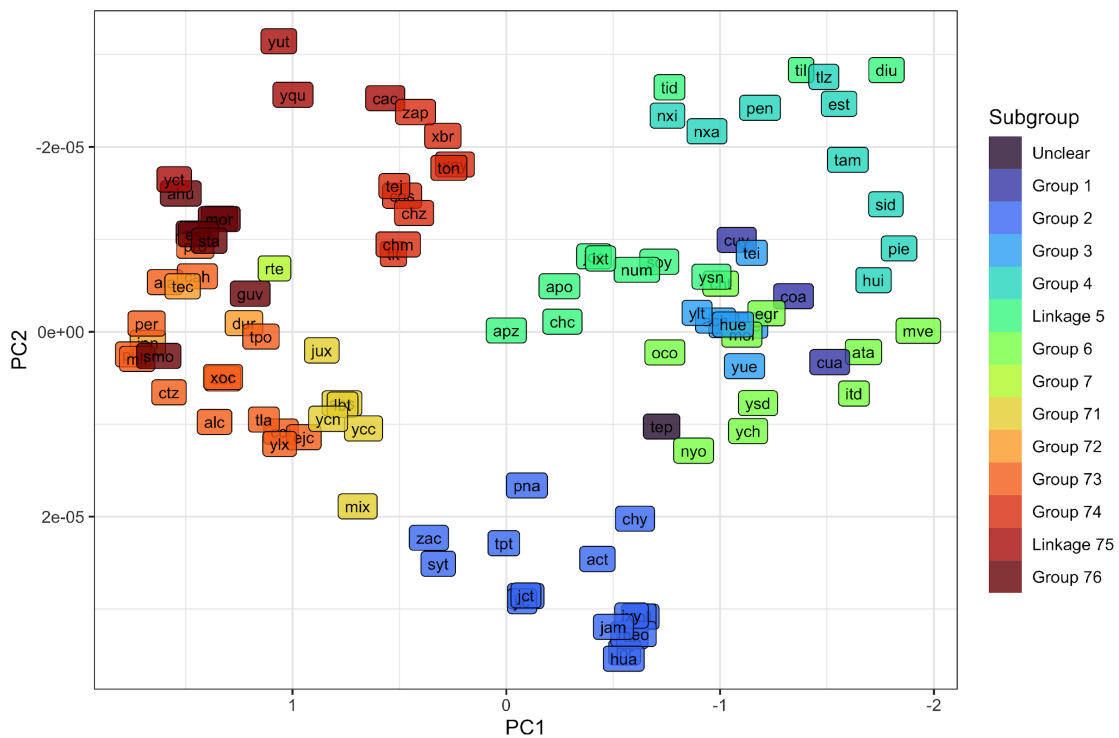
Table 1: Excerpt from the cognate set data base

ID	CONCEPT	DOCULECT	TOKENS	COGID
2104	CHILI PEPPER	SanJuanDiuxiMixtec	$ʒ a^5 ? a^5$	107
19359	CHILI PEPPER	SanMartinDuraznosMixtec	$ʒ a^3 ? a^1$	107
6524	CHILI PEPPER	SantaMariaZacatepecMixtec	$j a^3 ? a^3 ?$	107
2127	RIVER	SanJuanDiuxiMixtec	$ʒ u^5 t e^5$	607
19559	RIVER	SanMartinDuraznosMixtec	$ʒ i^1 t e a^3$	607
8487	RIVER	SantaMariaAcatepecMixtec	$j u t^j a$	607
12655	RIVER	SantoDomingoTonahuixtlaMixtec	$j o t e$	607

Table 2: Example cognate set and derived sound change variables and coding. The top row in the header gives the sound change ID, the second row spells out the sound change.

	TREE (799)	J13	U08	T24	U34	GS01
Proto-Mixtec	$*j u t \tilde{u} ?$	$*j > \varnothing / \# _ u$	$*u > i / _ t \tilde{u}$	$*t > n / _ \tilde{V}$	$*\tilde{u} > \tilde{o} / t _$	$*? > \varnothing / _ \#$
S.MartinPeras	$i t \tilde{u}$	yes	yes	no	no	yes
S.MateoSindihui	$ʒ \tilde{u} n \tilde{o}$	no	no	yes	yes	yes
S.MariaZacatepec	$j u t \tilde{u} ?$	no	no	no	no	no
St.Cacaloxtepec	$ʒ i t \tilde{o}$	no	yes	no	yes	yes

Fig. 1: Score plot of the first and second principal components of the PCA applied to all sound changes. Languages colored by subgroups identified based on a phylogenetic study (AUTHOR et al. submitted). Languages that are closer together have more sound changes in common.



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Instrument prefixes in South America: Bora, Muinane, Cahuapanan, and beyond

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Keywords: Instrument prefixes, morphology, Amerindian languages, areal linguistics, Bora

Prefixes deriving verbs that denote actions carried out with specific instruments, body parts, or, by extension, in a particular manner (e.g., kicking, sawing) are widespread in Native North American languages (Mithun 1999: 118–126) and have been considered a "unique" feature of North American languages (Palancar 1999: 151). South American languages are better known for related, but different systems of incorporated body part nouns or prefixes that typically stand in for absolutive arguments (e.g. *LEG-hit* 'hit someone's leg'), but not instruments (e.g., Aikhenvald 2017: 299–301; Zariquiey & Valenzuela 2022). Instrument prefixes proper have so been identified only in a few South American languages (Adelaar & Muysken 2004: 387, 448) and are not systematically described yet. The current paper offers a detailed description of instrument prefixes in Northwest Amazonian Bora, provides a reconstruction for Proto Bora-Muinane and comparison with other South American languages.

Bora has seven instrument prefixes, three that involve body parts and four that involve instruments or associated manners (example 1, additional prefixes are *ki-* 'do with a cutting tool' and *pɨ-* 'do by sawing'). These prefixes are not fully productive, but several dozen verb stems are attested with at least two different prefixes. In Bora's sister language Muinane, a few cognate prefixes are attested (example 2), but these are much less widespread in the verbal lexicon compared to Bora.

(1) Bora (Thiesen & Weber 2012: 123)

- a. *dó-pújuhjáco* 'break something fragile with the hand'
- b. *dɨ-pújuhjáco* '... with the teeth'
- c. *tá-pújuhjáco* '... with the foot'
- d. *cá-pújuhjáco* '... with something pointed'
- e. *wá-pújuhjáco* '... with a series of blows'

(2) Muinane (Walton, Walton & Pakky de Buenaventura 1997: 41)

- a. *dú-súúcuhi* 'press something' (*du-* is cognate with Bora *do-*)
- b. *gá-súúcuhi* 'break something with a stick' (*ga-* is cognate with Bora *wa[gʷa]*)

Prefixes can co-occur with overt instruments, as confirmed by corpus data on Bora (Seifart 2022). For some prefixes, potentially cognate free nouns (e.g. Bora *túha* 'foot', compare with example 1c) can be identified, making a historical origin through instrument incorporation likely. This has also been argued for North American prefixes (Mithun 1999; Palancar 1999), but is unlike similar forms in Oceanic languages whose origin is argued to be verbal (Verkerk & Frostad 2013).

Languages that today are neighboring Bora and Muinane (Witotoan, Arawakan, and Tucanoan languages, Andoque, Ticuna, and Yagua), all seem to lack comparable prefixes. However, Bora-Muinane instrument prefixes are functionally and semantically strikingly similar to prefixes in Western Amazonian Cahuapanan languages, e.g. Shiwilu *tu-* 'action performed by kicking' vs. *lli-* 'by striking' vs. *la-* 'by the teeth' vs. *sek-* 'with the hands' (Valenzuela 2014: 532–533). They are also similar to a set of forms in Lule, once spoken in the Chaco (Badini et al. 2008), and to a set of forms in Yamana (Yahgan), once spoken in Tierra del Fuego (Bridges 1894; 1933), and a few other attestations scattered across the continent. These similarities are suggestive of ancient language contact, and possibly a (once) continent-wide feature of South America.

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Light Verb Constructions: A Corpus-based Constructional Approach to the Modern Greek EXO ('HAVE') NA ('TO') Construction

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Keywords: Construction Grammar, Light Verbs, Pragmatics, Modern Greek, EXO (HAVE)

In this paper I explore in a Construction Grammar framework (Hilpert 2014; Fried 2015) a somewhat peculiar Greek construction EXO ('HAVE') NA ('TO'):

- (1) exo na miliso s-ti jineka mu ōjo
 have.1SG.PRS to speak.1SG.PFV to-DEF.ACC.SG.F wife. ACC.SG.F POSS.1GEN.SG two
 meres
 day.ACC.PL.F
 I haven't talked to my wife for two days.

As can be seen from the glosses, the meaning of the construction cannot be compositionally derived. It roughly translates to a negated perfect despite the absence of any negative element. Additionally, the construction exhibits certain idiosyncratic constraints: even though Greek verbs have the morphological distinction between perfective/ imperfective, the verb in the NA complement appears only in the perfective morphology. Although, there is nothing in the syntax that prevents the pattern to be negated, it never appears negated in the entire corpus. Finally, there are strong collocational preferences based on relative frequency counts of the corpus data and identifiable tendencies regarding the word order.

The construction has been examined in formal syntactic frameworks (Iatridou 2006; 2014). Iatridou (2006; 2014) treated the construction in terms of the semantics of determiners, characterizing it as a "free choice indefinite" that allows this construction to be linked with U-perfects. However, as the author acknowledges, the non-compositionality problem remains (Iatridou 2014: 252). Additionally, even though Iatridou recognizes the constructional status of the pattern, the type of de-contextualized analysis employed does not allow for a full incorporation of the pragmatic associations or idiosyncrasies.

In light of extensive corpus data (the totality of the tokens of this construction have been retrieved by the Corpus of Greek Texts (Goutsos 2010) and analyzed for the purposes of this research) I argue for a more pragmatic approach that treats the construction as a sperate node in the sub-network of the EXO NA constructions. Furthermore, capitalizing on the tenets of the constructional approach I show how the integration of semantic and discourse-pragmatic features in syntactic analysis along with the incorporation of statistical tendencies might expand our understanding of the construction. Ultimately, the data highlight the appropriateness of usage-based constructional frameworks for dealing with non-compositional patterns and for delimiting realistic conditions of use for the constructions of a language.

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Do words predict intonation units?

In this paper we explore the question of whether words, plus their sequential position, may be used to predict the location of an upcoming intonation unit boundary. We focus on the contrast between interjections (*oh, yeah, mhm, um, etc.*) and non-interjections, i.e. the familiar “grammatical” parts of speech, such as verbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and so on. We draw on naturally occurring conversations in the Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English (Du Bois, Chafe et al. 2000-2005), comprising 64,000 manually annotated intonation units, with additional annotations for features such as prosodic length, speech overlap, and final vs. continuing intonation.

We show that interjections tend to have a higher probability of overlap and lengthening than non-interjections (Figure 1).

We then fitted a machine learning model in Keras, using a single-layer neural net with sigmoid activation and binary cross-entropy loss. The model shows fair reliability, reflected in the Area Under the Curve value of 0.799, we further document the distribution of words (interjections and non-interjections) within the prosodic structure of their respective intonation units. In particular, we focus on two variables: The length (in words) of the intonation units that a word tends to fall in, and the “place value”, i.e. the position of a word, within its intonation unit. For the top 200 words (by adjusted frequencies) in the Santa Barbara Corpus, we obtained the empirical joint distribution of the lengths of the IUs in which they appear and their place within the IU. We find that words vary systematically in terms of whether they show a bias towards (1) shorter or longer units, and (2) a place value (= sequential position within the intonation unit) near the beginning, or middle, or end (Figures 2 & 3).

In sum, we show that, taking a listener perspective, the occurrence of the next intonation unit boundary can be reliably predicted based on the identity of words and their sequential position, even in the absence of prosodic cues. A question that remains for further research is whether the prediction of prosodic boundaries may contribute to predicting turn-taking phenomena, such the boundaries of Turn-Constructional Units (TCU) and the location of a Transition Relevance Place (TRP).

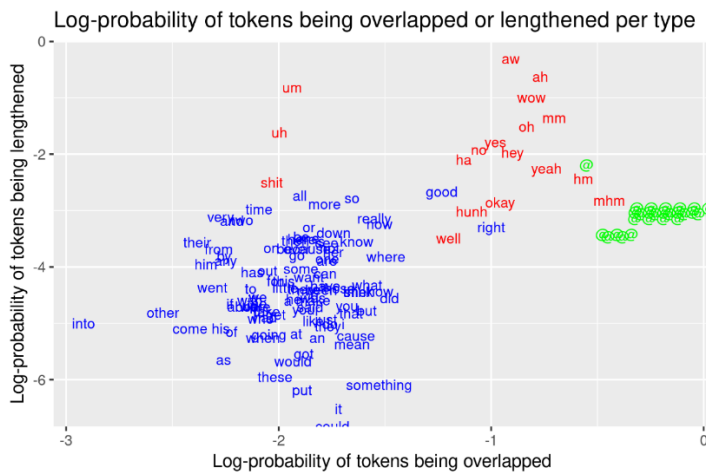
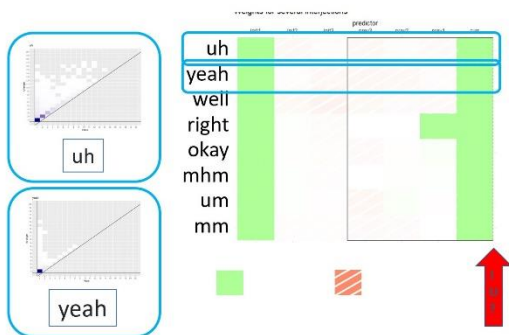
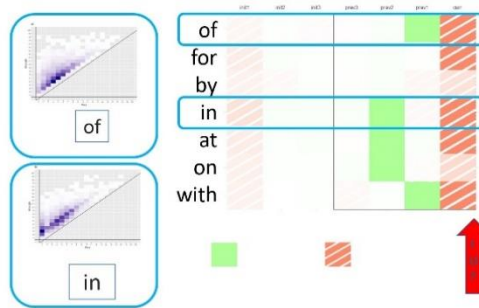


Figure 1: This graph plots the log-probability of a certain token being lengthened per word type (y-axis) against the log-probability of a token being overlapped per word type (x-axis). Green indicates laughter, red indicates interjections, blue indicates non-interjections. A log-probability of 0 indicates 1 probability, -1 around .37 probability, -2 around .14 probability, and -4 around 0.02 probability.

Interjections (model weight profiles)



Prepositions (model weight profiles)



Figures 2 & 3: The heatmaps (left) compare the distribution of the interjections *uh* and *yeah* (Figure 2) and the prepositions *of* and *in* (Figure 3) within the intonation unit. Interjections are highly biased towards single-word IUs, whereas non-interjections favor IUs of greater and more varied lengths. Model weights (right) show that following interjections, an IU boundary is predicted immediately; but following prepositions, the IU boundary is delayed by 1 or 2 words (depending on the preposition).

Approaching affixal rivalry from a cognitive-onomasiological perspective: A case study of *-ie/-o* derivatives

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Keywords: onomasiological approach, linguistic competition, *-ie* suffix, *-o* suffix, evaluative derivation

It is generally believed that the diminutive suffixes *-ie* and *-o* cover different evaluative domains (appreciation and depreciation respectively) and hence are mutually complementary to meet the demands of the language community (Štekauer 2005). Yet, the cases of violation of this generalization seen in examples such as *cheapie* (< *cheap*) and *dopie* (< *dope*), in which *-ie* forms are used to express contempt or derisive attitudes commonly associated with *-o* units demonstrate that the two word-formation processes may be in competition in terms of the connotational values of the derivational outcomes.

The presented research addresses the issue of affixal rivalry by taking a cognitive-onomasiological perspective to the analysis of English derivational pairs ending in *-ie* and *-o*, e.g. *oldie/oldo*, *werdie/weirdo*, *prossie/prosso* to understand the cognitive and linguistic reasons behind selecting either of the morphemes. The analysis also aims to contribute to the methodological base within the onomasiological framework (Štekauer 1998) by supplementing it with the prototypical approach to affix rivalry (Hamawand 2007). By combining the two approaches, we aim to unravel the nature of connections between the conceptual, semantic, and onomasiological levels within *-ie* and *-o* paradigms taken separately to identify the role such connections may play on the onomasiological level. The dataset of the collected *-ie/-o* doublets (N=38) was extracted from descriptive dictionaries (CED4; COD23; DCS; GDS; MED2; MWD11; NPDS2; ODS; OED3). The data analysis is divided into three stages: i) isolation of semes through the process of componential analysis, ii) identification of onomasiological models based on Štekauer's (2005) theory of onomasiological typology, and (iii) identification of evaluative domains in which affixes are predicted to compete. Each stage is complemented by the qualitative analysis of the items comprising the dataset based on their use in the NOW corpus (Davies 2022). This approach to the analysis of the data allowed for identification of four generic onomasiological models i.e. quality, patient, object and action, in which the categories of quality and patient convey the highest degree of competitiveness within the evaluative domain of pejoration. Both of these models are strongly connected to the trait [human], and the transition [quality/patient] → [pejorative] has been found to be regular and predictable when the semantic content of the derivational outputs expresses such traits as [mental state], [physical property], [sexual orientation], [belief/ideology].

The proposed framework of analysis opens new perspectives for future research within the scope of evaluative morphology through the applications of onomasiological typology and componential analysis. The framework demonstrates that semantic models are of avail in establishing prototypical hierarchies and semantic predictability, which are in turn informative of the degree of competition expressed by the units under study.

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On the correlation of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of sentences with intentionality modifiers (on Polish and English examples)

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Keywords: adverbs, intentionality modifiers, pragmatics, semantics, syntax

In classifications of adverbs, intentionality modifiers (e.g. *(un)intentionally*, *(non-)deliberately*, *inadvertently* etc., called here i-exponents) are usually described as mental attitude adverbs, closely related to the mental state class (cf. Croft 1984, Geuder 2002, Ernst 2002, 2003, Taverniers, Rawoens 2010, Kelepouris 2012). Even if their specificity is somehow noted, the class typically includes words such as *(un)willingly* or *reluctantly*, the properties of which are actually different from the lexemes listed above. My goal is to show that i-exponents constitute a separate group of expressions, with specific syntactic structure strictly correlated with their general semantic characteristics. This in turn meets the overall communicative purpose of sentences involving them, namely to judge the agent (as observed by John Austin (1957), though I substantially modify his ideas on that matter).

I argue that i-exponents convey information about the subject's basic intentional attitude not so much to the action itself, but to its effects, realised or anticipated. As comments on the resulting events, they introduce social perspective on actions, rather than agent-subjective one. Some mental states certainly underlie this basic attitude, but the speaker does not specify them in any detail – she as if simplifies these states, reducing them to a binary opposition. The speaker is interested in polarising the attitudes precisely because her main goal is to give a clear-cut evaluation of the subject in the context of what he caused. All this translates into a number of linguistic features, commented in the paper. The study is based on the methods of structural semantics, including contradiction/substitution tests, and uses examples excerpted from Polish and English corpora.

One of the main structural features following the above characteristics is that sentences with i-exponents have a twofold structure, i.e. a representation of the “objective” effect (socially relevant) and of the action itself (basic or intentional, also in non-intentional constructions). Either of them may be empty on the surface, but the attribution of (non-)intentionality is not possible without at least assuming their existence. There are 3 types of structures: first, the entire VP points to the effect, and the “actional background” is implicit or expressed by a subordinate clause; second, VP indicates an action itself, and the effect (intentional or not) is implicit, stated additionally or – in intentional structures – expressed by a purpose clause; third, VP is divided between an action and effect (the effect-component is typically focal then). The latter has its variants, depending on the number of complements, which can belong either to the action-part or the effect-part. All this means that VP as such does not play any semantic role in i-constructions. Moreover, sentences formally identical and *prima facie* commenting on the same situation have ambiguous structures, and since particular variants may differ truth-conditionally, the recipient should understand exactly which semantic structure the speaker has in mind – or it will only seem to them both that they are talking about the same thing. Various linguistic means serve this purpose, incl. communicative organisation of sentences – which I present on a number of examples.

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‘What kind of’ at LP and RP: The case of Korean discourse marker *mwusun*

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Keyword: Periphery, Discourse Marker, Interrogative, Positionality, Asymmetry

Korean has a few discourse markers (DMs) that originated from sentential fragments through ellipsis. The DM *mwusun* ‘what kind of’ is one such marker, as is evident from being a modifier in form, derived from *mwusu-n* [what-adnominal], thus expected to occur before a modified nominal. Its predecessor form is first attested in Middle Korean carrying the function of interrogative modifier ‘what kind of’. Since interrogatives are inherently related to inquisitiveness and inability to understand the situation or express oneself, they are closely related to surprise, exclamation, etc. (Rhee, in press). They are also commonly used in rhetorical questions. Further, when a speaker is surprised, they often experience difficulties in completing an utterance, thus ending a locution unfinished, i.e., ellipted. Through these diverse usages, *mwusun* develops into a poly-functional DM in contemporary Korean.

If Left-periphery (LP) and Right-Periphery (RP) are defined, following Traugott (2014: 73), as units occurring in [(X) LP Argument.Structure RP (Y)], the DM *mwusun* can occur at LP and RP positions and further at MED(ial) positions. An interesting state of affairs is that the functions of the DM *mwusun* are often position-specific. For instance, at LP it signals Negation, Disregard, Upcoming disalignment, Mirativity, Feigned surprise, Challenge/protest, Discontent, etc., whereas at RP it signals Emphasis, Mitigation/deflection, Reproach, Challenge/Protest, Discontent, etc. It may occur at MED position signaling Uncertainty or Sarcasm. It also carries the Pause-filling and Hesitance-marking functions, occurring at any point of the locution. As shown here, some functions do not have positional restrictions, while some exhibit positional preferences.

Drawing upon historical and contemporary corpus data, this paper traces the developmental path of *mwusun*, illustrates its discourse functions with respect to positionality, reexamines the peripheral asymmetry hypothesis, and claims that the hypothesis is not upheld, at least in the case of *mwusun*.

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A diachrony of alignment in Vamale, South Oceanic

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Keywords: alignment, syntax, Oceanic, language change, language contact

Vamale (South Oceanic) is spoken in northern New Caledonia by around 180 people. It has a complex alignment system, which the talk will present. Comparison with neighbouring languages suggests that Vamale assimilated to nearby Cèmuhî, a historically powerful neighbor. It also suggests that Vamale assimilated different morphemes that mark salient noun phrases, a concept that will be argued to be grammatically important across the North. The presentation will propose a diachrony of these assimilations in Vamale, and argue that areal typology may inform us about language contact and alignment change.

In New Caledonia, Northern languages tend towards ergativity, and Southern ones to accusativity (Bril 2002:144). Vamale, on the border between the two, is decreasingly tripartite in its verb-indexing, increasingly nominative-accusative in its subject marking on noun phrases, and has retained ergative patterns in nominalized verbs. Its closest relative, Bwatoo, is split-intransitive where Vamale and Cèmuhî are tripartite (Rivierre and Ehrhardt 2006:31, Rivierre 1980:184-186). Rarer constructions like nominalized verb phrases show ergative alignment across the region. Language change seems to go from ergativity towards accusativity.

Vamale, with its mixed system, offers a unique clue to the diachrony of alignment in the North: it has begun to assimilate a transitive subject marker, a possessive classifier, and a linker marking the most salient noun phrase in a deverbal nominalization. Although they are distinct in their distribution, they have become homophonous. Vamale went the furthest in its assimilations, but other languages like Nemi have also merged some morphemes that mark salient noun phrases.

The presentation argues that the Vamale development can be ordered: the original relational classifier first assimilated the nominalizer linker. The transitive subject marker was extended to optionally mark intransitive subjects. In a second step, the subject markers were assimilated to the linker. The talk suggests that the main property connecting the three morphemes *ka* is salience (Schmid 2017:119). This development will probably result in a formally more unified category of “salient noun phrase”, perhaps ultimately ending in a nominative-accusative system.

The presentation will introduce the relevant concepts and forms with examples. Salience, specificity, and animacy of the participants influence the choice of indexing in all Northern New Caledonian languages. By comparing the system to its neighbours, we put the patterns into a

regional perspective and propose a diachrony of language change. Further research may corroborate how language contact shaped syntactic change in this area.

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How productivity interacts with near-synonymy: A behavioural profile approach of inchoative periphrases

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Keywords: inchoative periphrasis, near-synonymy, Behavioral Profile Analysis, productivity, construction grammar

It is commonly known that the Spanish language is abundantly equipped with a large variety of verbal periphrases, expressing different aspects (Fernández 2012, Garachana 2017, and Fernández Martín 2019). Our research focusses on periphrases denoting the inchoative aspect, evoking the start of an event (e.g. *Rompió a llorar*, lit. 'he broke to cry', *Se mete a escribir*, lit. 'she puts herself to write'). Previous studies have made it clear that at least 25 verbs can function as inchoative auxiliary (Enghels & Van Hulle 2018, and Van Hulle & Enghels 2021).

Intuitively, based on their original semantic meaning, the inchoative auxiliaries originate in 6 semantic domains, namely superlexicals (*comenzar, empezar, principiar, recomenzar* and *reempezar*), put verbs (*poner* and *meter*), throw verbs (*arrojar, echar, lanzar* and *tirar*), manual manipulation verbs (*agarrar, liarse, soltar*), movement verbs (*embarcar, largar, saltar* and *zambullir*) and verbs of destruction (*arrancar, estallar, explotar, prorrumpir, reventar* and *romper*).

The high degree of productivity of the inchoative periphrases raises the question to what extent the various (semi-)auxiliaries can be considered as near-synonymous. Indeed, it is plausible that certain auxiliaries share semantic meaning whereas others add a particular (aspectual) nuance. This central research question is explored by performing a Behavioral Profile Analysis (Divjak & Gries 2006, 2008, and Gries 2010), based on a set of meticulously annotated criteria. This statistical technique is an adequate method to detect detailed differences between near-synonymous structures, and is therefore highly suited to map the inchoatives with the same collocational behaviour in meaningful clusters. Preliminary results reveal that, overall, the auxiliaries classify in two overarching abstract clusters according to their degree of grammaticalization. On a more fine-grained level, the inchoatives are clustered according to their semantic openness, that is, their ability to combine with more or less different event types.

These results correlate strongly with the respective degrees of productivity (lexical openness) of the above mentioned auxiliaries, divided in highly similar clusters. This correlation between the lexical and the semantic openness of the periphrases suggest an interaction between the theoretical concepts of productivity and near-synonymy. Hence, on a more theoretical level, this presentation additionally aims to explore this potential interaction, filling an important gap in cognitive linguistics.

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Language contact effects at the VP level: The role of lexical features & morphosyntactic evidence from Greek/Vlach Aromanian bilingual speakers

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Recent research has shown that language contact effects can be modulated by the following factors: the dynamic nature of bilingualism (Adamou 2016), the role of input on different language domains (Tsimpli 2014) and the relative resilience or vulnerability of properties of the languages in contact (Lavidas & Tsimpli 2019, Tsimpli, Prentza, & Kaltsa 2022). This resilience of features has often been addressed in light of SLA theories, e.g., the Interpretability Hypothesis (Tsimpli 2003a, b, Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou 2007) or theories attributing cognitive overload to bilingual language use (Sorace 2011).

The present study aims to examine the long-term contact effects on properties of Vlach-Aromanian (VA) in bilingual VA-Greek speakers (N:12) of different age groups and types of bilingualism, in view of the above approaches. Oral conversations amounting to 1,194 clauses from sequential L1VA-L2Greek bilingual speakers, 1,100 clauses from simultaneous bilinguals (2L1s) and 930 clauses from sequential L1Greek-L2VA speakers were collected and analysed. We focused on: (a) object pro-clitics which are found in both languages (Mavrogiorgos & Ledgeway 2019, Campos 2005) and are semantically uninterpretable in terms of referentiality, (b) inflectional subject-verb agreement morphology marked on verbs in both languages (Katsanis & Dinas, 1990, Vasileiou 2014, Manzini & Savoia 2018, Joseph 2020) which are null subject ones, and (c) subject pronouns which are typically used when the topic-shift feature is discursively relevant (Tsimpli et al. 2004).

Results show that clitics in VA are avoided by 2L1 and sequential L1Greek-L2VA bilingual groups (clitic use in 2L1: 10%, clitic use in L1Greek-L2VA: 4%) but not by sequential L1VA-L2 Greek bilinguals who use clitics in VA significantly more frequently (26%). This result is consistent with the Interpretability Hypothesis in terms of vulnerability of uninterpretable feature clusters on clitics. Regarding verbal inflectional morphology, sequential L1Greek-L2VA bilinguals often produce erroneous forms in the plural number in VA (25%), while such errors are not attested in the other two groups. Although agreement morphology in null subject languages could be argued to be interpretable, the restricted domain of number errors seems to be more easily attributed to a morphological gap in the speakers' knowledge due to the lower frequency of plural verb use. Finally, the L1Greek-L2VA group uses significantly more overt subject pronouns in VA contexts where topic continuity would favour a null subject (32%). The overuse of overt subject pronouns in unambiguous contexts is in line with previous data in bilingual populations even when both languages are null subject ones (Sorace et al. 2009, Bel & García-Alcaraz 2015). We attribute the overuse attested to the underspecification of the topic-shift feature of overt pronouns in line with the proposal in Tsimpli et al. (2004) for attrition under bilingualism, the difference here being that the weaker language in the language contact situation is the one exhibiting the change in feature specification.

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When social contact promotes diversification

In much linguistic literature, small, socially isolated speech communities are the main locus of diversification and grammatical complexity (e.g. Trudgill 2011). Similarly, linguistic differentiation is traditionally viewed as resulting from social separation of groups (Paul 1888), while intensive social contact between groups can lead to structural convergence of their languages (e.g. Gumperz & Wilson 1971; Ross 1996). However, sociolinguistic literature shows that social groups in regular contact use language as a way of developing and maintaining distinct group identities (Eckert 2008), and in regions with many small ethnic groups this can drive diversification (François 2011; Evans 2019; Epps 2020), a kind of ‘sympatric speciation’ in linguistic evolution.

In this presentation I consider evidence for contact-driven diversification, paying particular attention to which dimensions of language may be used to index group identity. I present a cross-linguistic database on dialect differentiation, which analyses grammatical variation and dialect differences in 42 languages (see Figure 1), drawing on data from reference grammars. The main finding is that grammatical ordering very rarely differentiates dialects in close contact (1), but the form of grammatical markers (affixes, clitics and function words) frequently *does* differentiate dialects in close contact (2).

(1) Variable order, no dialectal difference (Komnzo; Döhler 2018)

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. <i>zagr</i> <i>karfo</i> | b. <i>karfo</i> <i>zagr</i> |
| distant village | village distant |
| ‘distant village’ | ‘distant village’ |

(2) Variable markers, dialectal distinction (Kugu Nganhcara; Smith & Johnson 2000)

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| a. <i>thuli-ra</i> | b. <i>thuli-nta</i> |
| woomera-COM | woomera-COM |
| ‘with a woomera’ | ‘with a woomera’ |

The data also suggests that the majority of grammatical marker differentiation occurs in situations of close contact, which suggests that social contact between groups may have a role in promoting marker differentiation. Thus while contact-driven diversification is often assumed to apply to open-class vocabulary, this study suggests that it may also apply to closed-class grammatical markers.

Typologists are generally more interested in the structure of grammar than the relatively arbitrary phonological forms used to express it. The differentiation of grammatical markers may therefore be seen as a ‘shallow’ type of diversity. But differentiation of grammatical markers should not be presumed to maintain structural isomorphism between languages, as differentiated markers often have distinct functional ranges. For example, closely related Western Daly varieties are differentiated by various grammatical markers, such as the inanimate noun classifier, *thawurr* (Marri Tjevin) vs *nanthi* (Marri Ngarr). But *thawurr* is also a general noun meaning ‘wood, tree’, whereas *nanthi* has no other meaning, so the use of distinct forms in this case have different

functional ranges, and thus alter the structure of noun-class marking. ‘Non-isomorphic’ dialect differentiations of this type are quite frequent in the database.

The collection of systematic data on dialect differentiation deepens our understanding of the ways in which language may or may not diversify in situations of close social contact, and presents a compelling case that more such systematic studies are needed to enrich our theories of language diversification.

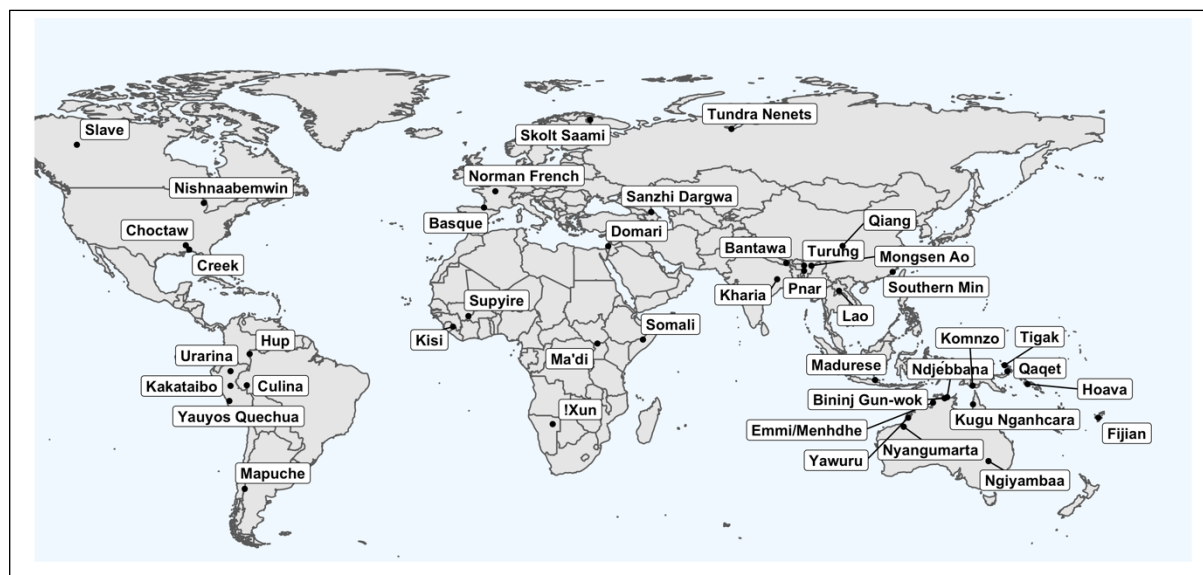


Figure 1. Languages sampled in the dialect differentiation database.

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Peripheral functions of additive and intensifying clitics: a typological perspective

Additive focus particles, such as English *also* or German *auch*, have been extensively discussed in the literature (König 1991, Krifka 1998, Forker 2016). Their semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentence is the presupposition that there is at least one true alternative to the focus constituent. Another, less common type of focus particle is intensifying particles, such as Avar =*go* (Forker 2015). The core function of such particles is contrast or emphasis marking.

In some languages, besides their core functions, additive and intensifying particles also occur in other, peripheral functions. Interestingly, in some of these functions both types of particles are used. Comparing the semantic maps for additive and intensifying particles in (Forker 2016: 87) and (Forker 2015: 505), one can already notice that both additive and intensifying particles occur in scalar additive contexts and in indefinite pronouns. However, we are unaware of a full-fledged typological study comparing the peripheral functions of additive and intensifying particles across languages.

The purpose of this talk is to establish a list of “shared” functions where both types of particles can be used. Our sample thus includes languages that feature both additive and intensifying particles. Besides, we limit ourselves to clitics. These conditions hold for languages spoken in the Eastern and Southern Caucasus and languages of the Volga-Kama area. Due to accessibility reasons, from the first group we included Zilo Andi, Archi, Lak (< East Caucasian), Nogai (< Turkic), Georgian (< Kartvelian), and from the second group Bashkir, Chuvash, Tatar (< Turkic), Meadow Mari, Hill Mari, and Udmurt (< Finno-Ugric). For some languages we used first-hand data based on elicitation and texts, for others available grammatical descriptions.

Our data add to the previously mentioned scalar additive contexts and indefinite pronouns the following new “shared” functions: universal quantification, collective numerals, comitative marking and adverbialization.

Another important issue is in what sense these functions are “shared”. We observed three different situations:

1) For a particular function, in some languages additives and in others intensifying particles are used. For example, in constructions with collective meaning (e.g. ‘all three’) Bashkir uses the additive particle, cf. *ik-äw-he=lä* [two-NUM.SUBST-P.3=ADD] ‘both’, while other languages employ intensifying particles, cf. Georgian *ori=ve* [two=INT] ‘both’.

2) In a particular function, both particles are used, distributed according to some parameter:

In Poshkart Chuvash, universal quantifiers in NPs are formed with the help of additive particle =*ta*: *por=da gi-ze* [all=ADD come-CV_SIM] ‘everyone came’. The intensifying =*ak* is ungrammatical in this context. On the other hand, in those universal quantifiers which are

adverbial only intensifying particle is possible: *vez=ek jëben-me* [all=INT get_wet-INF] ‘to get soaking wet’.

3) In a particular function, the particles stack together, forming a construction. In Zilo Andi, indefinite pronouns are formed with the help of *=gu=lo* marker, which consists of the intensifying *=gu* and the additive *=lo*: *se-w=gu=lo* [one-M=INT=ADD] ‘someone / no one’.

In this talk we will compare the distribution of additive and intensifying particles across the shared functions. Besides, we will discuss the three types of competition outlined above and the implications that they provide for the semantic analysis of both types of particles.

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Abbreviations

ADD – additive particle, CV_SIM– simultaneity converb, INF – infinitive, INT – intensifying particle, NUM.SUBST – numeral substantivation, P.3 – the third person possessive marker.

Diachronic typology of pluractional markers in South America

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Keywords: pluractionality; event plurality; participant plurality; diachrony typology; South American indigenous languages.

Pluractionality is “a morphological modification of the verb (or a pair of semantically related verbs) that primarily conveys a plurality of situations that involves a repetition through time, space and/or participants” (Mattiola 2019: 164), as shown in examples (1)–(2).

(1) Chácobo (Pano-Tacanan, Panoan; Tallman 2018: 511)

bi='~bi=' *rabi='* *wa=ki*
grab=LNK~grab=LNK Rabi=ERG TR=DEC:P
 'Rabi grabbed it **multiple times/multiple things**'

(2) Akwẽ-Xerente (Macro-Ge, Central Ge; Filho 2007: 89)

- a. *kuba mǎt* \emptyset -*wara*
boat 3.PST.PFV.REAL 3-leave.SG
'The **boat** left.'
- b. *kuba mǎt* *ti-ssamrǔ*
boat 3.PST.PFV.REAL 3-leave.DU
'The **boats (they both)** left.'
- c. *kuba mǎt* \emptyset -*ssakre*
boat 3.PST.PFV.REAL 3-leave.PL
'The **boats (all)** left.'

From the functional side, pluractional markers (PMs) express a wide range of functions (see author(s)); from the formal side, PMs can include different strategies (affixation, reduplication, and lexical alternation/suppletion). Despite the increasing attention to PMs in the last decades, we still know relatively little on diachrony of PMs.

The aim of the paper is to fill this gap by focusing on PMs in languages of South America (SA) both from a typological and a diachronic perspective. We know from recent studies that PM are particularly common in SA (Krasnoukhova 2022) and that SA languages are special in displaying a significant variety of PMs (see, e.g., Epps & Obert 2020; Krasnoukhova 2022; Mattioli & Gildea In print). Furthermore, PMs in SA show some connections with other phenomena that are relevant for a diachronic insight, e.g., direction/motion/associated motion, noted by Ross 2021: 55-56, as in Yagua (Payne 1985: 260-261), Apurinã (Facundes 2000: 309), and Kashibo-Kakataibo (Zariquiey-Biondi 2011: 395-400).

We approach the topic by investigating PMs in a typologically balanced sample of 221 SA languages (representing 77 families), providing a comprehensive synchronic description of their functional and formal properties. Particular attention is paid to relevant phenomena (such as, e.g., motion) as possible diachronic sources of PMs. For some families we zoom in on a selection of related languages to postulate possible diachronic developments.

The paper contributes by making advances on a development of pluractionality in SA, a topic which remains heavily under-explored. This is particularly relevant as insights on diachrony can be an extremely useful explanation for typological tendencies and distributions in general (see Cristofaro 2019).

Abbreviations:

3=3rd person; DEC=declarative; DU=dual; ERG = ergative; LNK = linker; P=object of monotransitive predicate; PFV=perfective; PL=plural; PST=past; REAL=realis; SG=singular; TR=transitive.

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Stress-Sensitive Alignment and Truncation With an English Diminutive

1 INTRODUCTION. I analyze new facts about the English diminutive suffix /-i/ (written <-(e)y/-(e>)), which has been the subject of little research:

- (1) a. dog→doggy
- b. bird→birdy
- c. horse→horsie
- d. sheep→sheepie
- e. foot→footie
- f. snack→snackie

I argue that this morpheme is subject to the Optimality-Theoretic phonological constraint in (2):

(2) : *Assign a * if diminutive /-i/ is not right-adjacent to a stressed syllable.*

First, I show that (2) motivates **deletion of material to achieve stress-adjacency**, a possibility expected if alignment is a matter of rankable phonological constraints (McCarthy & Prince 1993, 1998, a.o.). Second, I show that a homophonous adjective suffix is not subject to (2), revealing that this constraint is specific to the diminutive. This provides new evidence for **morpheme-specific phonological constraints** (Pater 2007, a.o.). The generalizations reported here are corroborated by 11 native speakers so far.

2 STRESS AND TRUNCATION. Since mono-syllabic nouns are inherently stressed, the forms in (1) above are expected. Further, given (2), we accurately predict that this diminutive is acceptable with multi-syllabic stress-final nouns (3) but not with those that end in unstressed syllables (4):

- (3) a. giraffe → ✓giraffie
- b. raccoon → ✓racoonie
- c. gazelle → ✓gazellie
- d. tangerine → ✓tangeriney
- (4) a. elephant → *elephantie
- b. badger → *badgerie
- c. hamster → *hamsterie
- d. chipmunk → *chipmunkie

Importantly, however, deletion of the material between the nearest stressed syllable and the diminutive morpheme facilitates diminutives of non-stress-final nouns (5):

- (5) a. hamster → *hamsterie / ✓hammie
- b. chipmunk → *chipmunkie / ✓chippie
- c. elephant → *elephantie / ✓?ellie

d. computer → *computerie / ✓computie

Specifically, enough material is deleted so that the word is syllabified such that the syllable left of the diminutive is stressed. In contrast, epenthesis to achieve stress-adjacency is unattested.

3 MORPHEME-SPECIFICITY. Comparison with the homophonous adjectival suffix /-i/ reveals that the diminutive-specific constraint in (2) is necessary, rather than a general constraint on suffixes of the form /-i/. This is because this adjectival suffix need not be stress-adjacent, as (6) below shows. The bolded forms in (6) are homophonous with failed diminutive forms from (4/5) above, which are acceptable in (6) due to being interpretable as adjectives rather than diminutives:

- (6) a. Drinking water with your nose is a very **elephanty** thing to do.
b. John hasn't cleaned his hamster's cage, so his room has a **hamstery** smell.
c. I don't understand **computery** stuff like coding.

4 CONCLUSION. These findings reveal that this diminutive is subject to a morpheme-specific phonological constraint. The existence of such constraints supports theories where phonology and morphology function in tandem (Wolf 2008, 2009, a.o.). I will also discuss morphological effects of the diminutive, which I show optionally blocks ablaut in irregular plurals (✓*mice* / **mouses*, ✓*micies* / ✓*mousies*), and argue that this emerges from variance in morpheme assignment timing (Deal & Wolf 2017).

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Postural verbs and their roles in locative and existential predication in three Australian languages

Australian Aboriginal languages are well-known for instantiating Ameka & Levinson's (2007: 857–858) 'Type IIa' languages in their typology of basic locative predication systems; i.e. 'Small set positional verb' languages. These are languages which utilise a small but multifunctional closed-class of 'postural verbs' in a variety of copula and copula-like constructions (Dixon 2002; Goddard & Harkins 2002). These include—but are not limited to—attributive predications, existentials and 'inverse locationals' (Creissels 2019). In this paper we compare the range of functions of postural verbs in three geographically disparate Australian languages: Kukatja (Pama-Nyungan, Tanami Desert), Wik Mungkan (Pama-Nyungan, Cape York) and Kune (Gunywinguan, Arnhem Land) on the basis of published materials and novel fieldwork by the three authors. The languages of the survey illustrate the diversity of posturals, including varying extents of copula function. Each language is notable for exhibiting at least one highly grammaticalised member of the closed-set: *ngara*- 'stand' (Kukatja), *wun*- 'lie' (Wik-Mungkan), and *di* 'stand' & *ni* 'sit' (Kune). Building on the existing descriptions for these (and related) Australian languages, we probe the constraints on the various functions of postural verbs, including how 'default' and 'obligatory' these copulae are, and what types of semantic and pragmatic considerations influence the selection of posturals in locative and locational-existential clause types.

One major issue in classifying functions of multifunctional postural verbs in Australian languages is the difficulty in distinguishing their copula role from their lexically-specific role as an intransitive stance predicate – see Kune examples in (1) and (2), for instance. Using a variety of syntactic and semantic criteria we tease apart the different functions of these verbs. Our survey reveals that postural verbs vary in the examined languages based on whether the relevant forms: are obligatory (in locative predications) (3), exhibit features of transitivity, permit 'locative' incorporation (Evans 2003: 469) (4), require complements, and are subject to derivational processes. A final feature widely noted in Australian languages and the literature at large is the use of postural verbs in verb serialisation (Reid 2002; Goddard 1985; Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). At least Kukatja and Kune show evidence of the use of posturals in these roles, where they are used for aspectual functions in addition to lexical/copula roles.

- (1) *Kelkkurebeh kabirri-ni, karrkad kabirri-di.* (Kune)
other.side3PL-**sit**.NP high.ground 3PL-**stand**.NP
'They're on the other side, they're on high ground.'
- (2) *Yo en ngayih kondabeh nga-di, nga-ni.* (Kune)
yes conj me this.side 1SG-**stand**.NP 1SG-**sit**.NP
'Yeah and me I'm this side, sitting.'
- (3) *Kunj na-wern ka-ni.* (Kune)
kangaroo II-many 3SG-**sit**.NP
'There's lots of kangaroos.'
- (4) *Bidbom ka-wendi ka-bolknahnan.* (Kune)
3SG.P-climb.P 3SG-be.up.high.NP 3SG-look.out.NP
'(The dingo) climbed up high and is looking out.'

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Legal language change and certified translation: a study on the terminological comparison between Brazilian and French marriage certificates through the centuries

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Keywords: Certified translation; diachronic terminology; legal terminology; terminological equivalence.

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This research is a comparative-diachronic study of terms that appear in marriage certificates and that are related to the themes of marriage, divorce, separation, and property regime, since civil marriage was instituted in France (in 1791) and in Brazil (1890) until today. Its purpose is to verify which are the main challenges of certified translation that may be specifically linked to the evolution of these terms. The study arose from the following questions: is it possible to find different equivalents in a target language (TL) for the same term in a source language (SL) if terminological equivalence is conceived from a diachronic point of view? Does the terminological equivalence change from the diachronic point of view? If yes, what are the characteristics of this change? What are the main terminographic problems found regarding this subject? To answer these questions, the methodology adopted in this study consisted of five steps: i) four corpora were created, two of which were composed of French and Brazilian marriage certificates (respectively, FMCCorpus and BMCCopus) and the other two present laws and decrees relating to the above mentioned themes (FLCorpus and BLCorpus); ii) in the AntConc program (Anthony 2012), the terms in both languages were identified; iii) then, the semantic and lexical evolution of these terms was analyzed; iv) the FR-BR equivalents were established in the light of a diachronic perspective through the analysis of the concepts denominated by these terms in different moments of the history of the legal domain of these two countries. To follow this methodology, the theoretical assumptions of terminology (Cabré 1999, Conceição 1999, Alves 2006, and others) and diachronic terminology (DT) (Dury 1999, 2005 and 2013, Tartier 2006, among others) were adopted. As main results, it was found that there are terms that have different equivalents at different times of their existence in civil law (this is the case, for example, of *divórcio* that sometimes must be translated by *séparation de corps*, and other times by *divorce*), in addition to some situations in which equivalence has different degrees (Dubuc 2002) over time for the same pair of terms. It was also verified that the terminographic resources consulted do not provide the necessary data for a good understanding of these terms in relation to their dates of occurrence in legal documents, such as the marriage certificates of our corpora. Thus, the main challenges of certified translation in this context are especially linked to terminological transformations – the result of the evolution of specialized knowledge – and DT has proven to be a fertile field that highlights the semantic and lexical evolution of terminologies. Diachronic transformations are very relevant for translators, especially in the case of those who work with certified translations, as they can translate old documents in which the diachronic issues play a fundamental role. However, there is still a long way to go regarding the development of DT. Therefore, this communication proposes to present some reflections that can collaborate in this sense.

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Attitude dative in Latvian: speech acts and constructions

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Keywords: dative, pronominal clitic, particle, speech act, utterance type

The attitude dative (AD) is a dative pronominal clitic that functions as an interpersonal pragmatic marker (Berg-Olsen 2005, De Knop, Mollica 2017, Haddad 2016, 2018). It serves two functions: a stance-marking function, as it reflects the speaker's opinion about states of affairs (Franko, Huidobro 2008), and a relational function as it expresses the speaker's authority and affectedness of the speaker or the addressee in a speech-act situation (Nicolot 2014):

- (1) *Gan* *tu* *man* *vēl* *pasvilposi!*
PTCL you.NOM.SG 1.DAT.SG PTCL whistle.FUT.2SG
'You will whistle for me big time!' (LVK2018)

The AD is an optional syntactic element, it is unstressed and has a fixed place in the sentence, namely between the subject and the predicate. Often its pragmatic functions are strengthened by a particle (1)–(3), (5).

There are three types of AD in Latvian:

- 1) the speaker-oriented dative (1SG/PL personal pronoun) (1)–(3a), (5)
- 2) the hearer-oriented dative (2SG/PL personal pronoun) (3b), (4a)
- 3) the agent-oriented dative (3SG/PL personal pronoun) (3c), which is the least frequent type in Latvian.

The semantic potential of AD is realized differently in certain speech acts associated with specific syntactic constructions and utterance types (more on speech acts see, e.g., Searle 2008).

Thus, the main research question of this study is to find out what semantics the AD assigns to the utterance and how it relates to syntactic constructions and types of utterances.

1 Orders

The speaker-oriented AD is mostly used in directive speech acts to assert the speaker's authority over the addressee and may bring the utterance down to the semantic domain of impoliteness (among others, Culpeper 2011):

- (2) *Tu* *man* *te* *neizrunājies,*
you.NOM.SG 1.DAT.SG PTCL not_talk_back.IMP.2SG
bet *taisies [uz skolu].*
but get_ready.IMP.2SG
'Just cut it out and get ready [go to school].' (Bankovskis)

2 Prohibitions, refusals, and threats

Speech acts of prohibiting, refusing, and threatening involve syntactic constructions with both the speaker-(3a) and hearer-oriented (3b) AD, less frequently with the agent-oriented AD (3c):

- (3) a. *Tu* *man* *to* *Ernestu*
you.NOM.SG 1.DAT.SG this.ACC.SG.M Ernests.ACC.SG.M
 neprecēsi!

- not_marry.FUT.2SG
 'You will not marry Ernests, no way!' (LVK2018)
- b. *Es tev, putniņ,*
 I.NOM **2.DAT.SG** birdie.VOC.SG.M
tādā mēdiņā vis nedziedāšu!
 this.LOC.SG.M tune.LOC.SG.M PTCL not_sing.FUT.1SG
 'I will not have you, birdie, sing this tune again!' (LVK2018)
- c. *Es viņam gan nenākšu*
 I.NOM **3.DAT.SG.M** PTCL not_come.FUT.1SG
no ūdens ārā!
 of water.GEN.SG.M out
 'He will see what happens when he doesn't come out of water!' (Personal knowledge)

3 Disagreement, disappointment, and regret

Disagreement (4a), disappointment, and regret (4b) can be expressed by exclamative utterances with both speaker-oriented and hearer-oriented ADs. Some of them are formally interrogative, so they also express surprise and should be considered indirect speech acts:

- (4) a. *Kur tev prāts?*
 where **2.DAT.SG** mind.NOM.SG.M
 'Where was your mind?' (LVK2018)
- b. *Tad tādi jūs man,*
 PTCL such.NOM.PL.M you.NOM.SG **1.DAT.SG**
cilvēki, esat!
 human.NOM.PL.M be.COP.PRS.2PL
 'Such rascals are you, humans!' (LVK2018)

4 Irony

Utterances with the speaker-oriented dative in 1st person plural in certain types of constructions express irony:

- (5) *Tu jau mums esi*
 you.NOM.SG already **1.DAT.PL** be.COP.PRS.2SG
tāds brīvmašlinieks,
 such.NOM.SG.M freelancer.NOM.SG.M
kas neievēro termiņus.
 'You're the kind of artist who doesn't meet deadlines.' (Santa)

It is also worth mentioning that the AD tends to be used in lexicalized syntactic constructions (4), (5) including specific lexemes and grammatical forms.

The examples are extracted from *The Balanced Corpus of the Modern Latvian LVK2018*, fiction, mass media texts etc.

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The morphosyntax of wh-pronouns in Greek

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Keywords: wh-pronoun; indefinite; interrogative; quantifier; clause-type

#1. Goal. A common assumption in the generative literature has been that wh-pronouns in wh-fronting languages (English) are interrogative, while wh-pronouns in wh-in situ languages (Japanese) are indefinite (Katz and Postal 1964; Kuroda 1965; Baker 1970; Chomsky 1977; Nishigauchi 1990, a.o.). In the present paper we revisit the above assumption based on Greek (a wh-fronting language) and argue that Greek wh-pronouns are in fact indefinites which require licensing restricted to a certain set of operators or quantifiers: interrogative, existential or relative.

#2. The data: Wh-pronouns (*p*-series) in Greek form the base for indefinite (existential) and relative pronouns, as in (1) (see Haspelmath 1997, Bhat 2000 on typological studies):

(1a) *pjos* = who (1b) *ka-pjos* = someone (1c) *o-pjos* = who (free relative)

The existential indefinite is formed by prefixing *ka-* (*kai an* > *kan* > *ka-* ‘and even’), while the relative is formed by prefixing the D-element *o-* (a residue of the demonstrative pronoun *ho*) (see also Giannakidou & Cheng 2006; Daskalaki 2020). Based on (1), we argue that the *p*-series (wh-pronouns) are bare indefinites, qualifying as the core of the *ka-* and *o-* series. The empirical question that arises is what rules out *pjon* in non-interrogative clauses, cf. (2a) vs (2b):

(2a)	I Maria sinadise <i>kapjon</i> /* <i>pjon</i>	(2b)	<i>Pjon</i> sinadise i Maria?
	the Mary met-3s someone/who		who met-3s the Mary
	“Mary met someone”		“Who did Mary meet?”

The pair in (2) suggests that *pjon* is illicit in declaratives but licit in interrogatives. (2b) further exhibits *pjon*-fronting; the in-situ version is also illicit in the declarative. Note that *kapjon* in an interrogative sentence does not acquire an interrogative reading (*Sinadise i Maria kapjon?* “Did Mary meet someone?”). This suggests that *pjon* acquires its interpretation by some licenser, which in (2b) is the Inter(rogative) operator.

#3. Analysis. Given (1), we take the *p*-morpheme to be a nominal stem to which an inflectional affix for person/thing, place, etc. attaches). The *p*-series supplies the stem for the *ka-/o*-series, as schematized in (3):

(3a) [_{NP} *p-jos*] (3b) [_{QP} *ka-* [_{NP} *pjos*]] (3c) [_{DP} *o-* [_{NP} *pjos*]]

We next argue that the bare *p*-pronoun requires licensing. If the licenser is not supplied at the phrasal level, as in (3b) and (3c), it must be supplied at the sentential level. Two steps are needed for its licensing at the sentential level: an Operator, namely the Interrogative one, and some mechanism that will give quantificational force to the wh-pronoun. The latter is achieved by wh-movement (see Tsoulas & Yeo 2006 on the distinction between Inter and Quantification). In short, the affix at phrasal level turns the wh-pronoun to a quantifier (*ka-* or *o-*) and binds the variable introduced by the wh-pronoun. If affixation does not take place, licensing takes place by Inter, and wh-fronting provides a binder for the variable introduced by the wh-pronoun.

One implication of this analysis is that the ‘fronting vs in-situ’ pattern does not reduce to an interrogative vs indefinite pronoun divide, but to a parametrization of licensing modes.

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Syntactic oppositions manifested by pronouns and pronominal affixes in Sindhi, Siraiki and Kashmiri

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Keywords: Sindhi, Siraiki, Kashmiri, pronominal case system, pronominal affix

Bound pronominals attached to verb-forms are used in Maithili, Kurmali, Kashmiri, Sindhi, Siraiki and other Indian languages. The scholars' views on the origin of those affixes are different. Some trace them to the enclitic pronouns of Sanskrit and Prakrits (Grierson 1895), others explain them as a product of contacts with neighboring Iranian languages (Emenau 1956). Many scholars have discussed synchronic problems of pronominal incorporation and pronouns' interaction with agreement and discourse factors (Butt 2001, 2004), (Wali & Koul 1994), (Hook & Koul 1984), etc.

The problem stated in this paper has not attracted much attention from the linguists, as it aims at comparing syntactic oppositions marked by case-forms of pronouns with those reflected by bound pronominal suffixes. The data analyzed here have been obtained from the prosaic and poetic texts in the corresponding languages and from the samples supplied by the native speakers.

In Kashmiri which occupies one of the highest positions in ergativity hierarchy, both the free form pronouns and the bound pronominal suffixes pattern ergatively (S and O are marked similarly, and both are opposed to differently marked A). The only exception is the case of similar marking of ergative subjects and of non-perfective nominative objects (Zakharyin 1981). Interestingly, the similar marking of A and non-perfective O was a peculiar feature of the 1-st and 2-nd person singular pronouns in Apabhramsha – a feature lost by most Modern NIA languages (Bubenik 1998).

The pronominal system of Sindhi is tripartite: bound pronominal affixes there do not cross-reference S and have different marking for A and O (Yegorova 1966).

In Siraiki the 1-st person pronouns occupying the extreme left of the nominal hierarchy imply accusative case marking system while the pronouns of the 2-nd and 3-d persons are predominantly tripartite. The bound pronominal suffixes there rarely cross-reference S, and only in the 2-nd person the latter is marked differently from other syntactic roles. All other suffixes imply the same form for S, A, O, as well as for Addressee, Dative subject and Possessor (as a pronominal modifier of both S and O). The system of bound pronominal suffixes in Modern Siraiki is a reduction of the system that once existed in Old Western Panjabi, where only the 1-st person singular forms might have the same bound pronominal affixes for both S and A; the other affixes were used either only for A, or only for S, or for S and O together (Shackle 1976).

The system of bound pronominal affixes in the analyzed languages is less ergative than free form pronouns – this fully corresponds with Dixon's conclusions concerning the Australian languages (Dixon 1994). As for pronominal suffixes of Kashmiri that may group together different syntactic roles in one verb-form, this typological feature is unique and not present even in neighboring Indo-Aryan languages, such as, e.g., Sindhi and Siraiki.

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Mirativity in Romance: Speaker-oriented vs. Hearer-oriented Expression of Unexpectedness

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Keywords: mirativity, unexpectedness, speaker-hearer interaction, rhetorical uses, Romance languages

Mirativity is defined as “a more or less spontaneous reaction to a new, salient, often surprising event” (Aikhenvald 2004: 197) and encodes linguistically that a recently learned at-issue-proposition *p* has violated or exceeded the speaker’s expectations (cf. Rett & Murray 2013). In Romance, mirativity ‘hooks up’ to other grammatical and pragmatic categories and can be expressed via a wide array of linguistic devices (Mirative markers, MMs).

However, recent studies suggest that a more differentiated analysis of ‘unexpectedness’ in terms of hearer-speaker interaction is needed (e.g. Beltrama & Hanink 2019, Cruschina & Bianchi 2021) or point to the possibility of strategic and rhetorical uses (Celle et al 2017). So far, these isolated observations have not been tested for a broader range of Romance MMs, nor have they been used to establish a fine-grained typology of the expression of unexpectedness.

The main goal of our paper is to contribute to the modelling of such a typology by investigating the specific characteristics of MMs in Romance. We focus on selected Spanish and Italian MMs based on interjections (e.g. Sp. *¡Wow!*, *¡Ay!*), *verba sentiendi/dicendi* (see ex. 1), expressive intensifiers (see ex. 2) as well as on verbal periphrases with motion verbs (see ex. 3). These linguistic devices were extracted from the *Ameresco* and *Val.Es.Co* corpora for spoken Spanish and the *KIParla*, *PAISÀ* and *Perugia Corpus* (PEC) for spoken Italian and manually coded for mirative uses.

For the analysis of the corpus data, we suggest to exploit the distinction between *speaker-* and *hearer-orientation*, which relates to the authenticity and spontaneity of the speaker’s reaction. Such a distinction, which will be further refined in the course of the analysis, is also useful for the interpretation of rhetorical-strategic uses:

a) ‘Speaker-oriented’ unexpectedness involves cases such as in (1), in which the expression of unexpectedness occurs when discovering new information (i.e. *p* was not among the speaker’s expectations and was thus ‘not expected to occur’) and cases such in (2), in which the discovered information can be regarded as ‘new’ because it exceeds or contradicts previous expectations (i.e. *p* was among the speaker’s expectations but was ‘expected not to occur’, cf. Siegal & Boneh 2016):

(1) Sp. A: *Le ha tocado la lotería y se va a comprar un piso.* B: ***Mira***

A: ‘He has won the lottery and is going to buy an apartment.’ B: ‘Wow! (lit. look)’ (Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999, cited in García Negroni & Libenson 2022: 333)

(2) It. *Eccola lì la torre gigante! Ammazza, com’è alta!*

‘Here is this giant tower! Wow (lit. kill her), how high it is!’ (G. Deledda, *Il sigillo d’amore*, 1926, cited in D’Achille & Thornton 2020: 174)

b) ‘Hearer-oriented’ / rhetorically exploited unexpectedness includes cases in which the information is not newly discovered by the speaker (cf. Cruschina & Bianchi 2021). Instead, unexpectedness is exaggerated, simulated or temporally transferred in narration for rhetorical-strategical reasons, e.g.

for manipulating the hearer (in order to be polite or in ironical uses) or involving them in the experience of unexpectedness in the past: In (3), the speaker presents known information on the past as unexpected with respect to the current context that is shared with the hearer for narrative goals:

- (3) It. *La mia [pianta] [...] era sopravvissuta anche agli ultimi inverni rigidi e mi va a morire d'estate.*
'Mine [my plant] [...] had survived even the last few harsh winters and it surprisingly died (lit. goes to die to me) in summer.' (<https://forum.giardinaggio.it/threads/la-mimosa-si-e-seccata.174045/>)

We hypothesize the existence of cross-linguistic tendencies in Romance MMs: We suppose, e.g., that expressives such as It. *amazza(la)!* show a tendency to be used as pragmaticalized MMs for expressing 'speaker-oriented' unexpectedness. By contrast, verbal periphrases, such as It. *andare a + inf.* tend to occur as narrative-rhetorical MMs for expressing 'hearer-oriented' social stances.

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Habitat modeling of Uralic language speaker areas

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Keywords: Habitat modelling, Language speaker areas, Historical ecological environments, Geographic overlaps, Geocomputation

One hypothesis explaining language range, spread, and linguistic diversity suggests that languages are limited by biogeographical boundaries. In this view, languages themselves do not adapt to ecological environments, but the speaker populations do, as subsistence strategies are cultural adaptations to ecological environments. This implies an indirect connection between language boundaries and biogeographical variation, mediated by culture. However, to this extent, the connection between language ranges and ecological environments has not been empirically demonstrated. Therefore, we aim to investigate whether languages have habitats.

We begin our study by using the recently published Geographical Database of Uralic Languages, which reflects the language speaker areal coverage over a century ago from the 1900s, mapped as a result of extensive collaborative research (Rantanen et al. 2022). We combine these data with a range of environmental variables, such as high-resolution remote sensing data of North Eurasia (snow cover and elevation), modelled historical environments (wild woodlands in the 1900s), bioclimatic variables (temperature and precipitation between 1900-1949, (Antunes et al. 2020), biodiversity index (Tallavaara, Eronen, and Luoto 2018), geographical distances to waterbodies (ocean and lakes), locations of wetlands and swamps, river density (Axelsen and Manrubia 2014), and soil quality parameters suitable for agricultural activities. The collection of variables supports the assumption that indigenous nomadic people have harsher Arctic living conditions.

Using geocomputational methods, such as predictive mechanisms of Random Forest decision trees, Principal Component Analysis, and Geographic Information Systems, we identify and map the habitat and ecological clusters of top-level Uralic language groups, including Samoyedic, Saamic, Finnic, and Permic languages, as well as Khanty, Mansi, Mari, and Mordvin. Specifically, we 1) test whether language speaker areas have distinct local compositions of environmental variables, 2) predict whether similar habitats and suitable conditions could be found elsewhere in the study area, and 3) identify ecological clusters influencing Northern Eurasian speaker areas. The model profiles distinct habitats for each subfamily and provides a map output of habitat locations.

Our results reveal geographic overlaps of linguistic areas in environmentally coherent areas. For example, an ecological classification trained in areas where Samoyedic languages were spoken 100 years ago identified areas primarily in the vicinity of the actual observations. In other words, in the case of the ecological approach, environmentally coherent areas entirely occupied by one species occur only when there is no significant competition. Furthermore, the areas matching the habitat of Finnic languages also occur in Central Russia, which used to be Western-Uralic speaking. We discuss the implications of these findings for historical linguistics and suggest that our results encourage further research aimed at understanding how biogeographical boundaries limit languages and how the underlying ecological niche relates to the population spread of Arctic people.

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The role of dependency length minimization in the emergence of differential object marking cross-linguistically

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Keywords: differential object marking, dependency length, word order, corpus linguistics, typology

Differential object marking (DOM) systems are governed by a variety of parameters (e.g. animacy), and functional explanations like predictability-based marking (Haspelmath 2021 and Levshina 2021) have been suggested to account for these parameters within a communicative efficiency framework (Gibson et al. 2019). This study proposes that dependency distance may also play a role in the emergence of DOM, particularly in conjunction with predictability-based marking. We investigate this through a cross-linguistic corpus study.

DOM has been shown to be more prevalent and diachronically more stable than consistent object marking (Sinnemäki 2009). While predictability-based marking accounts for the parameters of DOM via atypicality, studies have shown that the majority of DOM systems appear to be governed specifically by atypical information structure, most of which also involve dislocation (Iemmolo 2011). Similarly, DOM systems relying on semantic properties of the object are suggested to be the diachronic result of atypical information structure (Cristofaro 2013, Iemmolo 2010, and König 2008). Predictability-based marking alone does not explain how DOM emerges specifically from atypical information structure.

This study proposes that dependency length minimization (DLM) may provide the missing piece of the puzzle: namely, the notion that DOM is a result of dependency length-based marking. Evidence suggests that DLM is a universal principal of human languages (Futrell et al. 2015), and that the conflict between DLM and the principle of predictability maximization drives word order (Ferrer-i-Cancho 2017). This may similarly be the case for DOM, in which structures or forms that violate these principles are marked with more linguistic material. Dislocation via topicalization would warrant marking due to longer dependency lengths in addition to atypical information structure, accounting for at least one pathway of the development of DOM. This is corroborated by the results of a recent artificial language study (Tal et al. 2022).

This paper presents results from a corpus analysis of a sample of transitive sentences with direct objects (preliminary N=59,517). Languages were selected based on the availability of grammatical resources and relevantly parsed corpora, while also considering typological and genetic diversity. Preliminary results from corpus analysis of a sample of nine DOM languages (representing five language families) suggest that the difference in average dependency lengths between marked and unmarked objects is significant for each language, and that word order and head-directionality mismatches may likewise play a role in DOM. Theoretical implications of the results of the study will

be discussed in light of other typological studies and functional accounts, and a unified account of the emergence of DOM will be proposed.

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Denominal verbs in ancient Greek and Latin: at the syntax-semantics interface

This paper addresses the question of denominal verb formations in Ancient Greek and Latin. These formations have been studied from different theoretical perspectives, in relation to a great variety of languages (Kiparsky 1997; Hale & Keyser 1993; Clark & Clark 1979; Lieber 2004; Aikhenvald 2011; Bleotu 2018; Baeskow 2006; Harley 2005). However crucial issues on ancient Greek and Latin denominal verbs (DVs) remains unresolved. This study aims to: 1) clarify the patterns by which DVs acquire their syntactic and semantic properties; 2) identify the features of the lexical base that specifically affect the actionality, argument structure, and voice of derived formations.

In ancient Greek and Latin, the suffix **-ye-/-yo-* was usually added to either nouns, adjectives or adverbs to derive verbs (cf. Meillet 1908; Szemerényi 1984):

Latin

1. NOUN *arbiter, -is* ‘judge’ → *arbitrōr* ‘I judge’;
2. ADJECTIVE *novus, -a, -um* ‘new’ → *novō* ‘I renew’;
3. ADVERB *autem* ‘but’ → *autumō* ‘I argue’ [cf. Mignot 1969]

A. Greek

1. NOUN *phúlaks, -os* ‘guard, watcher’ → *phulássō* ‘I keep guard; I watch for’
2. ADJECTIVE *atásthalos, -on* ‘presumptuous’ → *atasthállō* ‘I am presumptuous’
3. ADVERB *pélas* ‘near’ → *pelázō/pelázomai* ‘I come near/I bring near (caus.)’ [cf. Fraenkel 1906; Barber 2013]

Since **-ye-/-yo-* did not convey any specific semantic value (cf. Meillet 1908: 185), the question of how a denominal verb acquires its syntactic and semantic properties needs to be clarified.

This study tests the hypothesis that the actionality, argument structure and voice of denominal verbs are related to the following semantic and grammatical features of the lexical base:

- a) ± mass/count (cf. Chierchia 2010; Rothstein 2010a, 2010b; Doetjes 2019: 29-56; Harley 2005; Bleotu 2018);
- b) ± abstract/concrete (cf. Schmid 2000; Aikhenvald 2006);
- c) degree of animacy (cf. Dahl 1996, 2000, 2008) and individuation (cf. Timberlake 1975, 1977; Silverstein 1976);
- d) type of word class: noun, adjective, adverb (cf. Aikhenvald 2011: 221-290).

The analysis adopts the syntax-semantics interface framework (cf. Van Valin & La Polla 1997; Van Valin 2005; Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2016).

The ancient Greek corpus consists of 400 denominal verbs (8th B.C. - 4th A.D.) collected from Fraenkel (1906), Barber (2013), and by using DELG and TLG.

The Latin corpus consists of 400 denominal verbs (3rd B.C. - 1st A.D.) collected from Mignot (1969), Flobert (1975), and by using DELL and TLL.

The results of this study show that:

1. Ancient Greek and Latin possess nine main classes of denominal verbs, classified on the basis of the thematic role of their lexical base: AGENT, QUALITY, PRODUCT, SCOPE, SOURCE, LOCATUM, LOCATION, DURATION, DIRECTION (cf. Fillmore 1968; Clark & Clark 1979; Aikhenvald 2011; Luján 2010, 2014);
2. there are no variations in actionality, argument structure and voice within classes;
3. the above-mentioned features of the lexical base (*a, b, c, d*) govern the selection of the semantic class of derived verbs, directly affecting their actionality, argument structure and voice.

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When emerging varieties start living a life of their own: Birth and growth of a constructional alternation in the Portuguese of Mozambique

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Keywords: pluricentricity; language contact; Recipient passives; constructionalization; construal

Portuguese has been in contact with many different languages in the course of its history. Nowadays, most scholars agree that many features distinguishing Brazilian from European Portuguese were induced by contact with African languages, in particular Kimbundu, as the result of 350 years of colonization and slave trade (Petter 2015; Álvarez-Lopez et al. 2018). While this influence has settled in Brazilian Portuguese, evolving into a matter of historical language contact that no longer bears upon the direction of current linguistic changes, substrate influence is still very lively on the African continent (Petter 2009: 202), where Portuguese coexists as official language alongside a wide variety of languages from the Bantu group. In Mozambique, as well as in other former Portuguese colonies in Africa, Portuguese is quickly reaching advanced stages of nativization and is likely to gain ground in the near future due to population growth (Firmino 2021; Soares da Silva 2022). All this makes them an excellent laboratory to investigate the effects of language contact in real time.

The variety of Portuguese spoken in Mozambique is particularly interesting because of a linguistic innovation that is not found in any other variety. With ditransitive verbs, it allows for the participant with the thematic role of Recipient (usually coded as Indirect Object) to be promoted to Subject position in the passive voice (see (1) below), an option that is precluded according to Portuguese normative standards. This Recipient passive innovation occurs in alternation with the “standard” Theme passive construction (2) in which the Theme/Direct Object features as Subject (Nhaturve 2022). Following the theoretical assumption of Cognitive Grammar that a change in meaning always underlies a change in form (Langacker 2008), this study seeks (i) to describe the (syntactic and semantic) contexts in which Recipient passives occur, (ii) to unravel the factors that determine the choice of one option over the other, (iii) to quantify the impact of each of these factors by means of statistical modelling, in particular logistic regression and conditional inference trees, and (iv) to assess the role played by language contact.

(1) *Pode-se dizer que Mozambique **é fornecido** a sua própria corrente eléctrica por um país vizinho.* (Corpus do Português)

‘It can be said that Mozambique is provided its very own electrical power by a neighbouring country.’

(2) *Rooyen explicou que o óleo **será fornecido** a Petromoc.* (Corpus do Português)

‘Rooyen explained that the oil would be supplied to Petromoc.’

To achieve these goals, we relied on the *Corpus do Português* (Davies: 2016), composed of written data retrieved from Mozambican blogs and websites, from which we extracted all occurrences of ditransitive passive sentences (both standard Theme passive and non-standard Recipient passives),

constituting a database of about 1,000 occurrences annotated according to relevant syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and social factors. The general objective is to demonstrate, by means of this corpus-based case study, that although language contact acts as a fundamental trigger of language change, it cannot alone be held accountable for the entire range of changes and accommodations within the receiving language. Although Recipient passives have emerged through language contact, their actual use in discourse is furthermore governed by semantic and pragmatic factors, the most prominent of which are construal and topicality: Recipient passives turn out to be more likely when the Recipient is discursively accessible and convey a less energetic conceptualization of the transfer event. Moreover, increasing degrees of productivity (Recipient passives being found with more than 50 different ditransitive verbs) and schematicity (expansion across several semantic categories) point towards an ongoing process of constructionalization (Traugott & Trousdale 2013).

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Hidden epistemic modals: Decomposing ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’

§1. The paper examines the verbs ‘promise’ and ‘threaten’ in Russian and shows that they contain an epistemic modal element. I propose that these predicates should be structurally decomposed into an abstract verb of communication (SAY) and an epistemic modal (EM). The analysis accounts for the semantics of the verbs and explains their unique syntactic properties. The paper contributes to the discussion of such predicates cross-linguistically; see Traugott (1997), Verhagen (1995) on the raising versions of *promise* and *threaten* in English being epistemic (*Tomorrow promises to be a fine day*).

§2. In Russian the following control predicates form a homogenous group: *obeščat’*, *objazat’sja* ‘promise’; *kljast’sja* ‘swear’; *ugrožat’*, *grožit’sja*, *prigrožit’* ‘threaten’. The distinctive distributional properties of these predicates are: (1) subject control over a dative dependent (Goal/Addressee), (2) (limitedly) allowed shift to object control, without any syntactic change in the embedded clause, (3) compatibility with infinitival and finite indicative clauses, but not with subjunctive clauses, without a change in meaning. Compare the latter to the behavior of the verbs of order, which combine only with infinitival and subjunctive clauses, and that of the verbs of mental activity (‘think’, ‘expect’, ‘consider’), which shift their meaning alternating between the proposition- vs event-selecting class (Wurmbrand & Lohninger 2019).

§3. ‘Promise’, ‘swear’, and ‘threaten’ describe a speech act (in a broad sense) whereby Agent, typically realized as the subject of the main clause, expresses an evaluation of the validity of the statement expressed by the embedded clause, based on their knowledge of the world. Novel support for this comes from felicitous combinations of these predicates with a finite indicative clause that refers to a temporarily preceding situation (in Russian: ‘I promise you that he already arrived’, ‘He threatened me that John had already learned about everything’).

§4. The verbs under consideration are lexical realizations of a combination of two separate predicates – SAY and EM, as in [_{VP} Agent [_V V⁰ [_{VP} Goal [_V [V⁰ SAY+EM_i] [_{PredP} [Pred⁰ t_i] [_{CP} clause]]]]]]]; literally, the structure yields an interpretation ‘Agent says to Goal that [clause] must/may be true’. The benefits of such a decomposition include the following. First, SAY is responsible for Agent being interpreted as the point of view of the evaluation and the performative flavor of such sentences, as well as for the presence of a dative Goal. Second, the covert EM belongs to a bigger group of epistemic predicates, such as *vozmožno* ‘possible’, *verojatno* ‘probable’; thus, it is expected to pattern with them in allowing only infinitival/indicative dependents. Third, in case of an embedded infinitival clause, control is established pragmatically; EM ensures that the primary controller is the subject (the one who evaluates the probability) and makes control shift possible when Agent can reasonably evaluate a scenario concerning Goal (e.g. a parent is talking to their child or a doctor to the patient: in Russian ‘I promise you to get better soon.’). The full version of the paper presents a formal semantic analysis for such sentences, and also provides evidence against placing the modal element in the embedded clause (cf. Bhatt 2000).

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Left- and right-dislocation in discourse: Discourse functions, word order and prosody

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Keywords: dislocation, discourse functions, word order, prosody, pragmatics

Left- and right-dislocation (LD and RD, respectively) have received considerable attention in the literature (i.a. Huddleston & Pullum 2002, Lambrecht 1994, Prince 1997, and Quirk et al. 1985). They are characterised by the placement of a constituent in extra-clausal position (either to the left or right of the matrix predicate) as well as the presence of a resumptive in the main clause. Example of LD and RD, taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1310), are shown (1):

- (1) a. *That play, it* was terrible.
 b. *He's* a complete idiot, *that brother of yours*.

Analyses of such dislocated structures have mostly focused on the notion of (aboutness) Topic (e.g. Lambrecht 1994, 2001, and Tizón-Couto 2012). However, given the various functions of LD and RD proposed in the literature, it should be clear that Topic alone does not suffice to account for the placement of an element in either the left or right periphery (LP or RP). Moreover, what is missing in all of the current accounts is an empirical investigation of the prosodic features of LD and RD.

The aim of this paper is to explore both the discourse-functional features that determine the placement of a dislocated element in either LP or RP, and their prosodic realisation. In particular, it will look at whether different discourse functions of the dislocated element correlate with specific prosodic features, more specifically tone contours and boundary strength (using the ToBI annotation system, see Silverman et al. 1992). Thus, the current paper aims to answer the following questions:

- RQ1: Which discourse-pragmatic features determine the placement of a dislocated element to the left or right of the main clause?
- RQ2: What is the prosodic realisation of left- and right-dislocation in spoken British English?
- RQ3: What is the interaction between the prosodic realisation of the dislocated element, its discourse-pragmatic features, and the position with respect to the matrix clause?

These questions will be investigated using data taken from the British component of the International Corpus of English (Nelson et al. 2002). Use will be made of insights from *Rhetorical Structure Theory* (RST; Mann & Thompson 1988), as well as other approaches to the discourse functions of dislocation to

investigate whether these provide a better way of explaining the variation in word order and prosody than the notion of Topic (which has been associated with both pre- and post-clausal placement). The study will be couched in Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), which, with its top-down architecture, in which pragmatics and semantics are assumed to govern morphosyntax and phonology, is well-suited for investigations into phenomena at the interfaces of different grammatical levels. This makes possible a precise pragmatic analysis that can capture aspects of LP and RP so far not considered systematically, i.e. the interaction between discourse functions, word order, and prosody.

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Title: “*Crack, crunch, crash and crush: studying cr- words in a combined approach to English phonesthetics*”

Key words: phonesthemes, OED, corpus linguistics, sound symbolism, onomatopoeia, semantic change, diachronic lexicology

Abstract:

Discovered by Jespersen 1922 and Firth 1930, phonesthemes can be described as recurrent associations of a phonological sequence and a meaning in the language. The consonant onset *cr-* in *crash*, *crack*, *creak* and *crunch* relates to a “noisy impact” (Bloomfield 1933: 245), and is often described as a “harsh or unpleasant noise” (Drellishak 2006: 29; see also Chadelat 2008: 79 on the onomatopoeic origin of *cr-*, and Flaksman 2017: 21 on the relation between phonesthemes and onomatopoeia). The existence and nature of phonesthemes have been extensively discussed through diverse types of data (see Hutchins 1998, Abelin 1999 and Bergen 2004 for psycholinguistic evidence, and Drellishak 2006, Otis and Sagi 2008 and Abramova *et al.* 2013 for statistical evidence).

Following Smith (2016 and 2020) which conducted an analysis of *fl-* monomorphemes in the OED, and Farina 2020 that studied *gr-* monomorphemes, this article aims at tracing back the development of words starting with the consonant onset *cr-*. Diachronic lexicographic evidence is provided by the Oxford English Dictionary (OED3, online version, third edition). The English Historical Book Collection (EHBC) is searched via Sketch Engine in combination with the lexicographic study to obtain a clearer picture of how phonesthemes come into being. Finally, we also use the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA) to pinpoint the context of use with more accuracy.

The OED covers a broad period of time and encompasses a wide range of historical material, but it is difficult to get any satisfying quantitative results from the dictionary alone (see Hoffmann 2004, Durkin 2009, Allan *et al.* 2010, Allan 2012). Hence the need to pair this lexicographic study with a thorough corpus analysis, within the frame of a usage-driven methodology. The OED is used to track down semantic change, before mirroring it with etymology. We then select a handful of interesting *cr-* words that seem to be of onomatopoeic origin, to be widely used in the lexicon and are used over a long time period. The words *crack*, *crunch*, *crash* and *crush* were thought to fit into these requirements.

Sketch Engine shows the frequency of *cr-* words in a collection of historical documents dating from the 15th to the 19th century. The study of frequencies and collocates gives us insights into how the use of *cr-* words in context has evolved through time, and if certain key collocates are partly responsible for the form-meaning pairing entrenchment.

However, Sketch Engine corpus probing shows a number of disfunctions: some syntactical functions are not well identified by the algorithm, and the EHBC corpus, although extending over a rather long period of time, does not show an even quantity of documents, and the nature of those documents is not very diverse. From this perspective, the COHA features a much more homogenous and regular set of sources for each decade, even though it only spans over the 19th to 21st centuries. It thus serves as a complementary corpus in order to corroborate or ponder our prospective results.

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On the history of the English construction type *Tomorrow I'll go shopping* and its relation to the absentive

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Keywords: absentive; grammar network; narrative dissonance; prescriptivism; progressive

This presentation explores the history of the construction exemplified in the title, henceforth referred to as the Expeditionary *Go* construction, and its relation to the absentive. The absentive is a category which can be defined as the grammatical expression of absence. It is closely related to the progressive and is often discussed under the heading 'Progressive' in the typological literature (de Groot 2000; Abraham 2007: 3–7). As first described by de Groot (2000), the absentive carries the information that the human Subject is away from the speaker-oriented deictic centre, engaged in a temporary activity. An example of the absentive from Dutch, which employs for that purpose a periphrasis consisting of copula + infinitive, can be seen in (1):

- (1) Jan is boksen.
John is box.INF
'John is out boxing.'

Unlike the various Germanic (Dutch, Frisian, German, Norwegian, Swedish) and non Germanic (Finnish, Hungarian, Italian) languages discussed in de Groot (2000), Present-Day English is not considered to have a dedicated absentive construction distinguished by grammatical form. However, in a study on the origins of the English progressive, de Groot (2007) has hypothesized that at some stage in its history English may indeed have possessed a grammatical construction specialized in expressing absence from the deictic centre, namely the Old and Middle English pattern exemplified in (2), consisting of the copula plus a phrase introduced by the preposition *on* governing a gerundial noun in *-ing/-ung*:

- (2) ... ac gyrstandæg ic **wæs on huntunge**.
'... but yesterday I was [out] hunting.'
(ÆColl 67–68; DOE *beon* v. B.1.c)

My presentation at SLE expands on de Groot's proposal and argues that examples like (2) were simply a subtype of a more general absentive construction which in Old English (OE) was formed mainly with the generic motion verbs *faran/feran* 'to go' and *gan* 'to go, walk'. OE expeditionary clauses are often used in contexts where a clear contrast is established between the immediate vicinity of the Speaker/Subject (cf. *ea* 'river' in [3], *ham* 'home' in [4]) and a distant location:

- (3) Gebeorhlicre ys me faran to ea mid scype mynum, þænne **faran** mid manegum scypum **on huntunge hrænes**.
'It is safer for me to go to the river with my ship, than to go [out] hunting whales [lit. a whale] with many ships.'
(ÆColl 112; DOE *faran* v. I.B.4)
- (4) Ða þe **on ytinge** ahwiðer **farod**, nimen hi reaf of hrægelhuse, and swa hi ham cuman of þam færelde, agyfen hi agean.
'When [they] go away anywhere, [let] them take a robe from the wardrobe, and as they come home from the journey, [let] them give [it] back.'

(*Rule of Saint Benedict* 90, 8–12; B&T s.v. *ying* n. ‘being out, away (from home)’)

The analysis traces the development and grammaticalization of the Expeditionary *Go* construction from OE to the end of the twentieth century, as well as its connections to other members of the small family of English *go*-constructions, such as Progressive *Go* (e.g., *She went singing upstairs*; Fanego 2020) and Admonitive *Go* (e.g., *Don’t go getting into trouble again!*; Fanego 2021).

Data for the study have been gathered from a vast collection of corpora and databases including *Nerthus Lexical Database of Old English* (Martín-Arista et al. 2016), EEBO BYU (1470–1700, 755 million words), the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET3.0, 1710–1920; 34 million words), and BNC BYU (1975–1994; 100 million words).

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The What-NP-VP-be construction:
Boundary marker of left periphery in spoken discourse?
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Keywords: What-NP-VP-be construction, left periphery, pragmatic marker, spoken English, patterned co-occurrences

This paper is informed by functional and interactional approaches to grammar (Auer 2009, Givón 1993, Halliday 1994, Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). It examines the function of the What-NP-VP-be construction in spoken (British) English media discourse (15 BBC podcasts), giving particular attention to the linguistic contexts embedding the construction and to emerging co-occurrence patterns.

The question to be analysed is whether the What-NP-VP-be construction displays janus-like referencing in discourse, projecting cataphorically what is to follow as well as signalling anaphorically a boundary for what has been said, as in the following example where the left periphery contains two pragmatic markers (well, I think (twice)), expressing anaphoric reference to what has been said, while the What-NP-VP-be construction displays its projective potential referring cataphorically to what is going to follow:

*well I think I think **what you find is** people skip over natural selection they always give a very very short explanation of it *and* **what the book does is** it lays out page by page ... (BBC4, *Start the Week*, 03/07/2017)*

To address our research question, the semantics and pragmatics of the NP and VP are considered, as are co-occurring connectives and other contextualisation cues realised in the left periphery.

From a form-based perspective, the What-NP-VP-be construction can be analysed as a bipartite construction linked by a form of the copula *be*. In this paper, the focus will be on those constructions in which the VP is realised with the proform *do*. From a function-based perspective, the What-NP-VP-be construction has traditionally been analysed as a specificational copular sentence, in which the weakly referential *wh*-clause calls for referential specification in the local context. Interactional approaches argue for a projective function with a discourse-organising capacity.

In spoken English, the construction appears in a variety of linguistic contexts. Its analysis requires a discourse grammar which may account for clause-internal syntactic as well as clause-peripheral slots.

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A morphological analysis of singulatives in Cushitic languages

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Keywords: morphology, Cushitic, grammatical number, singulative, African linguistics

Overview and aim

This paper describes and compares the morphology of singulatives and the grammatical number systems in which they occur in a sample of 34 Cushitic languages. The term singulative denotes “an individual” or “a unit” and is formed by adding a marker to a non-unit denoting base (Nurmio 2019: 75) as shown in different paradigms in (1) Iraqw, (2) Kambaata and (3) Sidaama.

The optionality of the expression of number in Cushitic makes base forms morphologically interesting; non-number-specific forms of the noun (here called ‘base’) could potentially be used in any context as opposed to singulatives and pluratives that are not obligatorily expressed number values. This raises questions: why is there a singulative form of the noun? Is a plurative form necessary?

(1) Iraqw (Mous 1993: 68; Zaborski 1986: 269)

<i>ilwa</i>	‘milk’	<i>ilwa-to’o</i>	‘(a drop of) milk’
milk.N		milk.SGT.F	
base		singulative	

(2) Kambaata (Treis 2008: 136)

<i>hool-č-ú(-ta)</i>	‘(one) sheep’	<i>hool-l-áta</i>	‘sheep (pl)’
sheep.SGT.ACC.F		sheep.PL.ACC	
singulative		plurative	

(3) Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 86)

<i>sina</i>	‘branch’	<i>sin-čö</i>	‘one branch’	<i>sin-na</i>	‘branches’
branch.M		branch.SGT.M		branch.SGT.F	
base		singulative		plurative	

Background

This typological study compares patterns within morphological paradigms having singulatives across languages belonging to the same family. Research on singulatives is still at an early stage, however, recent studies by Dali & Mathieu (2021), Nurmio (2019) and Acquaviva (2015) already demonstrate

that this feature is typologically widespread, both in genetically related and unrelated language families.

Results

The most widespread patterns in Cushitic grammatical number systems consist of either a base and a singulative form or a base and a plurative form, namely, two-value paradigms. In the first paradigm, the base form may convey plurality without being marked for number, in the second paradigm it may denote a single unit, depending on the context, without a number marker.

The same lexeme in Cushitic can potentially range between one and eight forms: the highest number of forms that were found per lexeme is five per language, meaning that there is no evidence of a single language having a lexeme with all eight possible forms at once. Three number values per paradigm constitute the second most common pattern in this sample along with the singulative and plurative paradigm.

Contribution

This paper contributes to the delineation of the linguistic expression of grammatical number in Cushitic, proposing unambiguous terminology to analyse singulatives and related number values both within the Cushitic family and cross-linguistically, allowing for future comparative research in the linguistic typology of number.

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Aspectual uses of *saber* + infinitive in South American Spanish varieties: A corpus-based study

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Keywords: *saber*, modality, aspect, grammaticalization, semantic change

In addition to its well-attested modal meaning (ability), the construction *saber* ‘to know’ + infinitive can exhibit aspectual meanings in certain American Spanish varieties (Kany 1945, Di Tullio 2006, Pfänder 2009, Duque Enríquez 2021). Thus, it can be used to express present or past habituality (1) or, in the preterite form, encode completed events (2).

- (1) a. *(El perro) En la calle sabe estar todos los días, salta a las personas, molesta.*
‘(The dog) is usually in the street every day, it jumps on people, it annoys them.’
b. *A veces sabía entrar a las 9:00 de la mañana.*
‘Sometimes I used to come at 9:00 in the morning.’
- (2) *el barrio albaicín que supo ser asiento de las cortes de los monarcas ziríes en el siglo xi*
‘the Albaicín neighborhood that was once the seat of the courts of the Zirid monarchs in the 11th century’

It is not well understood to what extent the grammaticalization processes leading to (1) and (2) can be considered independent or whether they are interrelated. Likewise, some scholars have assumed the meaning change illustrated in (1) to be induced by contact with Quichua, where the verb *yachay* has both the meanings of ‘to know’ and ‘to be used to’ (Vázquez 1991, Duque Enríquez 2021). This study approaches these questions by comparing four American Spanish varieties (Argentinian, Uruguayan, Bolivian and Ecuadorian Spanish), all of which possess aspectual uses of *saber*.

We conduct a quantitative analysis of $n = 6,000$ occurrences of *saber* + infinitive in the esTenTen, a synchronic corpus of blogs and newspapers (Kilgarriff & Renau 2013). Using logistic regression analysis, we demonstrate that the functions of *saber* + infinitive can be predicted from a set of contextual properties, namely semantic features of the subject, predicate type and type of adverbial modification. While these proxies predict both habituality and completion readings, their effect is moderated by whether *saber* is inflected for imperfective or perfective aspect. Crucially, many of these examples, such as (3), can also be taken to express participant-external possibility, i.e., a possibility that does not depend on the agent, but on external circumstances.

- (3) *en la estancia la ema se saben ver (estos animales)*
‘at the farm la ema one usually sees/can see [= it is possible to see] (these animals)’

Our analysis shows that there are differences in the degree to which the grammaticalization processes leading to (1) and (2) have been implemented in the varieties under study. Thus, while in some dialects (Argentinian, Uruguayan) both habituality and completion readings are attested, in others (Ecuadorian, Bolivian) habituality readings predominate. These findings allow us to postulate that (a) the semantic extension of *saber* from the expression of participant-internal (ability) to participant-external (circumstantial) modality constituted a decisive step in the development of aspectual values,

and (b) that the development of habituality and completion readings follows different grammaticalization paths. The results also suggest that the development of habitual *saber* in Ecuador and Bolivia has been facilitated by contact with Quichua.

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Assertion Modifiers and Trustworthiness: Experimental Results from German

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Keywords: Pragmatics, Speech Acts, Assertion, Epistemics, Evidentials

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Every theory of assertion must reflect on the reasons why conversation participants by and large take assertions to be true (such as the maxim of quality, a convention of truthfulness and trust, or a norm of knowledge, cf. Grice 1975, Lewis 1975, Williamson 1996). Commitment accounts (cf. Geurts 2019, Shapiro 2020) take the social effects to be essential: The speaker guarantees for the truth of the proposition, with social, moral or legal consequences if it turns out to be false. Recent work in linguistics has taken up this approach and has proposed syntactic layers like the “Commitment Phrase” (Krifka 2015, Hill 2019, Miyagawa 2022) at which this truth commitment is expressed and interpreted. These versions of the commitment account assume that there are ways to fine-tune the social effects of assertion with parentheticals (... *I think*), epistemics and evidentials (*certainly*, *apparently*) and expressions that directly affect the commitment level (*truly*, *seriously*, *I swear*) (cf. Krifka 2020).

We tested these effects experimentally for German. Our work draws on, but varies, the goals and methods, of experimental investigations into the norms of assertions (cf. e.g. Kneer 2018, 2021, Marsili & Wiegmann 2021). 450 participants were presented in an online experiment with six scenarios that introduce a fictitious acquaintance with knowledge in a certain field. The acquaintance utters one sentence *S* related to this field, represented in direct speech, then another expert with more experience either confirms or contradicts *S*. The participants rated whether their attitude towards the trustworthiness (*T*) of the acquaintance with respect to that field has changed, with four options (*T* increased, stayed the same, decreased a little, or decreased). See Fig. 1 for an example item. We tested six sentences: (a) a simple assertion, and five variations: (b) marked by *echt* ‘really’, which we assumed to raise the commitment; (c) marked by *Ich sag mal* ‘I’d say’, which should lower the commitment; (d) marked by the subjective epistemics *wahrscheinlich* ‘probably’ and (e) *sicher*; and (f) marked by the adjectival construction *es ist sicher* ‘it is certain’. We hypothesized that the subjective epistemics (d, e) should make it more defensible to assert a proposition, and hence have a weaker effect on *T*, than the bare assertion (a) and assertions with the strong objective epistemics (f) (cf. Lassiter 2016, Yatsushiro et al. 2022).

Fig. 2 shows that confirmation led to an increase (“+”), and contradiction to a decrease (“-” or “--”) of *T*, showing that the experimental method works. Fig. 4 indicates that in the case of contradiction, contrary to our hypothesis *echt* does not affect *T*. However, *sag mal* and subjective epistemic modifiers *wahrscheinlich* and *sicher* have the predicted mitigating effect, whereas the objective epistemic *es ist sicher* has a strengthening effect. Fig. 3 indicates that in the case of confirmation, the commitment strengthener *echt* increases the gain in *T* and the weakener *ich sag mal* decreases the gain in *T*. Also, strong subjective and objective epistemics lead to stronger gain in *T*. We will discuss these effects, and possible variations for future experimental setups.

Fig. 1: Example item, 6 sentence varieties, conditions contradiction / confirmation.

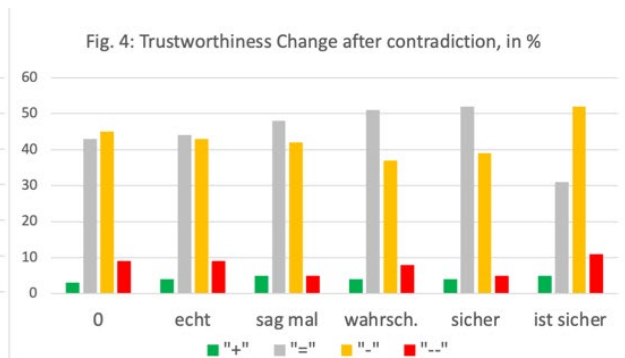
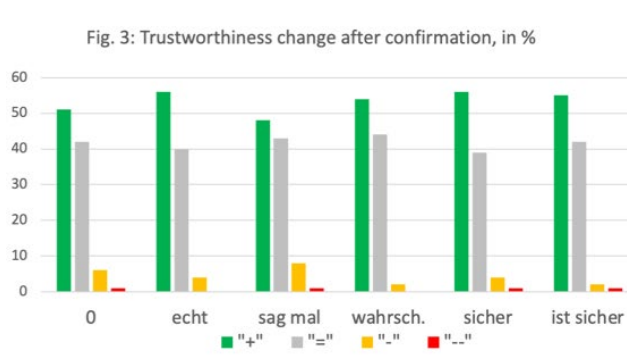
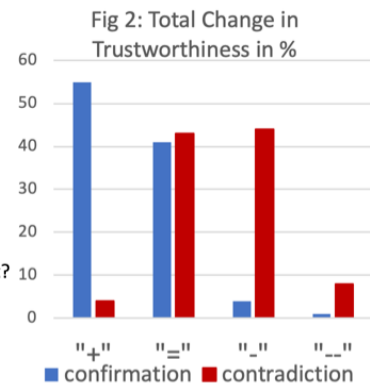
Dein Bekannter Michael studiert Ernährungswissenschaften. Ihr unterhaltet euch öfter über Lebensmittel und gesunde Ernährung. Gestern habt ihr über Tees gesprochen. Er hat dir gesagt:

(a) "Kamillentee ist gesünder als grüner Tee." (b) "Kamillentee ist **echt** gesünder als grüner Tee."
 (c) "Ich sag mal, Kamillentee ist gesünder als grüner Tee." (d) "Kamillentee ist **wahrscheinlich** gesünder als grüner Tee."
 (e) "Kamillentee ist **sicher** gesünder als grüner Tee." (f) "Es ist **sicher**, dass Kamillentee gesünder ist als grüner Tee."
 Heute morgen hast du zufällig im Rundfunk ein Interview mit einer Gesundheitsexpertin gehört.

(i) Sie hat jedoch gesagt, dass grüner Tee sehr gesund ist, besser als andere Teesorten.
 (ii) Sie hat auch gesagt, dass Kamillentee sehr gesund ist, besser als andere Teesorten.

Hat sich deine Einstellung zu der Vertrauenswürdigkeit von Michael in Ernährungsfragen verändert?

1. Ich finde ihn jetzt noch vertrauenswürdiger.
2. Ich finde ihn genau so vertrauenswertig wie zuvor.
3. Ich finde ihn nicht mehr ganz so vertrauenswertig.
4. Ich finde ihn nicht mehr so vertrauenswertig.



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Linking language variation to sociopolitical variation

The diversity found among the world's languages has been claimed to result from trade-offs between subparts of their grammars, with little, if any effect of factors external to language. Increasing evidence suggests, however, that language features and the trade-offs between subparts of grammars can be impacted by sociopolitical characteristics, cultural traits, or the physical environment, to the extent that even the overall complexity of languages might eventually differ cross-linguistically in response to external factors (e.g. Sampson et al. 2009; McWhorter, 2011). For instance, phonological features of languages have been shown to be sensitive to features of the physical environment (Maddieson and Coupé, 2015; Everett et al., 2016), or to changes in the human body (Blasi et al., 2019). Not surprisingly perhaps, it is our social environment that seems to impact mostly on the structure of languages, with the number of speakers, the degree of bilingualism, the tightness or the looseness of the social networks, the sociopolitical organization, or the number of adult learners of a language correlating, and perhaps explaining, the types of morphology or syntax exhibited by the world languages (Wray and Grace, 2007; Trudgill, 2011; Nettle, 2012). Well-known cases are the negative correlation found between the index of agglutination and population size (Lupyan and Dale, 2010) or the positive correlation between cultural/socio-political complexity and tense–aspect–mood (TAM) marking (Gil, 2021).

This contribution is intended to serve as an introductory paper to the workshop. After providing a state-of-the-art of the ongoing research about the links between structural factors of languages and sociopolitical factors, we will highlight several topics of particular interest for the field, and advance some questions for future research.

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As if grammar, discourse and prosody don't interact: Comparative study of the prosodic profiles of English as if-clauses and Dutch alsof-clauses

This study examines the production of clauses introduced by the conjunction *as if* in spoken English and its equivalent *alsof* in spoken Dutch. In both languages, *as if*- and *alsof*-clauses can have different levels of grammatical and discursive (in)dependence, e.g. (1)-(4). Our aim is to provide a comparative analysis of the prosodic profiles of these clauses and examine if their different dependency statuses are signalled prosodically.

- (1) Het is alsof ik niet besta. (CGN)
'It's as if I don't exist.'
- (2) He walks around as if he owns the place. (BNC)
- (3) Alles prikt gewoon. Alsof je allemaal glaswol over je heen krijgt. (CGN)
'Everything just stings. As if you're getting glass wool all over you.'
- (4) **S1:** Yet another flower. **S2:** Hm as if we haven't got enough. (BNC)

The study is usage-based and grounded in analyses of spoken data randomly extracted from the 'British National Corpus' (BNC) for English and the 'Corpus Gesproken Nederlands' (CGN) for Dutch. For each language, 250 examples were coded, to arrive at sufficiently large sets of data for the various grammatical and discursive subtypes.

To investigate the interplay between grammar, discourse, and prosody, three coding schemes are used. The **grammatical** scheme assesses the clauses' level of grammatical (in)dependence, based on: clefting, pronominal proportionality, and fronting [1]. The degree of **discourse** dependence is established based on discourse-oriented features like speech-functional value, modality, turn-taking, and co-referentiality [2-4]. The **prosodic** scheme, finally, probes for prosodic features potentially correlating with the different levels of grammatical and/or discursive dependence: (i) placement of (major) intonation boundaries, (ii) pitch contour of the intonation unit (IU), (iii) key (i.e. pitch level of the IU onset: Low, Mid, or High), and (iv) amount of pitch variation.

Preliminary findings confirm that the different grammatical statuses and discourse uses that *as if*- and *alsof*-clauses can have correlate with different prosodic profiles. First, the level of grammatical dependence of the clause is reflected in the segmentation into IUs, with grammatically fully integrated clauses being also prosodically integrated in the same IU with their matrix. A cline is observed here from complements (1) to non-obligatory adverbials (2) to independent clause uses (i.e. dependency shifts (3) and insubordination (4)). Moreover, while the amount of pitch variation throughout the production of the clause appears to be a minor factor, key does correlate with the dependency status of the clause. Here too, a cline is found from non-obligatory adverbials (mid-low key), to dependency shifts (mid to mid-high key) to insubordination (high key). Finally, while we found no fixed intonation contour for the different clause uses in either language, Dutch insubordinate clauses were frequently uttered on a rise-fall tone, which has been associated with 'challenging' meanings [5]. English insubordinate clauses, by contrast, tend to be produced with a fall, especially 'high falls', which signal speaker engagement. Both meanings, we argue, can be linked to the 'assumption-denying' function that these clauses serve.

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The Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area

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Keywords: linguistic areas; language contact; Balkans

When contact-induced change and borrowing become systematic across a number of languages and persist over time, language clusters can be identified that contain languages which, although not genetically related, have become more similar. The areas in which such languages are spoken are referred to as “Sprachbund,” “convergence areas,” and “linguistic areas” (e.g., Trubetzkoy 1928).

While the Balkans have been central to theoretical discussions regarding linguistic areas, there is still no consensus over the precise linguistic features and their distribution. Current approaches consider that although the Balkans form a large linguistic area, Balkan linguistic features are instantiated differently in different language varieties and multilingualism is distributed differently depending on the region in the Balkans (Ranacher et al. 2021).

To obtain an up-to-date and detailed picture of what the Balkans as a linguistic area look like, we created an online database that aims to map 100 linguistic features in 50+ language varieties and relate them to the socio-historical information available: this is the Atlas of the Balkan Linguistic Area.

More specifically, we selected some well-established and researched features in the literature on Balkan areal linguistics and some features that are discussed in the typological literature and are still in need of more careful consideration for the Balkans (Friedman & Joseph in press). We start by presenting 26 borrowings, greetings, and lexical features which play a key role in the Balkans as they are Essentially Rooted in Conversation (Friedman & Joseph 2017). We further examine 22 features pertaining to the noun phrase and 19 to the verb phrase. 8 more features illustrate complex clause phenomena, 13 simple clauses, and one is specific to word order. We also dedicate 17 features to phonology, phonetics, and prosody.

Each feature is matched to a map covering language varieties from 50 representative languages and locations across all Balkan countries and their periphery for control. We paid special attention to include non-standard varieties in which the effects of long-term language contact can still be documented among older adults and changes observed among the younger generations (Adamou 2021). As a result, the Indo-European language family is represented by 13 language datasets from the Slavic branch; 12 from the Romance branch; 11 from the Albanian branch; 7 from the Greek branch, 7 from the Indic branch, and 2 from Armenian. For the Turkic family, we include 3 language datasets from the Oghuz branch.

To conclude, we consider that the Balkans offer a unique example of how languages that belong to different branches and families have structurally converged over the centuries. This convergence was driven by the multilingualism of the people of the Balkans, who in many cases lived in the same villages and cities and formed linguistically mixed households (Sobolev 2021). The Atlas of the Balkan

Linguistic Area would make available a much-needed volume illustrating these multiple, complex convergence processes across a larger number of datapoints than currently available in the literature.

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Bare nouns in a language without bare nouns

Basque and French are typologically radically different languages. However, very few studies are devoted to the language change dynamics arising in their contact. [Duguine & Irurtzun \(2014\)](#) uncovered the emergence of *wh-in-situ* constructions in Northern Basque, analysing it as being triggered by three main factors: (i) ambiguity and frequency of the relevant data, (ii) the diglossic contact situation, and (iii) the computational complexity of displacement operations. This talk contributes to this area of study by exploring an emerging use for bare noun (BN) constructions in Basque, unstudied so far.

Basque in principle bars determinerless common nouns (on both subjects and objects, with referential and kind interpretation, as citation terms..., [Trask \(2003\)](#); [Etxeberria \(2014, 2016\)](#)):

- (1) a. * *Ba-duzu mokanes?*
POL-have handkerchief
Lit. Do you have handkerchief?
- b. * *Arno galdegin du.*
wine ask AUX
Lit. They ordered wine.
- c. * *Taldeak barroko jotzen du.*
band baroque play AUX
The band plays baroque (music).

We uncover the use of BNs in Northern Basque in argument position:

- (2) a. *Baduzu Kleenex?*
POL.have Kleenex
Do you have a Kleenex?
- b. *Azkenburuko-tzat fraisier galdegin du.*
desert-as strawberry.cream.cake ask AUX
For dessert they ordered a strawberry cream cake.

- c. Taldeak *reggae* jotzen du.
band reggae play AUX
The band plays reggae.

We show that BNs tend to involve recent French loanwords, and study them from the prism of language contact. French does not productively allow argument BNs either (with a few exceptions; cf. [Roodenburg \(2004\)](#)). We argue that these nominals are borrowed as genericized trademarks or ‘style’-denoting names ([Hinzen, 2007](#)).

This predicts a range of syntactic patterns and restrictions inherent to bare noun constructions such as their inability to appear in subject position (3), their restriction to singular agreement (4), their incompatibility with adjectival modifiers (5), and the lack of referential readings (6):

- (3) a. Jonek *gin-tonic* galdegin du.
Jon gin-tonic ask AUX
Jon asked a gin and tonic.
b. * *Gin-tonic* isuri da.
gin-tonic poor AUX
Gin-tonic poored.
- (4) a. *Gin-tonic* eta *rhum* galdegin dut.
gin-tonic and rhum ask AUX.3SGABS.1SGERG
I asked gin-tonic and rhum.
b. ?? *Gin-tonic* eta *rhum* galdegin **ditut**.
gin-tonic and rum ask AUX.3plABS.1SGERG
I ordered gin-tonic and rum.
- (5) a. *Gin-tonic* galdegin dut.
gin-tonic ask AUX
I asked a gin and tonic.
b. * *Gin-tonic* hotz galdegin dut.
gin-tonic cold ask AUX
I ordered a cold gin and tonic.
- (6) a. * Hemen bi edari utzi nituen, nork edan du *gin-tonic*?
here two drink leave AUX, who drink AUX gin-tonic
I left two drinks here, who drank the gin and tonic?
b. * *Gin-tonic* desagertu da.
gin-tonic disappear AUX
The gin and tonic disappeared.

Also, the further the segmental content of the loanword is from the phonological properties of Basque, the higher probability it has to be used as a BN. We take all this to mean that the lack of full nativization favors treatment as a BN. Our analysis therefore highlights the effect of salience in the generation of the new BN construction and strengthens Duguine & Irurtzun's (2014) analysis of the diglossic contact situation as being a decisive factor for change in Basque.

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Small-scale Multilingualism in Northeastern Siberia

Vast cold lands Northeastern Siberia used to be the gates for Americas' settlement, and peoples and languages repeatedly replaced each other moving towards and backwards by Bering Strait/land bridge and adjacent seas. In this talk, I will examine how contacts between some communities inhabiting the area during the last several centuries gave rise to the emergence of small-scale multilingualism (as understood in Pakendorf et al. 2021) in this region.

As the majority of indigenous languages of Northeastern Siberia are endangered, multilingualism studies of these areas typically describe situations of language shift (Vakhtin 2001, Kantarovich 2020). There are no doubts that currently Russian is the language of privileged majority in Russian Federation and a preferable language for language shift in Siberia. Among indigenous languages of each area, some languages can also be considered dominant (Yakut for Lower Kolyma and Chukchi for Chukchi Peninsula). However, my data show that there were some communities where indigenous languages were equal in their social status, and it was typical for some individuals to be multilingual without any subsequent shift (see a detailed discussion of the Lower Kolyma case in Pupynina, Aralova 2021). This is a case of small-scale multilingualism, which probably used to be a stable, not transitional phenomenon in the discussed region.

I will compare two Siberian regions where I conducted historical-sociolinguistic studies of multilingualism dynamics. One is the lowland of Kolyma river where five languages belonging to five different linguistic stocks are spoken: Tundra Yukaghir (Yukaghir), Even (Tungusic), Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Yakut (Turkic), and Russian (Indo-European). For the local communities having a command of five languages was the norm during the most part of 20th century. The second region is Chukchi Peninsula, a tiny easternmost end of Eurasia, where during the last century Chukchi (Chukotko-Kamchatkan), Chaplinski, Sirenik, Naukan, Inupiaq (Eskaleut), English Hawaii pidgin, and Russian (Indo-European) languages were spoken. Multilingualism here was a more distant and less widespread practice, which was continuously reducing during the 20th century.

The issues I plan to discuss are listed below:

- What kinds of localities are involved? (e.g. nomadic groups vs. settlements)
- Are/were there any ideological/cultural differences between the communities in contact?
- What types of contacts between the individuals in the communities can be observed?
- How multilingualism (its popularity, language repertoires etc.) changed through time, and how this dynamics can be explained?

The generalizations that will be made can be probably extended to the more distant past, which can allow us to hypothesize which forces could have influenced the language drift across the Bering Strait/land bridge.

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Multimodal metaphors in medieval manuscripts: The metaphorical conceptualisation and expression of POWER in miniatures

Metaphors are powerful cognitive mechanisms that help speakers conceptualising abstract concepts based on more physical and concrete ones. These metaphorical mappings across domains are grounded in our sensory-motor as well as our sociocultural background and are pervasively found in our daily lives (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Cienki & Müller 2008; Valenzuela & Ibarretxe-Antuñano in press). One case of such as primary metaphor is the so-called CONTROL IS UP. This metaphor captures the idea that anything that is located above exerts more power and control over anything situated below (Schubert 2005; Valenzuela & Soriano 2009). This metaphor can be encoded by means of oral metaphorical expressions such as *upper/middle/lower class*, *under their influence*, or *your highness*, but it can also be represented thanks to visual manifestations such as pyramidal structured arrangements and kinetic practices such as genuflexion. Multimodal metaphorical expressions that can be maintained or developed across time.

This paper reports results from an on-going study on the gestural representation of the CONTROL IS UP metaphor in medieval miniatures. The main goal of this study is twofold: (i) to explore how the representation of genuflexions, a gestural vassalage practice started in the Middle Ages, helps us understanding the power relationships between different societal strata at that time, and (ii) to highlight the need to include multimodal expressions in the study of metaphor in order to unveil underlying mappings between conceptual domains.

A set of twenty-six “multimodal genuflexion parameters” was developed to describe both (i) the historical and linguistic background context and (ii) the whole range of kinetic elements involved in the genuflexion such as gestural expressions (face, hands, etc.) as well as distance between characters and body posture measurements (calculated with the CAD software). This set was then applied to a corpus of 34 miniatures selected from the *Liber feudorum maior*, an Aragonese 12th century manuscript written by Ramón de Caldes and commissioned by King Alfonso II of Aragón in 1192 (Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Chancellery, reg. 1).

Preliminary results seem to indicate that (i) the genuflexion practice includes other kinetic elements beyond the kneeling and bowing such as the physical distance between characters and the position of their hands, (ii) the genuflexions represented in these miniatures are different depending on the characters and their vassalage relationships: the

closer the relationship with the king, the lower degree of “body bending” (bowing, kneeling) and the shorter distance between their hands.

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Onomatopoeia in phonaesthetic groups: An interplay between iconicity and systematicity

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Keywords: onomatopoeia, phonaesthemes, iconicity, sound symbolism, etymology

Phonaesthemes (phonemic clusters systematically paired with a certain meaning in a language) enjoy a growing interest in the field of iconicity studies (Sadowski 2001, Smith 2016, Kwon & Round 2015, Abelin 2015, Joo & Liu 2020, Willemsen & Miltersen 2020). However, the appearance of such phonaesthetic groups as GL- (*glimmer*, *glitter*, *glisten*) or BL- (*blush*, *blare*, *blow*) is interpreted rather as an instance of *systematicity* in language than that one of language *iconicity* (Smith 2014).

The present study *focuses* on the use of the onomatopoeic (iconic) mechanisms in creation and further development of phonaesthetic groups and *aims* to clarify the complex relationship between form and meaning in words from such groups.

The research *material* is obtained by the method of continuous sampling from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (3^d edition). The *methods* of research are etymological and phonosemantic analyses. Altogether, around 300 words from English phonaesthetic groups BR- and CR- were analyzed.

Both of the studied phonaesthemes contain a plosive and a postalveolar approximant /ɹ/ (probably, historically, a trill /r/ (Voronin 2004)). These phonemes in English onomatopoeic words have certain *imitative functions* (Voronin 2006): a plosive renders an abrupt sound (*tap*, *tick*, *pat*); R renders a vibrating, harsh, dissonant sound (*roar*, *ring*, *ribbit*, *rattle*).

We *argue* that (1) historically, onomatopoeic words might have constituted the core of these phonaesthetic groups and (2) that *objective* (iconic) sound-meaning associations existing in onomatopoeic words of the English language might have influenced the establishment of a systematic relation between form and meaning in (non-iconic) words of phonaesthetic groups.

Among our *findings* are the following:

- certain words from both phonaesthetic groups are at the same time onomatopoeic by origin (*brag*, *brawl*, *bristle*, *creak*, *crash*, *crack*) (OED);
- as these onomatopoeic words semantically expanded their meaning (sound → action; sound → object), more non-onomatopoeic words joined the group making the connection with the sound less perceptible. E.g., English *crack* (< Proto-Germanic **krakojan*) originally denoted a sound ('to make a dry sharp sound in breaking'). It started expanding its meaning after the 14th century ('to break into fissures; to fissure, cause to split'). At the same time, we start registering the CR- words having a seme 'a fissure' in their meaning (*cranny*, *†craze* (n.), *crevice*, etc.) (OED).
- there were *general* shifts in meaning in *all* words from the group (e.g., in the BR- group: 'something broken' > 'something loud or sharp' (*brad*, *brag*, *bramble*, *bristle*, *break*));
- the number of new words joining these phonaesthetic groups decreases significantly after the 16th century (which coincides with the beginning of the gradual loss of /r/ after vowels in the British English) which might be a sign of the general change in the system of sound-imitation triggered by the change in phonotactics. Only singular words joining CR- and BR- groups were registered in the 19th century (*bradawl*, *brash*, *crunch*).

Thus, one can observe a complex interplay between iconic and systemic factors in creation and development of phonaesthetic groups.

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Insinuated vs Asserted Ad Hominem: An Experimental Approach to their Rhetorical Effectiveness on Ethos

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Keywords: pragmatics, insinuation, ad hominem argument, rhetoric, ethos

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The research presented here is part of a project about the rhetorical advantages of implicit meaning in argumentation. In previous experimental investigations, we showed that in a dialogue where one party attacks the other’s standpoint through a personal attack, (i) the personal attack is not perceived as a sound argument to support a disagreement, with no difference whether the attack is insinuated or asserted; (ii) an insinuated attack is perceived as more persuasive than an asserted attack; (iii_a) an insinuated attack does not lead to less agreement with the target of the attack, nor (iii_b) to more agreement with the attacker than an asserted attack.

In addition to impacting the acceptability of the content of an argument, the rhetorical appeal of insinuation – and implicit meaning in a broader sense – can also be linked to the preservation of the image the speaker wants to project, namely, their *ethos*. Especially in the case of insinuations, the incentive for speakers to *implicitly* make a personal attack is to disparage someone while having the possibility to deny having meant such a negative ascription and thus escape negative reputational consequences. Through a plausible denial, speakers can therefore downplay the insinuated content in favour of an alternative socially innocuous interpretation of their utterance, which allows them to preserve their face if challenged.

In a follow-up study, we thus investigated the difference in perceived *ethos* between characters insinuating and asserting a personal attack. To this end, we built on the work of Mayer et al. (1995). We measured perceptions of ability, benevolence and integrity – in line with their hypothesis that one can be more easily persuaded by someone recognised as a person who scores high on these values. Hence, we assessed whether insinuation helps to mitigate the consequences of personal attacks on these three characteristics.

Results indicate a preference for insinuations over assertions: participants judged insinuating speakers as having more ability, benevolence, and integrity than asserting speakers. We thus assume that the greater perceived persuasiveness in the previous experiment might be partly explained by a more favourable *ethos*, which consequently grants speakers a greater chance to persuade. These experiments are among the first to experimentally test essential theoretical hypotheses inspired by classical rhetoric and pave the way for new perspectives in experimental pragmatics and argumentation.

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Effects of degree of permanence on inversion:

Some insights from copula constructions in eastern Indo-Aryan languages

Abstract

This paper examines inversion in copula constructions in 3 eastern Indo-Aryan languages (namely, Assamese, Odia and Bangla) in terms of the effects of the temporal readings of the predicate. More specifically, we focus on the degree of permanence of nominal, adjectival and verbal copula predicates (see Table 1). Data for our crosslinguistic analysis comprise of 5 hours of Assamese conversations, and 10 hours each of Odia and Bangla conversations. For brevity, elicited examples from Assamese native speakers are provided for this abstract.

Nominal copula predicates generally refer to time-stable referential entities, hence they are high in terms of degree of permanence, as in (1). Adjectival copula predicates can manifest attributes with a high or low degree of permanence, as seen in (2a) and (2b) respectively. High permanence adjectival copula predicates describe stable attributes or characteristics of the nominative subject, while low permanence ones tend to be temporary in nature. Verbal copula predicates generally have low temporal permanence. As seen in (3a), in eastern Indo-Aryan languages such as Assamese, verbal predicates involving state verbs tend not to rely on copulas, although interestingly western Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi can deploy copulas with stative verbal predicates. As seen in (3b), at the other end of the atelic-telic continuum, the achievement verbs—being both punctual and telic—generally yield middle or passive voice readings, but with the help of light verbs such as *jai* (< ‘go’) instead of combining with copula auxiliary verbs, which is the focus of our current analysis. On the other hand, as seen in (3c), verbal predicates involving activity and accomplishment verbs often recruit copulas to form more complex tense-(aspect)-mood readings. Importantly, the deployment of the copula creates the space for speakers to also display their subjective and intersubjective stances, such as speaker assertion, emphasis, and contrast (some of which imply disagreement).

Interestingly, our analysis reveals that Assamese tends to distinguish between high vs. low permanence copula predicates in terms of their inversion potential. That is, copulas in high permanence nominal predicates are generally not preposable in the present tense. Copulas in adjectival predicates are not preposable when they have a high permanence reading, as in (4a), but the copulas can be preposed when their adjectival predicates have a low permanence reading, as in (4b). Copulas in predicates with activity and accomplishment verbs typically have low permanence reading; they frequently allow preposing to form focus or highlighting constructions, as seen in (5a) and (5b). These asymmetries in inversion potential based on degree of permanence of the different types of copula predicates provide linguistic evidence that Assamese speakers are attentive to temporal properties such as permanence and temporariness in the human mind.

Our crosslinguistic analysis reveals a similar tendency in Odia. Although a first glance at Table 1 appears to suggest that verbal copula predicates in Odia fail to prepose in the same way that their Assamese counterparts do, a closer analysis reveals that the present tense forms of Odia copulas (i.e. its *-chh* copulas) have developed into present tense suffixes, which readily prepose together with the entire verbal predicate. A counterexample comes from Bangla, where copula inversion is rare and restricted to adjectival copula predicates in poetic discourse. Further research is needed to identify possible linguistic and social factors that could give rise to the crosslinguistic difference. Future research can also investigate whether asymmetries in inversion potential that are induced by degree of temporal permanence likewise occur in other languages.

Examples (from Assamese)

- (1) *moi Snigdha ho-i*
1SG Snigdha COP-HAB.PRES
'I am Snigdha.'
- (2) a. *tai ejoni dusto suali ho-i*
3SG.F one.CL.F naughty girl COP-HAB.PRES-3NH
'She is a naughty girl.'
- b. *tai ho-is-e ejoni dusto suali*
3SG.F COP-PRES-3NH one.CL.F naughty girl
'She is being a naughty girl.'
- (3) a. *moi mcD bhal pa-u / *ho-i*
1SG-NOM McD good get-HAB.PRES. / *COP-HAB.PRES
'I love McD.'
- b. *glass xohoze bhangì ja-i / *ho-i*
glass easily break-IMPF go-HAB.PRES / *COP-HAB.PRES
'Glass breaks easily.'
- c. *lora-tu ghor-or sarioufale pogola-r nisna douri as-e*
boy-CLF house-LOC around mad-GEN like run-IMPF COP.AUX-PRES
'The boy is running around the house madly.'
- (4) a. **ho-i mankho khabole bhal*
COP-HAB.PRES meat eat-INF good
Intended reading: 'Chicken is delicious (lit. good to eat).'
- b. *ho-ise mankho-khini khabole bhal*
COP-PRES meat-CLF eat-INF good
'It is *that the chicken is delicious*.'
- (5) a. *kukura-tu dour-i as-e*
hen-CLF run-IMPF COP.AUX-PRES.
'The hen is running around.'
- b. *douri(-yei) as-e kukura-tu*
run.IMPF(-EMPH) COP.AUX.PRES.3 hen-CLF
'The hen is running around.' / 'It is *the hen* that is running around.'

Table 1. Inversion potential of copulas in Eastern Indo-Aryan languages

Permanent vs. Temporary reading	Type of predicate preceding the copula	Predicate inversion	Eastern Indo-Aryan languages		
			Assamese	Odia	Bangla
Permanent 'I am Snigdha.'	Nominal predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP (formal) X X X	+COP (formal) X X X	-COP X X X
Temporary 'She is being naughty.'	Nominal predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP X X YES	-- YES YES YES (formal)	-COP, uses ASP X X X
Permanent 'Chicken curry is delicious.'	Adjectival predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP X X X	+COP (formal) rare (poetic) rare (poetic) rare (poetic)	-COP X X X
Temporary 'The chicken curry is delicious.'	Adjectival predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP YES rare (poetic) rare (poetic)	+COP (formal) rare (poetic) X rare (poetic)	+COP rare (poetic) X X
Permanent 'Chickens love worms.'	Verbal predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP.AUX (poetic) X rare (poetic) rare (poetic)	-COP (> PRES) X X X	-COP X X X
Temporary 'The chicken is running around.'	Verbal predicate	Regular (no inversion) Predicate inversion Copula inversion: clause-initial Copula inversion: post-nominal	+COP.AUX YES rare (poetic) rare (poetic)	-COP (> PRES) X X X	-COP X X X

Classical Greek *hostisoûn* ‘whoever’ or pervasive freedom of choice

Regarding Free Choice Items (FCI), many languages have been considered, contributing to elaborating the notion of Freedom of Choice (FC) (Vendler 1967). A thorough account (which is still lacking) of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of Classical Greek (CG) *hostisoûn* (‘whoever’) will shed new light on debates concerning Free Choice.

Freedom of Choice indicates that the referent of certain items does not matter, as with *any* in *Pick any book*. Whereas Giannakidou (2001) argues that FCIs such as English *any* or Modern Greek *opjosdhipote* are “sensitive” items that denote (intensional) variables and must be bound by a nonveridical operator, other analyses are more pragmatic and rest on e.g., the notions of non-identification or viability (Jayez & Tovenia 2005; Dayal 2013) or the management of implicatures (Chierchia 2013).

Our goal is:

- a) to describe the syntactic and semantic characteristics of *hostisoûn*;
- b) to refine our understanding of FC by analyzing a FCI that has a wider range of uses than most of the already studied FCIs.

The array of uses of FCI varies crosslinguistically:

- a) among the 16 contexts that favor FCIs (Haspelmath 1997; Giannakidou 2001), English *any* appears in 13 (Kadmon & Landman 1993; von Stechow 1999), and Modern Greek *opjosdhipote* in 12 (Giannakidou 2001), while CG *hostisoûn* in no less than 15 contexts: besides the expected contexts (conditional clauses, modal verbs, intensional verbs, habituals), *hostisoûn* is licensed in episodic negative assertions, episodic questions, disjunctions, and with operators meaning ‘perhaps’ and ‘only’;
- b) in some languages, the same indefinites are used as negative polarity items (e.g., *any*) while others have several FCIs which behave differently under negative scope, as in Romance languages (e.g. Italian *qualunque/qualsiasi* (Chierchia 2013)). In contrast, *hostisoûn* only competes with the positive indefinite *tis* ‘someone’ in positive contexts, and the negative indefinite *oudeís* ‘nobody’ in negative contexts.

Our study is corpus-based and for the first time investigates all of the examples of *hostisoûn* in CG (5th-4th BCE, 683 utterances).

- We distinguish (following Dayal 2013) bare *hostisoûn*, partitive *hostisoûn* (*anthrópōn hostisoûn* ‘any of the men’ Pl. Laws106e1) and modified *hostisoûn* (by a subordinate content [*hotioûn khaíreis*] *onomázōn* ‘calling it whatever you like’, Pl. Hp.Mi.369a1 (Denizot 2019)).
- We identify the contexts licensing the use of FC *hostisoûn* at the border with negative polarity (type of modality, speech act, temporality, polarity, genericity, comparison).
- We consider the following parameters: quantificational force, scope, combination with *állos* ‘other/else’, use in lists, literary genre (e.g., speeches vs. philosophical dialogues), compositionality of *hostisoûn* [relative *hóstis* + particle *oûn*].
- and contrast them with the parameters of the other two indefinites *tis* and *oudeis*.

We argue that:

- the use of *hostisoûn* as FCI is due to nonveridical contexts *and* to pragmatic inference, two parameters that are sometimes considered to distribute complementarily;
- the competing CG items are underspecified, which allows pervasive *hostisoûn* to spread more largely than FCIs in languages that possess a wider range of indefinite items;
- assuming that FC implies non-mutually-exclusive alternatives, more contexts in CG have the ability to manage these sets of alternatives.

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Confirmation particles as grammatical markers

Pragmatic answering particles like YES and NO constitute a somewhat independent linguistic system (see, e.g., Enfield et al. 2019, Sorjonen 2001). Negative answering particles often correspond to the markers of grammatical negation of some kind. For example, in most Slavic languages, the default negative answer coincides with the marker of propositional negation (cf. Serbian/Croatian *Ne*, Polish *Nie*). Likewise, English answer *no* serves as a caritive marker in examples like *events with no admission fee*. Although it is not always clear which of those functions was there first (see Dimroth 2010 on evidence from children's speech), the etymological reconstruction of most NOes indicates that they were formerly part of sentential negation, cf. German *Nein!* from Old High German *ni* + *ein* 'neg one'.

Positive answering particles are less predictable in how they relate to the grammatical inventory. While negation, as a straightforward counterpart of disagreement, is in the spotlight of any grammar, the opposite meaning (assertiveness) is rarely marked outside of dialog speech. The proposed paper explores what other grammatical meanings can be related to the positive answers. For instance, South-Slavic *Da* ('yes') has a grammatical counterpart *da* which has a large set of functions, among which the optative (see Ammann & Van Der Auwera, 2004) seems to be the closest to the pragmatics of agreement.

At the same time, the paper argues that some markers of dialogical confirmation do evolve into optional markers of assertion. One of such instances is the Hebrew marker *Ken* 'yes'. Normally, it is used as an affirmative answer to a question, or opinion (1). However, in colloquial speech, it is also encountered as a marker of an affirmative proposition within a contrastive sentence (2). A context with negation seems to be a requirement for such use.

- (1) – *Veatem* *rak* *jadidim?* – **Ken, ken,** *rak* *jadidim.*
 and-you-m.pl only pal-m.pl **yes** **yes** only pal-m.pl
 ‘– And you're just friends? – **Yeah, yeah,** just friends’.

- (2) *Ani* *lo* *adam* *dati* *meod,* *aval* *ani* **ken** *maamin*
 I neg man religious-m.sg very but I **yes** prs.believe-m.sg

 meod *beofen* *shebo* *ani* *roe* *et* *haolam*
 very in-manner-sg comp-in.he I prs.see-m.sg obj def-world-sg
 ‘I am not a very religious person, but I **do** believe very much in the way I see the world’.

Note that, like English *Yes*, *Ken* can serve for confirmation of a proposition introduced with a negative sentence (3). I.e., in the terms of Servidio et al. 2018, it works in positive-negative, rather than agreement-disagreement dimension. This aligns it with the German particle *doch*, which also covers both the function of an affirmative answer to a negative sentence, and an "emphatic" particle.

- (3) – *Ze* *lo* *nakhon.* - **Ken, ken,** *ze* *nakhon.*
 it neg correct-m.sg **yes** **yes** it correct-m.sg
 ‘– That's not true. – **Yes. Yes,** it is.’

Examples like (2) show that units and structures originally limited to dialog discourse can spread onto monolog speech, adjusting their function and scope from pragmatic (interactional) to grammatical (sentence-level).

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Multifunctional converbs in Australian languages: A typological study

Converbs are specialised verb forms for adverbial subordination (Haspelmath & König 1995), and are a well-described and widely attested grammatical category across the world. However, the term is seldom applied to Australian languages, many of which have clause linkage-specific verb forms (Austin 2017: 5, but see Ross 2016). Some of these verb forms (like in examples 1 and 2) have properties of ‘general subordinate’ clause constructions (Hale 1976, Blake 1999: 307, Nordlinger 2006), having both relative (‘NP-relative’) and adverbial (‘T-relative’) functions with neither being necessarily primary.

From a sample of 75 Australian languages, I show that the majority of non-finite verb forms are primarily adverbial, and can thus be described as converbs. They are united by a set of shared features, such as temporal dependency, flexibility in clausal ordering, and sensitivity to pivot identity (most often, shared subject with the main clause). I argue that ‘general subordinate’ properties can be explained by the multifunctional properties often attributed to converbs (Nedjalkov 1995: 104–106), i.e. converbs may mark relative clauses and certain complement clause types. Thus, building on Nordlinger’s (2001) observations, I argue that ‘general subordinate’ forms in Australian languages are best analysed as converbs with a multifunctional profile, rather than as participles, nominalisations, or infinitives, since adverbial function is almost always possible, while relative and complement clause functions are not. In contrast to converbs, participles and infinitives (specialised for relative clauses and certain complement clause types respectively) are rare in the sample, with few examples where these functions are primary.

Converbs in Australian languages can, in fact, be said to demonstrate two types of multifunctionality: constructional and semantic. Being **constructionally multifunctional**, a converb form may function in non-adverbial clause constructions, as in the Yidiny examples (1a-b). In (1a), the “causal subordinate” verb form *-(C)nyum* marks temporal priority (adverbial), while in (1b), it marks a perfective relative clause, which includes temporal priority in its meaning. Hence, Yidiny *-(C)nyum* is a converb inflection that is constructionally multifunctional in being able to mark both adverbial and relative clauses. Being **semantically multifunctional**, a converb may perform different types of adverbial linkage, as seen in the Dhanggati examples (2a-b), where the “subordinate” verb form *-kayi* may mark both motivated cause (2a), or open condition (2b).

From a broader perspective, analysing ‘general subordinate’ verb forms as converbs allows meaningful comparison with converbs of other languages in the world, and allows insight into other questions, such as their functions beyond clause linkage.

Yidiny (Dixon 1977: 335, 336)

- (1a) *muynnga* *gunda-:l^{nyum}* / *wangga-:dyinga-:l*
 cicatrices(ABS) cut-CAU.SUB get.up-COMIT-PAST
 ‘After having had (my) cicatrices cut (I) was lifted up...’
- (1b) *dyambu:l* *gadgadi:* *burhmu* *nyina-:ny* /
 two(ABS) children(ABS) quiet(ABS) sit-PAST
mandya *bunda-:dyi-nyum*
 culprit(ABS) hit-ANTIPASS-CAU.SUB
 ‘The two children sat quietly, the murdering culprits.’ (paraphrased)

Dhanggati (Lissarrague 2007: 68, 90)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (2a) | <i>nuu</i> | <i>'ang</i> | <i>yama</i> | <i>gawa-kayi</i> | <i>gayaan-du</i> | <i>ga-n</i> |
| | 3sg(NOM) | DEM(ABS) | hand(ABS) | cut-SUB | back-to | come-NFUT |

‘She came back because she cut her hand.’

- (2b) *nuu* *gurumba-kayi* *nyiyenang* *dhupiyn-ga-liyn*
 3sg(NOM) lie-SUB 1pl(NOM) know-VBLZ-FUT
 ‘If he tells a lie we will know.’

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Maybe or perhaps? -A corpus-based study of an on-going change in Present-day English

The trigger for this study was my observation that the epistemic modal adverb *maybe* is increasing in frequency in Present-day English over a short period of time. In the new Spoken British National corpus (the Spoken BNC2014) (Love et al. 2017) it was more than ten times more frequent than *maybe* in the spoken component of the British National corpus (BNC1994). The use of *maybe* was also higher than the use of the synonymous *perhaps*.

The adverb is an example of a recent language change. I argue that *maybe* is increasing in frequency and use in interactive contexts where it functions like a pragmatic marker at the speech act level and that it is replacing *perhaps* in these functions. The innovative uses of *maybe* are the result of a sociolinguistic change led by young speakers,

Quirk et al. (1985) classify *maybe* and *perhaps* as modal adverbs expressing some degree of doubt (see also Hoyer 1997). *Maybe* and *perhaps* have been discussed in previous research (e.g. Suzuki and Fujiwara 2017, Suzuki 2018). Suzuki (2018) compared the two adverbs in BNC1994 with respect to their grammaticalization and (inter)subjectivity showing that they could have different pragmatic functions depending on the context. The present investigation is innovative because it studies recent changes in the frequency of *maybe* and *perhaps* based on their uses in actual communication situations at two different points of time.

Methodologically, the investigation is based on comparing the frequency distribution and uses of *maybe* and *perhaps* in BNC1994 and the Spoken BNC2014. Comparable datasets of two hundred tokens of *maybe* and *perhaps* from the corpora have been analysed in two types of linguistic context: (1) co-occurrence with other strongly subjective elements including modal auxiliaries and other modal adverbs (see Hoyer 1997); (2) position in the clause.

The quantitative analysis of the corpus data indicates that the rise of *maybe* over a twenty-year period is counter-balanced by the declining frequency of *perhaps*. Preliminary findings based on a qualitative analysis of the data show that *maybe* (also in the combinations *perhaps maybe*, *maybe probably*, *maybe possibly*) is used in the Spoken BNC2014 as a pragmatic marker rather than as an epistemic adverb expressing doubt. For example:

mm yeah no I maybe a bit of sea kayaking maybe in Ecuador ?

I du n no maybe they were drinking

uhu (.) maybe we should put the price up

The function performed by *maybe* is to indicate that the dialogic space is open for many different interpretations. *Maybe* is used in initial or final position hedging an assertion or making a suggestion or request more polite (Suzuki 2018), Rozumko 2022).

The results of the sociolinguistic analysis indicate that the changes in the frequency and use of *maybe* to express the speaker's subjective view-point are driven by young female speakers. *Maybe* is increasing in frequency in all age groups especially in the 25-34 age group in the Spoken BNC2014. It is hypothesized that the young speakers use *maybe* innovatively in the interaction to express a non-committal stance.

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Gender, sexual orientation, and morphosyntactic stereotypes: A case study on Mexican and Peninsular Spanish

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Keywords: gender, experiment, morphosyntax, sexual orientation, stereotypes

Previous research has identified both actual differences and stereotypical beliefs of differences in language use between speakers of different genders or sexual orientations. We investigate whether such beliefs exist in speakers of two varieties of Spanish (Mexican and Peninsular) and explore the hypothesis that the stereotypes would be stronger in societies with more conservative gender roles as opposed to societies with more progressive gender roles, represented in this case study by Mexico and Spain, respectively (see, e.g., UNDP 2020).

To tackle the study question, we conducted an online experiment with 252 speakers of Peninsular ($n = 132$) and Mexican Spanish ($n = 120$), self-identified as women ($n = 117$) or men ($n = 135$) and aged between 18–56 years ($M = 36.10$, $SD = 10.35$). These informants were presented text and sentence pairs depicting the same event but differing in the use of morphosyntactic resources associated with different genders in previous research. For instance, women use more first-person and second-person singular verb forms, pronouns, and direct reported speech in their texts than men, who in turn use more third-person forms and noun phrases instead of pronouns; in spoken Peninsular Spanish, women have been shown to use more intersubjective forms than men when speaking of the same topics (see Argamon et al. 2003, Aijón Oliva & Serrano 2013, Posio 2016).

The two variants of the textual stimuli were constructed so that they conveyed the same information but using either “male” or “female” communicative style, such as *Me gustó la película* ‘I liked the film’ (“female” variant) vs. *La película fue buena* ‘the film was good’ (“male” variant). In order to test for stereotypical beliefs of how speakers of different genders and sexual orientations use these morphosyntactic features, the informants were randomly assigned to three groups that were asked which of the variants had more likely been uttered (1) by a female vs. male speaker or (2) lesbian vs. straight female speaker or (3) gay vs. straight male speaker.

Contrary to our expectations, we found no society-, age- or gender-specific differences between the informants. However, the results point at the existence of strong morphosyntactic stereotypes. Some of the morphosyntactic features were strongly associated with speaker gender (e.g., use of first and second person singular) and others with lesbian (e.g., use of impersonal structures) or gay speakers (e.g., direct reported speech). While the results call for more research on different languages and societies, they suggest that linguistic stereotypes are ubiquitous and deep-rooted.

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Given before new? New insights from conversational corpora

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Keywords: givenness, word order, core arguments, conversational corpora, machine learning

Research questions

The given-before-new order is considered as the default in many languages (e.g., Halliday 1967, Gundel 1988). Psycholinguists explain this fact by the ease of retrieval of accessible information, which extends beyond human language (Bock 1982, MacDonald 2013). This principle is regarded as a driving force for word order flexibility. At the same time, speakers of languages such as Cayuga (Iroquoian, the USA) and Ngandi (Gunwinyguan, Australia) prefer mentioning new or newsworthy constituents first (Chafe 1994, Mithun 1992). In addition, it has been claimed that language users use the canonical order (so-called “freezing”) in the absence of other cues to grammatical roles (Lee 2001; Bouma 2011). All this raises questions about the indispensability of the given-before-new order for language use.

In our study we address these issues empirically, using spoken dialogical corpora of German, Russian and Tagalog, which have a varying degree of A (proto-Agent) and P (proto-Patient) order flexibility. More specifically, our questions are as follows:

- 1) To what extent do these languages prefer the given-before-new (or more accessible before less accessible) order of A and P?
- 2) What is the role of accessibility due to givenness/newness in determining the order in comparison with other cues?
- 3) Is the canonical (A – P) order used in the absence of strong cues to A and P?

Data and variables

We used transcripts of spontaneous informal interactions in the three languages (German: the Database for Spoken German¹; Russian: Russian National Corpus,² Zenskaja & Kapanadze 1978; Tagalog: a new corpus was created³). We annotated at least three hundred examples of complete transitive clauses in each language for a range of variables: animacy, person and length (in words and syllables) of A and P constituents, tense and aspect form of the predicate and other information. The given and new status was captured by two variables which represent the discourse and situational status of a referent. We developed a special annotation schema based on previous work on information structure (Chafe 1994, Dipper et al. 2007, Prince 1982). An acceptable interrater agreement was reached after two rounds of annotation and discussion.

Methods and results

Our descriptive analyses showed that the more accessible (in discourse or situation) argument comes first in only about 50% of the clauses (see Figure 1). In many cases, there was no difference in accessibility. In contrast, the A–P order was observed more systematically: in 75% of the clauses or more in all three languages. Machine learning models (conditional random forests and artificial neural networks) revealed little or no effect of the discourse or situational status on the order of the arguments. Instead, the most influential variable was the role itself (A or P). Moreover, we found that

¹ <https://dgd.ids-mannheim.de>

² <https://ruscorpora.ru/en/>

³ <https://hdl.handle.net/1839/4ddcd983-5527-428d-8f9d-c4c96a567caa>

there was virtually no need for disambiguation, due to the presence of case marking and/or verb agreement. We explain our unexpected findings using a noisy channel communication account (Gibson et al. 2013) and a cognitive principle “Plan Reuse” (MacDonald 2013).

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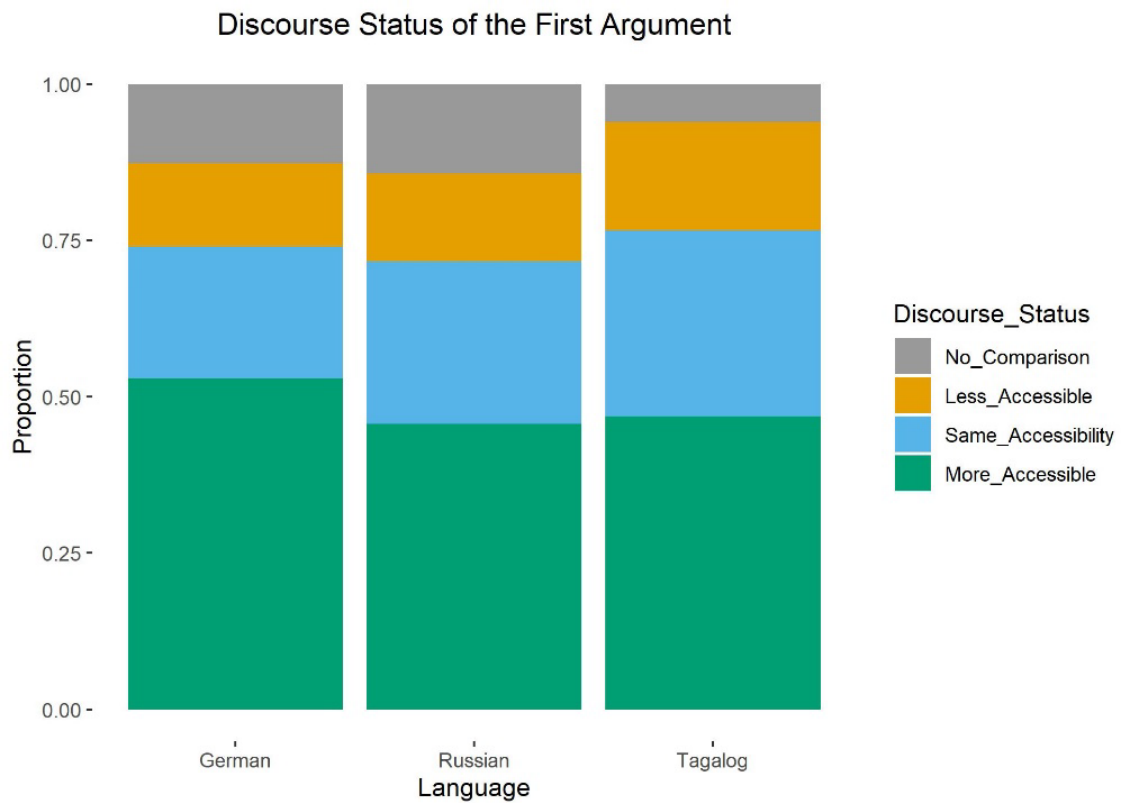


Figure 1. Discourse status of the first argument (A or P) in relation to the second argument. 'No comparison' means that at least one of the arguments is not referential, and therefore no comparison can be made.

Classifiers in nDrapa: Classifying and Beyond

This paper introduces noun categorization devices in nDrapa. The nDrapa language 扎坝语 (Qiangic, Tibeto-Burman; ISO 639-3: zhb) is a subgroup of the Qiangic languages spoken in Western Sichuan, China. This language can be classified into three dialectal branches, namely the northern branch (Upper nDrapa), the southern branch (Lower nDrapa), and the central branch (dialects ranging from the Southern to the Northern nDrapa area) (Shirai & Huang 2022). nDrapa usually requires both numeral classifiers and verbal action classifiers to express classificatory techniques. Morphologically, classifiers are fused with numerals; without the involvement of classifiers, numerals cannot be directly associated with nouns. Due to the fusional morphological status, some sortal classifiers exhibit a regular pattern of allomorphy determined by vowel assimilation with numerals. Classifiers in nDrapa can also be divided into these several subcategories according to their classificatory and enumerative functions, such as: sortal classifiers, general classifiers, shape classifiers, honorific classifiers, functional classifiers, and mensural classifiers (cf. Conklin 1981; Croft 1994: 163; DeLancey 1998; Bisang 1999; Aikhenvald 2000: 115).

Table 1 illustrates the common types of sortal classifiers as well as the vowel assimilation between classifiers and the numeral *tɛ* ‘one’.

Table 1. Sortal classifiers in nDrapa

Sortal classifiers	Semantics	Nouns used with
<i>(tɛ)jî</i>	General	Boy, table, piece, bamboo stick (a handful of), mirror, car, grape, vegetable
<i>(tɛ)htɛỹ</i>	Animals; two-dimensional and long objects (long vertical/long and wide)	Horse, pig, bird, caterpillar, pencil, road, fish
<i>(ta)hpâ</i>	Small animals, bedding	Fly, mosquito, pillar, quilt, blanket
<i>(ta)ɣtû</i>	Long, curved and thick objects	Snake, eastern dragon, necklace, rope
<i>(ta)pû</i>	Flora	Tree, flower, grass, mushroom
<i>(ta)zâ</i>	Humans (honorific)	Monk, teacher, and some respected people
<i>(ta)zû</i>	Paired objects (wearable on feet or on knees)	Shoes, socks, kneepad
<i>(ta)tɛhâ</i>	Paired objects (unwearable on feet)	Chopsticks, gloves, sunglass
<i>(tɛ)tɕhê</i>	Writing symbols and inanimate objects standing in a row	Words, lyrics, symbols, line, bicycles

Like Sinitic languages (cf. Chao 1968 [2011]: 627), nDrapa characterizes a number of verbal action classifiers which categorize verbal actions in terms of frequency, manner, degree, time, and so on. nDrapa verbal action classifiers often co-occur with numerals and their morphosyntactic

properties vary in terms of distinctive semantic subtypes of verbs. In general, verbal action classifiers originate from two sources: default nouns and verbal nouns. For example:

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------------------|
| (1) | <i>tɛ-skə</i>
one-VCL:FIST/HIT WITH FIRST
'Hit a fist (hit once)' | <i>kə-tə</i>
DIR-hit |
| (2) | <i>tɛ-çə</i>
one-VCL:PHLEGM/SPIT OUT THE PHLEGM
'Spit a phlegm (spit once)' | <i>kə-tə</i>
DIR-hit |

nDrapa classifiers can develop other non-classificatory uses in discourse. Of particular interest are derived quantifiers and adverbs. Originating in classifiers, there are a considerable number of quantifiers and adverbs revealing the adverbial function with respect to the softening voice and politeness (Aikhenvald 2010: 204). This functional shift involves the pragmatic effect in imperatives. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| (3) | <i>kəzə</i>
this | <i>tenta</i>
trifle | <i>tuçə=wu</i>
3SG=DAT | <i>ʂoʂtó</i>
awfully | <i>ti</i>
one.CL:GEN | <i>névze-tʂhu-ʂti.</i>
sad-CAUS-PFV.SEN |
| 'This trifle has made him a little sad (This trifle is a sad thing that makes him awfully sad. Yet I can't say it directly to offend him).' | | | | | | |
| (4) | <i>á-ʂtea-mbəçə</i>
DIR-boil-REL | <i>me</i>
medicine | <i>mwimwí</i>
very | <i>ti</i>
one.CL:GEN | <i>ʂki-ʂti.</i>
bitter-PFV.SEN | |
| 'The medicine tastes a little bitter (The boiled medicine tastes very bitter! Yet I can't say it honestly because my honest words will make him unhappy).' | | | | | | |

Classifiers are inclined to expand their classificatory function to referential functions when the head nouns are deleted. As nDrapa does not allow a [DEM+(NUM)+CL] construction, the function of referential identification is simply realized either by demonstratives or by the [NUM+CL] unit. Classifiers do not denote definiteness in nDrapa; the definiteness of nouns is only marked with double demonstratives or a suffixed quasi-demonstrative *-mbəçə* in the form of [DEM₁+N+*mbəçə*] or [DEM₁+N+*mbəçə*+NUM+CL].

Historically, a fair number of classifiers originated from nouns and have undergone a grammaticalization of content words from most compounds. Some classifiers can trace their etyma back to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman language based on their phonological correspondence to allomorphs in compound nouns in genetically related languages. The fused morphology of the classifier-like lexemes in compounds conjectures an intermediate development stage of noun classifiers as "default nouns > noun classifiers > numeral classifiers".

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Discrimination of existential against possessive clauses in Turkic

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Keywords: Turkic, existential clause, possessive clause, attributive possession, ambiguity

This paper investigates the complex linguistic relationship between existential and possessive clauses in Turkic languages from comparative and typological points of view. Turkic languages usually lack a verb corresponding to ‘to have’ in English. Both concepts, existence (THERE IS X somewhere) and possession (X TO HAVE Y), are typically expressed by clauses based on predicate adjective of the type ⟨BAR⟩ ‘existent’ (negated ⟨YOK⟩ ‘non-existent’), see Turkish examples in (1–2). For a general typology of these clauses, see Heine (1997), Stassen (2009), Croft (2022), Haspelmath (2022); for their typology in Turkic, see Karakoç (2019), Johanson (2022).

(1) Existential clause

Dolap-ta anne-m-in bardağ-ı var.
cupboard-LOC mom-POSS1SG-GEN cup-POSS3SG existent
‘My mom’s cup is in the cupboard.’
Lit.: ‘In the cupboard [my mom’s, her cup] existent.’
Location: *dolapta* ‘in the cupboard’ [TOPIC]
Locatum: *annemin bardağı* ‘my mom’s cup’ [FOCUS]

(2) Possessive clause

Anne-m-in bardağ-ı var.
mom-POSS1SG-GEN cup-POSS3SG existent
‘My mom has (a) cup(s).’
Lit.: ‘[My mom’s, her cup] existent.’
Possessor: *annem* ‘my mom’ [TOPIC]
Possessee: *bardağı* ‘her cup’ [FOCUS]

In (1), the entity existent in the cupboard has the form of a genitive-possessive construction (X’s Y; ‘my mom’s cup’). In (2), the possessor *annem* ‘my mom’ takes on the genitive marker (*annem-in* ‘my mom’s’) while the possessee *bardak* ‘cup’ is followed by a possessive suffix agreeing with the possessor in person and number (*bardağı* ‘her cup’). Thus, the clause *Annemin bardağı var* may be ambiguous between the readings ‘My mom’s cup is (in the cupboard)’ (as an answer to ‘What is in the cupboard?’) and ‘My mom has (a) cup(s)’. Apart from a concise analysis found in Karakoç (2019), the structural identity between these two clause types in Turkic and the criteria to distinguish them from one another have not been the subject of comprehensive research. Thus, the aim of the paper is to focus on the differentiation between existential and possessive clauses in Turkic by establishing a number of syntactic and semantic criteria. Issues taken into consideration include: (1) combinability with adjectives vs. adverbs; (2) differences in the realization of information structure; (3) differences in the embedding strategies – especially in the relativized existential and possessive clauses; (4) possibility to substitute the predicate adjective ⟨BAR⟩ ‘existent’ with situative verbs, such as Turkish *bulun-* ‘to be found’ or Kazakh *tur-* ‘to stand’ (see Basile & Budzisch & Däbritz 2023); (5) singular vs. plural readings

of the locatum (existential clause) and the possessee (possessive clause).

The results suggest that the genitive-possessive structure in an existential clause expresses an attributive possession (X's Y; *annemin bardağı* 'my mom's cup' in (1)) while the genitive-possessive structure in a grammaticalized possessive clause cannot be considered as a real attributive construction (*annemin bardağı* 'my mom's // her cup' in (2)). Data for this analysis come from different sources, such as literary texts, internet sites, linguistic descriptions, published corpora of spoken languages, as well as from elicitations.

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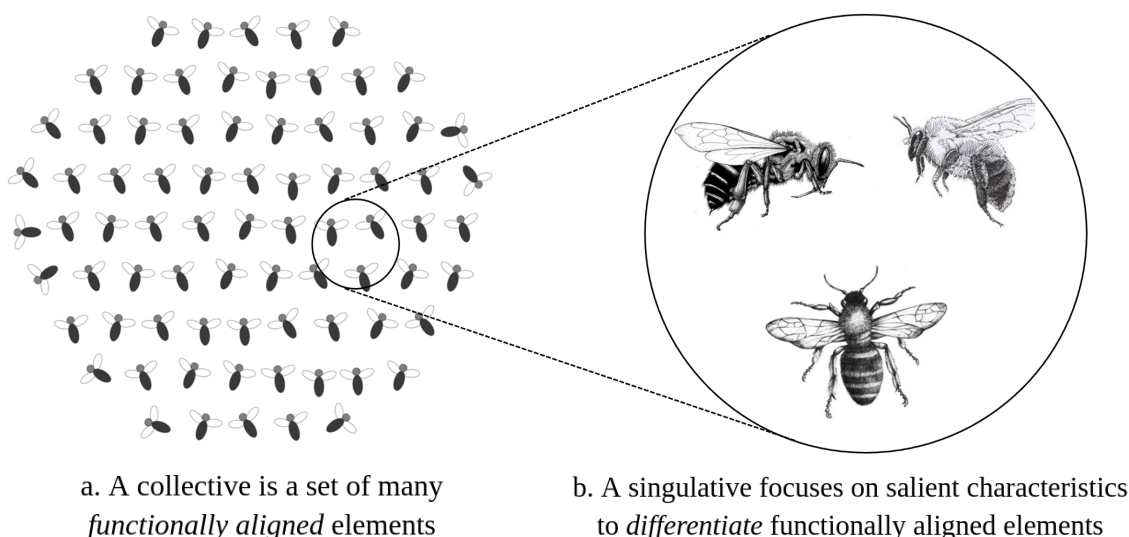
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Rethinking grammatical gender

In both Indo-European and Semitic, feminine gender originated as a suffix deriving abstract nouns. In Indo-European, the suffix could also derive collectives (Matasović 2004; Luraghi 2014), while in Semitic, it also derived singulatives (Kuryłowicz 1973; Hasselbach 2014). What explains the correlation between feminine gender and abstraction, as well as the correlations with the seemingly opposite functions of collectives and singulatives?

We claim that collectives and singulatives are similar because their *elements are differentiated* and *functionally aligned*. Elements are functionally aligned when their functions are either similar or complementary. For instance, the bees denoted by Arabic collective *nahl* ‘bees’ all collaborate in the same swarm, and thus share a common function (1a). Singulatives also denote functionally aligned elements, but bring the defining characteristics of each element into clearer focus, thereby visibly differentiating them from each other (1b).

(1)



This explains why plurals of singulatives receive a paucal interpretation (Dali & Mathieu 2021): since singulatives are highly differentiated in their properties, there is a limit to the number of such entities a speaker can keep in working memory (cf. the *Object-Tracking System*; Geary & Moore 2016).

We argue that grammatical gender is based on the *differentiation* of distinct elements and their *functional alignment*. The values for gender are derived as in (2).

(2)

	[+functionally aligned]	[–functionally aligned]
[+differentiated]	<u>Feminine</u> : abstract nouns, collectives, singulatives, females, ...	<u>Neuter</u> : see below
[–differentiated]		<u>Masculine</u> : males, ...

The values of neuter are supported by some group nouns, like Dutch neuter *grofvuil* ‘bulky waste’, which denotes [+differentiated] objects that are [–functionally aligned] (old furniture, appliances, ...) (Simons 1919).

Abstract nouns tend to be feminine or neuter. They are [+differentiated], because they generalise over instances of a predicate just like a collective generalises over entities (Kuryłowicz 1973). In Dutch, *de goedheid van Jan* ‘Jan’s goodness’ (FEM) denotes complementary ([+functionally aligned]) properties that make Jan a morally ‘good’ person. By contrast, *het goede van Jan* ‘the good thing about Jan’ (NEUT) denotes Jan’s useful qualities that can be varied, unrelated to morality, and therefore not functionally aligned. The proposal thus derives both genders of abstract nouns.

The proposal in (2) is supported by semantic agreement data. In Dutch, a feminine noun can be referred to with a masculine pronoun when it is viewed as a whole (3a). However, this is less natural when its elements are differentiated (3b).

- (3) a. *De regering herzag haar/zijn besluit.*
 ‘The government(FEM) revised her/his decision’
- b. *De regering en haar/?zijn leden werken eraan.*
 ‘The government(FEM) and her/his members are working on it.’

Finally, our proposal derives the correlation between grammatical gender and biological sex. The ‘elements’ distinguishing females from males (their reproductive organs) are differentiated and functionally aligned—similar to other grammatically feminine categories discussed above—while the reproductive system of males is seen as simplex, and hence [–differentiated,–functionally similar].

Because this theory of grammatical gender is not based on biological sex (cf. Corbett 2013) but derives it, it can explain a wider variety of data, including correlations with abstraction and number.

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The rise of honorific markers in Xavante (Macro-Jê, Brazil): Paths of grammaticalization

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Keywords: Xavante; Jê languages; politeness; honorifics; grammaticalization.

Levels of politeness and degree of intimacy between speakers and hearers, or their reference to third persons, can be conveyed in all languages by using particular lexemes or sentence structures. In some cases, however, such distinctions are expressed by grammatical forms which constitute an integral part of the morphological system of a language, where honorifics – specific morphemes used in verbal paradigm or as special pronouns – encode the relative status of interlocutors. Honorifics are mostly found in languages of hierarchical societies, such as Korean or Japanese (Akamatsu 2011; Yoon 2010). Whereas languages in lowland South America are commonly understood not to have such features – although the literature on the matter is scarce – there is a certain amount of evidence showing that some southern Cariban languages, like Kalapalo, have a simple system of honorific expressions (Basso 2007), and that some Southern Arawakan languages have politeness distinction in imperatives (Aikhenvald 2012). However, the one Amazonian language group where honorific morphemes and address terms are relatively widespread is Jê family (e.g., Suyá /Seeger 1981/; Canela-Krahó /Crocker and Crocker 2004/.) Xavante language especially displays a complex system in which certain person index forms, both free and bound, are used by adults speakers not only in case of affinal civility, i.e. when addressing or referring to in-laws, but also in relationships of formal friendship (Graham 1995; Harrison 2001; Machado Estevam 2011). It seems reasonable to assume that honorific prefixes for the second and third person (*aa-* and *ta-*) have developed from earlier forms of the third-person personal pronouns indicating different degrees of proximity (close and distal); this is consistent with a cross-linguistic tendency to create the effect of deference through distance in space (Aikhenvald 2012). This presentation focuses on the process of grammaticalization that led to the appearance of honorific markers in Xavante.

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From possession to (lack of) necessity

Divergent paths in the rise of Spanish modal periphrases?

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Keywords: verbal periphrases, modal constructions, semantic evolution, constructionalization, bridging contexts

This study aims to offer a new perspective on the constructionalization process and the semantic evolution of Spanish modal periphrases, more specifically on the quasi-synonymous constructions that arose from verbs of possession (e.g. *tener que* + infinitive, *haber que* + infinitive, *haber de* + infinitive 'have to'). In (1), *tener* expresses a possessive meaning, whereas it has grammaticalized into the modal construction *tener que* in (2):

- (1) ***Tengo*** *mucho que agradecer*
have-PRS.1SG much REL thank-INF
I have much to be thankful for.
- (2) ***Tengo que*** *agradecer mucho*
have-to-prs.1sg thank-inf much
I have to give many thanks.

While the diachronic development of these periphrases has been examined by previous studies, for instance, Yllera (1980) Blas Arroyo & Vellón (2014) and Garachana (2017), a thorough semantic analysis is generally missing, leaving considerable gaps in the record of their evolutionary path.

The present study goes beyond previous binary classifications, such as *weak/strong necessity* or *deontic/epistemic modality* which do not catch the inherent complexity of modal expressions, focusing on the transition from possession to necessity, where bridging contexts play a crucial role (Traugott 2012). The modal periphrases are examined through a corpus-based approach using data from the historical corpora *CORDE*, *CORDIAM* and *CdE*. Qualitative and quantitative methods are combined: the former used to study the meaning transitions in detail, while the latter provides an overall picture of the diachronic change.

The following research questions are addressed:

- i) Is there a unidirectional evolution in which the modal periphrases typically transfer from one semantic value to another or do the diachronic paths differ between constructions?
- ii) What bridging contexts are crucial for the rise of the modal periphrases? How do the grammatical and lexical items surrounding these periphrastic constructions condition their evolution?
- iii) What role do processes of (inter)subjectification play in the semantic evolution of the modal periphrases?

According to Garachana (2017: 261), the key element in the development from possession to necessity is *intentionality*; if the subject possesses something to achieve X, s/he must take this action. While this could explain the transition from (1) to (2) above, it does not work for many cases with negative polar elements.

The preliminary results suggest two (partly) parallel paths from possession to necessity:

- a) From possession to dynamic participant-external necessity via negative polar elements and main verbs expressing an action that will affect the modal subject negatively, as in *Non has que temer*, which transfers from the possessive meaning 'You do not have anything to fear' to the modal meaning 'You do not need to fear'.
- b) From possession to deontic internal necessity via communication verbs where the subject expresses an intention (not) to say X as in *Tengo (algo) que decir* 'I have (something) to say' which led to the meaning *Tengo que decir algo* 'I have to say something'. This change represents a *subjectification process* (Traugott 2010), in contrast to the development seen in (a).

The findings show the complexity of the semantic evolution of the Spanish modal periphrases and give an important contribution to the discussion of the directionality of semantic change. The study of several closely related modal periphrases provides a deeper insight to if and how processes of analogy have had an impact on the evolution of these constructions.

Acknowledgements

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When /ɤjə/ becomes [ajə] and /sni/ becomes [ini]: Preinitial vocalization in Horpa consonant clusters

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Keywords: Sino-Tibetan, Gyalrongic languages, Horpa, consonant clusters, vocalization

The Horpa languages (Gyalrongic branch of Sino-Tibetan) are known for their extensive use of word-initial consonant clusters, as in Geshiza *ɤjə* ‘fish’, *sni* ‘nose’, and *rŋa* ‘face’. The auditory impression, however, often fails to match with the expectations of a fully consonantally articulated cluster. For instance, the word ‘fish’ frequently surfaces with a more vowel-like quality as [ajə]. The present talk addresses the nature of this phenomenon and aims to assess its prevalence among the Horpa languages. It is argued that the preinitial consonants (i.e., consonants placed before the ‘core’ of a cluster) undergo vocalization, defined here as the development of semivowel and vowel-like qualities while maintaining the phonotactic status as non-syllabic units bound into a consonant cluster. This reflects Operstein’s (2010) earlier findings of vocalization: consonant-sized units are intrasegmentally bigestural by including an underlying vocalic gesture in addition to the consonantal one. The balance between the two may change as a result of retiming, and the consonantal gesture may ultimately erode at the expense of the vocalic one.

The study uses a database of approximately 170 cognate words and reconstructs the preinitial system of Proto-Horpa as the basis of comparison. The historical-comparative approach reveals that different Horpa languages manifest vocalization to different extents and vocalization may be either allophonic or a full sound change. For instance, the reconstructed proto-form **rŋV* ‘face’ shows frequent allophonic prevocalization in many Horpa languages, such as Bawang: [ʔrŋa] (data from Nagano and Prins 2019). Niega (Jiaju Sancun) takes this a step further with occasional full vocalization of the preinitial: [əŋa] (own fieldwork) alternating with the consonantal pronunciation. Nyagrang Minyag (Jialaxi) stands at the furthest point of development with the full phonemic erosion of the preinitial: *ŋo* (Suzuki 2009).

The study covers all Horpa varieties with sufficient documentation. The source materials originate from the authors’ own fieldwork, supplemented by audio recordings of the rGyalrongic Languages Database (Nagano and Prins 2019) and earlier descriptions of Horpa varieties. Preinitial vocalization also exists in other Sino-Tibetan languages, such as Khroskyabs (Lai 2017: 54) and Amdo Tibetan (own fieldwork). We propose that vocalization may be one factor in explaining the disappearance of preinitialed consonant clusters in some languages of the Sino-Tibetan language family where many languages have undergone extensive consonant cluster simplification in their history. The same phenomenon has likely even wider cross-linguistic applicability, and it may have contributed to the disappearance of the Proto-Indo-European ‘laryngeals’, as in **h2stér* ‘star’ > *astér* ‘star’ (Greek) and *astł* ‘star’ (Armenian) (see Tichy 2004: 33).

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Combined marking of reflexivity: Typology and grammaticalization

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Keywords: Complex reflexives, Grammaticalization, Semantic compositionality, Reinforcement, Disambiguation

This paper investigates a phenomenon which has been identified in several unrelated languages, but of which no comprehensive survey has been presented so far: the combination of two or more separate grammatical markers to express reflexivity. Using a convenience sample of 50 genetically and areally diverse languages, we will present a typological overview of the construction-types under examination and discuss their grammaticalization as full-fledged reflexive markers.

Combined-marking reflexives may involve three types of grammatical elements:

- (i) a personal, logophoric or reflexive pronoun;
- (ii) a middle(-like) marker, usually with valency-reducing functions;
- (iii) an intensifier of the type of English reflexive pronouns, in appositional or adverbial use (e.g. *I myself said that/I said that myself*).

The three possible two-marker combinations are illustrated below:

- (1) Pronoun + middle(-like) marker: Paicî (Austronesian)

é pi-tâmâgöörî ê wě Maria
3.SG PREF-know 3.SG ART.PERS Maria
'Maria knows herself.'
(Moyse-Faurie 2008: 147)

- (2) Pronoun + intensifier: Tsakhur (Nakh-Daghestanian)

Rasul-e: wuǰ-e: wuǰ get-u.
Rasul-ERG INTS-ERG LOG.ABS beat-PFV
'Rasul beat himself.'
(Lyutikova 2000: 229)

- (3) Middle(-like) marker + intensifier: Mezquital Otomí (Otomanguean)

Ra Šuwa bi-n-hyó-se
DET Juan 3.PAST-REFL/MID-kill-INTS.AO
'Šuwa killed himself.'
(Gast & Siemund 2006: 368)

Without the additional marker (the middle prefix in (1), the intensifier in (2)-(3)), all three sentences would be ambiguous: (1)-(2) could be interpreted as transitive clauses with non-coreferential arguments; (3) as an intransitive clause with passive or impersonal meaning.

We hypothesize that combined-marking reflexives arise in a process of grammaticalization consisting of four stages:

1. Each marker performs its original function: the semantics of the construction is always compositional and never merely reflexive (e.g. Italian *Dio si è creato da sé*, ‘God created himself by himself’, where the intensifier *da sé* emphasizes the agentivity of the subject-referent: the clause cannot simply be rendered as ‘God created himself’).
2. The combination of markers starts conventionalizing as a reflexive construction, but a compositional interpretation is still possible in context. In Khaling (Sino-Tibetan), for instance, reflexivity can be expressed by combining the multifunctional middle marker *-si* with the intensifier *-tā:p*; this, however, does not necessarily entail a reflexive interpretation (Jacques et al. 2016: 40). Thus, in context, *-si* is still interpretable as an antipassive, autobenefactive or impersonal marker, with *-tā:p* retaining its intensifying meaning.
3. A compositional interpretation is no longer possible: the combination has grammaticalized as a full-fledged reflexive construction, but is not strictly obligatory (e.g. in (3) a non-reflexive interpretation is excluded, but a reflexive one is still possible, in context, even without the intensifier *sěhé/-sɛ*).
4. The combination has become obligatory for the expression of reflexivity, e.g. Mam (Mayan), where the referential reflexive *iib’* cannot occur without the antipassive suffix *-n* (England 1983: 187).

Further sub-distinctions exist within all three classes of elements: different types of pronouns, different functions of middle markers and different uses of intensifiers (adnominal vs. adverbial, agent- vs. nonagent-oriented). Since all these subtypes can occur alongside markers of the other two classes, the paper will also investigate whether all possible co-occurrence patterns are equally likely to grammaticalize as combined-marking reflexives.

Abbreviations

3	Third person	MID	Middle
ABS	Absolutive	PAST	Past
AO	Agent-oriented	PERS	Personal
ART	Article	PFV	Perfective
DET	Determiner	PREF	Prefix
ERG	Ergative	REFL	Reflexive
INTS	Intensifier	SG	Singular
LOG	Logophoric		

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Contrast and Information Structure in Greek – A comparative study

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Keywords: Greek, Information Structure, Contrast, Contrastive Topic, Contrastive Focus

In this paper we examine the category of Contrast in relation to the basic notions of Information Structure, namely focus and topic, aiming at investigating the behaviour of Greek with respect to the various types of Contrast in comparison with other languages (Finnish, Hungarian, Italian, Spanish, German, English) for which relevant accounts exist (see, for instance, Molnár & Winkler 2006).

Languages are parameterized as far as the realization of Contrast is concerned, both on a syntactic level (existence of a Contrast position, obligatoriness of movement of the contrastive phrase, relation to the verb position), and on a phonological level with respect to intonation (see Skopeteas 2016 for Greek, and Kiss 1998, Zubizarreta 1998, Breul 2004, among many others).

First, by applying a number of diagnostic criteria (e.g. highlighting, dominant contrast, membership in a set, limited set of candidates, explicit mentioning of alternatives), we identify the environments where contrastive structures appear. Furthermore, we refer to the relation of Contrast with focus and topic, distinguishing two types, namely contrastive focus and contrastive topic. In particular, we draw our attention to the following:

(a) The syntactic realization of contrastive focus as well as the mechanisms involved in its derivation (1), investigating whether Greek employs the movement mechanism to the left periphery to a position adjacent to the verb (as in Hungarian) (2b) or without the restriction on verb adjacency (as in Finnish) (2b):

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| (1) | a. O JANIS efaje tin turta. | $S_{\text{Focus}}VO$ |
| | b. O janis efaje TIN TURTA. | SVO_{Focus} |
| (2) | a. TIN TURTA efaje o janis. | $O_{\text{Focus}}VS$ |
| | b. efaje tin turta O JANIS. | VOS_{Focus} |
| | ‘John ate the cake.’ | |

(b) The realization of contrastive topic, comparing topicalisation (clitic doubling) structures (3b) with left dislocation ones (3a) and taking into account the role of intonation, i.e. the existence of an i-topic and its coexistence with focus (as in English and German) (4):

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| (3) | pjos efaje ta ylika? | |
| | ‘Who ate the sweets?’ | |
| | a. tin TURTA, tin efaje o janis. | $O_{\text{Topic}, \text{clitic}}VS$ |
| | b. # tin efaje o janis tin TURTA. | $\text{clitic}VSO_{\text{Topic}}$ |
| (4) | TIN TURTA tin efaje <u>o janis</u> . | $O_{\text{Topic}}\text{Clitic}VS_{\text{Focus}}$ |
| | ‘John ate the cake.’ | |

Moreover, by considering the behaviour of certain exclamation particles as Contrast indicators, we examine whether the KONTRAST projection, put forward by Molnár (2001) for Finnish and further extending the left periphery (Rizzi 1997), is required in the Greek clause, leading to a different classification of the information structure categories. Therefore, we also examine structures with contrastive meaning, namely structures with a contrastive topic or a (mere) contrastive, corrective, confirmative, or mirative focus, with respect to the position in which the contrastive elements appear.

Finally, considering KONTRAST as a distinct category for the realisation of information structure in Greek as well, we propose that these structures can be categorised according to a [+/-contrast] feature, on the basis of the information they bear. In addition, the [+/-given] is a distinguishing feature that further categorises both non contrastive and contrastive structures, while semantic-pragmatic factors are also involved in the interpretation of the various focus types.

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INCORPORATION AS A COHESION STRATEGY IN ANCIENT GREEK

This paper focuses on [N+V]_v compounds in Ancient Greek (AG), by analysing them according to the studies on incorporation, which call into question the information structure, as well as the verb-noun continuum.

As well known, incorporation is a compounding process between a verb and another PoS, usually a noun, which yields a new verb (Sapir, 1911; Baker, 1988). Although this is a typical phenomenon of polysynthetic languages, some instances can be found in typologically different languages as well. AG compounds such as *paidopoiéō* ‘to beget children’, *sitologéō* ‘to gather wheat’, *sitometrēō* ‘to measure the wheat/provisions’ can be better analysed as instances of incorporation.

Polysynthetic languages exploit incorporation as a key device in discourse cohesion: incorporated nouns (INs) qualify the verb by specifying its semantic value, rather than establishing the reference (Mithun, 1984, 1986, 1999), so they cannot introduce participants into the discourse. Incorporation is thus employed to build information structure: unincorporated nouns – the marked case in these languages – convey new topics, which can be then referred to by INs, whose basic function is to express given information.

A question arises in this context: does incorporation play a role in AG information structure?

A preliminary survey in the *ThLG* corpus suggests an affirmative answer.

INs are often used in AG texts to refer to information previously introduced by an independent occurrence of the noun:

(1) *akmazoúsēs dè tēs toû sítou sunagōgēs [...], hōrmēsan ekthumóteron toû déontos hoi stratiôtai pròs tò sitologeîn. Hoi dè Karkhēdónioi [...] exelthóntes epéthento toîs sitologoûsin.*

“Being the time of the **wheat** harvest [...] the soldiers went out **to collect the wheat** with greater hardihood than they ought to have done. Accordingly, the Carthaginians [...] sallied out and attacked **the wheat-harvesting-parties.**”

(Polybius, 1.17.9-10)

In (1), the noun for ‘wheat’, after being introduced in the genitive (*sítou*), is then referred to by the present infinitive (*sitologeîn*) and by the participle of (*sitologoûsin*) of the incorporating verb, as is clear already from the translation (in the impossibility to gloss the text, due to the abstract words constraints).

If an incorporation occurs at the beginning of a text unit, the new topic is not the referent of the IN, but the action expressed by the whole verb; the referent of the IN can be referred to only after it has been introduced by an independent mention. For instance, in Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* (6.2.26-29), firstly the infinitive *hudropoteîn* ‘drink water’ occurs, which presents the action of drinking water as a whole and does not establish ‘water’ as a referent. Therefore, a full mention of *húdōr* ‘water’ is needed three lines below, after which the water can be referred to by the nominal compound *hudropótai* ‘water drinkers/teetotalers’. Likewise, INs cannot convey focused information, which needs an independent mention of the noun. Of course, these limitations are due to the low nouniness of INs (Hopper-Thompson, 1984: 711-713).

To sum up, incorporation appears to be a cohesion strategy in an inflectional language like AG as well.

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Old nominal exclamatives in a new light

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Keywords: Exclamation, force, mirative, evidentiality, Old Spanish.

Interjections aside, nominal exclamatives without *wh*-words are the smallest and simplest piece that can constitute an exclamatory utterance. They can contain a nominal phrase (1a), with a noun (1b) or a pronoun (1c) modified by an adjective. In the most complex case, the noun or pronoun can enter into a dependency relationship mediated by a preposition (1d):

- (1) a. *¡Este niño!, ¡Oh, cielos!*
this child, o heaven
'This child!', 'O my goodness!'
- b. *¡Graciosa niña!, ¡Templanza heroica!*
Funny girl temperance heroic
'Funny little girl!', 'Heroic temperance!'
- c. *¡Mesquina yo!, ¡Mí mesquina!, ¡Hideputa el pelón!*
Unfortunate I_{nom}, I_{obl} unfortunate, son-of-a-bitch the bald-headed-man
'Unfortunate I!', 'Unfortunate me!', 'Son of a bitch, the bald-headed man!'
- d. *¡Ay amarga de mí!, ¡Alegre del que vos viese!*
Oh bitter of I_{obl} Glad of-the that you_{ac} saw_{subj}
'Oh bitter (of) me!', 'Glad who see you!'

The apparent simplicity of such utterances raises challenging questions about their syntax, meaning and illocutive force. There is no doubt that these are expressive utterances, expressing the speaker's emotion with respect to some entity, object or person. However, the absence of a propositional content differentiates them from the most studied exclamatory sentences. Some of them are reduced to the mere mention of some object, like (1a). I will propose that this utterances convey an *evocative* force, making the image of the entity that arouses the emotional reaction of the speaker appear before the listener. Others, on the other hand, have an evaluative meaning, since they contain certain elements such as qualifying adjectives that qualify these objects, like the ones in (1b,c,d). In these cases, it is possible to identify a predication relationship between the evoked entity and the evaluative element applied to it. It is on this relation of predication that the evocative or mirative force of the construction rests. The syntactic form of these statements also differs markedly. The relation of predication between the evaluative qualifier and the noun is mediated by a preposition in some cases but not in others. I will propose an appropriate formal analysis for each case.

The paper is based on a historical corpus of Spanish data from the 12th to the 16th century. The evolution of these structures from the Latin antecedents to the situation of Classical Spanish will be explained. I will propose that these constructions are, on the one hand, a development of Latin exclamative accusatives (Vairel Carron 1975), and on the other hand, a Romance development probably influenced by the exclamatory genitives introduced in late Latin from Classical Greek (Quetglas 1979:181). I will also explain the process of specialization that these structures underwent

to express negative qualities or valuations (Lapesa 1968). The conclusions are expected to shed some light on which are the most basic components of mirative and evidential modality.

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Differential object indexing in Christian Urmi

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Keywords: differential object indexing, agreement, definiteness, topicality, Neo-Aramaic

Christian Urmi is a Northeastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) variety (Semitic < Afro-Asiatic) originally spoken in the Urmi plain in Iran. Christian Urmi has differential object indexing (DOI), whereby a transitive verb can optionally bear a marker indexing the direct object, cf. (1)–(2); object indexing can be used either with or without an overt object expressed as an unmarked noun phrase.

- (1) *ána +píra párm-ən*
I lamb(M) slaughter.PRS-SS.1M
'I will kill a lamb'.
- (2) *yamm-i tavarta parm-á-la*
mother(F)-P.1SG cow(F) slaughter.PRS-SS.3F-LS.3F
'My mother will kill the cow'.

The study investigates the semantic and discourse properties of the participants and the clause conditioning the use of object indexing and the expression of direct object. The data come from the corpus of texts collected in the village of Urmiya in Russia and in the village of Verin Dvin in Armenia in 2019–2022, as well as from the texts published in the grammar by Khan (2016). The dataset used for quantitative analysis includes more than 2000 transitive clauses with the object expressed either by an unmarked noun phrase (1), an index on the verb, or both (2).

As discussed by Khan (2016: 251–256), the object indexing is primarily associated with its definiteness. Definiteness and topicality are also known to be the main triggers in the DOI systems of other NENA varieties (Coghill 2014) as well as cross-linguistically (Schikowski, Iemmolo 2015). Still, the corpus analysis shows that definiteness or topicality as such appear to be too general distinctions to capture the pattern of object indexing in Christian Urmi. Moreover, although there is no strong association between animacy and object indexing, different facets of definiteness are at play in the indexing of animate and inanimate direct objects.

Animate direct objects tend to be expressed by indices without an independent noun phrase. The overt animate direct objects are usually indexed if they are **contextually accessible**, i.e. were mentioned in the preceding discourse.

Inanimate direct objects are more frequently expressed by an overt noun phrase. In this case, the presence of object indexing is frequently triggered by **situationally accessible** objects, i.e. objects definite due to their relation to other participants rather than mentioned in the previous context. These objects typically correspond to body parts and garments, as well as other possessed items. It should be further investigated whether the indexing of these objects is conditioned by the discourse salience of their possessors or by the degree of alienability.

The fact that different facets of definiteness and topicality might be at work in the DOI systems of different languages and even in different parts of the DOI system in the same language calls for more fine-grained distinctions to be used in a cross-linguistic comparison of DOI.

In the talk, I will also discuss the association between object indexing and tense forms and word order, explore their interaction with the semantic and discourse properties of direct objects and analyse the role of object indexing in discourse structuring in Christian Urmi.

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From ecological to lexical diversity: measuring ‘vocabulary richness’ in linguistic corpora

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Keywords: Lexical diversity, Functional diversity, Corpus Linguistics, Distributional Semantics, Word Embeddings

With the present paper, we wish to make a case for the practical and theoretical advantages of adopting the framework of attribute diversity from ecology (Chao et al. 2019) – which distinguishes **categorical** diversity from the higher-order concept of **functional** diversity – into linguistic research on lexical diversity.

The question whether and how we can measure lexical diversity is a pertinent one in Linguistics. Attempts have been made to estimate the vocabulary size of (average speakers of) a particular language (at different ages) (e.g. Ellegård 1960, Brysbaert et al. 2016, Segbers & Schroeder 2017), and various studies are concerned with estimating the number of unique lexical items that may occur in particular morphosyntactic structures for different individuals or across time (e.g. Schmid & Mantlik 2015; Perek 2018). To address these questions, researchers often resort to corpus research, using quantitative measures that rely on type/token frequency and/or hapax legomena, such as (variations on) Mean Word Frequency (MWF) and Type-Token Ratio (TTR) (see Tweedie & Baayen 1998), and realized/potential/expanding productivity (Baayen 2009).

However, in many text corpora, the number of unique character strings cannot be equated to the number of unique words. In historical corpora that were digitized with OCR technology, the long S character <f> is often mistaken for <f> or <l>, which means the word type strength could be represented as different character strings: <ftrength>, <frength> and <lrength>. Furthermore, in corpora of informal language (e.g. on social media), authors do not (consistently) adhere to standard spelling conventions. Some of this variation, which makes it difficult to straightforwardly count the number of unique words or hapaxes, can be tackled in corpus pre-processing through (semi-)automated spelling normalisation. Yet, this too can prove challenging given that neither non-standard spelling variation nor neither OCR errors are entirely or even largely systematic.

To demonstrate the theoretical and practical advantages of the attribute diversity framework, we use the diachronic ARCHER corpus (version 3.2) and discuss diachronic changes in and differences between English texts from different genres and by different authors in terms of categorical as well as functional diversity. We suggest that words that have similar functional-semantic properties are distributionally similar, and rely on word embeddings generated by the historically pre-trained MacBERTh model (Manjavacas & Fonteyn 2022) to operationalizing the notion of functional diversity.

Our results demonstrate that functional diversity estimates are affected to a much lesser extent by spelling variation than lexical diversity estimates. Furthermore, we suggest that there is a theoretical advantage to examining diversity at the level of functional groups. Given two sets of unique words, set A {*cat, dog, bird, rabbit*} and set B {*cat, progesterone, remember, blue*}, approaches focusing solely on categorical lexical diversity will suggest A and B are equally diverse. However, an approach that takes the semantic distance between the items in the groups into account will also capture the higher functional-semantic or attribute diversity of set B. We propose that the higher-order, functional-semantic dimension of diversity is theoretically relevant, as it helps characterize diversity in terms of depth and width, and offers a perspective on diversity that is not captured by more traditional, exclusively categorical measures.

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The dramality of *Billarys* and *Sheriartys*: Are name-based ‘ship’ blends different?

New blends coined from celebrity names (e.g. *Billary* < *Bill* + *Hillary*, *Bellarke* < *Bellamy* + *Clarke*) or fiction character names (e.g. *Jonerys* < *Jon* + *Daenerys*, *Sheriarty* < *Sherlock* + *Moriarty*) are widely used in various domains such as mass and social media (often known as ‘ship’ names), alongside other blends, e.g. *frienemy* < *friend* + *enemy*, which continue to enter the vernacular and to be added to contemporary English dictionaries. The phenomenon of blending is widely discussed in the literature (e.g. Renner et al., 2012, Bauer et al., 2013 on English, Kórtvélyessy et al., 2018 on other languages), which, however, usually does not differentiate name blends and non-name blends and is mostly based on data from the latter category. The structure of blends is typically modelled as emerging from different (partially conflicting) forces (e.g. Arndt-Lappe & Plag, 2013; Beliaeva, 2014; Gries, 2004, 2010; Trommer & Zimmermann, 2012). One is that blends strive to be formally transparent, preserving as much material from their source words as possible; the other is that their prosodic structure (i.e. length, stress pattern) strives to correspond to the prosodic structure of one of their source words, mostly the second source word. Previous work has produced some interesting hypotheses about which underlying mechanisms determine the weighing of these forces. One is that blends strive to optimise the recoverability of source words (maximisation: Gries 2004; functionally dependent scale of optimisation: (Ronneberger-Sibold, 2006). The other is that some morphosyntactic categories have a privileged status (heads, proper names, (Moreton et al., 2017).

The present study will test these claims by systematically comparing the structural features of recent English blends based on non-names to those of a large corpus of co-ordinative name blends comprising celebrity names or fiction character names (so-called ‘ship’ names, $N > 500$ types) by means of a multivariate statistical analysis. Ship blends were collected from Tumblr, Twitter and Reddit social media posts and forums in 2019, non-name blends appeared in web-based media such as Urban dictionary no earlier than 1 January, 2000, $N \approx 300$). The maximisation hypothesis predicts that, due to the generally low frequency of constituent names, name blends should preserve more material, hence be longer, than non-name blends, and that there should be a greater overlap of phonological material of splinters in name blends. According to the functional tuning hypothesis, by contrast, it could be the case that ‘ship’ blends are shorter and show less overlap than non-name blends, because they are typically used in in-group domains. The morphosyntactic hypothesis, in turn, predicts a greater balance between the length of the two splinters surviving in (coordinative) name blends than in determinative non-name blends. Initial analyses of the yet incomplete dataset provide first indications in favour of the maximisation hypothesis. Whereas, in general, name-blends indeed conform to the patterns attested for non-name blends, they tend to be longer than non-name blends, despite in-group usage and show comparable degrees of overlap. Theoretical implications will be discussed.

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A new look at the conjunct/disjunct opposition of the Kaike (Dolpa District, Nepal) past tense

Much like past ‘conjunct’ V-*ā* and ‘disjunct’ V-*a* in Kathmandu Newar (see Hale 1980), Kaike past V-*pa* and V-*bo* mainly occur when the speaker respectively is and isn’t the subject in a statement, as illustrated by examples (1) and (2) from Watters (2006: 302–3).

- (1) η a-i yim dong-**pa**
I-ERG house make-PFV:CJ
‘I built a house.’
- (2) nu-i yim dong-**bo**
he-ERG house make-PFV:DJ
‘He built a house.’

Further parallels between the past-tense distinctions in these two languages are that the ‘conjunct’ form in questions only occurs when the *addressee* is the subject, as shown for Kaike in (3) (line 105 from the second story in the appendix of Regmi’s [2013] Kaike grammar), and that the ‘disjunct’ form may be used also with speaker-subjects to indicate non-volitionality, as in (4) from Watters (2006: 305).

- (3) təiŋə η a diŋ bim-**pa**
why I heart give-PFV:CJ
‘Why did you give me the heart?’
- (4) η a həi them-**bo**
I tongue bite.tongue-PFV:DJ
‘I bit my tongue.’

While Watters’ account seems entirely adequate, our talk nevertheless draws attention to a few further ways in which V-*pa* and V-*bo* may be used. Most importantly, in third-person narratives, V-*pa* appears to generally denote actions performed by the protagonists of the story, as in (5) and (8) below, while V-*bo* denotes those performed by others, as in (7).

- (5) a-ləi nu a:-**pa** a:-culi k^he-ke nu a-ləi
that-ABL s/he sleep-PFV:CJ sleep-pretend do-do s/he that-ABL
‘Then he slept, (or rather) pretended to sleep, then he,
- (6) to-ləi temma yaŋ miti nema-jəŋ mar-na saŋəl p^he-pe a-ləi
up-ABL truly again sister seven-FOC gold-GEN chain throw-throw that-ABL
from above, indeed, the seven sisters let down a chain of gold,
- (7) ʃa ləmɔ k^he-ke homa-nɔ yo-jɔ̃ t^hüi k^he-ma swa:-**bo**-ru
there through do-do milk-GEN lake-FOC bath do-PURP come-PFV:DJ-REP
and with that (chain), they came to take a bath in the milk lake, it is said.
- (8) yaka ra-ra nu-na palɔu ɔ-nɔ ta-nɔ mya-jɔ̃ ya-**pa**-ru
memory get-get s/he-GEN turn that-GEN horse-GEN tail-FOC shake-PFV:CJ-REP
after he remembered (his plan), he shook that horse’s tail, it is said.’

However, V-*pa* may also be used as (twice) in (9).

- (9) a-ləi nu to woi-woi yim puru bwa-**pa** payer puru ʃi-**pa**
 that-ABL 3SG up go-go house all destroy-PFV:CJ family all die-PFV:CJ
 ‘Then, after he had gone up (to his village), (his) house was completely destroyed and
 his entire family dead.’

Here, the protagonist clearly did not perform the event denoted by *V-pa*, and accordingly, the two instances of *V-pa* in (9) cannot be analyzed as ‘conjunct.’ The protagonist was not present when his house was destroyed and his family died – all he witnessed is the horrible result of these events. Considering other constructions in which Kaike *-pa* denotes a resultant state, and looking at a cognate *-pa* in Tamang (cf. Taylor 1973), we will argue that *V-pa* originally had no inherent aspecto-temporal value, and that it came to imply ‘prepared mind’ and ‘control’ in Kaike only when it may be understood as punctually referring to past events and thus contrasting with *V-bo*.

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De-honorification strategies in Odia: an interactional linguistics perspective

Abstract

De-honorification is a phenomenon that shows a decrease in politeness in the conversation context. There are two ways of constructing de-honorification expressions. One strategy involves the over-use of the definiteness marker *Taa* on a noun phrase, as in (1a), which contrasts with its polite counterpart in (1b). The other strategy is to replace a more honorific agreement marker with a less honorific one within the verbal morphology, as seen in the contrast between (2a) and (2b). This study will examine these two strategies in Indo-Aryan discourse, using an interactional linguistic analysis framework, more specifically the ‘stance triangle’ and its extended models (a la Du Bois 2007, Linell 2009, Iwasaki 2022). Data for our study comprise of 10 hours of spontaneous Odia conversations collected through fieldwork and from various social media platforms.

In this study, we first examine how native speakers of Odia, an eastern Indo-Aryan language, use the definiteness marker *Taa* to de-honorify the referent in the subject position. For example, in regular conversational discourse, the *sarapanch* ‘village chief’ occupies a high honorific position and is normally considered to be highly identifiable in the community, hence typically understood to be a definite referent. However, in contexts where the speaker wants to de-value the position of the village chief, as in (1a), the definiteness marker *Taa* can be recruited to express the speaker’s de-honorification of the chief. Our analysis indicates that excessive use of the definiteness marker *Taa* gives rise to over-identification of an already respected and well-recognized referent, which is regarded as an act of impoliteness in Odia culture.

We further examine how the agreement markers can also be used to sometimes signal the speaker’s (de-)honorification of the referent. For example, as seen in (2b), because the speaker is upset with the addressee, he chooses to de-value the addressee’s father with a non-honorific agreement marker *-chhi* (3SG.NH) instead of using a high honorificity agreement marker *-chhanti* (3SG.HH). This violates Odia socio-cultural norms, where fathers are generally highly respected in the society. Such de-honorification emerges due to a mismatch in expected agreement marking.

Our analysis reveals that excessive definiteness can give rise to implicit impoliteness. It also shows that mismatches in agreement marking can be used to de-value and de-honorify others. These findings can pave the way for further detailed studies on de-honorification strategies crosslinguistically.

Examples:

- (1) a. *sarapanch-Taa sabu paisa khaai ga-l-aa*
village chief-DEF all money eat-PERF go-PST-3SG.NH
‘The village chief has consumed (in a corrupted way) all the money.’ (disrespectful)
- b. *sarapanch sabu paisa khaai ga-l-e*
village chief all money eat-PERF go-PST-3SG.HH
‘The village chief has consumed (in a corrupted way) all the money.’ (objective stance)

- (2) a. *to bopaa paThe-i-**chhi** mote hairaaNa kariba-ku*
 2SG.GEN.NH father send-PERF-PRES.3SG.NH 1SG.ACC trouble do-INF
 ‘Your father has sent (you) to put me in trouble.’ (disrespectful)
- b. *to baapaa paThe-i-**chhanti** mote hairaaNa kariba-ku*
 2SG.GEN.NH father send-PERF-PRES.3SG.HH 1SG.ACC trouble do-INF
 ‘Your father has sent (you) to put me in trouble.’ (respectful)

(486 words)

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Urbanization and incipient morphosyntactic change in Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic)

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Keywords: language change, morphosyntax, language contact, Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic), multilingualism

Kalaallisut is an Inuit language widely spoken as a first language throughout Greenland, although it has been under pressure from Danish since colonization began in the 1700s and was considered under threat before Greenlanders attained home rule in 1979. The 20th century was a period of rapid change: an ever-changing succession of language reforms affected the way that different generations were educated (in Kalaallisut vs. Danish). The current population is highly diverse in terms of speakers' degree of multilingualism, with variable proficiency in different Greenlandic dialects further complicating the picture, especially in the capital city of Nuuk.

This study investigates the impressionistic claims of urban dwellers that the grammatical structure of their language has been changing for at least a decade. In particular, we investigate basic clause structure across several linguistic features: (1) word order, (2) the use of valency-reducing strategies (e.g., antipassivization and noun incorporation), and (3) case marking of core arguments. Of these, only core case marking is thought to be rigid; both word order and valency reduction are variable and subject to discourse conditions (Kahn & Valijärvi 2021).

The first study task targeted the production of basic clauses in a highly-controlled setting that aimed to be as pragmatically-unmarked as possible, in which speakers were shown a series of pictures of transitive/intransitive events with noun lexemes representing the image's arguments. Participants were asked to construct one sentence in the indicative mood to describe each image. Participants were also shown a cartoon and asked to retell the plot; no grammatical or lexical constraints were imposed on this task. The study was carried out with 25 adult speakers of different linguistic backgrounds in Nuuk: 5 – ages 60 or older, 10 – ages 40-59, and 10 – ages 18-39.

There was a pronounced difference across the targeted features between speakers in the youngest group compared with the two older groups, regardless of background, suggesting that there is incipient morphosyntactic change taking place in the variety of Kalaallisut used in Nuuk. Specifically, our results echo the findings of other studies of syntactic optionality in bilingual speakers (Namboodiripad 2017), which suggest that bilinguals converge on a narrower set of options (e.g., fewer possible word orders) or use the available variants in a more restricted set of contexts. The youngest group of Kalaallisut speakers showed a strong preference for use of the antipassive voice (with intransitive verbal inflection and ABS-OBL coding of core arguments) instead of unmarked transitive voice (with transitive verbal inflection and ERG-ABS marking); they also preferred SOV order across both tasks, including their cartoon narratives, whereas older speakers used a variety of pragmatically-conditioned orders.

Our future work aims to explore to what extent these patterns are restricted to the highly multilingual urban context or whether similar types of changes are observable in other parts of the

country. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the youngest generation of Kalaallisut speakers surveyed, who have grown up with the greatest overall degree of multilingualism, are evidencing a convergence towards a narrower set of options in polyvalent clauses.

Acknowledgments

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Prepositional object clauses in West Germanic.

Experimental evidence from *wh*-movement

The issue: We focus on (declarative) prepositional object clauses (PO-clauses) in the West Germanic languages Dutch, German, and English. In Dutch and German, PO-clauses occur with a prepositional proform (=PPF, Dutch: *ervan*, *erover*, etc.; German: *drauf/darauf*, *drüber/darüber*, etc.). Crucially, the proform is optional with some verbs. In English, by contrast, P embeds a clausal complement in the case of gerunds or indirect questions. While P may also be optional in these cases, it is obligatorily absent when the embedded CP is a *that*-clause in its base position. However, when the *that*-clause is topicalized, the stranded P is obligatory in the base position. Given this scenario, we will address the following questions: (i) Are there structural differences between PO-clauses with a P/PPF and those in which the P/PPF is optionally or obligatorily omitted? (ii) In particular, do PO-clauses without P/PPF structurally coincide with direct object (=DO) clauses? We use *wh*-extraction as a relevant test for such differences.

Previous research: Based on pronominalization and topicalization data in German and Dutch, PO-clauses are different from DO-clauses independent of the presence of the PPF (see, e.g., Berman 2003, Broekhuis/Corver 2015 and references therein). English pronominalization and topicalization data appear to point in the same direction. However, the obligatory absence of P before *that*-clauses in base position indicates a convergence with DO-clauses.

Experimental evidence: To provide further evidence to these questions we tested PO-clauses in all three languages for long *wh*-extraction, which is usually possible for DO-clauses in English and Dutch, and in German for southern regional varieties.

For **German and Dutch** we conducted rating studies using the thermometer method (Featherston 2008). Participants rated test sentences in relation to two reference sentences which provide a scale between 20 and 30 which participants can go below or above. Each study contained two sets of sentences: the first set tested long *wh*-extraction with regular DO-clauses. The second set tested *wh*-extraction from PO-clauses with and without PPFs, respectively. The results show no significant difference in extraction with PO-clauses whether or not the PPF was present. This supports a uniform analysis of PO-clauses with and without the PPF in contrast to DO-clauses.

For **English** we tested extraction with verbs that select for PP-objects in two configurations: V+*that*-clause and V+P-gerund in comparison to sentences without extraction. Participants rated sentences on a scale of 1 (unnatural) to 7 (natural). We included the gerund for English as this is a regular alternative for such objects. The results show that extraction is licit in both configurations. This suggests that English PO-clauses are different from German and Dutch PO-clauses: They rather behave as DO-clauses allowing for extraction. Note though, that the availability of extraction from P+gerund also shows that PPs are not islands for extraction in English.

Overall, this shows that there is a split between English vs. German/Dutch PO-clauses when the P/PPF is absent. While these clauses behave like PO-clauses in the latter languages, extraction does not show a difference between DO- and PO-clauses.

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Differential object marking in Caquetá-Putumayo languages: An areal perspective

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Keywords: Amazonian languages, differential object marking, areal diffusion, Northwest Amazonia, Tucanoan languages

Differential Object Marking (DOM) describes the cross-linguistic phenomenon in which “only a subset of direct objects is [...] marked depending on the semantic and/or pragmatic properties of the object referent” (Iemmolo & Klumpp 2014). First described by Moravcsik (1978), DOM is now known to be found in many languages across the globe (Sinnemäki 2014). This includes the languages of Northwest Amazonia. For instance, in many Tucanoan languages, semantically and pragmatically prominent direct objects receive differential marking. Scholars have noticed that Tariana (Arawak), which uses differential case-marking based on the topical status of non-subject constituents (Aikhenvald 2003), would have developed its case-marking system due to contact with Tukano (Aikhenvald 2003, Zúñiga, 2007). A similar pattern appears to be found in the languages of what is known as the cultural area (Echeverri 1997) of the Caquetá-Putumayo (CP) River Basins which lies in the vicinity of the Tucanoan groups and is home to the Witotoan (Murui-Muina, Ocaina, Nonuya), Boran (Bora/Miraña, Muinane), Arawak (Resígaro), and Andoke peoples (Allin 1976, Echeverri 1997, Fagua Rincón 2013, Landaburu 1979, Seifart 2005 and Thiesen & Weber 2012). Having lived in close proximity to each other and being connected through trade networks, these groups have been in close contact for a lengthy period of time and display relative cultural homogeneity different from neighbouring groups (see e.g. Echeverri 1997). These appear to share numerous grammatical similarities, which are, in all likelihood, due to language contact rather than common descent or a typological accident. These include classifiers, evidentials, and numerals (see also Fagua Rincón & Seifart 2010, Seifart & Payne 2007, Payne 1990, Aikhenvald 2002 and Aikhenvald & Dixon 1999). Differential object marking appears to be one of those common grammatical categories that the CP languages share. For example, as Witotoan languages, both Murui-Muina and Nonuya clearly show differential case marking (Echeverri & Fagua Rincón forthcoming). In Murui-Muina, O arguments (be either pronouns or NPs) can be either marked or unmarked, depending on topicality and specificity of their referents, as in (1) and (2):

(1) nokae ϕ inode kue uθuma
 nokae_O ϕ ino-d-e_{PRED} [kue uθu-ma]_{NP:A}
 canoe make-LK-3 1SG grandparent-CLF:DR.M
 ‘(He) made a canoe, my grandfather.’

(2) nokaena ϕ inodio?
 nokae-na_O ϕ ino-di-o_{PRED}
 canoe-N.S/A.TOP make-LK-2SG
 ‘Did you make the canoe?’ (implying that you know how to make the canoe)

Various case studies have shown that morphological features/patterns can spread between

languages from different language families spoken in close proximity to each other (e.g. Guillaume & Rose 2010; Crevels & van der Voort 2020). The aim of this paper is to shed more light on grammatical changes within the CP language families from a descriptive point of view, including those changes that might have resulted from contact. This study is the first detailed analysis of the DOM system(s) of all eight CP languages, including the areal perspective of Northwest Amazonia, mainly 15 Tukanoan languages which the CP peoples have been in direct contact with. It also points to a correlation between the geographic location of the CP languages and their respective DOM systems. The conclusions are drawn on the first-hand data gathered during fieldwork as well as secondary sources, including linguistic descriptions and through consultation of the linguists working with the languages in question.

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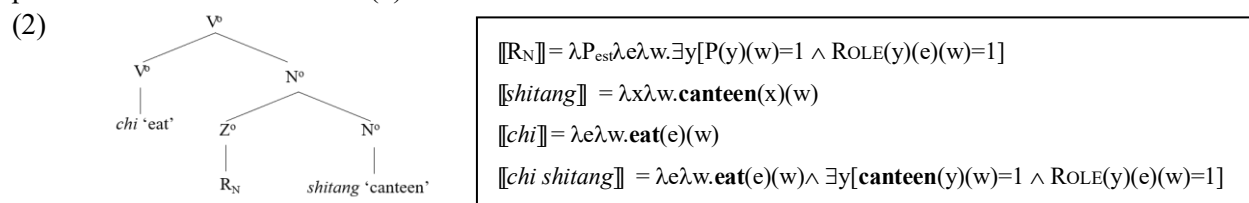
Semantic Incorporation and Non-Canonical Object Constructions in Mandarin

Introduction: According to the standard wisdom inspired by Montague Grammar (Montague 1974), if an expression forms a syntactic complement to a verb, it will also be its semantic argument. In this study, we consider a challenge to this standard knowledge and show how the classic knowledge can be salvaged in an enriched semantics of incorporation. The primary data come from Mandarin non-canonical object constructions (NCOCs), which allow arguments expressing location, instrument, manner, purpose, etc. rather than theme as the direct complements to the verbs, exemplified in (1) (Zhang 2018).

- (1) *xie maobi* (INSTRUMENT) *chi shitang* (LOCATION) *jiao wanshang* (TIME)
write brush-pen eat canteen teach evening

NCO constructions as semantic incorporation: In previous studies, NCOCs have been treated by means of light verb movement (Lin 2001; Huang et al. 2009). We contend that NCOCs are instances of semantic incorporation. NCOCs display a constellation of properties which are typically associated with pseudo (semantic) incorporation in many languages (van Geenhoven 1998; Farkas & de Swart 2003; Chung & Ladusaw 2003; Dayal 2011; Espinal & McNally 2011; Borik & Gehrke 2015; Luo 2022). (I) NCOs receive obligatory narrow scope within other scope-bearing elements. (II) Number neutrality: Despite NCOs taking the form of bare nouns, they can denote either plural or singular entities. (III) Restricted modification: The modification of NCOs is restricted: Only kind modifiers that preserve the stereotypical relationship between verbs and objects are allowed. (IV) Reduced discourse capacity: NCOs lack discourse transparency in neutral/habitual contexts: they cannot be referred back to by anaphoric elements in subsequent discourse. (V) Institutionalized meaning: NCOCs express institutionalized, culturally conventionalized events: *chi kuaizi* ‘eat chopstick’ vs. *#chi chazi* ‘eat fork’.

The syntax and semantics of NCO constructions: We assume NCOs, as incorporated nominals, denote properties rather than entities, viz. they have the type $\langle s, et \rangle$ (van Geenhoven 1998; Chung & Ladusaw 2003; Dayal 2011). Since NCOs denote non-theme arguments, they cannot straightforwardly compose with verbs, as is normally done in standard Neodavidsonian semantics (Parsons 1990). To circumvent this compositionality issue, I adopt McKenzie’s (2022) mediating function that sits between V^o and N^o and mediates the composition between V^o and N^o . The syntax and semantics of NCOCs as an incorporating phenomenon are illustrated in (2).



The mediating function contains a relation variable **ROLE**, which is a pragmatically-regulated choice function over the set of thematic roles. The thematic freedom of NOCs follows naturally.

Conclusion: Despite the wide-spread impression that (pseudo-)noun incorporation is a distinctive feature of polysynthetic languages, isolating languages such as Mandarin do have rich incorporating phenomena. The present study suggests a way to uncovering the general principle of natural language by comparing typologically distinct languages.

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English Inferential Cleft Construction: A non-expletive approach

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Keywords: cleft construction, inference relations, (non-)expletives, corpus, English

English employs the so-called inferential cleft construction as illustrated by the attested examples in (1) from the corpus COCA (*Corpus of Contemporary American English*).

- (1) a. I'm sorry I shouted at you. I didn't mean to. **It's just that I was so mad.**
b. I know, you're upset because I haven't come next door to introduce myself. **It's just that I'm in Seattle for a very short time.**

We can infer that the final sentence in (1) tells us the reason for shouting or not coming next door (cf. Delahunty 1990, Declerck 1992). There are several research questions for such a cleft construction. One immediate question concerns the status of the subject *it*. At first glance, it appears to be devoid of a semantic content. For example, the pronoun *it* in the construction cannot be *wh*-questioned (**What is that you are so mad?*), and cannot be linked with an emphatic reflexive (**It itself is that I am so mad.*). These observations led previous literature (e.g., Delahunty 1990, 2001, Declerck 1992, Otake 2002) take *it* as an expletive pronoun. However, these non-referential properties of *it* have to do not with the pronoun *it* but with its referential meaning. We could observe that in examples like *The reason is that Reagan has changed the shape of American politics*, we could not question *the reason* or have the emphatic reflexive *itself*. In addition, considering the function of the copula *be* here, the pronoun *it* functions as an 'iota' variable linked to a previous context. For instance, (1a) means that there is a specific 'x' (reason) for my shouting at and the postcopular CP offers a value for this variable. This direction can in a simple manner answer other analytical questions: what is the status of the copula and the CP here. The copula in the inferential cleft is a subtype of specificational copula and the CP represents focus.

To support the non-expletive analysis that assigns an anaphoric meaning to the pronoun *it*, the paper investigates a total of 531 inferential clefts from COCA. The main inference relations we have identified include reasons/causes (188 tokens), explanations (170), possibilities (54), consequences (39), contrasts (35), conclusions (34), and reinterpretations (11). The inference relation of reason and explanation, often helped by a delimiter or epistemic expression, is thus predominantly preferred in the construction. In terms of the discourse property, all the identified data indicate that the construction is not used discourse initially. This implies that the interpretation of the construction hinges on the previous context, which can help evoke an inference relation (mostly a reason-relation), while the CP offers new information. The pronoun

it, referring to the discourse evoked situation, thus functions not as an expletive but as a linker to the context.

Based on these grammatical properties, we suggest a construction-based analysis: the inferential cleft construction is cross-classified as a subtype of the specificational copula construction in which the subject *it* introduces an iota variable with an inference relation while the postcopular *that*-clause represents new information. This special inference relation is not from any expression involved but is a construction-specific knowledge.

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Dyadic kin terms and related phenomena in the Central Andes

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Keywords: Cholón, dyadic kin terms, Central Andes, grammaticalization, lexical typology

Dyadic kin terms denote the dyadic union of consanguineal or affinal kin – for instance, father and son, or husband and wife. In some languages of the world, such terms can be derived by dedicated morphemes which grammaticalize from a range of different sources (Evans 2003). Such developments are known in particular from Australia, but it they are not frequently reported from the Americas, and there is little clear evidence so far for it in South America at all.

In this contribution I argue that in Cholón, a nearly extinct language of the northeastern Peruvian Andes, the derivational morpheme *-pulʷen* can be analyzed as creating what is called dyadic kin terms in the typological literature. Cholón examples, from Alexander-Bakkerus (2005: 156) are in (1.) – (5).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| (1.) | ‘father and son’ | <i>ɲuč-pulʷen</i> | (< <i>ɲuč</i> ‘someone’s father’) |
| (2.) | ‘son and father’ | <i>mul-pulʷen</i> | (< <i>pul(up)</i> ‘son’) |
| (3.) | ‘mother and daughter’ | <i>ɲetʰ-pulʷen</i> | (< <i>ɲetʰ</i> ‘someone’s mother’) |
| (4.) | ‘daughter and mother’ | <i>nʷu-pulʷen</i> | (< <i>nʷu</i> ‘daughter’) |
| (5.) | ‘husband and wife’ | <i>muluč-pulʷen</i> | (< <i>puluč</i> ‘husband’) |

I will discuss the morphosyntactic properties and the semantic functions of the morpheme in question from descriptive, comparative and etymological points of view, and will address in particular the possible connection with *pul*, which is attested synchronically as the word for ‘son,’ but which appears to form the basis for further terms for consanguineal or affinal kin such as *puluč* ‘husband’ or *pulʷup* ‘boy.’ Cross-linguistically, it is not unattested for dyadic morphemes to develop from lexical sources but it is rare and there are only few reported cases that are found in Australia (Evans 2003). Looking beyond Cholón is interesting from an areal-typological perspective, as several indigenous languages and language families of the Central Andes morphosyntactic means to create dyadic kin terms have developed too, suggesting the possibility of shared grammaticalization (e.g. Robbeets & Cuyckens 2013) in this region of intense language contact. I will pay particular attention to *-ntin* in the Quechuan family, which has a general associative function, but in some varieties is capable to derive similar terms, as in the examples in (5.) – (8.) from Tschudi (1853).

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (5.) | ‘husband and wife’ | <i>ćosa-ntin</i> | (< <i>ćosa</i> ‘husband’) |
| (6.) | ‘mother and child’ | <i>mama-ntin</i> | (< <i>mama</i> ‘mother’) |
| (7.) | ‘daughter and mother’ | <i>ususi-ntin</i> | (< <i>ususi</i> ‘father’s daughter’) |
| (8.) | ‘sister and brother’ | <i>pana-ntin</i> | (< <i>pana</i> ‘(man’s) sister’) |

Semantically, the dyad in both cases consists of the referent of a derivation base *x* as well as that relative that calls that person *x*. As is characteristic for the area, along with such general similarities, there are subtle differences in the behavior of involved markers. These occur on several levels of linguistic analysis. Morphologically, the derivation base in Cholón is marked for a third person possessor, which is not the case in Quechua and semantically, the morpheme that establishes the

dyadic kin relation appears to be dedicated to this function, whereas this is just one specialized (and perhaps obsolescent, function in Cholón.

As such, morphemes forming dyadic kin terms in the Central Andes, hitherto not discussed for this part of the world nor for South America at large, shed light on the communalities and differences between the languages it hosts, informs about their shared diachronic history, and sheds light on the worldwide typological distribution of a particular operation at the interface of morphosyntax and lexicon.

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Flexibility and person-sensitivity of egophoricity in Golog Tibetan

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Keywords: egophoricity, pragmatics, person, Tibetic languages, Golog

Background: This study investigates the pragmatic intricacies of non-canonical egophoric marking in the understudied Golog Tibetan (Tibeto-Burman, China). Egophoricity with binary indexation contrast is pervasive in Tibetic languages. Egophoric markers (EGO) are canonically used in first-person declarative/second-person interrogative sentences, expressing ‘immediate knowledge’ (Garrett 2001), ‘personal intention’ (Tournadre 2008), etc.; non-egophoric markers (NON-EGO) are used elsewhere. Violating canonical patterns is possible but produces special semantic/pragmatic effects, e.g., indicating formality (Tribur 2019), genericity (Garrett 2001), etc. Interestingly, previous proposals, e.g. ‘assertor involvement’ (Creissels 2008 and Tribur 2019), fail to explain the more flexible pattern in Golog egophoricity, e.g., allowing EGO even when subjects show no involvement. This question we ask is: What are the pragmatic conditions governing the choice of egophoric marking?

Declarative	1st-person		2nd-person/3rd-person			
	Canonical	Non-canonical	Canonical		Non-canonical	
	EGO	NON-EGO self-doubt/surprise/dream /play	NON-EGO		EGO certainty/intimacy	
Interrogative	1st-person		2nd-person		3rd-person	
	Canonical	Non-canonical	Canonical	Non-canonical	Canonical	Non-canonical
	NON-EGO	unattested	EGO	NON-EGO uncertainty /dream/play	NON-EGO	EGO certainty/intimacy

Table 1. Golog Egophoricity

Analysis: The flexibility of Golog egophoricity and its resultant extended pragmatic effects can be explained by the discrepancy between proposition *p* and the knowledge *schema* (Reisenzein et al. 2009) of speakers/answerers. EGO marks *p-schema* consistency, while NON-EGO marks *p-schema* inconsistency.

In declaratives, with 1st-person subjects, speakers describe their own state of affairs and are by default the epistemic authority (EA). *p_{utterance}* normally is consistent with *schema_{speaker}*. EGO is the default. Non-canonical NON-EGO highlights the suppression of EA, implying *p_{utterance}-schema_{speaker}* inconsistency, e.g., *p* is not yet integrated into or conflicts with *schema_{speaker}*. This explains the extended meanings of self-doubt (1), surprise

(2), and dream/play descriptions (3) because these pragmatic contexts all involve $p_{utterance}$ - $schema_{speaker}$ inconsistency.

- (1) *nga slob-ma red*
I student COP.NON-EGO
'I'm a student?'
('I' has amnesia; p is absent in $schema_{speaker}$.)
 - (2) *nga-vi lag-par rma-kha yod-ku*
I-POSS hand wound have.NON-EGO
'I have a cut on my hand!'
(p is not yet integrated into $schema_{speaker}$.)
 - (3) *nga vkhrub-ston-pa zig-gi log-bsdad yod-ku*
I actor one become have.NON-EGO
'I'm an actor (in the dream/play).'
- (p contradicts $schema_{speaker}$.)

With 2nd/3rd person subjects, speakers describe others' state of affairs and are usually not the privileged EA. $p_{utterance}$ is not required to be in $schema_{speaker}$, thus NON-EGO. Non-canonical EGO highlights the deliberate assertion of $p_{utterance}$ - $schema_{speaker}$ consistency, which arises when speakers have intimate relationships with subjects or extra certainty on $p_{utterance}$.

In questions, perspective shifts from speakers to addressees (Tournadre & LaPolla 2014). With 2nd person subjects, answerers are by default EA over p_{answer} . Speakers normally anticipate p_{answer} - $schema_{answerer}$ consistency. EGO is the default. Non-canonical NON-EGO highlights anticipated p_{answer} - $schema_{answerer}$ inconsistency, which arises when asking about dreams/plays or anticipating answerers' uncertainty towards p_{answer} . With 1st/3rd person subjects, answerers normally are not EA of others' state of affairs. Anticipation towards p_{answer} - $schema_{answerer}$ consistency is not required, thus NON-EGO. Non-canonical EGO, highlighting anticipated p_{answer} - $schema_{answerer}$ consistency, arises when answerers are anticipated to have intimate relationships with the subject or extra certainty on p_{answer} .

This analysis offers a novel perspective suggesting that egophoricity is not conditioned by *person* per se, but by correlations between *person* and *p-schema discrepancy*.

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Mirroring converted languages: Two grammars, one lexicon

We introduce an unusual situation of language contact in northern Australia between Mudburra (Pama-Nyungan) and Jingulu (non-Pama-Nyungan). Both languages maintain their native morpho-syntax, with little influence from the other language, but borrow significant portions of the other language's lexicon. For nouns, Mudburra and Jingulu share 65% of their forms; for verbs they share 40% of forms.

The Mudburra-Jingulu situation mirrors that of converted languages, where bilingual speakers have a (largely) single lexicon but separate grammars. For example, in converted languages such as Sri Lanka Malay (Nordhoff, 2009) and Takia (Ross, 1987), one language restructures its grammar on the pattern of the other in a process of metatypy, but the two languages maintain their own lexicons. Essentially bilingual speakers are claimed to have one grammar but two lexicons in operation.

The pattern of borrowing between Mudburra and Jingulu is also unusual in that it has been balanced. We determined the extent and direction of borrowing for nouns by comparing shared forms in Mudburra and Jingulu with their closest geographic and phylogenetic neighbours. This approach revealed that 32% of shared nouns originated in Mudburra and 24.5% in Jingulu (and 43.5% of nouns for which the direction of borrowing is cannot be determined). For verbs, 33% of shared forms were borrowed from Mudburra to Jingulu, and 18% from Jingulu to Mudburra. (Again, the direction of borrowing for the remaining 48.7% of shared forms could not be established.)

Bidirectional borrowing also makes the Mudburra-Jingulu unusual in comparison with other mixed languages, called L(exicon)-G(rammar) languages (cf. Bakker, 2003), where a significant transfer of lexicon have occurred. In LG mixed languages, lexical borrowing is unidirectional. For example, Media Lengua replaced 90% of its Quechua lexical roots with Spanish stems (Muysken, 1981); and in Old Helsinki Slang, 80% of its vocabulary derives from Swedish despite the Finnish grammatical base (Jarva, 2008).

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TOWARDS A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE MEANING POTENTIAL OF CUTTING AND BREAKING VERBS

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This is a continuation of an earlier paper that compares differences in the semantic differentiation between the most basic cutting and breaking (C&B) verbs in English and Swedish (Viberg 2020; cf. 1985, 2007). That paper was primarily concerned with the literal meanings as separation verbs like the well-known typological studies in Majid & Bowerman (eds. 2007) and stressed the higher degree of obligatory differentiation in Swedish. Swedish makes several obligatory distinctions, where English can use one verb, e.g. *cut* has three major correspondences depending on the Instrument: *skära* (KNIFE), *klippa* (SCISSORS) and *hugga* (AX). See also Huisman (2021, 31), who found that English was more similar to Japonic languages than to Swedish. The typology of C&B verbs has also inspired studies based on methods used within neurolinguistics (Kemmerer 2008). So far, studies of C&B verbs have mostly been restricted to literal meanings. This paper presents a corpus-based contrastive study of the metaphoric and other non-literal meanings of English *cut* and its Swedish correspondences. The patterns of polysemy are so complex that the polysemy of *break* will be discussed only briefly in this paper. The analysis is based on the coding of all examples of *cut* and the Swedish verbs *skära*, *klippa* and *hugga* in samples from large corpora. Translation correspondences between English and Swedish were studied in Subtitles corpora (Sketch Engine, OPUS). These data were complemented with data from monolingual corpora, both because translation effects can be expected and because subtitles only represent one specific register (Keuleers 2010, Levshina 2017). Separate samples were drawn from two registers, Fiction and News in the British National Corpus (Sketch Engine). Comparable Swedish data representing Fiction and News were drawn from KORP (see Electronic sources). Striking differences were found with respect to the prominence of various types of meaning, for example BodyHarm in the Subtitles (*cut off the head*) and Reduction in News (*cut the workforce*). Word sketches showing the most salient collocates serving as subjects and objects were also compared across languages. The semantic analysis is carried out in two steps. The first consists of a classification of non-literal meanings according to target fields, for example Creation (*cut a moose out of wood*), Motion (*cut across the field*), Verbal Communication (*cut in* into a conversation). In the second step, non-literal meanings belonging to a certain field are contrasted and analyzed with respect to their place within the target field. The non-literal meanings are regarded as the result of semantic shifts (Juvonen & Koptjevskaja Tamm 2015) and related to current studies of metonymy and metaphor (Riemer 2005, Dancygier & Sweetser 2014, David 2017) and frame semantics (Bouveret & Sweetser 2009, Fujii; Radetzky & Sweetser 2013, Sullivan 2013). When non-literal meanings of *cut* are regarded as the result of chains of extensions, it turns out that these chains usually start with concrete separation, whereas several of the Swedish correspondences also have extensions based on hand actions that are components of the literal meanings as concrete separation verbs (cf. English *tear* ‘separate by pulling’).

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KORP. <http://spraakbanken.gu.se>

See: Borin et al. (2012).

OPUS. <https://opus.nlpl.eu/>

See: Tiedemann 2012

Sketch Engine: <http://sketchengine.co.uk>

“There *must* be a good reason.”

The use of epistemic *devoir* in French. A corpus study in comic strips.

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Keywords: evidentiality, inferential marking, semantics, pragmatics, French

Human beings, curious to understand reality and to share their knowledge about it with others, but conscious of their “epistémico-enunciative responsibility” (Kronning 2012: 83) and respectful of the social norm of conversation that requires them to be veridical in their discourse, are forced to use linguistic expressions to let the hearer know that their knowledge is (still) incomplete or uncertain. This type of evidential expressions exist in many different languages (e.g. Aikhenvald 2006).

In French, one of the numerous available tools is the verb *devoir* in its epistemic use (*devoir_E*). The description of the semantics and pragmatics of this verb constitute the object of this study.

For this study, we analyzed the use of *devoir_E* in a specific text genre, the complete corpus of comics of *Tintin*. This closed, finite corpus where images meet text, and represent the situational contexts of the utterances, refines certain aspects of the evidential analysis of this marker.

In line with many authors since Dendale 1994, we consider *devoir_E* as an inferential evidential marker. It indicates “that the grounds of the assertion do not come from direct experience of the event itself” (Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986: 161), but that the speaker inferred his knowledge on certain clues (*i.e.* evidence).

The main research question is: Why and how would one use *devoir_E* (instead of other markers)? To answer this very broad question, we will go into the details of the different phases of the inferential process:

Q1. What is the inference based on?

The inference can be based on different types of clues. These clues can be of different nature (visual, auditory, gustative, verbal, etc.) and form (main clause, subordinate clause, image, etc.). This will affect their function as minors or majors in the reasoning process. We will propose a classification of these clues and their functioning in the reasoning process.

Q2. What type of mental inferential process is used?

We will discuss the two main types of mental inferential processes that we found in our corpus: deduction and abduction. These two processes are radically different. The first one searches for the consequence of an (observed) cause, whereas the second one tries to identify the cause of an (observed) consequence. It also seems that there is a difference in the degree of certainty that they express.

Q3. What is the trigger and the reason for being of the conclusion with *devoir_E*?

We will propose a classification of contexts in which propositions with *devoir_E* appear and an explanation of the general reasons for being of these propositions. This classification will be based primarily on the parameter of “‘abnormal’ or ‘astonishing’ situation”: e.g. a bomb explosion, signs of surprise in comics, etc. In other, rarer, cases, *devoir_E* appears in sentences that describe relatively trivial, “normal”, situations: e.g. someone does not respond to a call, someone is looking for something, etc., for which another explanation will be needed. The reasons for being can be grouped into six categories, that can be linked to the type of mental inferential process.

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Conventionalized impoliteness in English and Polish: The case of ‘you idiot!’

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Keywords: address, conventionalization, evaluative meaning, impoliteness, questionnaire

Earlier research has argued that the YOU+NP! patterns in (1) and (2) are constructions (in a Construction Grammar sense; Goldberg 2006): they constitute distinct forms dedicated to the function of addressee evaluation (see also Davies 1986 among others). This assessment may be positive (e.g. *you angel!*) but the construction has been shown, with corpus data, to exhibit a strong bias toward insults in usage in English and a very strong one in Polish.

- (1) “Thanks a lot, you stupid bitch!” screamed Vultureman. Chilla was enraged by the unprovoked profanity. (enTenTen18)
- (2) *Już mam ochotę wrzeszczeć: ty mendo, ... ja ci pokażę, ja cię kwasem obleję!*
‘I feel like screaming: you douche, ... I'll show you, I'll pour acid on you!’ (plTenTen19)

Following Terkourafi (2005) on politeness formulae and against the dominant view in the field that (im)politeness is primarily socio-pragmatic in nature rather than inherent in linguistic form (e.g. Van der Bom and Mills 2015), these results have been taken to suggest that YOU+NP! is conventionalized considerably for negative addressee evaluation, even more so in Polish than in English. This association with impoliteness has, moreover, been attributed to the pragmatic explicitness and thus directness (Culpeper and Haugh 2014) of referring to the target with ‘you’.

This paper seeks to put the claims about English versus Polish and about the impact of ‘you’ to the test, by conducting an online questionnaire asking native speakers to assess, on seven-point Likert scales, the well-formedness (1=very unnatural, 7=very natural) and evaluative meaning (1=very negative, 4=neither positive nor negative, 7=very positive) of stimuli in short, general scenarios. The stimuli, which are as similar as possible for both languages, differ in the presence/absence of ‘you’ and in the nouns, ranging from negatively and positively evaluative ones (e.g. NE ‘idiot’, PE ‘angel’) over neutral ones denoting humans and things (e.g. NH ‘waiter’, NT ‘pan’) to pseudo-nouns (e.g. P ‘wabe’; cf. Jain 2022). The hypotheses that we intend to test are:

- (i) without ‘you’, NEs, PEs and NHs are judged the more well-formed addresses but, with ‘you’, just the evaluative nouns stand out and especially NEs while NHs score lower and NTs and Ps higher for well-formedness with than without ‘you’;
- (ii) NEs’ evaluative meaning is deemed (even) more negative with than without ‘you’ and NHs, NTs and Ps too are seen as (more) negative with ‘you’ (than without it);
- (iii) these two tendencies are stronger in Polish than in English.

The collection of the data, which will undergo statistical analysis (ANOVAs, Bonferroni-corrected post hoc t-tests), is ongoing. Our preliminary results, however, appear to be in line with the hypotheses. Evidence for (i) shows that YOU+NP! is an evaluative construction, even able to turn unlikely NPs into (evaluative) addresses. Support for (ii) confirms that ‘you’ increases the effect of already negatively evaluative NPs and that YOU+NP! is conventionalized considerably for impoliteness, coercing non-

evaluative NPs into a negative (rather than positive) interpretation. Evidence for (iii) indicates that this conventionalization is more established in Polish than in English.

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Case marking under negation in complement clauses: The case of Finnic

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Keywords: Negation, Case, Partitive, Clause combining, Complement clauses, Finnic

Negation affects case marking in Finnic languages. In the scope of negation, transitive objects and existential subjects show a strong tendency to be marked with the partitive case, while affirmatives allow a wider range of cases depending on morphosyntactic context or semantic reading. In the Finnish example (1), the object has a choice between genitive and partitive in the affirmative (genitive as object case is due to historical merger with former accusative), but in the negative only the partitive is allowed, and the semantic distinction made by the choice of case is neutralized.

(1) Finnish (constructed examples)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>Syön banaanin/banaania.</i> | b. <i>En syö banaania.</i> |
| eat.1SG banana.GEN/banana.PAR | NEG.1SG eat.CNG banana.PAR |
| ‘I will eat/am eating a banana.’ | ‘I will not eat~am not eating a banana.’ |

Beyond Finnic, similar case alternations are found in other Circum-Baltic languages, e.g., Lithuanian, Russian and Polish. Further afield, changes in the marking of NPs under the scope of negation mostly concern determiners rather than case marking, e.g., in French and many Oceanic and Bantu languages, see Miestamo 2014 for a cross-linguistic survey.

The partitive of negation has mostly been discussed in main-clause contexts. However, Almquist (1987) notes that in Finnish the constraint of marking objects under negation with the partitive is loosened most probably in certain dependent-clause contexts, resulting in variation in case marking. In cases like (2), both genitive and partitive objects are possible, while only partitive objects are allowed in main-clause contexts such as (1b).

(2) Finnish (constructed examples)

- | |
|--|
| a. <i>En usko että syön banaania / banaanin.</i> |
| NEG.1SG believe.CNG that eat.1SG banana.PAR/banana.GEN |
| ‘I don’t think I will eat a banana.’ |

On a general level, such variation can be understood as an effect of two factors pulling in different directions: the semantic scope of negation from the main clause (>partitive) and the syntactic structure of the dependent clause (>genitive). There is little systematic research on the marking of NPs under the scope of negation in complex clauses, neither in a cross-linguistic perspective nor in particular languages.

Our study will address this research gap with a case study of Finnic languages, including Finnish, Karelian, Estonian and Veps. Using comparable corpus data available in, e.g., LBoF, AEDKL and VepKar, we ask whether and to what extent the effect of negation on the marking of NPs is transferred to or blocked

in a complement clause. We will show that case marking in complement clauses under negation behaves differently from main clauses and exhibits more variation. We will investigate the semantic and syntactic factors that play a role in the variation in more detail (e.g., finite vs. different types of non-finite complement clauses, semantics of main and dependent-clause verb, distance from negator). We will pay attention to cross-linguistic variation within Finnic, discussing also the possible role of contact with neighbouring non-Finnic languages. Furthermore, the findings of the Finnic case study will contribute to our theoretical understanding of the scope of negation and the competing motivations involved in scope assignment.

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A diachronic study of <llevar + gerund> in Spanish

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Keywords: verbal periphrases, grammaticalization, auxiliarization, temporal constructions, *llevar*.

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The aim of this work is to analyse the origin and evolution of the verbal periphrasis <llevar(se) + gerund> in the history of the Spanish language. This verbal periphrasis has a continuative aspectual value, since it focuses an event from its beginning to a central point of its development without affirming its end (García Fernández, 2006: 1903). The particularity of this construction is that the verb always requires a temporal expression that indicates the initial limit of the event (e.g., *Llevo varios meses esperando tu respuesta* ‘I have been waiting for your answer for several months’). For this reason, the periphrastic status of the construction has been questioned sometimes. The question arises whether its historical evolution can contribute to explain its exceptional properties. Therefore, in order to reconstruct its diachronic development, all the instances of <llevar(se) + gerund> were extracted from the *Corpus of the Spanish Historical Dictionary (Corpus del Diccionario Histórico, CDH)*. This corpus was annotated for a series of formal and semantic grammaticalization parameters and submit to a quantitative productivity analysis. The investigation adopts the postulates of grammaticalization theory and diachronic construction grammar.

Our results suggest that the periphrasis started to develop during the first Modern Spanish period (1675-1825) (Octavio de Toledo Huerta, 2016), and was consolidated at the first half of the 19th century. From that time on, the productivity of <llevar + gerund> grew at an ever-increasing rate until the end of the 20th century. In addition, there are some signs of an increasing grammaticalization of the periphrasis throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the fixation of the construction in its non-pronominal form <llevar + gerundio>, the appearance of temporal arguments with *desde* (‘from’) and the presence of inanimate subjects and impersonal examples. On the other hand, although the origin of periphrasis has not been investigated so far, it has been hypothesized that the temporal value of *llevar* originates from simple sentences in which the direct object of *llevar* is a temporal expression with modifier (e.g., *Llevo diez años de sufrimiento* ‘I have been suffering for ten years’) (Herce, 2017). In these constructions, elapsed time is expressed through a stative-possessive structure, something that also occurs with *tener* (e.g., *Tengo 26 años* ‘I am 26 years old’). However, our results are not completely congruent with this hypothesis, since all the examples of the periphrasis in the 19th century appear in the pronominal form <llevarse + gerundio>. Finally, a new hypothesis about the origin of the periphrasis is discussed.

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Circum-Baltic kinship terminologies through the lens of areal and contact studies

Kinship terminologies (consisting of words denoting familial relationships such as ‘mother,’ ‘son’, or ‘father-in-law’) are at the heart of social life in many societies, and this is a topic well-studied in both anthropology and linguistics. Nonetheless, contact and areal studies of kinship terminologies have by now received despairingly little attention (e.g., Trautmann 2001: 283–284). To fill in one of numerous research gaps, we investigated kinship terminologies of the Circum-Baltic (CB) linguistic area where numerous related and unrelated languages are spoken, such as Uralic (Finnic and the Saami branches) and Indo-European (Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic). This area is viewed as a “Contact Superposition Zone”, i.e., isoglosses covering the entire territory are few, but there are numerous overlapping micro-convergences belonging to different temporal strata. This situation is well in accord with the complex ethnic history of the region (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001).

In the course of our research, we studied both convergences and area-specific structural features. Firstly, we focused on individual borrowings and their semantics and how widely they have spread in the CB area. Secondly, we analysed the structure of CB kinship terminologies and checked whether they have area-specific structural features that make them different from other European kinship terminologies or unique in the global context. We surveyed the major kinship terminologies of the CB languages, mostly via the Kinbank database (Passmore et al. revised ms.), and compiled a list of convergences.

We discovered many heterogeneous overlapping micro- and macro-convergences belonging to different temporal strata and contact situations. This was especially the case with loanwords, whereas certain calques had a wider spread covering most of the CB area. For example, Middle Low German *elderen* ‘parents’ (lit. ‘older ones’) was calqued into a number of other CB languages: e.g., Latvian *vecāki*, Finnish *vanhemmat*, Skolt Saami *puärraz*, all meaning ‘parents’, lit. ‘older ones’ (Buck 1949: 103–104, Lehtiranta, 2001[1989]: 106–107). This suggests that semantic patterns may be more prone to borrowing than lexical items.

The analysis of structural features (such as differentiation or non-differentiation of maternal and paternal grandparents, see, e.g., Nikolayeva 2014: 69–115, 171) showed that CB kinship terminologies combine both West European and East European/West Asian strategies. An especially interesting case is the Saami kinship terminology characterised by alternate generation equivalence (roughly speaking derivation of terms for grandchildren from terms for

grandparents as well as terms for nephews and nieces from terms for uncles and aunts), otherwise unattested in West Eurasia (Bouchery 2018), which is now, however, transforming into one with increasing number of features typical for European kinship terminologies. This permits us to observe how kinship terminologies are changing due to language contact.

In sum, one can conclude that CB kinship terminologies indeed possess a marked combination of area-specific features. However, most of them are shared with the neighbouring regions, which confirms the statement of Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli (2001) defining the CB area as a Contact Superposition Zone.

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NomAccAbl/NomAccDat: A corpus-based diachronic study of construction alternation with Latin ditransitives

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Keywords: <ditransitive verbs, construction alternation, NomAccAbl/NomAccDat, R-like arguments, affectedness>

In Latin several ditransitive verbs (*aspergo* ‘strew’, *circumdo* ‘surround’, *dedico* ‘dedicate’, *dono* ‘give as a present/present’, *fraudo* ‘deprive deceitfully’, *impertio* ‘bestow/make smbd. a partaker in’, *induo* ‘put on’, *infundo* ‘pour in, moisten’, *misceo* ‘mix’, *munero(r)* ‘bestow’, *necto* ‘bind’, *onero* ‘load’, *praefigo* ‘fasten’, *praemunio* ‘fortify’, *praetexo* ‘place before/furnish’, and *sacro* ‘devote’) allow for construction alternation, resulting in either secundative or indirective alignment (Malchukov et al. 2010, Napoli 2018), see e.g. *circumdare* ‘surround’ in (1)-(2) (Lemaire 1983). In (1), the Recipient-like (R) participant takes the accusative case, while the Theme/Instrument-like (T/Inst) participant takes the ablative case (NomAccAbl construction, secundative alignment). In (2), the accusative encodes the T/Inst-like participant, whereas the dative encodes the R-like participant (NomAccDat construction, indirective alignment). Notably, construction alternation implies a difference concerning which argument ranks higher in terms of objecthood, as shown by evidence from passivization (Malchukov et al. 2010, Pinkster 2015).

This alternation has been explained through pragmatic/discourse-related factors (Bolkestein 1985a, 1985b, Bolkestein/Risselada 1987, Pinkster 1990:52) and semantic/syntactic properties of participants (Pinkster 2015, Napoli 2018:64-68). According to Pinkster (2015:152) the NomAccAbl construction is favored with animate R-like arguments apart from gods and kings. Luraghi/Zanchi (2019) suggest that the alternation may be related to the degree of affectedness of R-like participants. Up to now, no systematic and diachronic account of this alternation based upon quantitative data is available. In our paper we take a constructionist approach (Goldberg 1995) and investigate the NomAccAbl/NomAccDat alternation in diachrony, in a corpus ranging from Early (3rd century BCE) to Late Latin (5th/6th century CE).

Construction Grammar views constructions as conventionalized form-meaning pairs, which contribute their semantics to verbs; construction alternation may refer to different construals of a situation. We discuss the meaning of either construction by examining the verb classes it occurs with, and we compare the distribution of the two constructions among verbs allowing for construction alternation. Specifically, we highlight that ditransitive verbs of physical transfer have the default NomAccDat construction (Napoli 2018), whereas two-place verbs taking the NomAcc construction may occur with an Inst adjunct in the ablative (Pinkster 2015:137). Moreover, we analyze the semantic contribution of the NomAccAbl and the NomAccDat constructions to the verbs’ meaning. To do so, we examine parameters taken into account in previous literature, such as animacy and topicality of T/Inst-like and R-like participants, but we also consider transitivity-related properties of the event (e.g., affectedness of R-like participants, completeness of the event). E.g. the NomAccAbl construction with the verbs *induo* ‘put on’ and *circumdo* ‘surround’ is related to higher affectedness of R-like participants.

Our approach might also shed light on cases of semantic specialization of either construction with specific verbs. E.g. the NomAccAbl construction with *dono* ‘donate, give as a present’ develops a specific meaning related to citizenship attribution (example 3), whereas the NomAccDat construction becomes increasingly frequent with the meaning ‘give as a present’ (Martín Rodríguez 1996, Pinkster 2015:152). We better assess these issues by investigating the diachrony of the NomAccAbl/NomAccDat alternation in order to track changes in the distribution of constructions over time.

Nom_AAcc_RAbl_T

- (1) ... *omnem* =*que* *aciem* *suam* *raedis*
whole:ACC.SG.F and army(F):ACC.SG POSS.ACC.SG.F chariot(F):ABL.PL
et carris circumdederunt
and wagon(M):ABL.PL surround:IND.PRF.3PL
'And (they) surrounded their whole army with chariots and wagons.'
(Caes. *Gall.* 1.51.2)

Nom_AAcc_TDat_R

- (2) *Gaius Caninius toto oppido*
Gaius:NOM.SG Caninius:NOM.SG entire:DAT.SG.N town(N):DAT.SG
munitiones circumdare moratur
entrenchment(F):ACC.PL surround:INF.PRS delay:IND.PRS.PASS.3SG
'Gaius Caninius delayed to make a ring of entrenchments all around the town.' (Caes. *Gall.* 8.34.4)

Nom_AAcc_RAbl_T

- (3) *quos Cn. Pompeius de consili*
REL.ACC.PL.M Gn. Pompeus:NOM.SG from board(N):GEN.SG
sententia singillatim civitate donaverit
opinion(F):ABL.SG individually citizenship(F):ABL.SG bestow:SBJV.PRF.3SG
'Those to whom individually, having heard the opinion of the Board, Gn. Pompeus has decided to honor with citizenship.' (Cic. *Balb.* 8)

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Expletive Datives are situational Datives

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Keywords: expletive, Dative, pronoun, clitic, situation

We investigate an inanimate non-core Dative pronominal in Serbian (1), which behaves as a typical expletive pronoun in not having an antecedent in the previous discourse or available for deictic reference. It is always realized as the 3rd singular clitic syncretic between neuter and masculine, with ‘objectivization’ as its pragmatic contribution (cf. Miloradović 2007, Jovanović 2020) – it implies that the truth value of a given proposition is not to be seen as a subjective ‘judgment’ of the evaluator (the speaker by default). This type of Dative is theoretically challenging since non-core Datives are cross-linguistically usually animate and sentient (e.g. Janda 1993, Aristar 1996, Dabrowska 1997, Palić 2010, Boneh & Nash 2011, 2017, Horn 2013, Arsenijević 2013; see Kagan 2020 for an overview).

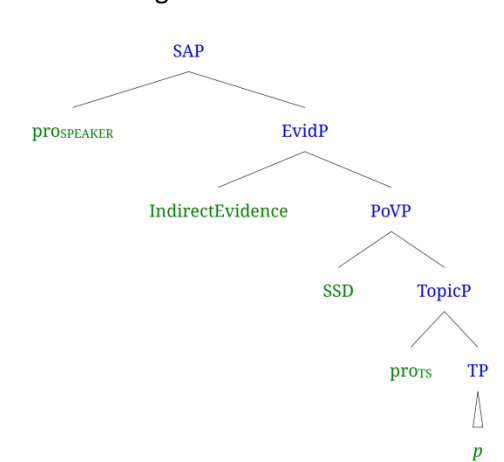
- (1) To nemoj da te čudi. To **mu** je tako.
that don’t COMP you.ACC.CL surprises that SSD COP so
‘Don’t let that surprises you. That simply functions like that.’

We argue that this ‘expletive’ Dative pronominal is actually a situational pronoun referring to an (arbitrary) situation ‘switched’ from both the Topic Situation (TS) of a given clause and the Speech Act Situation (SAS); we accordingly label it ‘Switched-Situation Dative’ (SSD). We propose that SSD is generated in a point-of-view projection (PoVP in Guéron & Haegeman 2012, EpisP in Cinque 1999, Speas 2004, PerspP in Sundaresan 2018) – see Figure 1. Our analysis explains the objectivization effect of SSD straightforwardly: by switching the evaluation domain from TS, it is indicated that the proposition is not evaluated by any of the referents to whom TS is relevant, most prominently the speaker as default evaluator and source of information (who, consequently, has only indirect evidence for the reported situation). The following arguments support the proposed analysis: (i) SSD is in *complementary distribution with other perspectival Datives*, e.g. the one expressing the Speaker’s perspective, see (2); (ii) The very nature of SSD as a *domain restricting pronoun* relates it to typical situation pronouns, which have been amply used in explaining various areas of the domain restriction cross-linguistically (Schwarz 2009, Kratzer 2021); (iii) The featural configuration [3rd[sing[neut[pron]]]] is the morphologically least marked set of features (Harley & Ritter 2002) and is characteristic of situation-referring pronouns (e.g. Klein 2006, 2008, Hinterhölz 2022, Langacker 2011, Milosavljević & Milosavljević 2022). (iv) Non-core Datives, if inanimate, are (virtually) always situational (e.g. Berman 1982, Al-Zahre & Boneh 2010, 2016, Haddad 2018a, b, Milosavljević 2019).

- (2) To **mi** / **mu** (***mi+mu** / ***mu+mi**) dođe na isto.
that I.DAT.CL SSD comes on same
‘That turns out to be the same (from my perspective / from the perspective of SSD).’

Expletive pronouns have recently been argued to be either situational (Klein 2006, 2008, Langacker 2011, Borer 2010, Hinterhölz 2019, 2022), or PoV pronouns (Hinzelin & Kaiser 2007, Guéron & Haegeman 2012, Gupton & Lowman 2013, Greco et al. 2018). The analysis of SSD as a *situational PoV* pronoun provides further support for eliminating the notion of ‘expletiveness’ as relevant for pronouns and grammar more broadly (cf. Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022).

Figure 1



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Local Dislocation (LD) and prosodic structure building in Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS) truncated infinitives

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I address the timing of Local Dislocation (Embick and Noyer 1999) with respect to prosodic structure building and accent assignment, by investigating accentual interactions between enclitics and their hosts in BCS, and I show that LD follows (at least some) prosodic structure building in the BCS verbal complex.

Crucially, E&N (1999) propose the order of postsyntactic operations in (1). This predicts that an LD-ed element affixed to a root should be visible for prosodic processes at the smallest prosodic domain containing the root (minimal prosodic word(PWmin)). Talić (2018) shows that most BCS enclitics have a lexical High tone that spreads and results in a rising accent on their hosts if the two find themselves in the same PWmin. E.g. the future auxiliary can spread its High tone to a wh-host in SpecCP (2) [´ = rising accent; ` = falling accent]. Despić (2017) discusses truncated infinitives in Standard Serbian (also found in other dialects of BCS) in the context of the future clitic (3). He argues the future clitic undergoes LD, which results in it being linearized as an affix after the infinitive (4a), further triggering infinitival suffix truncation (4b). Furthermore, Despić shows these processes lead to a closer phonological interaction between the verbal root and the future clitic, e.g. /s/ obligatorily assimilates with /ć/ in (3).

(1) *lowering>vocab.insertion/linearization>LD>building prosodic domains>pros.inversion>Phon.Form*

- | | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|---------|-----------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| (2) a. gdjé | ću | d. gdjé | ćemo | (3) sješ-ćeš | → | /sjes-ćeš/ |
| where | will.1sg | where | will.1.pl | sit-will.2sg | | |
| b. gdjé | ćeš | e. gdjé | ćete | | | ‘you will sit’ |
| where | will.2sg | where | will.2.pl | | | |
| c. gdjé | će | f. gdjé | će: | (4) a. [[V][T[<i>fut</i>]]] | = | /sjes-ti-ćeš/ |
| where | will.3sg | where | will.3.pl | b. ti → ∅ | /[[V-__][T[<i>fut</i>]]] | (V = ti-infinitive) |

Given the High tone from BCS enclitics can spread to toneless hosts like (2) when the two are in the same PWmin, if future clitics were LD-ed before the PWmin of the root is built in truncated infinitives, they would spread their High tone to toneless verbal roots. However, this is not possible, as illustrated in (5), where toneless roots that can get a rising accent via High tone spreading from suffixes in their PWmin (e.g. participle in (5a)) *retain* the falling accent they have in full infinitive (5b) even when the infinitival suffix is truncated (5c) in the presence of a future clitic. Thus, in the truncated infinitive, there is an accentual domain containing only the root where default initial High-tone insertion takes place before the clitic is added, yielding a falling accent.

- | | | |
|------------|----------|---------------|
| (5) a. | b. | c. |
| náš-la | nà:-ći | nà:-ćeš |
| find-PRT | find-inf | find-will.2sg |
| dóš-la | dò:-ći | dò:-ćeš |
| come-PRT | come-inf | come-will.2sg |
| sjéd-i-la | sjès-ti | sjès-ćeš |
| sit-TV-PRT | sit-inf | sit-will.2sg |

The lack of accentual interaction with the future clitic in truncated infinitives sheds light on the timing of LD and Prosodic Structure building at PF, indicating that LD of the future clitic takes place *after*, not *before*, the minimal prosodic word containing the verbal root has been built and that the two operations at PF are intertwined, rather than all LD taking place before prosodic phrasing. Suffixes and suffixed clitics behave differently, as shown by the contrast between PRT in (5a) and the future clitic in (5c), which I will discuss further in the talk.

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Computational historical dialectology using spatiotemporal embeddings

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Keywords: Spanish, notarial documents, word embeddings, historical dialectology, computational linguistics

This paper proposes a novel method to conduct computational historical dialectology in a language-agnostic manner. Our method is inspired by the distributed representation of words (Mikolov et al., 2013). This is a computational technique to represent a word as a fixed-length dense vector and has been widely used across the Natural Language Processing community. This study uses the *Corpus de Documentos Españoles Anteriores a 1800 (CODEA)*, which contains 2500 Medieval and Modern Spanish notarial documents issued across Spanish territory (Grupo de Investigación Textos para la Historia del Español, n.d.). The total number of tokens is nearly one and a half million. Unlike literary manuscripts, which rarely have originals and whose origins are unknown, these documents provide an excellent opportunity for historical and dialectical study due to their originality and explicitly dated nature.

The purpose of this study is to determine which time periods and regions the words are most likely to have originated from. Then, we intend to retrieve characteristic terms automatically for given periods and geographic zones. Building upon Kawasaki (2023), we acquired spatiotemporal representations of words by embedding them in time and geography to allow for computing similarity scores as to spatiotemporal occurrence patterns. Discretizing time into decades and dividing geography according to current provinces served as the basis for learning. In addition, to capture sub-word character n -gram patterns across words, we utilized an algorithm called *fastText* (Bojanowski et al., 2017). Therefore, words presenting lexemic, morphological, affixial, or orthographic affinity are expected to obtain similar vectorial representations.

A principal advantage of our method is its capability to perform a probabilistic ascription of the terms to periods and geographic zones instead of formulating a categorical description, as has been commonly practiced. Our method also has the added advantage of quantifying the relevance of a word based on its usage; admittedly, some words are more closely related to a certain period or geographic zone than others. Moreover, we can also handle unseen words in the corpus by providing them with vectorial representations generated from their sub-word character strings. Furthermore, as our

algorithm is language-independent, it is readily applicable to any language without prior knowledge thereof.

For instance, our method detected the following terms as representative Asturian features: *convén, decho, enna, essi, esti, foe, jur, mais, menéndiz, pédriz, peláiz, péliz, sua, suáriz*; Leonese: *afonso, flaires, furon, ie, meetad, moger, ou, outra, sou*; Navarran: *altre, ciçur, coal, dites, éll, encens, fiç, filla, fraire, lis, lópiz, lures, meatat, odrán, périz, pieças, siméniz, totes, toz, trebut, xeméniz*; and Zaragozan: *advenideros, alfama, assín, avant, calonges, expensas, exsecutores, fruto, habitant, lexar, permutar, pieça, possidrán, seyentes, sían, títol, trehudo*. These exploratory results agree well with insights from the existing literature (Menéndez Pidal, 1999; Zamora Vicente, 1968), which corroborates the reliability of our method and promises to shed light on uncovering dialectal features that have so far remained unnoticed. Likewise, the procedure can be applied to retrieve terms closely related to specific time periods.

Acknowledgments

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Parallel innovation or contact through translation? Reflexive possessives in the Greek and Latin Bible

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Keywords: language contact, reflexivity, Latin, Greek, Biblical translations

The role of Biblical translations in the historical study of syntax has been re-evaluated in recent years: it has been shown that, besides the challenges that translated texts pose when trying to distinguish between native features and translation effects, there are also remarkable advantages, such as e.g. the fact that Biblical translations represent a natural parallel corpus, and the possibility to compare re-translations at different diachronic stages (for state-of-the art discussion see Cornillie & Drinka (eds.) 2019, Lavidas & Bergs (eds.) 2020, Lavidas 2021). We intend to exploit Biblical translations as a diagnostic tool in the study of the change affecting the morphosyntax of possessives in Greek and Latin. Both languages show, at different times in their history, a restructuring of their system of pronominal possessives, which affects the distribution of functions between non-reflexive and reflexive forms: through different and historically independent dynamics, both languages end up losing the unambiguous reflexive possessives available in the Classical period (cf. Blass et al. 1961: 147-150; Pierluigi 2005). Interestingly, they seem to converge on a similar strategy to re-create an unambiguously reflexive form: in post-Classical Greek (from 1st cent. CE) *ídios*, originally an adjective meaning ‘private’, ‘personal’, starts to appear with the meaning and the distribution of a reflexive possessive ‘x’s own’; in Late Latin (from 4th cent. CE) *proprius*, originally an adjective meaning ‘personal’, ‘peculiar’, starts to behave as a reflexive possessive. In Jerome’s Latin translation of the Greek New Testament, *proprius* regularly corresponds to *ídios* in the original. One question we explore is whether contact, and specifically contact through translation, plays a role in this development, namely by boosting the use of *proprius* as a reflexive in Latin by reason of the functional parallelism with Greek *ídios*. We compare the *Vulgata* translation of the New Testament with previous Latin translations of the Greek original (*Vetus*). Furthermore, we extend our analysis to the Old Testament, considering not only the Greek and Latin versions, but also the Hebrew original. We investigate whether it is possible to single out some formal or semantic-pragmatic factors that invite the rendering of a Hebrew possessive construction with Greek *ídios* or Latin *proprius*. This enhances our understanding of the conditions favoring the emergence of the reflexive uses of both elements and, more specifically, of the influence of translation effects. For instance, we observe that in the Latin translation of the Old Testament, not unlike the aforementioned correspondences between *ídios* and *proprius* in the New Testament, Latin *proprius* regularly renders *ídios* in the books translated from Greek.

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Prepositional markers of similarity in Czech: Evidence from corpora

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Keywords: Czech, taxonomic nouns, prepositional phrases, pronouns, denominal similatives

Czech taxonomic nouns, *druh* ‘kind/sort’ and *typ* ‘type’, are less grammaticalized than their Polish and Russian counterparts (e.g. Kolyaseva and Davidse 2018; Kisiel, 2023); *druh* retains its “subtype” meaning, although there is evidence of its gaining approximative functions (quantifying and hedging). *Typ* has acquired exemplifying, simulative and quotative functions, but not the hedging one (Janebová et al. 2023). It is an empirical question whether Czech differs from other Slavic languages also in the grammaticalization of other denominal similatives.

This study investigates the prepositional phrases *z rodu* ‘from family/genus’, *ve znamení* ‘in sign’, *ve stylu* ‘in style’, *po(dle) vzoru* ‘according-to pattern’, and *na způsob* ‘on manner’ (identified as strong collocates in SYN10 and as Czech translations of Polish denominal simulative in InterCorp). By triangulating data from corpora of written synchronic Czech, spoken Czech, and translation correspondences (from a parallel corpus of English, Polish and Czech), we trace changes in case assignment associated with nominal complements as well as the presence of non-nominal complements (phrases, clauses), seek evidence of hedging and try to identify the bridging contexts for the emergence of new markers of similarity.

The data suggest that prepositional phrases marking similarity are typical of written Czech; *z rodu* as a similarity marker is marginal overall (unlike in Polish). Similarity markers based on quality (*z rodu*, *ve znamení*, typically occurring in predicative position) show minimal shift in their complements (prototypically nominal without any changes in case assignment), whereas those based on manner (especially *ve stylu* and *na způsob*, which can be used as manner adjuncts) show more variation in the complements (nominal as well as non-nominal, though we observed no changes in the case assignment of nominal complements). Only the latter are attested in both written and spoken Czech, in hedging contexts (compatible with *něco* ‘something’, as in (1)), and in quotative uses (2).

(1) [chleba] byl posypaný něčím na způsob oregana (SYN2020).

[bread] was sprinkled something.INS on manner.ACC oregano.GEN

‘The bread was sprinkled with something like oregano’

(2) Neberte to ale jako hru ve stylu, já jsem porodila, ať se snaží teď on. (SYN2020)

do.not.take.IMP it but like game.ACC in style.DAT I am given.birth let REFL try.SG now on
'Don't take it as a game along the lines of, I've given birth, now it's his turn to make some effort.'

Finally, the analysis of parallel data suggests that the reason for a smaller degree of grammaticalization of these items in Czech than in Polish is the existence of competing expressions with the same function, especially indefinite pronouns: *něco/cosí jako* 'something like' (3), *nějaký/jakýsi* 'some', and the demonstrative *takový* 'such' (4).

- (3) Right, you've got *a crooked sort of cross* ... (InterCorp_Rowling_Prisoner_of_Azkaban)

No dobrze ... masz *coś w rodzaju koślawego krzyża* ...

Dobrá, máš tady *něco jako pokřivený kříž* ...

well you.have here something like crooked cross

- (4) In its way, it has become *a kind of family group*. (InterCorp_Rushdie-MauruvPosl_Vzd)

Słowem, mamy tu *coś w rodzaju zbiorowego portretu rodzinnego*.

Svým způsobem je to teď *takový rodinný portrét*.

its.REFL.INS manner.INS is it now such family portrait

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Deicticity and epistemic interactivity: Mari evidential particles and perspective-based epistemological stance

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Keywords: evidentiality, egophoricity, multiple perspective, epistemological stance, Mari languages

The presentation discusses interactivity in a deictic epistemic system, where reference to informational status is steadily speaker-anchored. The topic is exemplified by Mari languages (< Uralic), where the most well-established part of the past-fused grammatical evidential system consists of particle pairs *əle* vs. *ulmaš* (Meadow Mari) and *əʔə* vs. *əlan* (Hill Mari), representing an alleged opposition of direct and indirect information source (e.g. Skribnik and Kehayov 2018). Morphosemantically, the particles are 3rd person singular past tense forms of the verb ‘to be’, their literary meaning being thus ‘was’. Their primary function has hence been retrospectivization of events, that is, serving as a temporal strategy, where interpretations of non-pastly marked events are shifted into their actual temporal interval past from the speaker-based origo, as in example (1):

(1) Meadow Mari (Onchyko 050196: 2400)

tušto jüştalana əle.

there swim.PRS.1PL was.DIR

‘We used to swim there.’ {Literally: [we swim there] + [it **was** so (at certain time)]}

Temporality is by definition a deictic notion, which affects also the evidential behavior of the Mari particles: they for example maintain speaker-perspective also in questions (c.f. de Haan 2005). The classical egophoric intersubjectivity is thus not available for the items as such, but as I will argue, the inbuilt perspective properties of the particle structures enable several pragmatic extensions, among them also ones that target the access of speech-act participants to the information.

The retrospectivizing particle structures are by nature multiple perspective structures, which distinguish between a synchronic observer and a later transmitter of the information. This is most clearly seen in past narrations, where the structures allow the narrator to forward voices of the story-internal protagonists (Spets, forthcoming). In this sense, they can be regarded as kind of referative structures, which separate different participator roles (see Goffman 1981). Further, the particle usage has been abstracted also into contexts, where they have no temporal reading. An example is given in (2), where the answer is interpreted in same present tense as the preceding question:

(2) Meadow Mari (Volga–Kama, Social media corpus)

– *maje om pale əle.*

1SG.EMPH NEG.1SG know.CNG DIR

‘[– Do you know, how this is said in Russian?] – I do not know.’

In these cases, the question is about discourse-pragmatic referative structures, where the speaker explicitly separates the act of becoming aware on their personal experience from the act of communicating the information to the addressee. The “direct” and “indirect” particles thus open a view into something the speaker is (not) or has (not) been involved in themselves and can be contrasted according to EGO-evidentiality. The EGO-forms are often employed in contexts of guiding the addressee or asserting them on something, while the NON.EGO-forms lower the level of speaker’s involvement in the event and thus their certainty about it. This comes close to approaches, which see evidentiality and egophoricity as ways of

taking epistemological stances (Mushin 2001 and Fried 2018). The presentation discusses corpus-based native-consulted examples on person- and speech-act-sensitive functions of the particles and shows, how the perspective towards an event is a natural substrate for knowledge-based interactional functions also in deictic epistemic systems.

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Conceptual structure and complementation: A study on English illocutionary shell nouns

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Keywords: bundle of specifications, complementation, conceptual structure, illocutionary shell noun, speech act

This paper deals with noun complementation. It focuses upon the class of nouns reporting illocutionary acts. Following Schmid (2000, 2018), I refer to these nouns as *illocutionary shell nouns*. This term reflects the idea that the nouns encapsulate a propositional content that is usually expressed in a complement or even separate clause or sentence. Examples (1-2), extracted from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (Davies 2008, COCA henceforth) illustrate these nouns and their major constructional patterns. The shell noun is rendered in bold print. The underlined part is the content encapsulated by the noun.

(1) His **pledge** to preserve and protect the land was forgotten.

Pattern: noun followed by *to*-infinitive (N-to inf)

(2) The **allegation** that it's some sort of a quagmire isn't being made.

Pattern: noun followed by *that*-clause (N-that)

The study addresses the question of whether there is a correlation (i) between the meaning of these nouns and their preferred complementation patterns, and (ii) between their semantic similarity and their similarity in the distribution of complementation patterns.

I report the results of the investigation of a dataset of 335 illocutionary shell noun types belonging to a corpus I developed on the basis of speech act literature and grouped, following Searle, into the five classes of assertive (*assertion, guess*, etc.), commissive (*promise, vow*, etc.), directive (*request, order*, etc.), expressive (*apology, complaint*, etc.) and declarative (*abrogation, christening*, etc.) shell nouns (see Vergaro 2018).

Two types of analysis were carried out: a semantic and a grammatical analysis. Following Proost (2007), the semantic analysis consisted in the development of the bundle of specifications consisting of attributes and attribute values that make up the conceptual structure of each noun. These results were tallied with a corpus-based grammatical analysis aimed at investigating the occurrence of individual tokens in grammatical constructions. Two hundred tokens of each noun type were randomly sampled from the COCA. Using these data, the nouns were subjected to an analysis of the relative frequencies of their complementation patterns.

Results indicate that the semantic match between noun and complementation pattern is regular in the prototypical core of each class of illocutionary shell nouns, where the more prototypical meaning of each shell noun type and the prototypical meaning of each grammatical pattern show the highest degree of semantic compatibility. It shows a paradigmatic dispersion in the less prototypical and more specific nouns. These results are motivated in terms of profiling effects (Langacker 1991). The combination of form and meaning is synchronized in usage by highlighting specific portions of the noun's conceptual structure, i.e., specific attributes and values, leaving the rest in the background. The study, then, contributes to our understanding of the relation between lexis and grammar.

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From complementizer to causal subordinator: The functions of *dat* ‘that, so, because’ in Wangerooge Frisian

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Keywords: Frisian, complementation, adverbial clauses, subordination, semantic shifts

This paper investigates the functions of the subordinator *dat* in Wangerooge Frisian, an underdescribed and now extinct minority language of Northern Germany. Specifically, I analyze the uses of *dat* as a causal subordinator (i.e. meaning ‘because, since’) and propose a scenario for their development. The material used is an electronic corpus based on documentation from the 19th and early 20th centuries (Ehrentraut 1849, 1854; Ehrentraut & Versloot 1996; Littmann 1922; Siebs 1923).

About 800 *dat*-clauses were excerpted and annotated with syntactic and semantic information, including their function, word order, and – for complement clauses – their complement-taking predicate. In addition to its complementizer function, *dat* was found to introduce result, purpose, and cause clauses, and to form complex conjunctions in combination with other subordinators, e.g. concessive *obschoons dat* ‘although’ and temporal *wiils dat* ‘while’. These additional functions all have parallels in other languages of Europe, but causal uses of complementizers are not mentioned for any of the Germanic languages discussed by Kehayov & Boye (2016: 859–865). The development from complementizer to causal subordinator is also not discussed by Kuteva et al. (2019).

In the Wangerooge Frisian corpus, at least two distinct causal uses of *dat* are attested, corresponding to Sweetser’s (1990) ‘content’ and ‘speech act’ domains, respectively (cf. also Kortmann 1997: 31–32; Thompson et al. 2007: 267): in (1) the *dat*-clause expresses an actual ‘real-world’ cause of a state of affairs; in (2), on the other hand, the *dat*-clause expresses the speaker’s motivation for asking a question, i.e. for performing a particular speech act:

- (1) *iik* *sin* *saa* *suf*, *dat* *iik* *farléeden* *nacht*
 I COP.1SG so tired *dat* I last night

nich *slíipin* *háb*
not slept have.1SG

‘I’m so tired because I haven’t slept last night’ (Ehrentraut 1849: 103)

- (2) *hă’stuu* *schóftiid* *haivt*, *dát=tuu* *saa* *laang* *we’*
 have.2SG break had *dat*=2SG so long away

wíziin *bist?*
been COP.2SG

‘Were you on a break, since you’ve been away for so long?’ (Ehrentraut 1849: 390)

Although one might expect these functions to be directly related to each other (cf. Sweetser's [1990: Ch. 4] analysis of English *because*), I argue that they arose through different semantic shifts. Patterns of ambiguity in the corpus suggest that the 'content' causal use in (1) developed in contexts where a complement clause was reanalyzed as an adjunct, whereas the 'speech act' type in (2) arose from the use of *dat* to introduce result clauses.

Finally, I compare my findings to the generalizations made by Kehayov & Boye (2016) about complementizers in European languages and point to a number of apparent parallels across West Germanic (de Rooy 1965: 131–134; Fischer 1992: 346; MED, s.v. *that* conj.; Scheel 1939: 74–75), showing how the Wangerooze Frisian material adds to our understanding of subordinators and their historical pathways.

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Investigating semantics in an annotated parallel corpus. The cartography of modality and mood in the New Testament.

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Keywords: Ancient Greek, Latin, mapping, modality, parallel corpora

While parallel corpora give access to valuable linguistic data, results of corpus analysis are affected by a fair number of limitations, including philological quality, translation strategies, authorship issues, chronological distance between the source and the target text, to mention a few. This paper focuses on modality and mood as intended in Nuyts and van der Auwera (2016) and on their semantics. The goal of this talk is twofold:

- 1) to outline the results of the semantic annotation of the Ancient Greek - Latin parallel corpus of the New Testament with respect to modality as carried out on the basis of an extension of the *WoPoss Guidelines for the Annotation of Modality* (Dell'Oro 2022) – adding also sentence moods (Nikolaeva 2016) – and then to discuss their interpretation in the light of the specific features of the New Testament as a historical corpus (Ancient Greek and *Vulgata*);
- 2) to present a recently developed free tool (Dell'Oro and Bermúdez Sabel 2023) to link and align the annotation of modality in the Gospels to the *Multilingual Bible Parallel Corpus* (Christodoulopoulos and Steedman 2015) enabling comparison with 99 additional languages.

Based on the definition in Nuyts and van der Auwera (2016), modality is intended as the linguistic device allowing a speaker/writer to present a state of affairs as non-factual by characterising it in terms of necessity, possibility or volition. The modal domain partially overlaps and largely interacts with the continuum Realis - Irrealis (Mauri and Sansò 2012) along with sentence moods. Furthermore, the annotation also takes into account the fact that modality can sometimes be implicit (cf. Abraham and Leiss 2012, among others). The results of the annotation enable an in-depth description and a visualisation of modality in the Gospels and other texts from the New Testament and its Latin translation (a cartography) from the following points of view: distribution of modality markers with regard to explicit and implicit modality; distribution of modality with respects to semantic types and sub-types; translational procedures with respect to the previous points with a special focus on the treatment of implicit modality and the language- and text-specific issue of optionality vs obligatoriness of modality and mood markers.

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The progressive gerund construction in three Romance languages: historical and comparative perspectives

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Keywords: progressive gerund construction, grammaticalization, constructionalization, Latin, Romance

In Republican and Classical Latin, the gerund is often used as the predicate of an adjunct clause (1). In Late Latin, a new construction emerges when the gerund combines with a motion (2) or posture verb (3) (Aalto 1949: 75-76).

(1) (...) *sum defessus quaeritando*.

‘(...) I am tired from searching.’ (Pl. *Amph.* 1014)

(2) (...) *contra illos qui mentiundo vadunt*.

‘(...) against those who are (lit. went) lying.’ (Carol. *capit.* 1a.810)

(3) *Stabant [...] constanter accusantes eum*.

‘They were (lit: stood) constantly accusing him’ (Vulg. *Luc.* 23.9-10)

In this early stage of the constructionalization process, the formal and functional properties of the combination of a gerund and a motion or posture verb gradually change: the motion or posture verb (henceforth V1) desemanticizes and shifts from the status of main verb to that of auxiliary, while the gerund (henceforth V2) shifts from the status of adjunct to that of a main verb, both semantically and syntactically (Croft 2001: 260, Bybee 2013). This process, initiated in Late Latin, develops further in different Romance languages, and to different degrees.

The aim of this paper is to analyze the outcome of the progressive gerund construction in Romance and to investigate its degree of constructionalization both from a diachronic and a comparative viewpoint. The diachronic section focuses on the evolution from Old to Modern French. The comparative section will compare three Romance languages in their present-day use: French, Italian and Spanish. The Old French corpus is large and varied, and contains texts representative of the available documentation for this period. The Present-Day French, Italian, and Spanish corpora are drawn from Sketch Engine. This database combines texts written in standard and substandard language, and thus shows a reliable glimpse of real language use.

Progressive gerund constructions have been examined for each of the three Romance languages, also from a comparative stance (Squartini 1998). However, new theoretical and typological insights, the availability of large corpora for both past and contemporary stages of the three Romance languages, and new statistical methods allow a more fine-grained analysis of various aspects of the construction in issue, concerning not only V1 and V2 individually, but also the complex V1-V2.

A case in point is the progressive gerund construction in Present-Day French, commonly claimed to be restricted to V2s of increase or decrease (e.g. *Les prix vont croissant* ‘the prices are (lit. go) increasing’) (Johannesen 1977), which suggests a lexicalized status. The construction is moreover argued to have practically disappeared in the 20th c. (Kindt 2000, Halmøy 2013), in favor of synthetic forms. This replacement has been considered enigmatic, since French typically favors periphrases more than other Romance languages (Schøsler 2007). However, our data show that the construction is less infrequent

than generally assumed, and that despite a decrease in productivity, the syntactic constraints on the construction are stronger than the lexico-semantic constraints. This suggests an analysis in terms of grammaticalization instead of lexicalization: the construction specializes in evoking a change of state, which gives *aller* 'go' the status of a dynamic copula. It will be argued that, in view of the typological features of French in comparison with Italian and Spanish (Lamiroy & De Mulder 2021), this outcome can be accounted for in terms of a competing motivation model (Cristofaro 2014).

Corpora

Historical French

Base du français médiéval (BFM2022), ENS-Lyon & CNRS-IHRIM ; <txm.bfm-corpus.org>

Frantext, CNRS-ATILF (France); www.frantext.fr

Present-Day French, Italian, Spanish

SketchEngine (frTenTen 2020; itTenTen 2020; spTenTen 2018); www.sketchengine.eu

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Possessive and verbal person markers in the languages of the New Guinea region

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Keywords: Papuan languages, areal typology, possessive markers, verbal person markers, Austronesian languages

Formal possessor affinities with verbal person markers have long been known to linguists. This is also observable in the languages of the New Guinea region. Examples 1a), b) in Mpur show possessor affinities with the subject person marker (type 1), while examples 2a), b) in Ata show possessor affinities with the object person marker (type 2):

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) Mpur (Odé 2002: 52) | 2) Ata (Terrill 2002: 68–9) |
| a) <i>n-yen</i> | a) <i>uala-silo</i> |
| 1SG.SB-mother | name-1SG.O |
| 'My mother' | 'My name' |
| b) <i>n-jap</i> | b) <i>na-mai-silo</i> |
| 1SG.SB-say | 2SG.SB-see-1SG.O |
| 'I say.' | 'You see me.' |

Some linguists argue for a closer semantic connection between the possessor and the subject (Abney 1987; Ritter 1991: 46–48; Siewierska 1998: 2), which would predict that type 1 should be more common cross-linguistically. Others, however, object that type 2 is actually more dominant cross-linguistically (Ultan 1978; Seiler 1983a, b). Siewierska (1998) shows that typological generalizations cannot be easily established since both types are equally common in her sample. She also observes that patterns vary between different areas. For instance, the New Guinea region displays overwhelming possessor affinities with object person markers (85% of languages; though most of them belong to the Trans New Guinea family).

In this study, I test these results and present a comparison of possessive and verbal person markers in a larger and better balanced sample of 54 genetically diverse Papuan and 11 Austronesian languages of the New Guinea region. The aim is to establish dominant affinities and the areal distribution of said languages compared to their genetic affiliation. For this purpose, a 1 to 5 grading scale was adopted (1 = same; 2 = almost the same; 3 = similar; 4 = barely similar; 5 = different):

Table 1) Possessor affinities with verbal person markers in the sampled languages

Affinities with:	Subject markers (type 1)	Object markers (type 2)	Subject and object markers	Neither
Grade 1	6	12	1	0
Grade 2	4	3	2	0
Grade 3	9	5	5	0
Grade 4	1	2	0	0
Grade 5	0	0	0	15
No. of languages	20	22	8	15
Percentage	31%	34%	12%	23%

Overall, and contrary to Siewierska's results, the difference between possessor affinities type 1 and type 2 is barely observable. However, the similarities between object and possessive markers are two times more likely to be grade 1 than between possessive and subject person markers, suggesting a partial dominance of type 2.

The areal distribution is shown in Figure 1 below. Most languages without possessor affinities are found on the mainland; Trans New Guinea languages and languages often linked to them (Timor-Alor-Pantar, Dagan, Anim, etc.) have exclusively type 2 affinities, while unrelated Bird's Head languages, as well as Austronesian languages of the Cenderawasih Bay and some unrelated languages of east New Britain have type 1 affinities. The evidence allows to conclude that genetic affiliation and areal contact in terms of structural borrowing play a major role in possessor affinities with verbal person markers.

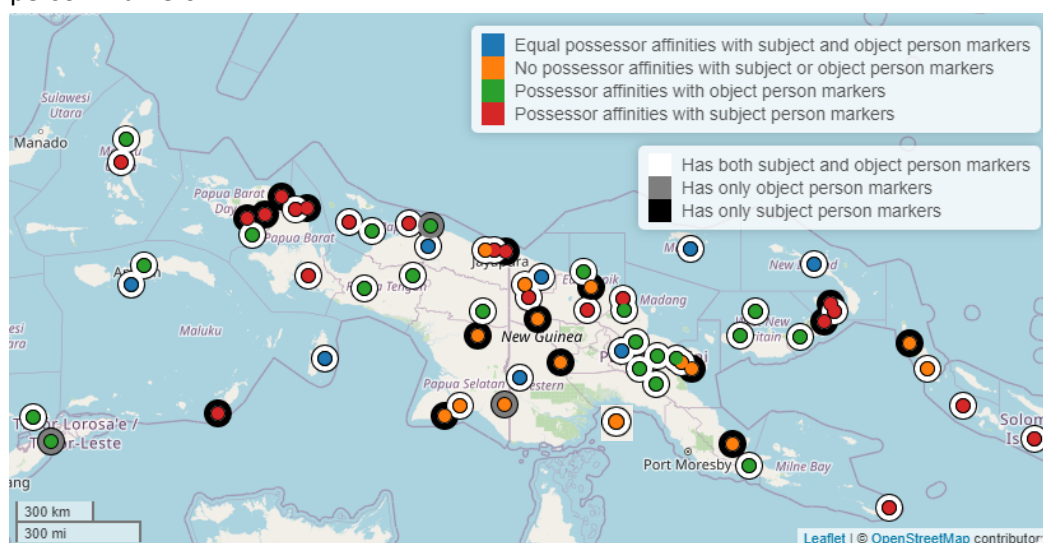


Figure 1 The sampled languages according to their possessor affinities.

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Topicality and word order and voice in Otomi

In this paper, I undertake a micro-typology study on two closely related Amerindian languages from Mexico of the Otomi family (Oto-Pamean, Oto-Manguéan) and I show how the same voice construction shows significant changes in syntax and function. The languages in question are Tilapa Otomi and Northern Otomi, from the variant of San Ildefonso in the state of Querétaro. Based on the data in the first colonial Otomi grammar by Cárceres 1580/1907, in the morphological domain at least, we know that Tilapa Otomi is the most conservative language of the family, while Northern Otomi is the most innovative. The data from this study suggest that the same is true for the syntax of word order and the morphosyntax of voice.

Otomi languages have a voice construction that has been termed “impersonal-passive” (mainly because we are not quite clear what the difference is), which is realized morphologically in stem changes in the verb. This construction demotes the agent subject, which cannot be expressed. An example is given in (1b) as compared with the active construction in (1a).

Based on the well-known functional tenet that grammatical voice is a mechanism whose use is subject to the topicality of the patient argument, in this paper I carry out a quantitative study of topical accessibility in the two languages of study, following the methodology developed in the early 1980s by the linguist Thomas Givón in Givón (1983a), which gave rise to the works in Givón (1983b). This methodology, whose application I explain in detail in the presentation, was conceived as a quantitative tool to be able to measure degrees of topicality of participants in natural texts taking into account, among other structural features, word order and grammatical voice. The methodology uses two quantitative measures (based on number of clauses) to measure the degree of discursive topicality of an argument (A or O) in a given clause from both an anaphoric and cataphoric perspective. One is ‘referential distance’, which alludes to how active the referent of the argument was in the previous discourse, and the other is ‘topical persistence’, which deals with the salience of A and O in the discourse that follows.

The question leading this study is the following: given the discourse use of different order and voice configurations (involving clauses with two semantic arguments A and O), can we find a possible motivation based on a different treatment of A and O in information structure terms? To answer this question, based on natural speech data and following Givón’s methodology, I analyze 300 transitive clauses with third persons A and O in both languages.

The study reflects that the two languages have quite different syntax. I conclude that Tilapa Otomi is a VOS language (like many other Mesoamerican languages, Campbell et al. 1986), while San Ildefonso Otomi has innovated toward SVO due to the high topicality of A as subject. As for the voice construction common to the two languages, in Tilapa Otomi it is used as an impersonal construction, that is, as a grammatical mechanism for agent demotion, while in San Ildefonso Otomi it seems to function as a passive construction motivated by the high topicality of the O argument. On the basis of independent syntactic evidence from the syntax of complementation, I further show that in the voice construction of San Ildefonso Otomi the O is promoted to S, while in Tilapa Otomi it is relegated to its O status.

Givón’s (1983) methodological approach, used extensively in Cooreman (1987), although somewhat dated and very laborious to undertake, is a very useful tool in advancing our understanding of the evolution of the relationship between grammar and discourse in lesser-studied natural languages.

Examples:

- (1) a. ar **khut'y**[= a rú ^hkarro] [a khə'ni]
 IMPFV.AND.S3 take=DEF.SG POSS3 car DEF.SG man
 'The man took his car away.' (Txt)
- b. ar **'ngut'y**[= a rú ^hkarro]
 IMPFV.AND.S3 take=DEF.SG POSS3 car
 'His car was taken away/somebody took his car away.'

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Hearsay sources of information in Italian talk-in-interaction

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Keywords: <information source, hearsay, epistemic stance-taking, talk-in-interaction, Italian>

In conversation, information sources have been investigated as part of epistemic stance-taking (Heritage/Raymond 2005). In line with other research on language in social interaction (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018), this research tradition underlines the relational, sequential and moment-by-moment construction of the phenomenon under scrutiny. The implications for evidential typology are however still underexplored (Bergqvist/Grzech 2023). We intend to contribute to this open debate by focusing on a particular source type (hearsay) in a language without grammatical evidential marking (Italian) in a conversational setting (cf. also Battaglia 2022). Which conceptual features of hearsay are explicitly encoded and emerge as relevant for participants?

Information source is understood here as a conceptual and pragmatic category. Its conceptual features are analyzed as elements of an “evidential frame” (Miecznikowski 2020), in which the speaker (S) and the hearer (H) are doubly involved as experiencer(s) acquiring/having acquired some knowledge *p* and as participants in the current interaction. Key elements of hearsay frames are the identity and properties of the cited speaker/document (S2), mode (listening/reading), time/place, and attribution of experiencer role (to S, S+H, a wider community). Hearsay can be expressed by grammatical/lexical markers and constructions (Mushin 2001, Calaresu 2004, Wiemer 2010, Michael 2012, Jacquin 2022), discourse strategies (such as footnotes in certain written genres) or prosodic/multimodal resources (Caillat 2012).

We investigated hearsay in 6 hours of video-recorded table conversations, part of a corpus of spoken Italian which is currently being collected in Ticino and the Grisons, Switzerland (“TIGR”, 23.5 hours in total). We manually retrieved all hearsay strategies and described their formal and semantic properties. In a second step, we built a collection of repair sequences targeting hearsay strategies. We analyzed their sequential properties and the semantic operations performed, supposing that the reformulation of a conceptual feature is evidence for its high relevance in discourse.

We mainly encountered “trivial” means of marking hearsay” (Wiemer 2010:62), i.e. lexical constructions referring to saying/appearance/listening/seeing/reading/remembering. Often, speakers underline their involvement, especially by encoding S as an experiencer subject of perception verbs (see l. 4 in the example below), by encoding S as an indirect object denoting the recipient of a speech event (“me” in l. 5), or by giving details about time/place/circumstances that suggest S’ direct participation in the speech event. The analysis of repair confirms the relevance of referring to various hearsay frame elements and to the speaker, references that participants correct, add or specify (compare l. 1 and the reformulations in l. 4-5 after the challenge in l. 2).

These findings contrast with existing descriptions of hearsay evidentiality in Romance (e.g. Dendale/Tasmowski 2001:345, Squartini 2001, Hassler 2002:23-27, Cornillie 2007, Cruschina/Remberger 2008), which focus on tense/mode extensions, impersonal constructions, parentheticals and adverbials. They are also problematic for common evidential typologies that exclusively focus on the role of S2 – “the other (nonself)” (Frawley 1992:412) – in hearsay.

We discuss possible methodological and variational explanations of our findings as well as their theoretical implications, considering epistemic access and oppositions related to source type such as SELF/OTHER, SECONDHAND/THIRDHAND.

Example (TIGR corpus, event 4)

- 1 Mari: mh tanto, ho fa=ho avuto il covid; ehm: dicono che chi ha avuto il
 mh doesn't matter I di=had covid; ehm: they say that who got
- 2 covid ne basta uno solo,
 covid earlier needs just one shot,
- 3 Ella: questa se l'è inventata proprio così;
 she made THAT up just like that;
- 4 Mari: ((coughs)) IO. (-) no;; giu:ro; (.) l'ho sentita da qualche parte;
 ((coughs)) ME. (-) no;; I swe:ar; (.) I heard that somewhere;
- 5 qualcuno l'ha detto.=me l'ha detto anche la: NAME13.
 somebody said that.= NAME13 told me too.

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A micropragmatic perspective on valency construction in Irish and Polish 'impersonal' verbs

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Keywords: <Irish, Polish, autonomous verbs, micropragmatics>

As a crosslinguistically pervasive phenomenon, impersonality in natural languages is typically displayed through a variety of structures (Malchukov & Ogawa 2011). Yet, what can be labelled “impersonal” of either a verb or a construction is still the bulk of much contention in typological studies (Siewierska 2008; Schlund 2018). In this talk, we will address the phenomenon of impersonality in Irish and Polish in which a class of so-called “impersonal inflections” exist for almost all verb paradigms (Nolan 2012). What makes this class peculiar, as compared to impersonal constructions elsewhere, is a constraint posed on the explicit realization of the subject, which cannot appear with either typical or atypical case markings. Thus, while (1) and (2), with impersonally-inflected verbs, would be acceptable in Irish and Polish, (3) and (4) would not;

- 1) *Buaileadh Ciarrai sa gcluife deireanach*
beat-PA-IMPS Kerry in.the game last
'Kerry was beaten in the last game'
- 2) *Pod-an-o zielon-q herbat-ę.*
serve-PTP-PA-IMPS green-ACC.F.SG tea-ACC.SG
'Green tea is served'
- 3) **Buaileadh Niamh Ciarrai.*
beat-PA-IMPS Niamh Kerry
Intended: 'Kerry was beaten by Niamh'
- 4) **Piotr-Ø pod-an-o zielon-q herbat-ę (*przez Piotr-a).*
Piotr-NOM serve-PTP-PA-IMPS green-ACC.F.SG tea-ACC.SG by Piotr-ACC
Intended: 'Piotr serves green tea / Green tea is served by Piotr'

Similarly to other languages, though, in Irish and Polish such 'autonomous' impersonal constructions are found along with impersonal sentences taking overt indefinite subjects, exemplified below.

- 5) *Bhrís duine éigin an vása*
break-PST some person the vase
'Someone broke the vase'
- 6) *Zatopi-li ten statek celowo* (Prenner 2023: 122)
Sink.PST-3PL DET ship on purpose
'They sank the ship on purpose'

Most scholars (Noonan 1994; Nolan 2012; Siewierska 2008) have attempted to put down the rationale behind using subjectless constructions, such as those in (1) and (2), to the speaker's not knowing who the instigator of the event is; this, however, fails to explain why the speaker could not use the indefinite variants in (5) and (6), instead. The hypothesis we intend to put forward is that the two types of impersonal constructions differ in their valency pattern because they also differ in their micropragmatic dimension, and, notably, in the topic-focus articulation they display (Sgall et al. 1988, Lambrecht 1994, Vallduví & Engdahl 1997, Cresti 2000, among others). The idea that the information structure of a sentence might be a driving factor in the determination of valency patterns has already been put forth by Goldberg (2006) but has never been systematically applied to the case of subjectless autonomous verb forms such as those of Irish and Polish. On this account, we propose that subjectless sentences of the types in (1) and (2) are *designed* to pre-eminently focus on the event, which is presented as the most salient piece of information. This configuration would cause a reduction of the verb valency in that no agent (or any other less agentive participant to be promoted as subject) would be required by the verb. In our view, impersonal inflections of the Irish and Polish type could be equated with *there*-presentative constructions (as in *There is smoking in the room*) in which it is not an entity but an event to be presented as the most salient piece of information. We thus suggest viewing subjectless impersonal sentences in Irish and Polish as a *micropragmatic type* of impersonal constructions distinct from other impersonal constructions with a differential marking of the surface subject.

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Sound symbolism in Gizey onomatopoeia

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Keywords: sound symbolism, onomatopoeia, phonaestheme, expressives

Languages use certain sounds for specific referents (Taitz et al. 2018), such that “a sound unit such as a phoneme, syllable, feature, or tone is said to go beyond its linguistic function as a contrastive, nonmeaning-bearing unit, to directly express some kind of meaning” (Nuckolls 1999: 228). In Gizey (Masa < Chadic < Afroasiatic), spoken in Cameroon and Chad, expressives denoting SOUND, i.e., onomatopoeia, show a remarkable propensity for monovocalicity, and the vowel /i/ occurs more frequently than the other 4 vowels (u, ɛ, ɔ, and a) of the Gizey vowel inventory, e.g., *brít* ‘sound of pooing’, *gìndim* ‘loud sound, especially of a gunshot’. The inventory of vowels in Gizey onomatopoeia suggests that the language associates, somewhat conventionally, the vowel /i/ with SOUND. However, /i/ also occurs in other expressives not denoting SOUND, and there is evidence elsewhere in the grammar that /i/ is utilised as a default vowel. The prevalence of /i/ in onomatopoeia could then be accounted for by assuming that it (/i/) is inserted as a default vowel to satisfy constraints on the occurrence of vowelless word forms in Gizey. Accordingly, the semantic load of the onomatopoeia having /i/ as their unique vowel is born exclusively by consonants.

Gizey onomatopoeia also reveal that a few phonesthemic associations can be established in the language, namely (1) coda stops are recurrent in brief or single sound-events, e.g., *bád* ‘sound of wood breaking’, and (2) coda liquids usually describe extended or prolonged sound-events, e.g., *ɖžèr*: ‘sound of oil while frying’. Extended or prolonged sound-events may also be expressed using repetition, e.g., *fágá fágá fágá* ‘sound of bird flying away’. In this study we propose a detailed description of Gizey onomatopoeia based on data from Ajello & Melis (2008), supplemented by those collected by the first author in 2019.

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Mirativity in wh-in-situ questions in Spanish

Although in Spanish wh-questions tend to be fronted (1), wh-in-situ questions are common in several dialects, particularly if conveying unexpectedness or surprise (2); the latter can be considered to have a mirative reading. The present study examines the syntactic, prosodic and segmental characteristics of mirative wh-in-situ questions in Spanish, comparing them with neutral in-situ questions requesting new information (henceforth INF), (3). Both question types share syntactic and prosodic similarities: the wh-in-situ word is sentence-final in both cases, and both tend to display a similar melodic contour, comprising an initial rise through the post-tonic syllable, a medial declination (pitch lowering), and a steep final rise during the wh-in-situ phrase. A high final boundary tone (HH*) is also common in both question types.

- (1) ¿*Qué* dijo María?
 ‘What did María say?’

- (2) ¡No me lo puedo creer! ¿María dijo *QUÉ*?
 ‘I can’t believe it! María said WHAT?’

- (3) Dime una cosa: ¿María dijo *qué*?
 ‘Tell me something: What did María say?’

However, mirative wh-in-situ questions show syntactic and prosodic differences from information in-situ questions as well. While in information wh-in-situ questions the wh-word is always intonation final (cf. 4a, b with 4c), in mirative in-situ questions this is not always the case (5). In addition, the acoustic analysis of 14 native Spanish speakers shows that both the tonal high and the tonal range on the wh-in-situ phrase are significantly more elevated in mirative questions than in INF questions (2.1 ST and 2.9 ST higher respectively ($p = 0.0038$; $p < 0.001$). In addition, mirative questions are characterized by upstepped nuclear contours (L+_iH*), unlike information wh-questions, which tend to be realized with a rising nuclear pitch (L+H*). These prosodic differences are comparable to those reported for mirative surprise questions in Italian (Badan & Croco 2019) as well to other types of counter-expectational questions in Spanish (Aguilar et al. 2009; Estebas-Vilaplana & Prieto 2010; Hualde & Prieto 2015).

- (4) a. ¿María le contó un cuento a *quién*?
‘Who did María tell a story?’
b. ¿María le contó a *quién* # un cuento? [# indicates a prosodic boundary]
c. *¿María le contó a *quién* un cuento?
- (5) ¿María le contó a *QUIÉN* un cuento?
‘María told a story to WHO?’

The ongoing analysis of our data suggests that mirativity might also be expressed segmentally in Spanish. Specifically, it is observed that at least for some speakers, the beginning /k/ in wh-in-situ words such as *cómo* ‘how’ and *cuándo* ‘when’ has a longer voice onset time (VOT) in mirative questions compared to INF ones. We hypothesize that durational cues go hand in hand with prosodic and syntactic cues to signal mirative focus in wh-in-situ questions in Spanish. Our talk will present acoustic and statistical results for three types of durational measurements in mirative vs. INF contexts (stop VOT; wh-word duration, and wh-duration ratio, i.e., the duration of the wh-word relative to the whole sentence) and will relate them to the prosodic and syntactic characteristics of mirativity introduced above.

Pause Duration and Differences in Mental State Attribution in Native and Non-Native Speakers

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Speech pauses between turns of conversations are crucial for assessing conversation partners' cognitive states, such as their knowledge, confidence and willingness to grant requests (Fox Tree 2002; Brennan & Williams 1995): in general, speakers making longer pauses are regarded as less apt and willing (e.g. Roberts & Francis 2013). However, it is unclear if the interpretation of pause length is mediated by the accent of interactants, in particular native versus non-native accents (for research on inter-turn pauses in non-native speech see Peltonen 2017; Van Os et al. 2020).

We hypothesized that native listeners would be more tolerant towards long pauses made by non-native speakers than those made by native speakers. This is because, in non-native speakers, long pauses might be the result of prolonged cognitive processing when planning an answer in a non-native language (e.g. Cenoz 2000; Guyer et al. 2019) rather than of a lack of knowledge, confidence or willingness.

To test this hypothesis, we conducted an online experiment, in which 100 native Polish-speaking raters listened to short staged conversations, during which a speaker asked questions or made requests that were answered or granted by either native speakers of Polish or native Chinese-speaking non-native speakers of Polish. The pauses before the answers were manipulated to be either short (200 ms) or long (1200 ms; cf. Roberts & Francis 2013, Dingemanse & Liesenfeld 2022). After listening, the raters rated each respondent on their knowledge, confidence and willingness.

We found that our hypothesis was confirmed for perceived willingness only: non-native speakers were regarded as equally willing to grant requests, irrespective of their inter-turn pause durations, whereas native speakers making long pauses were regarded as less willing than those making short pauses (see 95 % confidence intervals in Fig. 1). For knowledge and confidence, we did not find a mediating effect of accent: both native and non-native speakers were rated as less knowledgeable and confident when making long pauses (see 95 % confidence intervals in Fig. 1). In addition, in line with previous research (cf. Lev-Ari & Keysar 2010), non-native speakers were found to be regarded as less knowledgeable and confident than native speakers.

One possible reason for the difference between our findings on perceived willingness to grant requests versus perceived knowledge and confidence is that requests might be more socially engaging and more directly relevant for interpersonal cooperative interactions than knowledge that reflects on partners' competence but not cooperativeness.

Overall, our study shows that (non-)native accents can influence which cognitive states are signaled by different pause durations, which may have important implications for intercultural communication settings where topics are negotiated between native and non-native speakers.

Previous research has shown that different pause lengths do influence judgments in a number of languages, such as English, Italian, and Japanese (e.g. Roberts et al. 2011). However, results on the evaluation of pause lengths in responses by non-native speakers so far only exist for Polish. For this reason, we will also present preliminary results of a follow-up study, in which we explore if our findings hold across languages and accents.

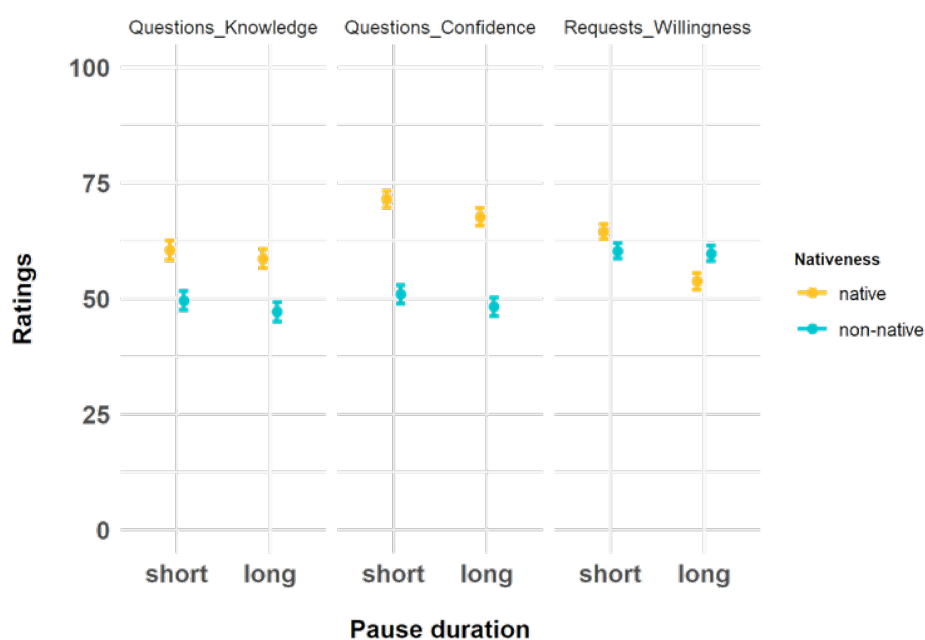


Figure 1: Ratings of the perceived knowledge and confidence of speakers answering knowledge questions, and of the perceived willingness of speakers to comply with requests. Answers were given either by native or non-native speakers and were preceded by either a short (200 ms) or long (1200 ms) pause. Ratings range from 0 (not knowledgeable/confident/willing at all) to 100 (very knowledgeable/confident/willing). Points and whiskers represent mean values and 95% confidence intervals of participants' responses. Non-overlapping confidence intervals indicate significant differences between the groups.

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Left-peripheral *bottom line* sequences

The English [(*the*) N *is*] construction (e.g. (*the*) *fact is*, (*the*) *thing is*) has garnered considerable interest over the past decades (e.g. Aijmer 2007; Keizer 2013; Shibasaki 2014; Wang 2016; Mantlik & Schmid 2018; Hundt 2022). This schema has evolved from main clause to left-peripheral parenthetical, but one noun has evolved further and can now also be used as a full-fledged discourse marker in the left and also in the right periphery: *bottom line* (Author in press). In a previous study, I have identified the most frequent and relevant collocates of left-peripheral *bottom line* in the spoken section of the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): *look* (with a Mutual Information score (MI) of 6.24), *so* (with an MI score of 5.62) and *well* (with an MI score of 5.06). This observation calls for an in-depth inquiry of the sequences of extra-clausal expressions surrounding left-peripheral *bottom line*, so as to identify whether there exist typical clusters of parentheticals. Here are some examples of multiple left-peripheral expressions:

(1) **Yeah, I mean, bottom line is, you know**, after the UN vote, where the UN voted 138-9 to recognize Palestine as a state, there was housing settlements announced the next day, **which was disappointing to me**, in areas that - that were thought to be part of the Palestinian state. (COCA, SPOK, ABC 2013)

(2) **Look, bottom line, sir**, I'm thrilled for your success. (COCA, SPOK, CNN 2015).

(3) **You know, the bottom line is, I think**, a lot of parents don't know what the law is in their state. (COCA, SPOK, ABC 2018)

An analysis of the spoken section of COCA suggests the existence of recurrent types of co-occurrences, linked to the pragmatic and discursive functions of *bottom line*. Like other members of the [(*the*) N *is*] construction, left-peripheral *bottom line* acts as a “focalizer” (Aijmer 2007) and as a “projector” (Hopper & Thompson 2008: 105-6), used to launch and emphasize the following assertion. Unsurprisingly, it thus often combines with attention-getters like *look* or *listen*. Additionally, *bottom line* signals that the speaker fully endorses the validity of the upcoming proposition; it is highly subjective but can also be employed to try and disguise one's stance as an objective fact (cf. Schmid 2001). Its use can therefore be reinforced by epistemic boosters (like *of course*), expressions of shared knowledge (such as *you know*) or warners (like *frankly* or *with all due respect*). Alternatively, it can be mitigated by approximators (such as *I guess*), vocatives, or viewpoint downtoners (like *to my way of thinking* or *for me*, cf. Detges & Waltereit 2014: 38-39).

The aim of this paper is to establish whether these categories exhibit ordering preferences, in line with the work of Vicher and Sankoff (1989), Morel (2007: 40) or Lohmann and Koops (2016). This would hopefully contribute to a better understanding of the internal composition of the left-periphery in English.

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To fear or to hope? Two opposing discourse markers sharing space

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Keywords: discourse markers, subjectivity, intersubjectivity, cooptation, registers, Estonian

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The **topic** of our presentation is the use of two Estonian discourse markers based on complement-taking predicates (CTPs) and expressing opposing attitudes: *(ma) kardan (et)* ‘(I) fear (that), (I) am afraid (that)’ and *(ma) loodan (et)* ‘(I) hope (that)’. Hitherto, while CTP-markers in different languages based on verbs expressing fear and hope have indeed been studied (e.g. Kitis 2009; Mitkovska, Bužarovska 2015), their functions and use have not been compared. Our analysis aims to fill this gap.

Our **research questions** are:

- 1) Which semantic shifts link the lexical and pragmatic usages of the two verbs?
- 2) Which subjective and intersubjective functions are performed by both markers?
- 3) What functions do the two markers perform in different registers?

Our **approach** is centered on usage-based and corpus-driven studies of discourse and is based on ideas of discourse grammar (see e.g. Heine 2013). Our **method** is corpus-pragmatic qualitative analysis with the use of quantitative data (see e.g. Rühlemann 2019). We employ an analysis model that distinguishes four interacting layers in the semantics and pragmatics of utterances containing CTPs: 1) semantic structure, 2) subjective function, 3) discourse function of the sentence, and 4) intersubjective function. Our **data** are taken from the balanced corpus of Estonian registers “Pragmatics” (Prilop et al. 2021).

Preliminary **results** have shown that these markers derive their meanings and functions from their similar epistemic judgments and opposite value judgments. In the cooptation process, the epistemic and value judgments come to the forefront. The semantic shift from the original lexical meaning of *kardan* is a more complicated process than the shift of *loodan*. The meaning of *kardan* is shifted in the chain psychic – emotive – cognitive – performative, while *loodan* occurs in two stages: emotive – cognitive. The initially psychological meaning of *kardan* clearly changes, while the emotional meaning of *loodan* is merely bleached. More broadly, the marker *kardan* is also different from other Estonian CTP-markers (e.g. *(ma) arvan (et)* ‘(I) think ‘that’, *(mulle) tundub (et)* ‘it seems (to me) (that)’ where the lexical meanings are just bleached (Metslang, Simmul 2022).

The markers’ (inter)subjective functions are related to their semantics; for example, the marker *kardan* tends to involve the interlocutor in the concerns of the speaker (1), soften negative assessments (2) and refusals (3), while the marker *loodan* highlights the desires of the speaker (4) and involves the interlocutor in them (5). Both markers are also used for ironic highlighting (6), (7).

In the analyzed corpus material, the marker *loodan* is much more frequent than *kardan*. The marker *loodan* occurs quite often in online texts, while *kardan* appears more in spoken interaction. In our presentation we analyze and compare the development paths, functions and usage preferences of these markers, and we explore the possible factors influencing the patterns observed.

Examples

- (1) *isegi vesi ei püsi sees, kõik tuleb välja. **ma kardan et** ongi miski kõhuviirus [...]* (Chat)
'Even water doesn't stay in, everything comes out. **I'm afraid that** it's some sort of stomach virus'
- (2) N: *mis sa arvad pythoni algkursusest [...]* Mõeldud nendele, kes programmeerimisest midagi ei tea. Septembris.
M: **ma kardan, et** Jannole liiga keeruline (Chat)
N: 'What do you think of the introductory Python course. Intended for those who know nothing about programming. In September.'
M: '**I'm afraid** it's too complicated for Janno'
- (3) .hh ja kas `üliõpilased=on: saavad mingit `soodustust `ka või ei= `ole.
ma `kardan et ei= `ole=sis (Institutional interaction)
'And is there some kind of discount for students'
'**I'm afraid** there isn't'
- (4) Estonia katastroof võttis sajad elud ja mõjutas otseselt või kaudselt väga paljusid. **Ma loodan, et** inimesed võtavad neid avastusi täie tõsidusega. (Newspaper)
'The disaster in Estonia took hundreds of lives and directly or indirectly affected very many. **I hope** people take these discoveries with all seriousness.'
- (5) *oi, mul ikka on päris palju õppida, aga **ma loodan, et** ma siin järelejäänud tööpäevadega jõuan ühtteist ära teha* (Chat)
'oh, I still have a lot to learn, but **I hope that** with the remaining working days here, I will be able to do one thing or another'
- (6) **kardan, et** põllumehed ei palka ekre valijat, neist on probleeme oluliselt rohkem kui tolku ja poolest päevast kipuvad poe poole plagama (Web comments)
'**I'm afraid that** farmers won't hire EKRE party voters, they're far more trouble than they're worth and they tend to run off to the shop halfway through the day'
- (7) *Te mõlemad siis ei ole elus värvinud juukseid, küüsi, ripsmeid? Olete eluaeg olnud oma kartulikarva välimusega ja midagi ei ole teinud enda tuunimiseks **ma loodan?*** (Web forum)
'So both of you have never dyed your hair, nails, eyelashes in your life? You've had your potato-haired look all your life and haven't done anything to tone yourself up, **I hope?**'

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How can we measure normative pressure in linguistic experiments?

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Keywords: Differential Object Marking, experiments, normativity, Spanish, Portuguese.

The last years have seen an enormous boom in the use of experiments in linguistics. Combined with statistical methods, experimental and quantitative data shall not only make linguistic research more objective and replicable and bring the discipline in line with the standards of social sciences, they also are supposed to allow addressing in a very focused way issues difficult to tackle by other methods due to the scarceness or the contextual fuzziness of corpus data.

However, the application of experimental methods in linguistics is far from simple and can easily become misleading due to the complexity and the indirect access to the object. In order to focus on a certain linguistic problem, the ideal would be to exclude all other varying factors and to be able to show exclusively the functioning or the possible variation of the issue under scrutiny. That's why, e.g., in acceptability judgment tasks, the structure of the inputs, their number of syllables, the phonic context of the feature under examination and other factors that have shown to have a possible influence on the judgments are carefully controlled in the experiment design.

The paper will discuss an elicitation study on some uses of Differential Object Marking (Bossong 1985, Kabatek/Obrist/Wall 2021) in Spanish and Portuguese (Tippets 2011, Döhla 2014, Cyrino 2017) where multiple possible disturbing factors were taken into account and a maximum of objectivity in the data should have been granted. However, when after the experiments metalinguistic interviews were carried out with the informants, especially in the case of the Portuguese, several of them commented—against the instruction of the task—on the tendency of having answered at least partly in accordance not with their “natural” grammar but with what they had been (or supposed to have been) taught at school.

The interviews indicated that there is individual variation in the presence of normative pressure, on the one hand, as well as regional difference (different “normative cultures”), on the other hand. Variation in normative pressure seems to be a factor difficult to control in experimental studies. Our method of combining experiments with metalinguistic interviews could at least make us aware of the phenomenon and introduce it as a possible variable in our data analysis. However, the control of such external factors in experiments is anything but trivial.

The paper will a) briefly present the mentioned study on DOM; b) show some examples of elicitation; c) present some of the metalinguistic comments and discuss the possible bias in the data due to normative pressure; d) give an outlook on how to better control the variable “normative pressure” in experimental studies.

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Polysemy Complexes from the Viewpoint of Dynamic Conceptual Semantics: The Case of the Word ‘bidzannin’ in Jordanian Arabic

Abstract

This paper aims to explore how metaphor serves to create new concepts as part of polysemic complexes based on Dynamic Conceptual Semantics (Bartsch, 2009). The word being investigated is *bidzannin* (make mad) in Jordanian Arabic. We argue that metaphor production occurs on the theoretical and experiential levels of concept formation. On the former, the definition of linguistically explicated concepts is provided in terms of the characteristic semantic distribution of the expression. On the latter, concepts that are linguistically explicated are viewed as equivalence classes found in stabilizing series of sets of situations satisfied for the use of expressions grouped under a perspective of attention. This is done on the basis of internal coherence of the sets of situations that hold for an entity\human\behavior\action under the relevant perspective. The conjunction of the predicates that hold for the term include the features characteristic of the concept in a theory, or in a set of sentences with a true value. This study aims to explore how assumptions of the truthfulness of utterances and the principles of how concepts are formed contribute to the process via which speakers understand and create a new interpretation of a given expression that belongs to a polysemic complex.

Keywords: Formal Linguistics, Dynamic Conceptual Semantics, Polysemy Complexes, Arabic.

The grammatical status of manner units within the English adverb class

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Keywords: word classes, manner adverbs, categorization, grammatical properties, hierarchical clustering

Manner adverbs tend to be considered as central within the adverb class (Ramat & Ricca 1994). This presupposes that they are definable semantically or morphosyntactically. However, in reference grammar books about English (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 557–558, Mittwoch *et al.* 2002: 670), manner is given a rather vague definition. We therefore wanted to know whether English manner adverbs could be defined on a non-semantic basis, i.e. if they exhibit a similar grammatical behavior or if there are any grammatical properties that are (quasi-)exclusive to them.

We studied 139 phonological (e.g. syllable count, stress pattern), morphological (e.g. internal structure, potential affixes) and syntactic properties (e.g. syntactic distribution in the clause, potential modifiers) of 271 units, most of which are traditionally classified as adverbs. The statistical comparison of those units according to these properties, carried out through agglomerative clustering, shows that a few units (*fast, hard, right, straight*) should be better classified as adjectives or ‘general modifiers’ (Hallsonsten Hanning 2020; Delhem 2022).

The remaining manner adverbs do not seem to form a coherent subcategory excluding other adverbs. This is probably due to the fact that most manner adverbs can also express other semantic categories (e.g. degree, modality) in other contexts. However, they do appear to have similar properties:

- They are formed through the suffixation of *-ly* to an adjective;
- Most of them are gradable;
- They can function as adjuncts within the clause and occupy all positions;
- They can modify adjectives;
- Some of them can function as complements to the verbs *behave* and *treat*.

Among those properties, only the last one is exclusive to manner adverbs. The study therefore shows that although they have coherent grammatical properties, manner adverbs cannot be clearly distinguished from other adverbs solely based on their grammatical behavior, but rather on semantic criteria.

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Measuring the impact of language contact on word order change

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As shown by Heine & Kuteva (2005), situations in which two or more languages are in some sort of contact (geographical, social and cultural) can lead to changes in a language's grammar. As discussed by Haig (2001) for some languages in the East Anatolia, changes in word order may involve only some pairs of constituents, and this can be due to factors such as the frequency of use and the positional freedom that such constituents have. He claims that there might be a hierarchy according to which a change in the order of the constituents is more likely to be witnessed.

The use of continuous measures of word order frequencies has been convincingly demonstrated by Levshina (2019, 2021), Gerdes et al. (2021), Talamo and Verkerk (forthc.) and Levshina et al. (forthc.). In this paper we relate the variability in word order to the socio-geographic environment. To do so, we measure the ratio of head-initial vs. head-final constructions in certain word order pairs, namely, verb and object, subject and verb, subject and object, noun and adjective, determiner and noun, genitive and noun, and adposition and noun exploiting Universal Dependencies treebanks (de Marneffe et al. 2021) to extract the pairs under analysis. UD treebanks constitute a suitable source of data for this kind of investigation since they cover a large set of languages (over 100 languages in the latest release of UD: Zeman et al. 2022); UD treebanks are annotated following a schema that aims to be consistent across languages and allows to easily retrieve information about morpho-syntactic constructions, including word order. The set of languages featured in the Universal Dependencies project is biased towards Indo-European languages (65 of these languages are from the IE family); in order to reduce this genealogical bias, we considered 48 UD treebanks covering 24 families, with a maximum of 10 languages for the Indo-European family and a mean of 2 languages for each family. As metrics for the socio-geographic environment, we consider geographic variables of the languages in our sample, such as the distances between the languages in our sample, the natural landscape, which is defined as a “collection of landforms such as hills, mountains, forests” and the cultural landscape, which “represents the combined work of man and nature” (Mon 2021), as well as the contact history between these languages.

In addition to that, we test Haig's hypothesis comparing the results obtained for each of the word order pairs. Preliminary results seem to confirm Yamamoto's assumption (1999) showing that geographical factors such as lower distances among languages seems to be a predictor of similar frequencies in the use of head-initial constructions, even though this does not apply to all the pairs under analysis. These results suggest that socio-geographic factors did play a role in determining the ordering of some constituents in languages and language contact has been part of this process.

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Tag questions in English and Portuguese monologues: types, features, and functions

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Keywords: tag questions, types, features, functions, contrastive analysis

Tag questions (TQ) are a productive grammatical construction, composed of an anchor (underlined) and a question tag (in bold type). Formally, they can be divided into variable (1)¹ and invariable (2) according to how the question tag is modeled upon its anchor with respect to tense, person, and polarity (Hudson 1975; Kimps 2018, Gómez González & Silvano 2022, and Silvano & Gómez González 2023).

- (1) Well uh uh uh no there 's pleasure in any sort of book **isn't there?**
- (2) And you have the same issue for environment and genetics **OK?**

Prior research has established that, whether variable or invariable, TQ can be used as interactional, stance or textual strategies (Gómez González 2018, Gómez González & Dehé 2014, 2020, and Gómez González & Silvano 2022). Interactionally, TQ are conductive devices that enable the speaker to organize the speech towards an intended response from the hearer (McGregor 1997), as in (2), but they can also be used to express different degrees of commitment of the speaker in relation to epistemic or attitudinal stances (Mithun 2012), as in (1). Additionally, TQ can be utilized as a textual strategy to regulate the content of the exchange, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) So this F X tends to infinity right?

TQ may express these three different types of meanings in a diversity of spoken genres, including monologues. The main objective of this proposal is to scrutinize the properties of variable and invariable TQ in monologues contrasting British English and European Portuguese, which will allow us to establish overarching observations concerning the behavior of these constructions across the two languages in spoken monologues.

The study is based on statistical significance tests considering three parameters: (i) grammatical features (type, tag position, polarity, anchor mood, truncated anchor, clause type, anchor and question tag type of subject, and anchor and question tag tense); (ii) dialogic features (answer); and (iii) function (informational, affective, challenging, hortatory, facilitative, focusing, phatic and regulatory), according to the functional model presented in Gómez González (2014, 2018), Gómez González & Dehé (2020), and Gómez González & Silvano (2022).

¹ The examples are from the English dataset that integrates our corpus and were extracted from International Corpus of English-Great Britain (ICE-GB).

The corpora analyzed are the spoken component of the International Corpus of English-Great Britain (ICE-GB) (Nelson *et al.* 2002) and the European Portuguese sub-corpus of the Integrated Reference Corpora for Spoken Romance Languages) (Cresti & Moneglia 2005).

Among other findings, our investigation reveals that TQ are much less frequently used in monologues than in dialogues, but they abound more in European Portuguese than in British English, whatever the TQ type and mode (monologic vs. dialogic). Furthermore, the analysis reveals that monologic discourse constrains the choice of TQ, as well as their functional types across the two languages although with different degrees of importance.

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Translation effects on the syntax of Ancient Greek *gígnomai* ‘become, be there’.
A corpus-based study on Biblical translations and Christian literature

This paper deals with the syntactic structures of Ancient Greek verb *gígnomai* ‘become, be there’ in (1) and (2), which occur in the Septuagint and the New Testament and were not attested earlier, and aims at investigating whether and how these constructions spread in later texts, particularly in Christian literature.

- (1) *kai egéneto* / *egéneto dé* + temporal clause/phrase + finite main clause
- (2) *kai egéneto* / *egéneto dé* + temporal clause/phrase + Accusatiuus cum Infinitiuo (AcI)

These constructions arose in Greek as an effect of the translation of Biblical Hebrew *wayyehî* lit. ‘and there was’, which “commonly occurs at the beginning of narratives to signal the recital of past events” (Ellis 2006: 165; cf. also BDF 1961: 248; Beyer 1968: 29). They are peculiar with respect to Ancient Greek grammar rules. While (1) is unquestionably non-grammatical (in fact it reproduces the structure of the Biblical Hebrew text), (2) is adapted to Greek syntax but would probably have sounded foreign to Greek people, since the verb *egéneto* did not usually govern the AcI. Some attempts to “Graecize” the construction are also visible in the clause-initial formula: while *kai egéneto* literally reproduces the source language *wayyehî*, *egéneto dé* is target language oriented (cf. Hogeterp & Denaux 2018: 309).

The aims of this study are twofold:

- (1) To explore the hypothesis that the verb *gígnomai* underwent a syntactic change in Biblical Greek because of contact with Hebrew, namely it expands its function of setting-focusing verb from mono-clausal to bi-clausal structures. In both types, *gígnomai* has the function of linking an event to its setting, be it the time, the location, etc.; the difference between the two types concerns the structures that denote the event and its setting, which are nominal elements in the first case and clausal elements in the second one.
- (2) To investigate whether the innovation spread from Biblical texts to non-Biblical texts and from Christian texts to non-Christian texts, in order to determine whether the constructions concerned remained restricted to Biblical texts or expanded to other Christian and non-Christian texts.

The corpus is constituted of both Christian and non-Christian texts. As for Christian texts, I will analyse the Septuagint, the New Testament, the Apocryphal Gospels, the Sayings of the Desert Fathers, and a selection of works of Greek Church Fathers. As for non-Christian texts, I will take into account a selection of contemporary works (3rd c. BC-4th c. AD) of different genres and styles, e.g. historical and philosophical works.

The expected results concern both general linguistics and Biblical Greek studies. On the one hand, I will provide a new analysis of the syntactic and semantic features of the verb *gígnomai* (and related verbs, e.g. *eimi* ‘be’ and *sumbaínō* ‘happen’, cf. Kahn 1973, Kölligan 2007). On the other hand, I will explore the idea that Biblical translations have been a factor of language change in European languages and I will test the idea that some Biblical features are “sacral stamps” (cf. Drinka 2011).

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Deictic systems of reference to ‘manner’: Their formal, conceptual and gestural basis

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Keywords: demonstratives, MANNER as fundamental concept, place within demonstrative systems, role in grammaticalization, decomposition

Just like the concepts of TIME and SPACE, the concept of MANNER belongs to the fundamental categories of human cognition (Diessel, 1999). It plays an important role in Aristotle’s doctrine of categories, in the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (‘pure categories of understanding’) and in the Gricean maxims of conversation. Linguistic evidence for these views is provided by the fact that a wide variety of natural languages include deictic expressions with the content dimension MANNER and the related dimensions QUALITY and DEGREE in their systems of demonstratives, alongside categories like SPACE, TIME, QUANTITY and ENTITY. Widely attested systems may differentiate between two (Mandarin *zhè yang* - *nà yang*), three (Japanese: *koo*, *soo*, *aa*) or more expressions of manner deictics, but a single demonstrative of manner (It. *così*) or a complete loss of the relevant demonstrative (Engl. *so*, *such*) are also attested. Demonstratives depend on pointing, mimicking and enacting gestures for their interpretation and are the source of a wide variety of grammaticalization processes and grammatical categories (Diessel, 1999; 2006). Largely neglected in earlier studies, demonstratives of manner (quality, degree) have only recently been made the subject of crosslinguistic, synchronic or diachronic studies (Guérin 2014, Koenig, 2015 Koenig & Umbach 2018 and Koenig & Vezzosi 2022).

Starting out from Stosic (2020) and other seminal studies, we will examine how much can be gained by taking the relevant demonstratives as a point of departure for an analysis of MANNER. The following problems and questions will be addressed:

- Given the wide variety of formal means for encoding the manner of a specific process event or state (cf. Stosic, 2020), it is not possible to use formal criteria for the definition of the MANNER concept.
- MANNER is a complex functional concept and operates on a variable (for predicates). Decomposition is possible for a specific instance of this variable (MANNER (singing))/(John’s singing), but not for the abstract concept itself.
- Like the other ontological dimensions of demonstrative systems, the concept MANNER belongs to the set of fundamental concepts for the genesis and development of grammatical categories (Diessel, 1999; Koenig, 2015; Koenig & Vezzosi, 2022).
- The properties identified by Stosic and others can also be found in other fundamental categories of human cognition such as SPACE, TIME, QUALITY, QUANTITY.
- Our structural approach, i.e. a characterization of the concept MANNER as a member of a closed class of contrasting basic categories typically expressed in demonstrative systems can contribute to answering the questions raised in the workshop proposal.

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Identifying a quarrel: the contiguous disagreement hypothesis

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Keywords: quarrel; disagreement; contiguity; adjacency pairs; dialogue

The goal of this talk is to explore the linguistic underpinnings of dialogues that are characterized by disagreement, focusing specifically on *quarrels*. According to Walton (1998: 184), disagreement is a precondition for quarrels. However, they are distinguished from other dialogue types in terms of features such as personal attack type fallacies, among others.

Background Within the framework of conversation analysis, adjacency pairs are two utterances comprising an initiation (I) and response (R), uttered by different speakers (Schegloff 2007).

Disagreement is understood as a relationship between moves where the initiation denotes a commitment of interlocutor A to the truth of a proposition p and the response denotes a commitment of interlocutor B to the truth of $\neg p$ (Walton 1998, Aikin & Casey 2022).

Sacks (1987) observes that speakers assume a conversational principle which results in a preference for agreement and contiguity, where contiguity is when the response immediately follows the corresponding initiation, without delay. Language reveals this tendency via the distribution of discourse markers: when interlocutors agree, their response is contiguous; when they disagree, the disagreement itself is delayed, occurring later in the turn. In these cases, hedging, often signalled by discourse markers, precedes the disagreement thereby impeding contiguity (Heritage 2015).

Proposal I propose the hypothesis in (1), whereby quarrels can be identified linguistically in terms of *turn shape* in disagreeing responses.

(1) Contiguous Disagreement Hypothesis (CDH)

In quarrel, disagreement is contiguous.

According to (1), if disagreement is contiguous, the exchange is a quarrel; in other dialogue types, disagreement is not contiguous.

Method and data Data were obtained from partial transcripts of a British reality TV show (Wrigley & Wood 2016, 2017) where interlocutors disagree. They were classified as quarrel and non-quarrel. Classification was independently motivated by the presence/lack of personal attacks and back-and-forth blaming which, according to Walton, are chief indicators of this dialogue type (1998: 24-25, 182). A qualitative analysis of adjacency pairs was carried out where the responses were classified as [+/-agreement, +/-contiguity]. All examples below are adapted from the transcripts.

Results Responses classified as quarrel largely displayed [-agreement, +contiguity], as in (2).

(2) I: And now, 'cause you're unhappy, you're trying to fuck my relationship up.

R: No, I'm not.

In contrast, responses with [–agreement, –contiguity] features, were found in the dialogues classified as non-quarrel. For example, in (3), disagreement is delayed: it is prefaced by an initial agreement ('okay') and a discourse marker ('well') which signals the subsequent content as reflective of its speaker's perspective (Heritage 2015).

(3) I: I react by screaming and shouting. Like, I can't help it. It's who I am.

R: Okay, well, you can help it.

Limitations To conclude this talk, I discuss the limitations of the CDH, both in its weak and strong version.

Claiming that contiguous disagreement *only* occurs in quarrels (strong CDH) does not account for the critical contextual variability of conversation. Factors such as degree of acquaintance, culture, and institutional environment can lead to a preference for contiguous disagreement (Sifianou 2012).

On the other hand, I show that contiguous disagreement *can* occur in quarrels (weak CDH). This means that the CDH alone cannot determine dialogue type.

The analysis shows that contiguous disagreement *does* occur in quarrels. Yet more discriminating properties must be identified in order to strengthen CDH as a tool for identifying quarrels on linguistic grounds only.

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Adverbs and adverbials in Romance

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Keywords: Adjective, Adverb, Romance, Typology, Agreement

Romance has four different morphosyntactic types of adverbs/adverbials (Hummel, accepted):

- | | |
|--------|---|
| Type A | Adjectives (plus some nouns) with adjectival and adverbial functions
Sp. <i>María trabaja duro</i> 'Mary works hard' |
| Type B | Adjectives (plus some nouns), with a suffix marking the adverbial function
Sp. <i>María trabaja rápidamente</i> 'Mary works quickly' |
| Type C | Indirect conversion of other word classes, using prepositions
Sp. <i>Lo dices a la ligera</i> 'You say it far too lightly' |
| Type D | Lexical adverbs
Sp. <i>bien</i> 'well', <i>lejos</i> 'far', <i>ayer</i> 'yesterday', <i>desde</i> 'since' |

This typology develops the one suggested by Hengeveld (1992), who distinguishes flexible, differentiated and rigid languages, but insisting on the fact that Romance languages use several types (linguistic variation) and that adverbials (Type C) should not be excluded.

The paper checks in how far the notion of MANNER matches with the four morphosyntactic types. It seems that most Type A and Type B adverbs provide good answers to the question of "how" something is (done), while Type C and Type D better answer the question of "under which circumstances", with crucial layering in Type C: Sp. *a la ligera* does not only express the way something is done but conveys also the attitude of the participant.

A second aspect is adverbial agreement, insofar as it mirrors semantic relationships. Sentences such as *María trabaja dura* (feminine) or *dos enfermos graves* 'two severely injured (persons)' (plural) only occur with Type A, and may occasionally be detected with Type B: Sp. *hablamos tranquilamente* or Fr. *deux développements absolument identiques* (Hummel & Gazdik 2021, Pato 2017, and Gerhalter 2020). It seems that adverbial agreement is restricted to Type A and B, but for which semantic reason? Is it manner? Is it participant orientation? Is it both of them?

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Functions of demonstrative pronouns in contemporary Soikkola Ingrian

The system of demonstrative pronouns varies considerably across the Finnic languages. The variation concerns both the set of pronouns and their functions. There are monopartite (e.g. in Estonian), bipartite (e.g. in Votic) and tripartite (e.g. in Finnish) systems. The distribution and functioning of different demonstratives were widely discussed for the major Finnic languages, Finnish and Estonian (cf. Seppänen 1998, Laury 1996, 1997, Pajusalu 2006, 2009, 2015, Priiki 2017, Nahkola et al. 2020, Reile et al. 2020, Taremaa et al. 2021, etc.), but not as much for the minor Finnic languages.

The current paper discusses demonstratives in the Soikkola dialect of the Ingrian language. Their morphological forms are listed in a few sources (Porkka 1885, Nirvi 1971, Laanest 1966a, 1978, 1986, Saar 2017), but their syntactic and pragmatic functions are only considered (among other Finnic languages) in the doctoral thesis by Yurayong (2020). The small number of published texts (Porkka 1885, Ariste 1960, Laanest 1966b) is a serious obstacle for a detailed research on Ingrian demonstratives. For the current study, we investigated demonstratives in our own field corpus of Soikkola Ingrian, which is bigger than any of the published sources. The data were recorded by 21 native speakers in 2006–2013.

Ingrian apparently had a tripartite system of demonstrative pronouns, as attested by Porkka (1885): proximal *tämä* ~ *tää*, medial *se*, and distal *too*. However, only two pronouns are preserved in the contemporary language: *tämä* ‘this’ and *še* ‘this/that’.

Our research shows that Ingrian demonstratives have two main groups of functions: (1) referential (where the pronouns have various types of deictic and anaphoric uses) and (2) discourse. In referential uses, demonstratives occur inside NP (e.g. *nämäd šoqmelaist alkkooid tänne kävvä* ‘**These Finns** started to visit here’) or independently (e.g. *še ei käünd merel* ‘**She** (lit. that) did not go to the sea.’). Demonstratives inside NP usually have the following functions: deictic introducing, deictic indexical, pure anaphoric, mixed deictic-anaphoric (inexact reference or choosing a referent). Independent demonstratives have mostly the same functions apart from deictic introducing, but they can also serve as substitutes for personal pronouns and for expressing deictic contrast. In discourse uses, demonstratives typically function as placeholders and mark certain complications in text production: a switch between syntactic structures, a problem in finding the correct word, a code-switching, or a transition to a new topic in the narrative.

We also analyze the distribution of the two demonstratives in Ingrian. For most speakers, *še* is the main (unmarked) pronoun, which is considerably more frequent than *tämä*. It is noteworthy that *tämä* is almost completely missing from the speech of two Ingrian native speakers who used to live in Estonia (Estonian has a monopartite system with only *see* ‘this/that’). On the contrary, in the speech of the youngest speaker whose language is strongly affected by Russian, *tämä* is more frequent than *še* (in the Russian bipartite system, the proximal *этот* ‘this’ is the main demonstrative). We therefore conclude that the system of demonstrative pronouns is highly sensitive to language contact.

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Equatives and comparatives in connective negation

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‘Connective negation’ (‘CONEG’) is one of many terms for *neither ... nor* constructions, as in Shakespeare’s *Neither a lender nor a borrower be*. Until recently (van der Auwera et al. 2021; Salaberri 2022) there was little cross-linguistic work on connective negation and there is still no cross-linguistic work on the use of equatives or comparatives in connective negation. Dutch (1)a illustrates an equative use: *evenmin ... als* originally means ‘equally little as’, but it is now nearly exclusively used for connective negation. It can be used instead of the older connective negators *noch* and *ook niet* ‘also not’. French *non plus* (lit. ‘NEG more’) and *(pas) davantage* ‘(NEG) more’ in (1)b illustrate comparative constructions. The French comparative connective negators may combine with the older connective negator *ni*.

- (1) a. Mijn vader houdt niet van mijn vrienden, ik evenmin.
My father holds NEG of my friends I CONEG
- b. Mon père n’ aime pas mes amis, [(ni)/(et) moi non plus.
my father NEG loves NEG my friends CONEG/and me NEG more
ni moi davantage
CONEG me more
et moi pas davantage.
and me NEG more
- ‘My father does not like my friends, me neither.’

This paper, based on exploratory corpus work and language-specific scholarship, is a first study of the current uses and the diachronies of equative and comparative CONEG constructions in Dutch, French, and Spanish.

The main conclusions are the following:

1 / In each of the languages, the equative and comparative constructions constitute a renewal of the CONEG system, but they have not replaced the older non-equative and non-comparative constructions (Dutch *noch* and *ook niet*, French and Spanish *ni*).

2 / The main parameters of variation for the use of the various constructions are scope, register and ellipsis.

3 / The equative and comparative constructions constitute either an alternative for the older constructions (e.g. Dutch *evenmin* instead of *noch*) or an addition (e.g. Spanish *tampoco* (lit. ‘so.little’) combining with *ni*) or both (e.g. *tampoco* also occurs instead of *ni*).

4 / Equative and comparative CONEG constructions originate in at least three different ways: (i) the Dutch *min* constructions derive the CONEG uses as a conventionalization of the inference that when a low degree is similar to a zero degree, the low degree becomes a zero degree; (ii) Spanish *tampoco*

and French *non plus* competed with and replaced an additive marker (the ancestors of Spanish *otrosí* and French *aussi*) in the scope of negation; (iii) French (*pas*) *davantage* extended its use to connective negation in analogy with *non plus*.

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Approaching place/goal alternation in Russian

We suggest a new account to the encoding of the endpoint of motion in Russian (Nikitina 2010). Typically, goal-like participants are expressed with a combination of a preposition and accusative case marking. However, for some verbs their “endpoint” participant may be alternatively encoded with a combination of preposition and locative case marking.

- (1) Ona postavila tarelku na stol / na stol-e.
she put plate on table.ACC / on table-LOC
“She put a plate on the table.”

This variation is widely known as a “Goal/Place alternation” in Slavic. Which factors drive the choice between these two is a subject of a theoretical discussion (Nikitina 2010, Zaika 2016 and references there). After Nikitina 2010, we treat this variation as a difference in the event construal rather than two alternative expressions of the same situation. We argue that it is the location of the event itself that gets locative encoding and the endpoint location of the theme that gets directive encoding.

Nikitina 2010 distinguishes change of position verbs such as *položít* ‘put’ and verbs similar to *prjatat* ‘hide’ into a separate group. She argues that they do not imply motion but a change of state, and the directive endpoint marking indicates the resulting state, not the goal of motion. Contra Nikitina 2010, we argue that such verbs select for a usual goal argument.

To prove our point, we focus on the understudied verbs, which do in fact distinguish between event location and object’s endpoint, such as *stošnit*. Such verbs allow for a pseudo-alternation as illustrated in 2a. In fact, we argue that the two “alternatives” describe different sets of situations. While the accusative marking is possible when a person is located, for example, on the roof, it is not true for the locative marking (2b).

- (2)
- a. Menja stošnilo na kryl’c-o / na kryl’c-e
me.ACC threw.up on porch-ACC / on porch-LOC
‘I threw up on the porch.’

- b. Poka ja byl na kryše menja stošnilo na kryl'c-o / *kryl'c-e
 while I was on roof me.ACC threw.up on porch-ACC / *porch-LOC
 'While I was on the roof, I threw up on the porch.'

We argue that verbs of putting and hiding work in the same way. Although for such verbs it is more difficult to differentiate between two situations (event location and object location coincide / differ), occasional contexts allow to tell them apart. A directive argument (endpoint) can even be combined with a locative argument (event location) but the former should be a subspace of the latter. Nikitina's analysis implies that the location of the event cannot be completely different from the endpoint location. In the talk, we argue that it is not necessarily true, as well as provide an alternative explanation of the facts supporting Nikitina's theory of directive-as-resulting-state. We explain why a directive form cannot be used when no motion of a theme is present and why it is almost (!) impossible to express Source with such verbs. To our knowledge, these facts are still unexplained in the literature.

Glossary

ACC accusative

LOC locative

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Syntactic position of contrast markers in different registers of French: A quantitative corpus analysis

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Keywords: register, syntactic position, contrast, French, corpus analysis

GOAL AND BACKGROUND. In this talk we analyse the influence of register on the position of three syntactically mobile contrast markers in French: contrastive adverbs (C-Advs) (e.g. *par contre* ‘on the other hand’), emphatic pronouns (E-Pros) (e.g. *lui* ‘him’) and contrastive propositional phrases with *quant à* ‘as for’ + pronoun (C-PPs). C-Advs can occur before the preverbal subject (S), between the S and the verb (V), inside the verb phrase (VP), and after the VP. E-Pros and C-PPs can occur in the latter three positions, but not before S:

- (1) – *Comment les chats et les vaches se nourrissent-ils ?*

‘How do cats and cows feed themselves?’

- *Les vaches mangent de l’herbe.*

‘The cows eat grass.’

[_{BEFORES}___] *les chats* [_{BETWEENS&V}___] *boivent* [_{INSIDEVP}___] *du lait* [_{AFTERVP}___].

[_{BEFORES}___] *the cats* [_{BETWEENS&V}___] *drink* [_{INSIDEVP}___] *milk* [_{AFTERVP}___].’

Although it has often been argued that French is characterized by an important amount of syntactic register variation (Barra-Jover 2004, Coveney 1996, Etienne and Sax 2009, Gadet 1996, Massot 2008, Rowlett 2013, Zribi-Hertz 2011), **previous research** on the syntactic position of contrastive markers merely deals with discursive and semantic factors, and does not discuss the impact of register (Altenberg 2006, Caddéo 2004, Choi-Jonin 2003, Csúry 2001, Dupont 2021, but see Brysbaert and Lahousse 2021). Moreover, these three contrast markers have never been compared.

METHODS. We present a **quantitative corpus analysis** of the syntactic position of C-Advs (10.028 examples), E-Pros (4.965 examples) and C-PPs (1.804 examples), in formal written (national newspaper), ±formal written (regional newspaper), informal written (online discussion platform) and ±formal spoken (interviews) French.

RESULTS. Our data show that:

1. The three markers have a **different preferred position**, which is in line with their **different form and discourse function**. C-Advs occur overall most often BEFORE S (Table 1), where they have scope over the whole clause and function as linking devices. E-Pros appear most frequently BETWEEN S AND V (Table 2), where they single out the subject and highlight its contrastivity. C-PPs have the same discourse function as E-Pros, but their “heavier” syntactic weight disfavors the position between S and V: they occur most often INSIDE VP (Table 3).

2. This influence of form and discourse function on the syntactic position is **register-dependent**: in the formal and ±formal written corpora, all three markers appear significantly more often INSIDE VP than in the informal written and spoken corpora (Figure 1).

CONCLUSION. The form and discourse function of contrastive markers influences their syntactic position, but the degree of this influence varies depending on the register. Register has more influence on syntax in informal written and spoken French than in formal and \pm formal written French, where the standard word order subject + verb + other clause elements is favored. This is in line with the idea that informal written and spoken French are (becoming) more discourse-configurational (De Cat 2007, É. Kiss 1995, 2015, Karssenbergh 2018, Leonetti 2017, Surányi 2016, Wolfe 2021).

Table 1. Syntactic position of C-AdvS per register

	formal written	\pm formal written	informal written	\pm formal spoken
Before S	22% (580)	67% (3.304)	89% (1.626)	84% (495)
Between S & V	14% (365)	6% (276)	3% (47)	1% (8)
Inside VP	63% (1.683)	27% (1.356)	6% (113)	5% (29)
After VP	1% (23)	1% (26)	2% (38)	10% (59)
TOTAL	100% (2.651)	100% (4.962)	100% (1.824)	100% (591)

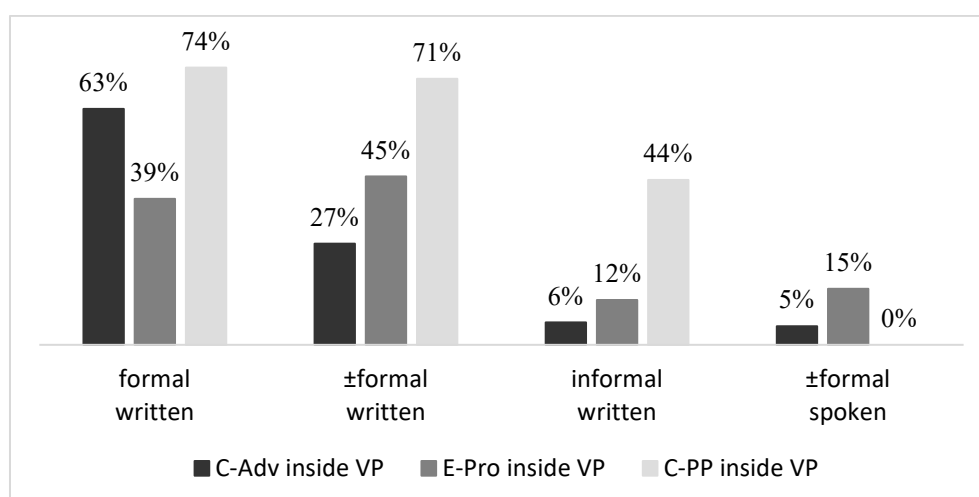
Table 2. Syntactic position of E-Pros per register

	formal written	\pm formal written	informal written	\pm formal spoken
Before S	---	---	---	---
Between S & V	61% (1.093)	54% (1.519)	83% (235)	82% (67)
Inside VP	39% (690)	45% (1.275)	12% (34)	15% (12)
After VP	0,3% (6)	1% (18)	5% (13)	4% (3)
TOTAL	100% (1.789)	100% (2.812)	100% (282)	100% (82)

Table 3. Syntactic position of C-PPs per register

	formal written	\pm formal written	informal written	\pm formal spoken
Before S	---	---	---	---
Between S & V	25% (82)	28% (401)	56% (18)	0% (0)
Inside VP	74% (241)	71% (1.026)	44% (14)	0% (0)
After VP	1% (3)	1% (19)	0% (0)	0% (0)
TOTAL	100% (326)	100% (1.446)	100% (32)	0% (0)

Figure 1. Frequency of C-Adv, E-Pros and C-PPs inside VP



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Manipulative effects of implicit communication across text genres

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Keywords: <manipulation, implicit communication, text genres, pragmatic function>

The manipulative effects of implicit language have been extensively investigated either in corpus-based research (Garassino et al. 2019, 2020; Lombardi Vallauri et al. 2020) and in experimental lines of investigation (Masia et al. 2017; Domaneschi et al. 2018; Piciuccio et al. 2022, a.o.). What these studies zoomed in on is the effectiveness of certain implicit discourse devices (mainly presuppositions conveyed through different trigger types, implicatures, figurative language and vague expressions, among others) to reduce the addressee's awareness on some content as well as on the speaker's degree of commitment. More recently, research has been undertaken on how implicit communication can be taken as a means to nail down the argumentative profile of different text genres, based on (i) the distribution of implicit meanings and (ii) how they contribute to rendering a text more or less persuasive and manipulative in the way in which they may distort readers' mental representation of their content.

Within the purview of argumentation studies (Maillat & Oswald 2013, a.o.), what is still underexplored is the function associated to implicit linguistic strategies, namely the type of speech act or pragmatic function (e.g. attack/criticism, praise/self-praise, stance-taking, factual information, etc.) the speaker performs in using them in an utterance. This correlation proves particularly useful in better tracing boundaries between a text type and another as it allows detecting the rationale, not only behind the use of an implicit device as opposed to another, but also to explain the preference for correlating a given linguistic device to a certain type of communicative act. The present study will discuss data from a comparative analysis of different text genres (political discourses, news articles, radio podcasts, political tweets, among others) to highlight strategic correlations between some common strategies of implicit communication, chiefly presuppositions, implicatures, vague expressions and topicalizations, and the type of content they encode. We predict these correlations to unveil interesting trends in the use and distribution of such implicit discourse devices, what may help pin down the argumentative profile of different text genres based on the categories of implicit meanings they contain and the use the writer wants to make of them.

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Definiteness Effects and linguistic variation: Spanish in contact with Catalan

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Keywords: existentials, definiteness effects, definiteness restriction, contact, dialectology.

1. OVERVIEW AND GOALS

Existential sentences in Spanish are sensitive to what Milsark (1974, 1977) referred to as *definiteness* or *quantification* restriction or effect (henceforth DE). The DE prevents personal pronouns (1a), proper nouns (1b), and definite nouns (1c) —following Aissen's (2000) Definiteness Scale—, but also quantificational constituents (1d) from occupying the pivot position:

- (1) a. *Hay él en la habitación.
is-LOC him in ART room
'There is him in the room'
- b. *Hay Juan en la habitación.
is-LOC Juan in ART room
'There is Juan in the room'
- c. *Hay el niño en la habitación.
is-LOC ART boy in ART room
'There is the boy in the room'
- d. *Hay cada libro en la habitación.
is-LOC every book in ART room
'There is every book in the room'

The DE is known to be subject to crosslinguistic variation: it is robust in languages like Spanish or French, whereas Catalan or Italian have weaker versions of it. Data from contact varieties, nonetheless, remains largely unexplored. The aim of this study is to cast some light onto the weakening (or even disappearance) of the DE in a linguistic contact setting between Spanish, a robust language as regards the effect, and Catalan, which has a weaker version of it. It will be shown that Spanish in contact with Catalan allows for examples similar to those in (1). Two specific issues will be tackled: (i) the geographical distribution of the 'weakened' DE, and (ii) the grammatical principles underlying the phenomena under study.

2. METHODOLOGY AND EVIDENCE

A rather large corpus of existential constructions has been obtained ($N = 700$) from the *Audible and Spoken Corpus of Rural Spanish*. A quantitative approach is hence privileged: the frequency of forms such as (1) has been measured and a mixed-effects logistic regression has been modelled.

3. EXPECTED RESULTS AND THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The results show that a clear-cut isogloss isolates the area of the 'weakened' version of the DE: pivots such as those in (1) are attested in the northeast region of the Iberian Peninsula.

Geography hence reveals itself as statistically relevant. It will be shown that the variation under study can be made dependent on two wider grammatical principles: (i) the strength of the head D^ø, assuming Abney's (1987) Determiner Phrase Hypothesis (see Eguren 2006 for Spanish); (ii) a lexical alternation between *haber* 'to be' and *estar* 'to be', which is drastically limited in varieties of Spanish in contact with Catalan. The explanation goes as follows: strong D's are allowed in the pivot position of the existential construction with *haber* as a consequence of the significant loss of the *haber/estar* alternation in these varieties. The analysis to be put forth also will be argued to account for an array of correlated facts, such as the use of the implicit form of the unstressed pronoun when the pivot is pronominalized (Longa, Lorenzo & Rigau 1996, 1998), or the frequent —by no means ubiquitous— loss of so-called differential object marking with proper nouns in these varieties, which has been widely attested (e. g. Gómez Seibane & Álvarez Morera 2022).

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Two Types of Confirmational Questions Relating to New/Old Information in Taiwanese Southern Min

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Keywords: confirmational, new/old information, speaker/addressee ground, sentence-final particles, Taiwanese Southern Min

In this paper, I show Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM) confirmational *ooh* marks the prejacent proposition as being in the speaker's ground as new information, while confirmational *bô* marks its preceding proposition as old information for both the speaker and the addressee. The new information in the contexts in which *ooh* can be used comes from either direct evidence including speech (C1), or from indirect evidence (C2):

(1) John says: Lí beh khì Tâi-pak--ooh?

2SG want go Taipei PRT

'You want to go to Taipei, *ooh*?'

Context 1 (C1): Mary is talking over the phone with a friend about a trip to Taipei. John hears that.

Context 2 (C2): Mary is talking about having a trip. John doesn't know where she wants to go. John sees Mary check some information about Taipei.

In both contexts, by uttering (1), John marks Mary's going to Taipei as new and at the same time asks her to confirm it.

In contrast, *bô* (with a full tone), which is a negative marker by itself, serves as a confirmational to remind the addressee the proposition that it attaches to is old information, as in Context 3.

(2) Context 3 (C3): John and Mary are chatting. John mentions a party at Peter's home last month. John remembers Mary was there.

John says: Lí iā ū khì bô?

2SG also have go NEG

‘You also went there, *bô*?’

By uttering (2), John reminds Mary that she was in the party and asks Mary to confirm it. Questions arise as to how these confirmational behave differently from other particle questions or tag questions syntactically. Based on the six criteria given in Table 1, the two types of questions are distinguished from the other four types of questions.

(3) Table 1: Various Particle/Tag Questions in TSM

	Negative question particle	<i>Sĩ--bô</i> and <i>sĩ-ĩ-sĩ</i> tag (<i>sĩ</i> is a copula)	The predicate-initial <i>kám</i> +the <i>sĩ--bô</i> tag	<i>Honnh/ĩ-</i> <i>sĩ</i> tag	<i>Ooh</i> tag	<i>Bô</i> tag
1	√	*	*	*	*	*
2	√	*	*	*	*	*
3	*	(√)	(√)	*	*	*
4	*	*	√ (negatively biased)	√ (positively biased)	*	*
5	*	*	*	*	√ (new)	√ (old)
6	√(ah/lah)	√(lah)	√(lah)	*	*	*

1: *tàu-té* ‘on earth’; 2: embeddability; 3: *sĩ--bô*; 4: marking of bias 5. marking of new/old information; 6. additional particle

Moreover, adopting Wiltschko (2021), I show the two confirmational encode the new/old information in the speaker’s and the addressee’s grounds in the interactional spine above CP, which shows the interaction is regulated by syntax:

(4) a. *Ooh* confirmational (speaker-new)

[_{ResponseP} Response_{Adr} [∅: +coin] [_{GroundP} Ground_{Spkr} [*ooh*: –coin] [p]]]

b. *Bô* confirmational (speaker/addressee-old)

[_{ResponseP} Response_{Adr} [∅: +coin] [_{GroundP} Ground_{Adr} [*bô*: +coin] [[_{GroundP}

Ground_{Spkr} [∅: +coin] [p]]]

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The Kodiak town variety of Alaskan Russian: The diachrony of a contact language

The Kodiak town on the Kodiak island was a ‘metropolitan city’ of Alaskan Russian for a long time. Under the name of Pavlovskaya Gavan’, it was the first capital of Russian America at the end of the 18th century. It retained its importance as a hub for the Russian American Company’s economic activities even after the capital was moved to Novo-Archangelsk (Sitka). After 1867 and through the first decades of the 20th century when other-than-Russian-speaking people started settling in the town of Kodiak, the majority of the population were speaking Russian as their first language (Daly 1985; materials of interviews from the Alaska Native Language Archive and from the Afognak Oral History Project). In most cases these people, called Creoles during the Russian America time, were bilingual, or even trilingual in Alaskan Russian, Alutiiq, and, eventually, English, and could write in these languages. That situation lasted till 1970s (Oleksa 1990) and was in contrast with the situation in Ninilchik, the best studied location of Alaskan Russian, where no knowledge of Alutiiq was observed.

In the summer of 2019, we traveled to Kodiak looking for traces of the Alaskan Russian language and culture as a part of our project on language contact and change in the circumpolar region. We managed to meet the very last speakers/rememberers of Alaskan Russian there.

Russian words and phrases recorded during our interviews with speakers originally from the Kodiak town and those from other places in the Kodiak Archipelago led us to conclude that there was a special Kodiak town variety of Alaskan Russian with its own history of rise and fall. It has some peculiar features in phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary, different from Ninilchik Russian (NR), the best preserved and the most documented variety of Alaskan Russian, as well as from other local varieties. Peculiar features of the Kodiak town variety, compared to Ninilchik, include special phonetic realization of palatalized consonants (most visible in /r/, /w/, /n/), polite 2Pl forms and patronymics, the case, gender and tense system reduced to a higher degree than in NR, more articulated verbal aspect differences, and a number of lexical items, including some Alutiiq borrowings, not attested in NR (for example, tamúk ‘dry fish’, pag’ilk’i ‘driftwood’).

These differences correspond well to what is known historically about the Russian Creole community in the Kodiak town, and the ways this place developed since 1792 when Russians established it. This variety of Alaskan Russian has features of more profound creolization. At the same time, it had a relatively long history of use in the urban setting, where Alaskan Russian was spoken in a broader set of functional domains compared to the Ninilchik village. Our data allows for better understanding of the linguistic processes that took place in this area in the last two centuries involving Russian, English and local languages, and thus serves the goal of working out a more fine-tuned typology of language shift in Alaska.

Mapping specifics of languages of nomadic peoples in Eurasian Circumpolar areas

This talk will discuss the main difficulties that arise in the mapping of the nomadic peoples in the North of Eurasia and their languages, in comparison with the mapping of the sedentary peoples and languages. Among those difficulties are huge areas with no clear borders between them, very low population density, high personal, family and seasonal mobility, overlapping of winter pastures of one ethnic groups with summer pastures of another groups, migration routes might through other group area, extensive multilingualism and finally the lack of data.

Quite surprisingly for an outside observer, the most part of Eurasian Circumpolar area was inhabited until recently by nomadic or semi-nomadic groups. Several types of life-styles could be defined: full (whole-family) nomadic pastoralism with herds of domestic reindeer, partial (male only) nomadic pastoralism with herds of domestic reindeer; (nomadic) hunting and gathering (sometimes together with occasional nomadic pastoralism). During Soviet period many of nomadic ethnic groups switched to mostly sedentary style of life.

Then, the history of cartography of peoples and languages of Russian North in 19th –20th centuries will be discussed. Quite interesting solutions and methods were used already in the 1930s [[Terleckij 1933](#)], but later the ethnic cartography of nomadic groups returned to the level of the 19th century and language maps were not created for these territories until recently.

In the next step, the existing sources for modern maps of the nomadic peoples will be evaluated. Among them there are migration routes of individual groups obtained with help of modern methods of GPS location [[Monitoring 2011](#)]; maps of the location of reindeer farms; oral surveys of the nomads with topographical maps [[Amelina 2019](#)]; pasture maps (usually with no ethno-linguistic affiliation) in a certain region. Unfortunately, only some of these sources are available for certain groups, and none at all for some.

Finally we'll try to show how to display the existent data on the map. For sedentary peoples the basic way to show their distribution is the display of their settlements as a points with merging them into continuous areas only when the scale is reduced. For nomadic peoples/languages, areas are already the initial unit. At the same time, the nature of the population of such regions differs significantly from the population of regions with a settled population: the density of nomadic regions, especially in the North, is much lower; the population is not present simultaneously throughout the region, but moves seasonally. Therefore, on ethno-linguistic maps, firstly, it makes sense to visually show differently the territories of distribution of nomadic and sedentary languages/peoples; secondly, especially on more detailed maps, show separately summer and winter pastures, possibly calving places, as well as areas of spring and autumn migrations.

Several ways of mapping will be proposed that make it possible to adequately and at the same time visually display on maps not only nomadic and semi-nomadic ethnic groups but also their languages. Each way will be illustrated with maps.

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Diachronic Changes in Bakairi: From the 19th Century to Present

Belonging to the Pekodian branch of Cariban languages, Bakairi is spoken by approximately 1,100 people in southern Amazonia, Brazil, which typifies it as an endangered language. Bakairi is an agglutinative language with a strong tendency for suffixing. Derivation and compounding are realized through a host of affixes and other processes. Its word order is its most unique and unusual feature: OVS. An alternative basic word order is feasible when subject fronting is needed for clarification or focus.

The language was first described in 1892 by the explorer Steinen who collected wordlists, oral stories, and grammar notes. This rare collection (1892) was published in German and remained inaccessible for over a century. More recently, it was digitized and has become widely available.

Illiteracy was one of the factors that contributed to rapid language change between the late 19th century and the 1970s. Since 1970, literacy efforts have coexisted with the introduction of a provisional written system of the Bakairi language devised by Wheatley. Wheatley primarily collects and transcribes oral stories and uses them to create children's primers (1993, 1997). Divided into two major dialects, which are only partially mutually comprehensible, Wheatley's work focuses exclusively on the Eastern dialect of Pakuera.

Other factors that led to language change were mobility and exogenous marriages. The Bakairi people were once nomadic, and one group moved to the Xingu region, another settled in a region near Pakuera, and a smaller group settled in Santana. The Xingu group was later forced to join the Pakuera group forming a larger reservation of about 700 people.

A preliminary comparison of Steinen's texts to Wheatley's transcripts reveals that the language had undergone noticeable changes. Many changes in morphophonology are observed such as in the [VOICE] feature of morphologically-complex words, vowel harmony of morphemes, and minor phonological features of verbal suffixes. Syntactic simplification or loss of some structures are noted with regards to the remote past constructions, whereas other syntactic formations emerged, possibly due to cross-linguistic borrowings.

With the advent of literacy workshops and primary education about 50 years ago, these rapid changes slowed down. This contrastive research looks at Steinen's data and Wheatley's descriptions as diachronic milestones. By contrasting them to today's dialects (i.e., 21st-century data), we aim to depict how diachronic changes have progressed in the past 150 years. This study is divided into language background, theoretical framework, data comparison and analysis, and findings.

(Word count: 406)

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Periphrastic passives from Latin to French

This talk revisits the question whether analytic verb forms (with a past participle and a BE or HAVE-auxiliary) qualify as periphrastics (for recent discussion, see the contributions to Ledgeway et al. 2022). According to one approach, the notion of ‘periphrasis’ is reserved for the use of a word to express a notion that can also be expressed by a bound morpheme (e.g., Spencer & Popova 2015). Although French passives have always been analytic, we argue that they can plausibly be analyzed as periphrastic, for both formal and semantic reasons.

We start by presenting some formal facts. First, French passives derive from Latin, which had the *-r* inflection to form synthetic passives (*amatur* ‘(s)he is loved’) and deponents (*hortor* ‘encourage’), and analytic forms for the perfective tenses (e.g. *amatus est* ‘he was loved’). In Romance, the *-r* inflection was lost and replaced by analytic present tense passives (Danckaert 2017). The earliest Old French (OF) texts contain no traces of the Latin passive morphology (e.g., Schøsler 2017, 51). Second, passives in OF are always formed using *estre* (ModF *être* ‘be’), unlike in Italian and Spanish, where different auxiliaries express aspectual oppositions. Third, there is an opposition between the periphrastic passive (*La voiture est vendue* ‘the car is (being) sold’) and the reflexive passive (*La voiture se vend* ‘the car REFL sells’). Finally, some Latin deponents developed into OF intransitive perfects, e.g. *nez est* ‘he is born’. As a result, OF has no formal distinction between stative and eventive passives or perfective unaccusatives: it is often not clear if a resultative participle is to be interpreted as verbal or adjectival, so that Brunot (1933, 237) speaks of a “conjugaison défectueuse”.

Turning to semantics, we discuss new corpus-based evidence showing that the earliest OF passives still tend to behave like adjectival passives, rather than fully grammaticalized verbal passives (Stefanini 1962). Modern French passives are subject to lexical aspectual restrictions: they are most felicitous if the Theme is affected in such a way that a result state ensues, as in *La montre a été détruite* ‘the watch was destroyed’ as opposed to ?*La montre a été perdue* ‘the watch was lost’ (Lamiroy 1993). We present new diachronic evidence that OF passives were even more strongly aspectually constrained, which shows that periphrastic passives underwent a change from a lexically restricted, adjective-like construction in OF, to a much less restricted verbal construction in ModF. This development can be accounted for by invoking traditional notions from the grammaticalization literature, such as functional extension or semantic bleaching, but also by means of coercion (de Swart 1998), to the effect that atelic verbs lacking a result component are, compared to earlier periods, increasingly often coerced into eventive passive predicates.

Taken together, this talk touches upon the lexical-semantic conditioning of the development of periphrastic constructions, the effects the Latin periphrasis may have had on the earliest periods of French, the role of ‘grammaticalization’ in this diachronic scenario, and the boundary between marginal multi-verb constructions and ‘real’ periphrases.

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From sound change to overabundance: wa-/wu- free choice in Central Pame

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Keywords: Paradigm, Otomanguean, overabundance, sound change, PCFP

Overabundance (Thornton 2012) is the phenomenon whereby some cell(s) in the paradigm of a lexeme admit two forms without any difference in meaning. It has only recently caught the attention of morphologists, and hence every new case can contribute to the phenomenon's typology, its limits and interactions with other phenomena, its possible origins and outcomes, and its relevance to our understanding of paradigmatic structure. Here I explore one such case in Central Pame (Otomanguean).

Speakers of the language report two choices for words containing prefixes of the form wa-/wu-. This prefix can occur with either allomorph under all its different meanings in different word classes and different inflection classes (e.g. 3SG.A/S in one conjugation, 3PL.A/S in a different conjugation, PL in nouns and adjectives, etc.). I conduct a diachronic corpus investigation (relying on Gibson [1950a], [1950b], [1950c], Olson [1955]) and systematic synchronic elicitation to obtain a fine-grained picture of the phenomenon.

Results show that this case of overabundance started as a sound change. The form wu- occurred initially almost exclusively before bilabials (55 out of 61 wu- occur before /p/, /b/, or /m/, compared to only 43 out of 267 tokens of wa-). In younger speakers, however, the sound change has nowadays ceased to operate, which has resulted in the blurring of the original conditioning environment of the allomorphy and in the generalization of overabundance. Focusing on verbal inflection, we can represent the expected and actual system as follows (I provide PRS tense forms of two illustrative conjugations):

	Expected forms (split inflection classes)				Actual forms (overabundance)			
Person	'feel'	'want'	'deceive'	'erect'	'feel'	'want'	'deceive'	'erect'
1SG	la-ttsáu?	la-mmǎŋ	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎi	la-ttsáu?	la-mmǎŋ	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎi
1PL.EX	ta-ttsáu?	ta-mmǎn?	tu-nhǔn?	tú-mmǎ?ǎiŋ?	ta-ttsáu?	ta-mmǎn?	tu-nhǔn?	tú-mmǎ?ǎiŋ?
2SG	ki-ttfáu?	ki-mmjǎŋ	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎi	ki-ttfáu?	ki-mmjǎŋ	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎi
2PL	ki-ttfáu?	ki-mmjǎn	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎiŋ	ki-ttfáu?	ki-mmjǎn	tu-nhǔn	tú-mmǎ?ǎiŋ
3SG	wa -ttsáu?	wu -mmǎŋ	lu-nhǔn	lú-mmǎ?ǎi	wa -ttsáu? wu -ttsáu?	wa -mmǎŋ wu -mmǎŋ	lu-nhǔn	lú-mmǎ?ǎi
3PL	∅-ttsáu?	∅-mmhǎŋ	wa -nhǔn	wú -mmhǎ?ǎi	∅-ttsáu?	∅-mmhǎŋ	wa -nhǔn wu -nhǔn	wá -mmhǎ?ǎi wú -mmhǎ?ǎi

The regular sound change waB>wuB complexified the inflectional system by splitting many conjugations into two different ones that, however, shared most prefixes. This made the Paradigm-Cell-Filling-Problem (Ackerman et al. 2009) much more difficult for speakers to solve due to the proliferation of classes, of required principal parts, etc. Rather than managing to learn the new system, speakers allowed wa- and wu- to occur everywhere instead, which effectively resulted in the preservation of the original system of conjugations. At the same time, however, while they did not use to play any role initially, feature values have become increasingly better predictors of the use of wa- or wu-, with some values significantly favouring wa- (3SG: 135 vs 90), and others wu- (3PL: 74 vs 40). These trends might foreshadow the demise of systematic overabundance, and a move towards a more canonical (Corbett 2007) inflectional system once again.

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The expression of space in Macuxi (Carib)

The most conceptually basic notion of space involves two entities (Figure and Ground) in some locative relation (Talmy 1983; Landau & Jackendoff 1993). Languages differ in how space is divided and encoded (Levinson & Wilkins 2006). Cariban languages possess a unique postpositional system that encodes semantic information about the reference of arguments (Aikhenvald 2000). This work concerns spatial postpositions in Macuxi (Carib), spoken in Brazil, Guyana and Venezuela. We ask: (i) descriptively, how are spatial relations encoded morphosyntactically in Macuxi? (ii) pragmatically, how can we analyze the division of labour of these expressions based on Levinson (2000)'s interpretation of Gricean maxims? (iii) typologically, how do Macuxi spatial postpositions differ from other Cariban languages?

Method. Data was elicited from a Macuxi speaker (virtually) using the Topological Relation Picture Series (TRPS) (71 drawings denoting a Figure-Ground relationship) (Bowerman & Pederson 1992). In response to 'Where is X?' in Macuxi (1a; 2a), the speaker answered with a *Basic Locative Construction* (BLC) (1b; 2b) (Levinson and Wilkins 2006).

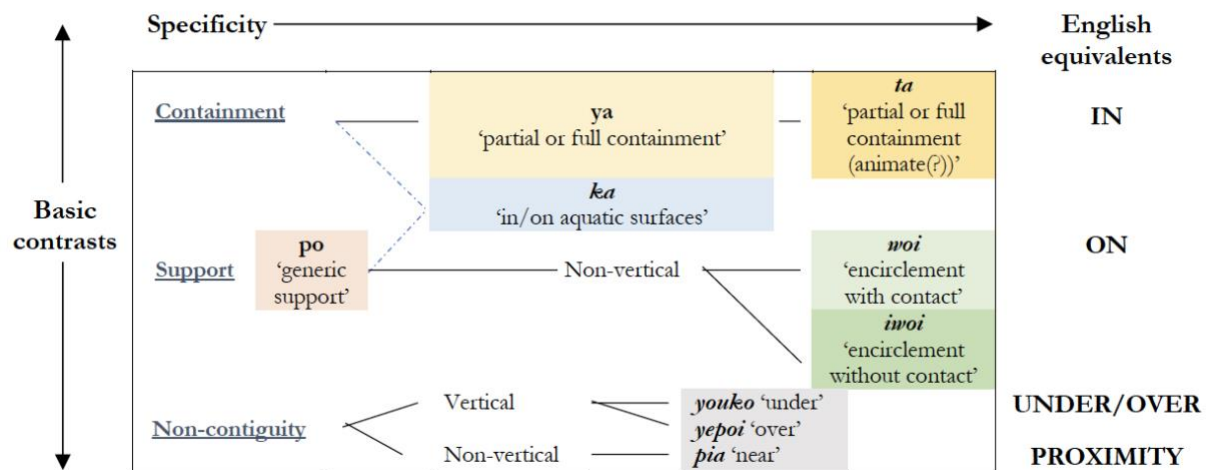
(1a)	<i>O'non pata</i> where	<i>pisa</i> container	<i>nai?</i> be.3SG:Q 'Where is the container?'
(1b)	<i>pisa</i> container	<i>man sura</i> be.3SG surface	<i>po</i> LOC 'The container is on the surface.'
(2a)	<i>O'non pata</i> where	<i>kanawa</i> canoe	<i>nai?</i> be.3SG:Q 'Where is the canoe?'
(2b)	<i>kanawa</i> canoe	<i>man tuna</i> be.3SG water	<i>ka</i> LOC 'The canoe is on the water.'

Results. The Macuxi BLC involves the copula *man*, and postpositions (*po* and *ka* in (1-2b)) that encode three groups of spatial relations: vertical non-contact, support and containment. Macuxi postpositions are sensitive to the semantic nature of the Ground: in (2b), only *ka* is appropriate as it encodes (i) the aquatic nature of the Ground, and (ii) a similar spatial relation to (1). Our work corroborates existing Macuxi descriptions (Abbott 1991; Carson 1981; Amódio & Pira 2007) but presents differences and refinements. We found that more complex spatial relations (e.g. piercing and hanging situations) require other morphosyntactic strategies.

Analysis and comparison. Following Levinson (2000)'s Gricean-inspired analysis of Yélí Dnye spatial language, we analyze Macuxi postpositions similarly to illustrate hyponymy relations. For instance, we posited a Horn-scale $\langle ta, ya \rangle$ where every *ta* situation would entail a *ya* situation. While both encode containment, *ta* applies to a more specific containment relation. Such applications allowed us to create a taxonomy of Macuxi locatives (Figure 1), to compare across other Cariban languages. For instance, whereas the Tiriyó *po* (Meira 2006) is applicable for various spatial relations, the Wayana (Hough 2008) and Macuxi *po* are more limited in scope. We also provide a Cariban comparison of closed-class orientational locatives, showing that they might differ based on whether a Figure has direct contact with a Ground, or whether a Figure is visible or occluded.

This would be the first work on Macuxi spatial language, complementing the literature on spatiality and postpositional systems in the Cariban family: e.g. Tiriyó (Meira 2006), Wayana (Hough 2008), Ye'kwana (Cáceres 2021), Karijona (Guerrero-Beltran & Wojtylak 2021); and comparative studies (Derbyshire 1987; Douglas-Tavani & Gildea 2022).

Figure 1. A taxonomy of Macuxi spatial postpositions.



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Intuition and its relation to evidentiality. Evidence from the cross-linguistic study of the expression ‘Something tells me that’ and its equivalents

Our talk is about the relationship between the linguistic expression of intuition and evidentiality, the linguistic marking of the way in which a speaker has acquired the information communicated in an utterance. Well-known classifications of evidentials (e.g. Willett 1988, Aikhenvald 2044) propose three main categories: markers of direct perception, markers of inference and markers of report, as illustrated by the following examples for French (*frTenTen2020*, *Sketch Engine*), all with *lexical* markers:

- (1) Cool, il y a du monde à ce que je vois.
- (2) au nombre de chaussures devant la porte, il doit y avoir du monde.
- (3) Kars [...] l'endroit où l'on trouve la meilleure poudreuse du monde, paraît-il.

Recent work on the semantics of a frequent French expression that indicates “recourse to intuition”, *quelque chose me dit que* in sentences like (4),

- (4) J'essaie de trouver un rapport entre cette photo et la vente du chalet. **Quelque chose me dit qu'il y en a un.** (*GBooks*).

has led to the question: Can such expressions be considered *evidential markers*? Intuition, after all, constitutes “a way of acquiring information” (e.g. Raami 2015: 18), just like direct perception, inference and report. If the answer is positive, the next question, highly relevant for evidentiality studies, is: Under which of the existing categories of evidentials intuition markers should be subsumed or should they constitute a new main category on their own?

In order to answer these research-questions, we first looked at the rich internal variation of the French expression *quelque chose me dit que*, as it is described by AUTHOR (2023): e.g. *Quelque chose nous susurre à l'oreille que...* We extended and applied the results of that study of the expression's equivalents in Spanish (*algo me dice que*), Dutch (*iets zegt me dat*), and Serbian (*nešto mi govori da*), with corpus data from *GBooks* and *SketchEngine*. We found that:

- 1°) the idea of “recourse to intuition” is frequently expressed through items related to sensory perception, especially olfactory (*mi olfato, mi nariz*) and tactile (*Je sens que, Osećam da*);
- 2°) it is often associated also to expressions referring to the guts (*mes tripes, buikgevoel*), or an internal voice (*vocecita interior, unutrašnji glas*);
- 3°) the internal variation of the studied expressions is limited. Certain substitutions make it shift from intuition marker to reportive marker (*lemand zegt me dat*) or to inference marker (*Deux choses me disent que, To nam govori da*).

The results of this empirical analysis were subsequently compared and complemented with a presentation of properties intuition shares with and opposes to perception and inference (e.g. Hogarth 2001, Kahneman 2003, Pretz 2011, Pust 2017).

The two analyses taken together, we reached the following conclusion:

Although intuition shares several properties both with perception and inference, as do their respective markers, intuition markers cannot be considered to be a subcategory of *direct perception markers* – as Usenkova (2015:183) subcategorizes them – nor of *inference markers*—as Willett 1988:62 subcategorizes them—, because of the properties that differentiate them from both. They constitute an evidential category on their own.

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Synchrony and diachrony of a mirative marker in Sicilian

The article deals with the expression of mirativity in Sicilian, taking into account the functions and development of a particular form, *bì*. This discourse marker – i.e. a syntactically detached and morphologically fixed item with discourse-pragmatic functions (Fischer 2014) – performs in present-day Sicilian mirativity (Peterson 2017), mainly the meanings of sudden discovery, surprise and unprepared mind (Aikhenvald 2012), like in the example below:

- (1) *bì* *si* *štut-àu*
MIR REFL.3SG turn off-PST.3SG
 ‘oh, it turned off!’

The utterance in (1) is spoken by a woman chatting with some relatives and friends. They are looking at a picture of a little girl on a smartphone, discussing which parent she resembles. While they discuss the matter, suddenly the screen turns off: the woman then utters *bì si štutàu*, ‘oh, it turned off!’, in order to express her unprepared mind with respect to this little glitch.

By analysing the case of Sicilian *bì*, this contribution discusses the notion of mirativity in two respects. On the one hand, from a diachronic point of view, the relation is investigated between the mirative marker, its lexical source, and its further development. *Bì* appears to originate from the second person singular imperative *viri* ‘see!’ (*viri* > *vi* > *bì*), which first evolved as an attention-getting device (cf. Fagard 2010) and later developed a strictly textual function, namely correction (cf. Gülich & Kotschi 1995). The overall diachrony of the marker can be interpreted as a case of (inter)subjectification, a process whereby meanings tend to be increasingly centred on the participants’ perspective towards the proposition (cf. Traugott 2022: 197). From a synchronic perspective, on the other hand, non-parasitic mirativity is dealt with (Peterson 2017). Mirativity is parasitic if a language expresses this semantic category through other categories, meanings, or structures. In contrast, Sicilian displays non-parasitic mirativity because *bì* is a dedicated mirative marker, a discourse marker specifically encoding such values.

All in all, this contribution aims at showing the particular path, through which the mirative marker *bì* has developed in Sicilian, thus shedding light on the diachronic relation between mirativity and other semantic-pragmatic functions. Also, the case of non-parasitic markers like *bì* is argued to be crucial when analysing this semantic mirativity in Romance. Despite a semantic category can be encoded at different levels of language structure, most of the literature tends to restrict its interest to mirativity that is “encoded in grammar” (Aikhenvald 2012: 474), in fact prioritizing morphological

encoding rather than linguistic encoding in general. This study claims instead that, in a more comprehensive view of lexicon and grammar (cf. Squartini 2018), mirativity can be fruitfully employed as descriptive category when non-parasitic markers are found, being they bound morphemes as well as discourse markers.

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Mirative uses of the progressive and GO-constructions in Romance and beyond

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Key words: progressive, GO-constructions, mirativity, Romance languages, parallel corpus

In this paper, we focus on two constructions that have grammaticalized to different degrees across Romance languages: the progressive construction and periphrases featuring the auxiliary GO. Progressive aspect is canonically used to express ongoingness or duration (e.g. Bertinetto 2000), whereas the motion verb GO in its most advanced stage of grammaticalization is used for future-time reference. Yet, as is illustrated in (1) and (2) for French, both of these constructions can also be exploited to express surprise or irritation:

Il est en train de lire de travers.
3SG be.PRS.3SG PROG read upside down
'He's reading (it) upside down!' (Franckel 1989: 78)

T' es malade – où t' es allé attraper ça ?
2SG be.PRS.2SG ill where 2SG be.PRS.2SG go.PST.PTCP catch that
'You're ill – where did you go catching that?' (Celle & Lansari 2015: 300)

Crucially, the progressive or GO do not serve aspectotemporal purposes in these contexts: if one were to omit them, it is not the aspectotemporal meaning that alters, it is the more subjective sense of surprise that becomes less prevalent (De Wit et al. 2013, 2020). This exploitation of the progressive and GO-constructions for what may be called mirative purposes is not exclusive to French – it is also attested in other Romance languages, including Italian, Catalan or Spanish (e.g. Stefanowitsch 1999, and Bourdin 2014).

This indicates that mirative meanings of surprise are not necessarily/only related to evidentiality or perfect aspect (Slobin & Aksu 1986, and DeLancey 2001), as is also shown in work on insubordination (e.g. Gras 2011). With respect to the progressive and GO-constructions, the question is whether these interpretations of surprise constitute pragmatic extensions of constructions that are prototypically used for other (aspectotemporal) purposes or whether they are really part and parcel of the semantics of these constructions. In our presentation we will offer both cross-linguistic and diachronic evidence in favor of the latter analysis. That is, on the basis of data from parallel corpora (Europarl) and a diachronic corpus (Frantext for French), we will show that, independently of the degree of grammaticalization of the progressive/GO in a given language, language users systematically exploit these constructions to indicate that the situation they are reporting is somehow non-canonical or that the circumstances that conventionally surround a speech event do not pertain. We argue that this inherent and stable association of these verbal constructions with a sense of surprise is a result of their semantics: both constructions indicate that the situation they report is not seen as fully and regularly integrated in or somehow distant from what the speaker conceives of as the 'ground' (i.e. the speech event, its participants and its immediate circumstances (Langacker 2008)). In other words, by adopting a (temporally and genetically/geographically) broader perspective, we demonstrate that the synchronic Romance data on the progressive and GO are indicative of a robust semantic predisposition rather than a more peripheral pragmatic phenomenon.

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The linguistic competence of Paul of Tarsus: A study in Greek-Hebrew bilingualism

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Keywords: Paul of Tarsus; linguistic competence; Greek; Hebrew; bilingualism.

The linguistic competence of the authors of the New Testament writings is a long-debated and complex issue: it is widely discussed if Luke, Matthew and the others spoke or at least knew, besides Greek, Aramaic and/or Hebrew varieties (among many others, cf. Vorster 1990, Porter 2000, Joosten & Kister 2009). In this respect, Paul of Tarsus represents a particularly noteworthy figure. He certainly spoke Greek, most likely as a native language (Mancini 2008: 290-291, Joosten & Kister 2009: 344; cf. also Acts 21:37), and two further significant observations on his linguistic competence can be extrapolated from a passage in the New Testament (namely, Acts 21:40-22:1ff.). First, Paul speaks to a crowd τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ: whether this expression refers to Aramaic, as scholars traditionally assume (among others, Mancini 2008: 290-291, Garbini 2017: 263), or Hebrew, as it has been recently argued (Buth & Pierce 2014; cf. also Carmignac 2009), Paul must have been fairly fluent in either Semitic language. Second, Paul claims that he was educated in a rabbinic environment, wherein Mishnaic Hebrew was widely employed as a culture language (Durand 2001: 127, 131-132, Joosten & Kister 2009, Ong 2016: 35ff.): therefore, it is plausible that he got in touch and became familiar with that Hebrew variety.

This paper intends to provide a contribution to this long-standing debate: in fact, an analysis of Paul's epistolary in a combined philological-comparative and linguistic perspective may shed new light on the author's linguistic repertory. Specifically, I compare the Old Testament citations occurring in Paul's epistles with both the original Hebrew version and the Septuagint, in order to verify which is the source text of the quotations. This type of analysis, which has never been carried out extensively, but only incidentally (Joosten & Kister 2009: 344ff.), indicates that Paul makes use of stylistic techniques that are associated with rabbinic environments, that, in several cases, he translates directly from the Hebrew text, rather than quoting from the Septuagint, and that he sometimes renders the Hebrew text with reference to Mishnaic Hebrew. Therefore, this study appears to confirm with crucial, additional evidence that Paul studied in a rabbinic milieu and that he knew Hebrew, both the older Biblical language and the contemporary Mishnaic variety.

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Reconstructing a pre-Soviet contact with Russian: The case of Barhahan Evenki

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Keywords: Tungusic, Evenki, Russian, language contact, language shift

While language contact with Russian observed in the territory of Siberia in the Soviet and post-Soviet time is quite well-studied: see, e.g., Grenoble (2000, 2010), Rudnitskaya (2019) on the Evenki-Russian contact; earlier contacts still need investigation. In the paper, I will reconstruct the contact situation attested in the early XX century among speakers of one of the yet identified Evenki dialects, based on archival data. Both linguistic and extralinguistic data give evidence for a pre-Soviet intense contact with Russian.

The data come from the archive of Konstantin Rychkov. It consists of manuscript texts in several Evenki dialects collected in the 1900s–1910s (see Arkhipov & Däbritz 2021: 48-50). I will analyze one part of the archive, i.e. texts in Barhahan Evenki (531 manuscript pages). The name ‘Barhahan’ is mentioned nowhere except for Rychkov’s materials. According to its phonetic and morphosyntactic features, this dialect belongs to the Southern dialectal group (according to the classification by Vasilevich 1948). According to Rychkov’s notes and toponyms mentioned in the texts, it was spoken in the territory from Yeniseysk to Kraskoyarsk along both banks of the Yenisei river.

The text collection consists mostly of life-stories and personal narratives: these texts contain a lot of information on contact between the Barhahan Evenki and their neighbors, including the Selkups (“Ostyaks”), Siberian Tatars, and especially Russians. I will consider this extralinguistic information and map it to the linguistic evidence of language contact coming from the same texts.

Barhahan Evenki appears to have been highly influenced by Russian already in the 1910s, i.e. before the Soviet “russification”, affecting all the indigenous peoples of Siberia. The texts contain many Russian loanwords, including those in core vocabulary, as well as a number of multi-word code-switches, cf. (1), Russian fragments are underlined.

Some morphosyntactic features, such as non-standard word-order, valency patterns, and clause-linkage patterns can also be explained by the Russian influence: cf., e.g., (2a) and (2b). In (2a) the purposive clause is marked in a standard way with a dedicated purposive converb (-*da*), while in (2b) the Russian conjunction *štobi* in combination with the Evenki subjunctive mood (-*mčā*) is used.

The data of Barhahan Evenki will be compared to those of three other Evenki dialects documented by Rychkov in the same period, which are available as a part of the online Evenki corpus Däbritz & Gusev (2021).

Examples:

- (1) čaiti-l-mi gun-d’a-n:
 drink.tea.R-INCH-CVB say-IPFV.AOR-3SG
 "Jesli barini wəlit, da wino-ja ga-d’a-m!"
 <in Russian> and.R wine.R-ACC.INDF take-FUT-1SG
 ‘When (we) started to drink tea, he says: "If the lady wants, then I will take some wine!"’
(Kalk_191X_RychkovF6aP063_nar: 057)

- (2a) dilyukša-ja əmə-wu-m d'ab-da-š
 tree.sap-ACC.INDF come-CAUS.AOR-1SG eat-CVB.PURP-2SG
 'I have brought pine sap, in order that you eat (it)!' (Kalk_191X_RychkovF6aP046_nar:039)
- (2b) **štobi** owəs-pa ga-mča-l
in.order.to.R oat.R-ACC take-COND-PL
 '... in order that they take the oat' (Kalk_191X_RychkovF6aP063_nar: 070)

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Revisiting the hypophora label in the TED Multilingual Discourse Bank

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Keywords: TED talks, hypophora, question-answer pairs, multilingual corpus, discourse

Hypophora is one of the markables in the TED Multilingual Discourse Bank (TED-MDB), a discourse bank of multiple languages annotated following the rules and principles of the Penn Discourse TreeBank, (PDTB) a large discourse corpus of English created over Wall Street Journal texts (Zeyrek et al. 2018). Hypophora represents questions asked by one speaker and answered by the speaker him/herself (as a representation of a “second virtual speaker” (Grésillon & Lebrave, 1984: 123)). Hypophora is annotated in the most recent version of the PDTB (Webber et al. 2019), as well as in the multi-genre Turkish corpus (Zeyrek & Er, 2022) and the Portuguese corpus (Mendes & Lejeune, 2022). Thus, Hypophora is attested even in written language and is worth further attention. In the TED-MDB, the label Hypophora is restricted to information-seeking questions and meaningful answers given to them. Thus, (1) is annotated as Hypophora, (2) is not.

(1) Many of you might be wondering why anyone would choose a life like this, under the thumb of discriminatory laws, eating out of trash cans, sleeping under bridges, ... The answer to such a question is as varied as the people that take to the road, but travelers often respond with a single word: freedom.

(2) What gets us to convert success into mystery? This is a question I’ve long asked myself.

We revisit the Hypophora label in the TED-MDB by focusing on the original language of the TED talk transcripts, English, and two target languages, Turkish and Portuguese, two languages that annotated more Hypophora tokens than the other languages of the corpus. This might be related to different translations of specific question-answer pairs, or different conceptualization of the Hypophora label by the annotators. Our main goal is to examine the range of Hypophora tokens annotated in three languages and specify other dimensions of question-answer pairs that could be annotated in texts, taking into consideration (i) formal properties, such as direct and indirect interrogatives (as in (1) vs. (2)), polar questions and wh-questions, (ii) the properties of the sentence that follows the question (cf. (2)), and (iii) information structure properties, where the question-answer pair is used to ensure textual progression. For example in (3), where new information is presented in the question and further developed in the following segment (a “textualization function” in Grésillon & Lebrave (1984); cf. also Mendes et al., 2020).

(3) Who here knows that in many cities across the United States it is now illegal to sit on the sidewalk, to wrap oneself in a blanket, to sleep in your own car, to offer food to a stranger? I know about these laws because I've watched as friends and other travelers were hauled off to jail or received citations for committing these so-called crimes.

The method involves both a quantitative and qualitative analysis of questions in the three languages. The research will suggest updates in the corpus, aiming to enhance the quality of the annotations on one hand, and contributing to our understanding of Hypophora in multiple languages.

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Deictic motion verbs and their acquisition in L2 Modern Greek and L2 Spanish

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Keywords: deixis, motion events, second language acquisition, conceptual transfer, semantic typology

The acquisition of deictic elements is particularly challenging in the process of learning a second language (L2). This presentation is focused on deictic motion verbs, such as *come* and *go*, and *bring* and *take*. Although these verbs tend to be taught at the earliest stages of the second language teaching curricula, their deictic patterns do not seem to be mastered even at proficient levels. It seems that conceptual transfer (Jarvis and Pavlenko 2008) from the first language (L1) deictic patterns is persistent. Following Gathercole's (1977, 1978), languages can be classified according to who can fulfil the role of *deictic centre*. Venitive verbs (*come*, *bring*) encode motion towards the deictic centre. Some languages like English and Modern Greek allow both the speaker and the addressee as the deictic centre, i.e. *I will come to see you/You will come to see me*. However, some languages like Spanish or Japanese only allow the speaker as the deictic centre, therefore *Vendrás a verme* 'You will come to see me' is adequate, but **Vendré a verte* 'I will come to see you' is generally inadequate (with a few exceptions). These differences in the encoding of semantic components lead to consequences for the speakers' rhetorical style and the *Thinking for Speaking* (Slobin 1996), which are very difficult to restructure in a second language (Slobin 1996, Robinson and Ellis 2008).

This is a bidirectional study with Greek learners of L2 Spanish and Spanish learners of L2 Modern Greek. The participants had a B2 level of proficiency and were learning their L2 in the context of foreign language instruction. Production data were collected via a test and activities of pedagogical translation. The focus of the analysis is on the cases of motion towards the addressee, in which both languages present a clear contrast in their deictic patterns. Results show that students of both languages know these verbs in terms of their form and conjugations. However, they keep their L1 deictic patterns, failing to "re-thinking for speaking" (Robinson and Ellis 2008), i.e. restructuring these conceptual patterns. The study presents theoretical implications since it shows the difficulty of a complete acquisition of deictic patterns, beyond the mere learning of lexical items. Likewise, the study paves the way for future pedagogical applications, in coherence with other studies that show how Cognitive Linguistic-based explicit teaching can favour the acquisition of deictic patterns (Colasacco 2019).

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Avertive periphrases in Romance languages

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Keywords: periphrases, avertivity, TAM, quantitative study, Romanian.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in studying the aspectual category of avertivity across languages. This gram described by Kuteva (1998) as ‘was on the verge of V-ing but did not take place’ has been studied in Romance languages as well (e.g. Hacquard 2006, Schwellenbach 2019, Pahonțu, forthcoming). Romance verbal periphrases (e.g. STARE-periphrases in Ibero-Romance languages, It., Fr. *volere/vouloir* + INF, Fr. *faillir* + INF, Rom. *a fi pe cale* + SBJV/INF) are interesting avertive markers because of (i) their polyfunctionality, as most of the avertive periphrases also express the proximative meaning, described as ‘be about to’, (ii) their morphological restrictions, i.e. the auxiliary's restriction to perfective morphology and (iii) their semantic restrictions, related to the Aktionsart of the lexical verb.

Our study focuses on the periphrastic avertive in Romanian. We propose a complementary methodological approach to the study of the Rom. periphrasis *a fi pe cale* (‘to be on the way’). Our quantitative study offers a diachronic perspective (4000 occurrences) and shows that its proximative uses go back to the first half of the 19th century, while the avertive uses go back to the second half of the 19th century. In synchrony, our quantitative results include a set of about 600 occurrences extracted from the *roTenTen16* corpus. The evolution of temporal marking influences aspectual uses: the frequency of the periphrasis in the past tense correlates with the increase of avertive uses. In this work, we adopted the theoretical framework of Construction Grammar: (i) the effect of frequency on the conventionalization of a construction has been recognized in the literature (e.g. Bybee 2010); (ii) our results are based on a contextualized approach (e.g. Goldberg 2013); to do so, we annotated our occurrences according to morpho-syntactic parameters (tense, mood, voice, adverbs, etc.), semantics (agentivity, telicity, scalarity, Aktionsart, etc.), and pragmatics (cancelled/reinforced implicature).

Secondly, we conceived two experimental studies (Yes-No Task) to describe the avertive use of *a fi pe cale*, both in the imperfect tense and in the compound past, in monoclausal sentences, cf. (1). As a result, the avertive appears in both the compound past tense and the imperfect tense in mono-clausal sentences and is obtained both in combination with achievement and accomplishment verbs (Vendler 1967).

Our results on avertivity in Romanian allow us to fill a gap in Romance. The Romanian periphrastic avertive differs from the periphrastic avertive of Ibero-Romance languages. STARE-periphrases express avertivity with perfective morphology. Combined with imperfective morphology, these can express either avertivity or proximativity; therefore, the avertivity is a pragmatic function for STARE-periphrases, whereas Romanian provides a semantic avertive, independently of the associated point of view. The diachronic path proximative-to-avertive is generally confirmed for Romance languages. At the conference, we will present a more detailed contrastive analysis of the periphrastic avertive in Romance, as well as the detailed results of our statistical analysis.

- (1) Un avion {a fost_{PERF} /era_{IMP} pe cale} să se prăbușească din cauza condițiilor meteo.
‘A plane almost crashed because of the weather.’

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In this paper, I would like to contribute to the discussion of the relationship between overabundance and underlying diachronic processes (cf. e.g. Baerman 2008 for diachrony and defectiveness), relying partly on the canonical approach to overabundance as developed by Thornton (2011) and Thornton (2019).

The phenomenon in question, which is described by Baló (2021) as free or non-conditioned, intra-dialectal, and, in most cases, intra-speaker variation in the nominal inflection of Northern Vlax Romani, involves the fact that there are two sets of masculine oblique markers, and two sets of feminine oblique plural markers:

- a. *šēró* M. ‘head’ → *šērés-* SING.OBL/*šērén-* PL.OBL
- b. *hīro* M. ‘a piece of news’ → *hīrós-* SING.OBL/*hīrón-* PL.OBL
- c. *šej* F. ‘girl’ → *šeján-* PL.OBL
- d. *žuv* F. ‘louse’ → *žuvén-* PL.OBL

Both masculine and feminine nouns are divided into three groups, based on the distribution of the oblique patterns: one in which only one pattern is used, another one in which only the other pattern is used, and a third one in which the two possible patterns vary.

Diachronically, the two sets of masculine oblique markers descend from the strict morphological split between the vocabulary inherited from Indo-Aryan (including early loans from Persian, Armenian and Greek) and the lexical items borrowed from Greek and other contact languages (Romanian, Serbian, Hungarian etc.) later, also called chronological compartmentalisation by Elšík & Matras (2006), and referred to as thematic/oikoclititic and athematic/xenoclititic components, respectively. While the *-es-/en-* pattern is originally used for the former group and the *-os-/on-* pattern is originally used for the latter group, the dichotomy is no longer so strict in Northern Vlax Romani. The forms comprising the *-os-/on-* pattern were themselves borrowed from Greek (cf. e.g. Bakker 1997, Boretzky 1989, Elšík 2000, Matras 2002: 197 and Matras 2015). The original form of the feminine plural oblique marker is *-en-*; the *-an-* form is modelled on the oblique singular in *-a-* (Matras 2002: 83, e.g. *māčǐ* F. ‘fly’ → *māčǎ-* SING.OBL).

When looking at Criterion 2 as established by Thornton (2019), which states that the more lexemes within a given part of speech and language are affected by the same kind of overabundance, the less canonical overabundance becomes, we can see that overabundance in the masculine paradigm is more canonical (12% of the attested nouns display variation, e.g. *čókano* ‘hammer’ → *čokanés-/čokanós-* SING.OBL), while feminine nouns display a less canonical form of overabundance (45% of the nouns show alternation, e.g. *šūrǐ* ‘knife’ → *šūrán-/šūrén-* PL.OBL).

Drawing on the data from Baló (2021) and in line with the notion of overabundance, I would like to argue that the *-os-/on-* forms introduced through borrowing at an earlier stage, owing to their borrowed nature, induce a higher degree of irregularity by affecting fewer lexemes, and thus the overabundance involving these forms is more canonical. On the other hand, internal levelling processes like the one seen in the feminine oblique plural are more likely to result in a higher degree of regularity and less canonical overabundance, affecting more lexemes.

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New insights on question formation in Colloquial French

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Keywords: wh-questions, French, syntax, semantics, information structure

1 The Issue Modern Metropolitan French exhibits different wh-question strategies whose usage is partially restricted by register (colloquial vs. standard/formal). The colloquial register allows for both in- and ex-situ wh-questions to occur (Coveney 2002, Coveney 2011, Faure & Palasis 2021), see (1).

(1) 'Who have you seen?'

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| a. | T'as | vu | qui? |
| | 2SG.Colloq=have | seen | who |
| b. | Qui | t'as | vu? |
| | who | 2SG.Colloq=have | seen |

Both wh-in-situ questions (1a) and wh-ex-situ questions (1b) are true information-seeking questions, i.e. (1a) is generally not associated with an echo reading unless prosodically marked (Glasbergen-Plas et al. 2021). The question what exactly causes the different structures in (1a) and (1b) to surface has not been sufficiently answered yet. Whereas it has been reported that wh arguments (such as *qui* 'who', *quoi* 'what', *où* 'where'), are more likely to occur in situ (Reinhardt 2019), I present evidence that the opposite is true for wh adjuncts (*comment* 'how', *pourquoi* 'why'). In a rating study, ex-situ questions were systematically preferred over their in-situ counterpart. Furthermore, my study could not confirm that the ex-situ realisation of *pourquoi* asks for a reason, while the in-situ counterpart asks for a purpose, as suggested by Aoun (1986). This study indicated however that information structure related factors could improve the acceptability of in-situ questions.

2 Exclusivity? Taking the colloquial variant of French as a wh-in-situ language, Faure & Palasis (2021) suggest that semantic exclusivity causes speakers to prefer wh-ex-situ over wh-in-situ questions as illustrated in (2).

- (2) A: At work I had a computer issue. I had to go to Marie, Paul or Guillaume to solve it.
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|---------|-----|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| B: | Ah oui? | Et | qui | t'as | vu, | finalement? |
| | really | and | who | 2SG.Colloq=have | seen | eventually |
| B: #?? | Ah oui? | Et | t'as | vu | qui, | finalement? |
| | really | and | 2SG.Colloq=have | seen | who | eventually |
- (Faure & Palasis 2021:85; glosses adapted)

In (2), the speaker A implies that out of the possible answer set {Marie, Paul, Guillaume}, not all members are part of the answer. The conjunction 'or' indicates that they have seen not all people. This implication causes the only acceptable follow-up question by B to be the ex-situ variant. Conversely, if speaker A had indicated that they had to see all three members of the answer set, only the in-situ variant would be an acceptable reaction.

3 Testing the hypothesis I will conduct an rating study in which speakers rate the acceptability of three in- and ex-situ wh arguments (*qui* ‘who’, *quoi* ‘what’ and *où* ‘where’), in contextsexpressing either exclusivity ([+Excls]) or not ([–Excls]). Should the hypothesis by Faure & Palasis (2021) be correct, in-situ questions should be rated higher in [–Excls]-contexts and lower in [+Excls]-contexts, where as the opposite would be true for ex-situ questions. The questions will be presented as shown in (3).

(3)

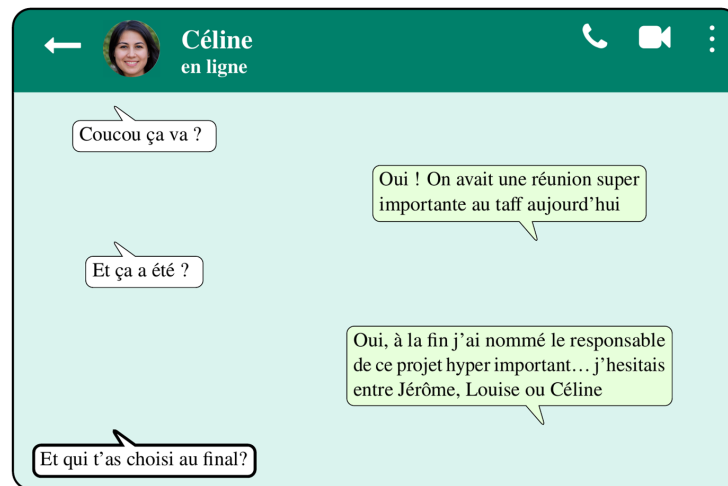


Figure 1

Example of an ex-situ question in an [Excls] conditon.

The possible answer sets are introduced by the addressee themselves and always consist of three members. In the [+Excls] condition, this set is closed by the conjunction *ou* (or) before the last member of the set, in the [–Excls] condition all set members are separated by commas and three dots were added after last element so that it becomes clear that the set is open and an [–Excls]-interpretation can be excluded.

Initial interviews with three native speakers indicated that, regardless of the [Excls]-condition, in-situ-questions were largely preferred over ex-situ questions. An online rating study with 100 participants will be conducted in order to provide more robust data and its result and implications in conjunction with my study on *pourquoi* will be presented during my talk.

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On the history of conative constructions in Ibero-Romance

– and their putative periphrasticity

Conative verbal constructions with an infinitive (INF) in Romance have received little attention from a diachronic point of view, although general literature on conativity (here in the sense of an “attemptive modality”: cf. Grano 2011, Vincent 2013, Voinov 2013, or Coupe 2018) provides important clues as to their possible lexical sources, including verbs of testing (Eng. *try* < Fr. *trier* ‘sift’, Fr. *essayer de* INF), searching (It. *cercare di* INF), visual perception, physical contact, manipulation (of a product) > negotiation (between the producer and someone else), etc. The latter three appear to be at the base of some very commonly used conative constructions in the Ibero-Romance languages: while Portuguese preserves *tentar* INF (< Lat. TENTO/TEMPTO ‘(stretch out to) touch’, and also already ‘try, attempt’), Spanish has developed a construction *tratar de* INF from a verb originally meaning ‘deal (verbally), negotiate, conspire to an end’, and Catalan displays an analogous sequence formed on a verb of visual perception (*mirar de* INF, the original meaning of *mirar* being ‘to watch, to look intently at sthg.’).

In our contribution, we will offer a detailed corpus-based account (based on exhaustive data collection from the CORDE, CHARTA, and CICA electronic corpora) of the historical development of Sp. *tratar de* INF and Cat. *mirar de* INF in order to ascertain (i) how –i.e. through which gradual steps– the interpersonal (or ‘intersubjective’, in the sense of Nuyts 2012, Thegel/Lindgren 2020) meaning of *tratar* drifted into the markedly subject-centered attemptive meaning, and why it did so only in combination with an infinitive, not in the usage of *tratar* as a ‘full’ verb; (ii) similarly, how and why Cat. *mirar* turned conative only when used with an infinitive, and to what extent this development is akin to those of conatives based on visual verbs already described in the literature (cf. e.g. Voinov 2013, Coupe 2018), and (iii), finally, whether these constructions can be regarded as periphrases even though they fail to qualify as such regarding some syntactic tests of periphrasticity in Spanish/Catalan, and hence whether their development might be best described in terms of classical grammaticalization or rather within a broader constructionalist framework.

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A variety in the making: New meanings and constructions of *epí* in the Septuagint

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Keywords: Septuagint, Ancient Greek prepositions, Classical and New Testament Greek, Hebrew, Latin Vulgata

Various constructions involving cases and prepositions in Biblical Greek are considered Semitisms.

Given the complexity of the translation process and the multiple translators involved (Walser 2008), each innovation with respect to Classical Greek must be considered separately. This paper reviews the use of the preposition *epí* in the Septuagint, focusing on the Pentateuch. *Epí* was very frequent and polysemous in Classical Greek. This preposition could be used with genitive, dative and accusative cases with high degree of semantic overlap with different cases (Luraghi 1996: 66-69, and Luraghi 2003: 298). Its basic meaning is 'on' implying contact, but *epí* underwent several processes of extensions through semantic bleaching (Luraghi 2006: 495). In the Septuagint new meanings and constructions were added, especially connected with certain biblical idioms such as 'live on/by', 'in the name of', 'cry over', and 'of a truth'.

In this paper, we compare the constructions of the Septuagint with the Hebrew texts, the corresponding constructions in the Greek New Testament (Luraghi & Cuzzolin 2007), and Jerome's *Vulgata*. Jerome strived to establish a single equivalent for each Greek preposition, but with *epí* this task proved impossible (*epí* is translated with *in*+ABL/ACC, *super*+ABL/ACC, *sub*+ABL, *supra*, *ad*, *per*, *secus*, *ab*, *adversus*, *contra*; prepositionless ablative, accusative, dative; adverb).

Our data shows that *epí* translates various Hebrew prepositions, specifically, 'al, b, 'el, ki, 'im or other constructions (cf. also Johannesson 1925: 305 ff.). The *Septuagint* witnesses increasing overlap among cases (e.g. *epí próson:ACC/prosôpou:GEN/prosôpōi:DAT* +GEN 'on the face of', cf. also Hauspie 2008), even in coordinative contexts such as (1):

(1) <i>epì</i>	<i>pâsin</i>	<i>toîs</i>	<i>thēriois</i>			
on	INDF.DAT.PL.M/N	DET.DAT.PL.M/N	beast(M):DAT.PL			
<i>tês</i>	<i>gês</i>	<i>kai</i>	<i>epì</i>	<i>pánta</i>	<i>tà</i>	<i>órnea</i>
DET.GEN.SG.F	earth(F):GEN.SG	and	on	INDF.ACC.PL.N	DET.ACC.PL.N	bird(N):ACC.PL
<i>toû</i>	<i>ouranoû</i>					
DET.GEN.SG.M/N	sky(M):GEN.SG					
'...(the dread of you shall be) upon every beast of the earth and upon every bird of the heavens...'						
(Ge 9.2)						

Some New Testament idioms with religious content were not fully developed in the Old Testament, showing that *Septuagint* Greek was a still experimental, under construction translation variety. After these idioms crystallize in the New Testament, their recognizability was enhanced by Jerome's consistent translations and some of them spread in the languages of Western Europe extending to new collocations. As an example of this trend, we pay special attention to the expressions *epì tōi onómati* and *en tōi onómati*, which we surveyed in the whole Old Testament. While the two constructions are equivalent in the New Testament, they show different meanings in the *Septuagint*, as is also evidenced by Jerome's translation in the Latin *Vulgata*, who uses *in* for both constructions in the New Testament, but not in the Old Testament.

This case study contributes to highlighting that Biblical Greek was still a variety in the making with respect to New Testament Greek. Furthermore, the translation processes behind the *Septuagint* and the *Vulgata* differ

in crucial respects, including the number of translators involved and the absence vs. presence of previous translational attempts to build on.

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Indexical parameters in the pragmaticalization of cognition verbs in three Scandinavian languages

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keywords: epistemicity, pragmaticalization, parenthetical verbs, Scandinavian, person

At least since Anscombe (1957), pragmaticists have discussed the properties of mental verbs under special consideration of the specific epistemic authority displayed in the first person (P1). Wittgensteinian views insist that this is a case of indexical “knowledge by acquaintance”, in the vicinity of volition. It is also claimed either that mental verbs in the P1 are “transparent”, or conversely that they fulfill an “expressive” function. My assumption is that this opposition does not pertain to the proper semantics of these verbs, but to their constructional uses. Meanwhile, lexical semantics may orient their constructionalization paths.

In this paper, I concentrate on written Danish, Swedish and Norwegian (Bokmål), using the TenTen corpora on SketchEngine. I study the constructionalization profile of the following verbs:

Danish: *synes*, *tro*, *tænke* (think, believe), *vide* (know).

Norwegian: *synes*, *tro*, *tenke*, *vite*.

Swedish: *synas*, *tro*, *tycka*, *tänka*, *veta*.

For each verb, four forms are selected, in the present tense: verb-subject vs subject-verb, with P1- vs. P2 (=second-person) subjects.

The parameters investigated are:

- illocutionary specialization for assertions vs questions
- share of wide-scope uses
- complementizer deletion
- position to the left vs right edge of the clause (keeping in mind their functional specialization: Beeching & Detges 2015, Van Olmen & Šinkūnienė 2021).
- rise of discourse marker usage

The findings, which corroborate first results from Dahl (2000) and Bergqvist (2021), show a high degree of sensitivity to lexical semantics, with slight differences between the three languages. A robust cross-linguistic finding is that the typically egophoric “interrogative flip” is only triggered by the combination of VS and P2.

In the conclusion, I show that the results corroborate claims about indexicality and knowledge by acquaintance, but also dismiss some predictions that could be drawn from more specific “transparency” vs. “expressive” accounts.

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Paper Proposal for SLE 56 Athens

Reanalysis or Recontextualization?

This paper challenges the concept of 'reanalysis' as a claim about a speaker's cognitive process. While perfectly suitable as a heuristic tool, identifying 'reanalysis' is contingent on distinctions extracted from a corpus of data – hence reflecting an aggregate observation of many individuals – and rests on an observer's abstraction of that aggregate. Both the abstraction and the resort on corpus data are necessary heuristic steps. Yet, its immediate transfer onto an individual speaker's cognition in statements of the type 'a speaker (re)analyses X as Y' will be disputed here.

The question in what way individual speakers make sense of the structuredness of the linguistic input they are exposed to remains relevant though. Resolving the sketched difficulty requires a hypothesis which is independent both of the collective aggregate of the observed data and of the outside observer's (linguist's) heuristic access to that aggregate.

The proposal here is to view the linguistic sign as inherently embedded in a complex array of contextual clues in each act of communication. Different from the necessity of practices of codification and description each utterance relies – in addition to its phonetic form and some generalizable (set of) meaning(s) – on shared assumptions among the interlocutors uniquely specific to a given utterance within an instance of communication.

- (1) a *Let her go in*
b *Let us go in.* 'I want you to let her and me in.' / 'I want you to let you and me in.'
c *Lets go in.* 'I want you to let you and me in.' / 'I want us to go in'.
d *Lets fight it out.* 'You and me fight it out' / 'You and you fight it out'.
e *Lets you go first.*

A comparison of the most distant lines in (1) reveals completely different ways of marking the function 'imperative' – verb-first position of *let* requesting that something be 'allowed' (1a) vs. *lets* as an analytic marker for requesting 'go' (1e). Other than in a descriptor's perspective, for a speaker each neighbouring pair of lines contains sufficient overlap (sameness) both in structure and in meaning such that a single speaker in a given instance when transferring (1a) to (1b), (1b) to (1c), etc. never needs to re-analyse or innovate anything. The underspecified nature of the utterances creates a flexibility for a speaker to transfer one and the same construction to closely similar, albeit not fully identical communicative applications. This context-embedded perspective makes it impossible to hypothesize at which point a speaker carries out a reanalysis or some other kind of innovative act.

Rather than categorially (re-)analysing the linguistic material, I claim that speakers constantly recontextualize (i.e., flexibly transfer from one communicative task to the next; cf. von Mengden & Kuhle 2020) structured, but underspecified expressions – without having to resort to linguists' categorizations. The shorthand 'X is reanalysed as Y' is a (plausible) observer's generalization, but, if reified as a speaker's cognitive reality, ignores the great flexibility of speakers when applying underspecified linguistic material to similar communicative tasks.

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The old and the new in advertising: The language of Croatian advertising through three centuries

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Keywords: advertisement, 1850s-2020s, printed media, electronic media, Croatian language

An advertisement in itself, combining (in most cases!) verbal, visual and auditory code, represents an art form, which influences culture, language, art, symbols, trends... In a word, it affects us and our everyday life (Belak 2008).

At the base of the verbal code there is “a hybrid language which is built upon the breakdown and processing of cultural heritage: popular references from literature, religion, mythology; statements made by famous people; proverbs; aphorisms; catchphrases and everyday language patterns” (Kuna and Kostanjevac 2011). Advertisements create a reality that the consumer dreams of, which must be sufficiently tangible.

This lecture presents the preliminary results of an analysis of two hundred Croatian advertisements from printed and electronic media. The printed advertisements come from magazines published during the 19th and 20th century, while the 21st-century advertisements were obtained on social media. The methodology is sociolinguistic and philological. The aim of this study is to determine which advertising strategies were used in specific time periods. Although each of the codes (image, language, sound, and more recently smell, taste, touch) has its own role in creating the illusion of a “perfect and essential product” (Stolac and Vlastelić 2014), the lecture will focus on language strategies.

The earliest Croatian advertisements in print media show the properties of administrative functional style, primarily informative linguistic function. However, the beginning of the 20th century saw a deviation from fundamental principles and features of that style (Rišner and Ižaković 2008), which means that conative and aesthetic function started becoming more prominent in advertising discourse.

The language used in Croatian advertising at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century often deviates from any norm and possesses the properties of both colloquial and literary-artistic styles (Rišner and Ižaković 2008). This is, among other things, a consequence of the development of virtual communication, which changed the advertising discourse, including its linguistic aspect. This refers to the Internet language, *netspeak* (Crystal 2006), which has become the basis of modern communication (regardless of the medium) of *digital natives*, while *digital immigrants* (Prensky 2001) are yet in the process of learning and accepting it, with varying degrees of success. There is no doubt that the key common characteristic of the generation of digital natives is that “this generation perceives language only as a useful code. [...] Preferring the economic ways of communicating, the network generation initiates various changes that facilitate fast communication” (Kurek 2021).

On the other hand, language strategies in Croatian advertisements have not undergone major changes over the course of three centuries. Since attracting attention has always been the primary goal of every advertisement, it is possible to observe some of the common methods used to draw the attention of customers, depending on the time period.

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Discursive variation explains colexification: A lexicon-wide case study on the DoReCo corpus

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Keywords: lexical semantic typology; corpus-based typology; discourse-pragmatics; computational methodologies; colexification

Crosslinguistic variation in colexification patterns (François 2008) provides us with insight in the functional pressures that shape the structure of the lexicon. One factor that has been explored is the so-called need probability of a concept, or the likelihood that a speaker of a specific language expresses a concept in language use. Kemp et al. (2018) report that a greater need probability in a language goes hand in hand with a lower rate of colexification, the motivation being that having a greater use for a concept warrants that concept having its own label. In this talk, we build on these inquiries into the discursive motivation of colexification, innovating in three substantial ways. First, while previous work considers individual case studies, we present a lexicon-wide study. Second, our study is corpus-based, rather than based on secondary, non-discursive data (such as dictionaries and word list). Finally, we consider aspects of discursive organization beyond usage probability.

In particular, we look at contextual diversity, predicting that the more diverse the corpus contexts are in which a pair of concepts occurs, the less likely that pair is colexified: the lexical item would be ‘spread too thin’ across the contexts of use of the two concepts. This factor is motivated by the observation that knowing a concept does not entail knowing how to apply it in language use, and as such, crosslinguistic variation in the rules of application are expected (Goodwin 1994, Enfield 2014). We furthermore consider, per doculect, how distinct the linguistic contexts of pairs of concepts are from each other. This informs us, similarly, about the need to keep the concepts apart: the more similar the usage contexts of two concepts are to each other, the more likely it is that the term expressing one concept can express the other without much confusion. We predict that greater separability of the contexts coincides with lower rates of colexification.

We use the DoReCo corpus (Seifart et al. 2022), a typologically diverse sample of spoken language from 51 doculects. We operationalize ‘concepts’ as English lemmas in the free translation (acknowledging the problems with this approach). For every sufficiently frequent concept, we retrieve likely translation-equivalent tokens using Wälchli’s (2014) L-Algorithm. Next, we determine whether a doculect colexifies pairs of concepts, by measuring the similarity of the translation-equivalent word tokens of the concepts. This yields 79 concept pairs that are colexified in at least one doculect. See (1) for examples (with colexification proportions):

(1) wife-woman (.23); speak-talk (.21); hear-listen (.14); river-water (.13); stick-tree (.10); bring-carry (.05)

Next, we inquire if our discursive factors (need probability, contextual diversity, separability) allow us to predict whether a doculect colexifies a particular pair of concepts. By themselves, all factors are found to be predictive. In a multiple logistic regression, however, the effect of need probability is mostly obscured by the other two contextual factors, showing that rather than the mere discursive frequency of a concept, it is the ways in which concepts are deployed in discourse that predicts whether a language colexifies them.

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Epistemic (dis)agreement and common ground information typing

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Keywords: epistemicity, evidentiality, (dis-)agreement, common ground, information sharing,

For default utterances, it is commonly assumed that propositions are shared between speech act participants as conversation progresses. This sharing process focusses on factual information, i.e. propositions mutually accepted as true. However, it becomes more complicated if epistemic or evidential forms (EFs) are employed. EFs typically don't contribute main points to resolve a QUD (e.g. Faller 2019), but are somehow external to the proposition (e.g. Recanati 1987). As a consequence, interlocutors cannot disagree with the evidential claim in (1) but only indicate the 'main proposition' should not enter the common ground (Faller 2002, Murray 2017, Müller 2021).

(1) A: Reportedly, Susie won.

B: That's not true.

→ That (= the proposition that Susie won) is not true.

→ #That (= the proposition that it is reported that Susie won) is not true.

Moreover, EFs mitigate discourse commitments as in the Quechuan example in (2a), up to the point of non-commitment in the case of reportatives, illustrated for English in (2b), but argued to be cross-linguistically stable (AnderBois 2014).

(2) a. Inés-chá llali-rqa-n. Pilar-taq-chá llalli-rqa-n. (Faller 2002)

Inés-chá win-pst1-3 Pilar-contr-chá win-pst1-3

'Possibly Inés won. And possibly Pilar won.'

b. Reportedly, Ines won, but actually, Pilar won.

This leads to a central issue: when talking about things we're not certain about, how does shared and individual knowledge progress? Information about epistemic stance must be recorded together with purely propositional, world-describing information.

Speakers not only negotiate *whether* information should be added to the common ground, but also *how*. More naturalistic interactional data from interviews and spoken language corpora reveal that other ways of epistemic disagreement are, in fact, viable, but they can be marked as agreement in German and English. In interview example in (3), the first speaker makes an assumption marked as fairly certain by *bestimmt*. The second speaker, while generally agreeing, admits it only as a possibility.

(3) Aber einen »Pluspunkt« habe es ihr doch bestimmt gebracht, wirft Ramona ein. »Ja, vielleicht«, sagt Queiser. (DeReKo, S19/JAN.00335)

'But certainly, it brought her a "bonus point", Ramona interjects. Yes, possibly, says Queiser.'

We argue that the goal of an assertion is not adding a proposition to the common ground, but describing heterogeneous objects like facts, possibilities, and reports that make up the shared knowledge space. EFs are used not only to indicate the speaker's stance towards the content of their

utterance, but also mark whether the speaker brings forward a fact, possibility, report etc. We thus expand the notion of epistemic common ground management (Grzech 2020) to include typing information of common ground content.

Reportative exceptionality is not surprising, if we acknowledge what we do in reportative statements. While stating something as fact is truthful only if it describes, indeed, a fact, stating something as a report is truthful if it correctly describes a report. A report can be used to distance oneself from its content, but it can also be used to answer a QUD (cf. Faller 2019). It is this report that sentences like (1A) describe and examples like (1B) refer to and qualify as “not true”, cf. (1'). Thus, the anaphora like *that* directly target abstract objects like reports (cf. Bogal-Albritten & Moulton 2018).

(1') B: That (report) is not true.

Open classes mark a variety of such objects like hopes (Germ. *hoffentlich*), assumptions (Germ. *vermutlich*, Engl. *presumably*), and facts (Germ. *tatsächlich* ‘in fact’) or provide further qualification, e.g. qualify a fact as obvious (*obviously*) or unfortunate (*unfortunately*). In closed classes, only the most important distinctions become grammaticalized, hence reports are one of the most commonly marked evidential notions (cf. Aikhenvald 2004). The proposal also extends to language families like Quechua where EFs can provide double marking of fact or possibility and epistemic access (cf. Faller 2002, Grzech 2016, 2020).

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Grammatical Irony in Japanese.

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<irony, Japanese, impoliteness, explicit insinuation, pretence>

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The aim of this presentation is to show that the speaker's pretending to say what she is saying can be encoded grammatically, by offering a theoretical description of what I call "grammatical irony" in Japanese. By grammatical irony, I mean the type of irony that is grammatically encoded in sentence form rather than pragmatically inferred from what is literally said (cf. Hudson 2018). As illustrated in (1), the particle ***hăi~hăi*** (reduplicated form of *hăi* which literally means 'yes'), for example, makes the sentence it precedes ironical by means of its grammatical function, thereby casting the utterer of (1) as an ironist no matter what she actually has in mind at the moment of utterance.

(1) ***Hăi~hăi*** *omoçiro-i* *omoçiro-i.*
yes~IRONY interesting-PRED interesting-PRED.
'Okey, okey, it's (very) interesting.'

This "grammatical ironization" with *hăi~hăi* is so productive that it can be applied to just about any Japanese sentence. Of particular importance is the fact that even such grammatically ironized sentences are subject to Moore's paradox (Green & Williams 2007: 3).

(2) ??***Hăi~hăi*** *omoçiro-i* *omoçiro-i,* *demo* *wătäçi=wă*
yes~IRONY interesting-PRED interesting-PRED, but I=TOP

omoçiro-i *to* *omowă=nă-i.*
interesting-PRED COMP think=NEG-PRED.
'??Okey, okey, it's (very) interesting, but I don't think it's interesting.'

The sheer absurdity of (2) shows that although (1) is grammatically ironized, its literal meaning ‘it is interesting’ remains intact. Thus the speaker of (1) would not be **saying** that it is absurd to say that it is interesting but be **explicitly insinuating** that it is absurd to say that it is interesting.

The existence of the *hăi~hăi* construction which instantiates grammatical irony in Japanese is reminiscent of “explicit indirection” (Lepore & Stone 2018, and cf. Brown & Levinson 1987) in English, where the realization of its politeness is solely given grammatically rather than pragmatically.

(3) *Can you pass me the salt, (^{ok}please)?*

(4) *Are you capable of passing me the salt, (*please)?*

Whereas there is no problem with adding *please* to (3), (4) is intolerant of the same word. This means that the indirect request to pass the salt by uttering (3) is not pragmatically derived from the speaker’s direct questioning whether the hearer has the ability to pass the salt, but is rather encoded in the form of (3). Furthermore, sentences used for explicit indirection is also susceptible to Moore’s paradox.

(5) ??*Can you pass me the salt? But I don’t want to know if you can.*

This strongly suggests that the literal meaning of (3), namely the question whether the hearer has the ability to pass the salt to the speaker, is still alive. Thus the Japanese and English grammatical (im)politeness may well fall into the same category of “explicit insinuation”, in that they preserve their literal meaning but nonetheless encode in their own grammar the speaker’s pretending to say (Currie 2006, Kumon-Nakamura et al. 1995) or “making as if to say” (Grice 1975). It could therefore be argued that some sorts of (im)politeness are made possible by the storage of potential speakers’ attitudes in a library named language.

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Coexpression of existential and possessive predication in creole languages

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Keywords: < Creole languages, coexpression patterns, existential constructions, possessive predication constructions, language change >

Can the coexpression patterns of existential and possessive predication in creoles be traced back to their ancestry languages, i.e. to their (European) colonial lexifier languages and/or to their African, South Asian, Melanesian etc. labour force substrate languages? Or should these coexpression patterns be regarded as innate and unfolding during creolization, and therefore apply to potentially *all* creoles (Bickerton 1981)? This paper will critically evaluate these competing proposals on the basis of findings from APiCS (Michaelis & APiCS Consortium 2013).

(1) Jamaican (Farquharson 2013)

(a) *Jan gat wahn haas.*

John have a horse
'John has a horse.'

(b) *Yu gat som pikni we brok bad*

2SG have some child REL break bad
'There are some children who are spoilt.'

(2) Cape Verdean Creole of Brava (Baptista 2013)

(a) *Mi'N ten des fidju.*

me.I have ten child
'I have ten children.'

(b) *Ten djent ki ta faze.*

have people who HAB do
'There are people who do it.'

The APiCS chapter "Existential verb and transitive possession verb" (Michaelis & APiCS Consortium 2013) seems to support Bickerton because a diverse majority of creoles favour the coexpression of transitive 'have' and existential 'there is X'. The European lexifiers do not display such a coexpression pattern (English *she has* vs. *there is*, Portuguese *tem* vs. *há* etc.), except for French *il a* vs. *il y a* (lit. 'it there has').

However, the picture of the substrates is much more complex (see Stassen 2005; Creissels 2019 for relevant worldwide studies). Several important West African substrates, such as Igbo, Yoruba, Akan, and Wolof, show existential–transitive coexpression, too. Thus, the pattern in Cape Verdean Creole could be attributed to its substrate Wolof. But other important substrates from the Kwa and Bantu groups do not exhibit a transitive 'have' verb, though the corresponding creoles still coexpress existence with the 'have' verb (e.g. Jamaican, Negerhollands, Mauritian Creole). Bantu languages (for instance Swahili) feature a predicative possession construction based on a comitative construction: 'She is with a book' = 'She has a book' (cf. APiCS Feature 77, Predicative possession). Interestingly, such constructions, too, can express existential predication:

(3) Swahili (Creissels 2019:7)

Kisima-ni m na maji

CL7.well-LOC CL18 with CL16.water

'There is water in the well.' (Lit. 'at-the-well there (is) with water')

Therefore, even though such substrates do not rely on transitive possession ('have') verbs, they nevertheless coexpress possessive and existential predication. Thus, one could argue that creole languages with Bantu substrates continue their abstract substrate coexpression patterns in the same way as Cape Verdean Creole continues the Wolof pattern, but here with more expressive and transparent 'have' constructions (see Heine 1997 and Kuteva et al. 2019 for the grammaticalization/coexpression path from Have-POSSESSION to EXISTENTIAL) due to their social ecologies of mainly adult second language creators in which extra transparency of the message is key.

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Cognitive schemas in nominal causal constructions: A quantitative typological assessment

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Keywords: linguistic typology, causal constructions, cognitive schemas, syncretism, noun phrase

By nominal causal constructions we refer to causal constructions in which the causing event is syntactically represented by a noun phrase, as in *He is shivering **from** [the cold]* or *She was late for work **because of** [her husband]*. The causal meaning is abstract and complex. As a consequence, i) most languages have multiple nominal causal markers (henceforth, NCM) and ii) at least some of NCMs are polysemous and can also convey concrete, e.g. spatial, meanings. In our study, we take the patterns of syncretism displayed by NCMs as a proxy for the cognitive construal of the causal meaning. Language-specific studies on nominal causal constructions have identified several semantic parameters that can govern the choice between NCMs. However, most of these studies focus on a few European languages: as English (Radden 1985, Dirven 1995), Russian (Iordanskaia, Mel'chuk 1996, Levontina 2003), Czech (Klangová 2017), Lithuanian (Valiulytė 1998), etc. By contrast, large-scale typological inquiries into nominal causal constructions are largely missing. In our talk, we are going to partially fill this gap. Our goal is to find out i) whether languages rely on (dis)similar cognitive mechanisms in the use of NCMs and ii) whether there is any cross-linguistically robust co-variance between polysemy patterns displayed by a NCM and the semantic properties of specific nominal causal contexts.

In order to answer these questions, we used the data from NoCaCoDa (Say et al. 2022–), a typological database of nominal causal constructions. This database is based on a questionnaire containing 54 stimulus sentences that are annotated for five semantic parameters: direct vs. indirect causes, objective vs. subjective causes, internal vs. external causes, etc. Currently, NoCaCoDa displays first-hand data from 33 languages. The NCMs used in the elicited translations were grouped into five gross types based on their patterns of syncretism: Goal, Instrument, Location, Object, Source, while non-syncretic markers were tagged as Dedicated.

Based on the observed distributions we arrived at the following conclusions.

- i) Syncretic NCMs viewed as a group are more prevalent than Dedicated markers. The most common patterns of syncretism are (in order of decreasing incidence) Source, Instrument, and Goal.
- ii) Markers of specific syncretism-based types favour different causal contexts, e.g. Dedicated markers favour indirect external causes, while markers from the Source type favour direct internal causes.
- iii) Arguably, the most important semantic parameter that manifests itself in the ways languages partition the semantic space of nominal causes is the contrast between direct and indirect causes.
- iv) Although the overall incidence of specific patterns of syncretism varies greatly between languages (e.g. Source markers are more common in Eastern Europe than in adjacent areas), the types of associations discussed above are cross-linguistically stable.
- v) Nominal causal constructions do not form a unified phenomenon. Dedicated causal markers (such as English *because of*), often considered prototypical, in fact constitute only a somewhat marginal type.

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Re-examining the proposed genetic relationship(s) of Panoan and Tacanan

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Keywords: Pano-Tacana; Historical linguistics; Sound correspondence patterns; Genetic relationships; South American languages

Despite the comparably recent human settlement, South America has, to the best of our current knowledge, the highest number of independent language families relative to the overall number of languages (Hammarström 2016; Kaufman 1990). The rise of documentation projects in recent years focussing on indigenous languages as well as new methodological advances open up new possibilities to re-evaluate hypothesized family relationships between languages of the Americas (Michael 2021; Pache 2018). One case of language families that have frequently been related to each other are Panoan and Tacanan (Girard 1971; Shell 1965), spoken in the South American Amazon. Both have been subject to a wide range of further genealogical proposals. For example, they have frequently been related to Mosestén-Chimane, and to other small language families spoken in adjacent areas (Suárez 1969, 1973). Despite the evidence in favour of a Pano-Tacanan language family (Valenzuela & Zariquiey 2023), a common origin of Panoan, Tacanan, and other languages is still not generally accepted (Fleck 2013). Thus, much of the linguistic history of lowland South America related to Panoan and Tacanan languages remains unclear.

A cornerstone for providing evidence in favour of a genealogical relation between a set of languages is to establish regularly recurring sound correspondences (Anttila 1972; Lass 1997). The regularity of those correspondences and their seemingly irregular exceptions is a much-discussed topic in historical linguistics (Blust 2022; Durie & Ross 1996). Instead of relying on impressionistic statements of regularity, the rise of computational methods offers new tools to add a quantified perspective. For this purpose, we created a public database for Panoan and Tacanan languages using the Lexibank format (List et al. 2022), based on a basic vocabulary list covering 501 concepts. In its first release, the database includes data from eleven Panoan, six Tacanan, and languages from three other language entities (Chipaya (isolate), Movima (isolate), Mosestén, Chimane (Mosestén-Chimane)). The sources for this data include the computational parsing of PDF dictionaries, the merging of existing databases, as well as the manual search for lexical items in written dictionaries.

In the talk, we will review the regularly recurring sound correspondences between the languages in the database and analyse them with the help of new computational workflows. In a first step, the data is analysed for partial cognacy across all languages (Wu & List 2023). The cognate words will then be phonetically aligned (List 2019), so that the sound correspondences between all cognates are made explicit. These recursively applied steps include a quantitative perspective and highlight any inconsistencies in the correspondence patterns. The results provide further evidence for a genealogical relation between Panoan and Tacanan, as well as for Pano-Tacanan and Mosestén-Chimane. For Chipaya and Movima, no such evidence can be found. While establishing the regular sound correspondences between Panoan, Tacanan, and Mosestén-Chimane can only be a first step towards a reconstruction of Macro-Panoan, the results show that re-assessing the hypothesized relationships can be worthwhile if done with sufficient methodological scrutiny, and may provide further keys to deciphering the linguistic history of the Americas.

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A Mixed Methods Study of the Cognitive Processes Engaged by an Integrated Writing Task

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Integrated writing tasks, whether used in classroom teaching or in assessment, are designed to reflect the actions, skills, and strategies that students need to master to become efficient writers able to identify, extract and synthesize information from multiple texts, and to demonstrate understanding of appropriate textual borrowing practices (Cumming, 2013; Keck, 2014; Shi, 2014; Weigle & Parker, 2012). While these tasks often meet authenticity and validity criteria, it is critical to verify that they do engage students in the same cognitive processes that a theory of second language (L2) writing ability views as essential elements of L2 writing performance (Cumming, 2013; Knoch, & Sitajalabhorn, 2013; Shaw & Weir, 2007). It is also important to understand the differential effect of students' English language proficiency (ELP) level on the nature and range of writing processes they use when responding to integrated tasks (Shaw & Weir, 2007). This study used a mixed methods approach to address these goals. The study aimed to (a) describe the cognitive processes that English as a second language (ESL) learners engage in when responding to an integrated writing task and (b) examine how these cognitive processes vary depending on the students' ELP.

Each of 51 undergraduate ESL students at two levels of ELP (high and low) completed an integrated writing task that involved listening to a lecture, reading a passage about a related topic, and writing an argumentative essay using ideas from both sources and then responded to a questionnaire about their cognitive processes. Additionally, another eight participants were video recorded while completing the writing task and provided stimulated recalls about their writing processes (e.g., pauses, revisions) immediately after completing the task. The stimulated recalls were transcribed and coded in terms of the various cognitive processes reported by the participants (e.g., planning, referring to sources, revisions) and the aspects of writing they attended to (e.g., language, content, sources). The findings indicated that the participants engaged in various cognitive and metacognitive processes and strategies and attended to various language and discourse aspects. Additionally, participants with higher ELP tended to interact with the sources and task and to engage in planning and organizing, generating and retrieving, and revising and editing more frequently than did participants with lower ELP. The findings and their implications for the teaching and assessment of source-based writing will be discussed.

Keywords: Integrated writing task, writing processes, stimulated recall, questionnaire, second language writing, L2 proficiency

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On the allomorphic variation of the Old Spanish feminine definite article: Geographical variation and change in the Iberian Peninsula

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Keywords: Old Spanish, definite article, allomorphs, geographical variation, Iberian Peninsula

In present-day Spanish, feminine nouns beginning with a stressed vowel /a/ are preceded by the definite article *el*, as in *el agua* ‘the water’. Although resembling the masculine form, it is in fact an allomorph of the feminine, which is a result of its historical evolution. This feminine definite article *el* has been studied mainly from the point of view of its reinterpretation as a masculine form by present-day speakers (Rini 2016). However, its historical evolution has not received as much attention, let alone from a geographical perspective.

In Old Spanish, the Latin feminine demonstrative *ILLA* evolved to the preliterary definite article *ela* and, later, to two different variants depending on the noun that followed it: *el* before nouns beginning with any vowel, stressed or unstressed (*el agua*, but also *el espada* ‘the sword’ or *el oveja* ‘the sheep’); and *la* in the remaining contexts (*la cibdad* ‘the city’, *la puerta* ‘the door’). Over time, the use of the feminine allomorph *el* has receded until today, when it is only kept when the noun begins with a stressed /a/ (Alvar & Pottier 1983:113; Lapesa 1981:209).

However, among the Ibero-Romance languages that form their article from the continuation of the demonstrative *ILLE*, not all of them opt for the same allomorph before vowel-initial feminine nouns. In the easternmost part of the Iberian Peninsula, Catalan uses the reduced form *l’* before all words beginning with a stressed vowel (e.g., *l’agua*). Moreover, Pascual Rodríguez (In press) registers *l’agua* in 16 Navarro-Aragonese texts dated between 1320 and 1500. This suggests that the reduced form *l’* may have been more prevalent in the east of the peninsula, and the use of the feminine allomorph *el* may have been an innovation of central or western Castilian. However, despite the observed dialectal differences, this is a phenomenon that has not been examined in detail from a geographical point of view.

The main purpose of this research is to explain the evolution and geographical variation of the allomorphs of the feminine definite article in Old Spanish. To do so, I use a selection of literary and legal texts whose geographical origin is known, dated between the 13th and 16th centuries. From the collected data, I will map the frequency of appearance of said variants to establish their diffusion through the Iberian Peninsula.

Traditional studies of Ibero-Romance varieties have privileged the analysis of phonetic phenomena to determine dialect boundaries. To help restore the balance between all levels of analysis, this investigation will provide a complete and in-depth understanding of the distribution patterns of this morphosyntactic variable. In addition, I aim to contribute not only to the history of the dialectal configuration of Spanish, but also to the study of the diffusion of linguistic innovations in the physical space.

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The linguistic prescriptivism filter on word form uncertainty: A cross-linguistic study

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Research on morphological defectiveness, the situation where a lexeme lacks any acceptable form for a particular morphological category (Sims 2015), has primarily focused on structural factors that result in uncertainty about the word's form. However, deterministically predicting loci of defectiveness has proven elusive: morphological uncertainty can result in either defectiveness or overabundance (Sims 2006), the latter indicating more than one acceptable form for a morphological category (Thornton 2012).

An extralinguistic factor that may shed light on whether defectiveness or overabundance emerges for a particular lexeme is linguistic prescriptivism. We compare its role in Estonian and French, two languages with histories of strong language planning but different normative approaches to parallel forms, with generally more acceptance of variation in Estonian than French.

We compare results from a study run in parallel in the two languages. The experiments have two task conditions, with participants asked to give either a normative acceptability judgement (e.g. "Would this word be marked wrong by a teacher?") or a judgement on usage (e.g. "Could you hear someone say this word in casual conversation?"). Target items consist of verbs whose form is uncertain, with controls consisting of verb forms which are deviant in other ways.

We expect interactions between language, task condition, lexeme frequency and degree of participant prescriptivism: low acceptability scores for uncertain forms should be found in French, especially in the normative condition, but not in Estonian in either task condition. This would suggest that the French normative dispreference for parallel forms leads speakers to be wary of word forms they are not confident in, whereas the Estonian normative embrace of parallel forms leads to more ready acceptance. The difference should be starker for more frequent lexemes, with French speakers penalising uncertainty when they believe they are expected to know the correct form.

Keywords: overabundance, defectiveness, morphological uncertainty, prescriptivism

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Advancing cognate reflex prediction: Incorporating expert evaluations and multi-tiered representations

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Keywords: cognate prediction, expert evaluations, multi-tiered representations, phonological alignments, quantitative and traditional historical linguistics

This work presents a study on cognate reflex prediction that combines a novel method employing extended phonological alignments and expert evaluation in five linguistic groups: Dravidian, Torricelli, Anatolian, Japonic and Tupi-Guarani. The goal is to predict cognate reflexes by inferring sound correspondences and changes with different machine learning methods while focusing on model explainability (Hammarström et al. 2019) instead of pure statistical performance assessment: that is, to express how the model reached its decisions. Expert evaluation bridges the gap between quantitative and traditional historical linguistics, providing insights into the model's inner workings and suggesting improvements.

Cognate reflex prediction can be approached through traditional comparative and more recent quantitative methods. The comparative method uses expert analysis of cognate sets to identify regular sound correspondences and changes, often incorporating morphological information as context (Clackson 2007). Quantitative approaches focus primarily on sound correspondences, such as the orthographic process of Dinu and Ciobanu (2014), the alignment-based models of Bodt and List (2022), the neural networks of Meloni et al. (2021), the machine translation-like approach of Beinborn et al. (2013), and the neural encoder-decoder system of Dekker and Zuidema (2021). Other notable research in this field includes Bouchard-Côte et al. (2013), List et al. (2022), and Tresoldi (2022), who proposed a diverse set of methods equally based on predicting graphemes in a language from those observed in other ones.

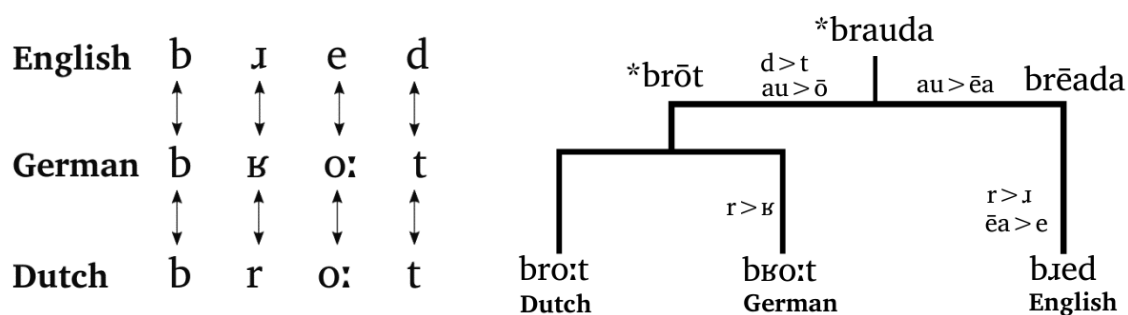


Figure 1: Schematic visualisation of (a) phenotypic and (b) genotypic cognate prediction, comparing the English, German, and Dutch word forms for the concept bread (Dekker & Zuidema, 2021).

This study builds upon Tresoldi (2022) and List et al. (2022) by implementing a method based on extended alignments ("multi-tiered representations"), which involves representing phonological data in a two-dimensional matrix and using various machine-learning techniques to predict reflexes. The method focuses on the explainability and inference of sound changes over surface sound correspondences (i.e., genotypic over phenotypic prediction, cf. Figure 1) by experimenting with the aggregation of phylogenetic information. Data collected by experts, including alignments and cognacy judgements, is used to infer missing cognates. The results are evaluated quantitatively and

qualitatively, with expert assessments providing reviewed data and judging their quality regarding potential contributions to the workflows following the traditional comparative method.

This study is part of a broader initiative to better incorporate phonology into “computational historical linguistics”, which has focused primarily on lexical data from basic vocabulary (Jäger 2019). A key emphasis is placed on model explainability. The incorporation of expert evaluations can enhance the accuracy of cognate reflex prediction and bridge the gap between traditional and quantitative historical linguistics. The data generated by this study will be available for other researchers to improve their methods further and promote advances in the field.

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What does rain do?

Predication of existence with weather nouns in French

The expression of meteorological phenomena has been widely studied, in particular through meteorological verbs in impersonal constructions (Ruwet 1986, 1990, Bauer 2000, Eriksen et al 2010, 2012). French does use impersonal constructions, not only with verbs (*il pleut* 'it's raining'), but also with nouns (*il y a du brouillard* lit. 'it has some fog' (there is fog/ it's foggy)) and adjectives (*il fait chaud*, lit. it makes hot' ('It's hot')) (Paykin, 2003, Meulleman & Paykin 2016). While many works are devoted to impersonal constructions, this study focuses on personal constructions. We propose a corpus based study of three French weather nouns *pluie* 'rain', *brouillard* 'fog' and *orage* 'storm' functioning as subjects in personal constructions, such as *la pluie tombe* 'the rain is falling'. The main research question is to know how these personal constructions are semantically equivalent to existential constructions.

The study is based on a corpus of literary texts. It reveals a wide range of predicates compatible with weather nouns, capable of expressing static (*être là* 'be there') and dynamic localization (*tomber* 'fall', *descendre* 'descend', *monter* 'rise', *entrer* 'enter'), qualification (*être dense*, *épais*, *fine*, *torentielle*, *violent* 'be dense, thick, light, torpid, violent'), intensity (*augmenter* 'increase', *diminuer* 'decrease', *grossir* 'grow', *se calmer* 'calm down'), appearance (*arriver* 'come', *surgir* 'emerge, arise') and disappearance (*disparaître* 'disappear', *s'étioler* 'to fade', *se dissiper* 'dissipate'). A wide range of transitive verbs are found as well, linked to perception, mainly visual (*noyer* 'drown', *cacher* 'hide', *brouiller* 'blur', *effacer* 'fade', *voiler* 'veil') or auditory (*chanter* 'sing', *fredonner* 'hum', *grésiller* 'sizzle', *crépiter* 'crackle', *chuchoter* 'whisper'), or expressing a mode of being via an interaction (*battre* 'beat', *cingler* 'scourge', *claquer* 'slam', *cribler* 'sift', *fouetter* 'whip') or an action (*mouiller* 'wet', *arroser* 'sprinkle', *rincer* 'rinse', *inonder* 'flood', *humecter* 'moisten', *imbiber* 'soak').

Firstly, we identify different semantic classes of predicates and show their preferred distribution with the three nouns selected for our study. Secondly, we explore to which extent the identified semantic classes of predicates combine with aspectual periphrases focusing on preparatory phase (*menacer de* 'threaten'), inchoative phase (*commencer à* 'start/ begin'), continuative phase (*continuer à* 'continue/keep on') and terminative phase (*finir de* 'finish/stop'). We show that the aspectual properties of nouns impose constraints on the choice of predicates. Finally, we explore how these predicates approximate an existential function introducing weather phenomena into the discourse via location and perception.

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Diphthongal Reduction in Medieval and Modern Greek: Setting the Record Straight

Ancient Greek had a complete series of falling diphthongs with a semivowel [j] (written ει, αι, οι, υι). From the 5th c. BC through the 2nd c. AD they all successively underwent monophthongization, but new diphthongs of the same type emerged in the language as a result of both synizesis (diphthong formation) (1a) and extensive borrowing from the katharevousa and from other languages (1b):

(1a) ἀετός > αἰτός [ai'tos] 'eagle', ὥρολόγιον > ρολοί [ro'loi] 'clock, watch',
τρώγει > τρώει [troi] '(s)he eats'.

(1b) λαϊκός > λαϊκός [lai'kos] 'popular', Arab. *maimūn* > μαϊμού [mai'mu] 'monkey', Turk. *çay* > τσάι [tsai] 'tea', E. *bacon* > ['beikon].

While retention of these secondary diphthongs is the rule, there are occasional instances in which the second element of the diphthong is lost: e.g. βοῖδιον > βόιδι ['voɪði] > βόδι ['voɪði] 'ox', τρώγεις > τρώεις [trois] > τrows ['tros] 'you eat'.

Holton et al. (2019: 23-24) present this diphthongal reduction as an entirely unpredictable and haphazard "hiatus resolution strategy", but their view is incorrect on two counts. First, diphthong formation is itself a hiatus resolution strategy. Second, and more to the point, a close analysis of the evidence reveals that the change is not haphazard. There are at least two contexts favoring diphthongal reduction.

According to Chatzidakis (1934: 296–297), the semivowel of a diphthong could be deleted if the following syllable also contained a semivowel: βοῖδια ['voɪðja] > βόδια ['voðja] 'oxen', from which a singular βόδι was purportedly extracted. Chatzidakis was on the right track, but his rule must be slightly modified to account for Μιχάλη [mi'xailis] > Μιχάλης [mi'xalis] 'Michael'. As far as I know, the loss of [j] in τρώεις > τrows ['tros] remains unexplained.

In my paper, I will present some previously unnoticed parallels in Ancient Greek and in dialectal Spanish and will offer a principled explanation for the changes at issue, largely inspired by Operstein's (2010) theory of prevocalization.

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Inheritance and contact in Koryako-Chukotian Languages

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The Chukotko-Kamchatkan language family consists of two distantly related branches. While the Kamchatkan languages comprise only one language that survived long enough to be documented, the other branch (Koryako-Chukotian) is relatively large. Apart from Chukchi, this branch also includes several so-named varieties of Koryak, as well as Alutor and Kerek. These language names do not fit to historical linguistic classification, nor to indigenous ethnic identification. The Palana variety of Koryak, for instance, is a closer linguistic relative of Alutor than it is to any of the other so-called Koryak varieties. The traditional subclassification of Koryako-Chukotian follows subsistence mode and other anthropological measures, and early scholars did not explain the linguistic basis of their hypotheses. A basic subclassification of Koryako-Chukotian can be achieved through analysis of regular sound change, although no definitive classification can be made without the analytic decision to prioritise certain sound changes over others. The clearest case for subclassification on the basis of regular sound change can be made from the fate of the ancestral **ð* consonant, which has not survived in any of the daughter languages (Muravyova 1979; Fortescue 2003): In Alutor and related varieties **ð* and **t* have merged to /t/; in (men's) Chukchi the **ð* has merged with **r* (as /r/), and in e.g. Chawchu Koryak and Kerek all of **ð*, **r* and **j* have merged as /j/. The most parsimonious explanation would be a two-step change, with **ð* → **r* in Chukchi, Chawchu Koryak, and Kerek, and then a subsequent change of **r* → j in Chawchu Koryak and Kerek.

For any proposed classification of Koryako-Chukotian there exist other regular phonological processes that are inconsistent with it, suggesting changes transmitted through waves of contact rather than through inheritance (Nagayama 2019). These include distinct patterns of collapse of the ancestral vowel harmony system, a phonological process of intervocalic glide deletion, as well as some morphological innovations. I will argue that a tree-with-reticulation model prioritising the **ð* subclassification as the tree skeleton is most plausible.

There remain challenges to this account however: There is evidence that the changes to **ð* phoneme can also be transmitted horizontally. The gender-indexical dialects of Chukchi (men's and women's Chukchi) differ precisely in the realisation of ancestral **ð* phoneme. I will review the evidence that this reflects a process in which Chukchi speaking women have at some point in the past changed their Chukchi to a facsimile of an Alutor variety (Dunn 2000), perhaps during a period of immigration of Alutor women to Chukchi communities, where Alutor styles of speaking could have become associated with femininity. There exists some genetic (biological) evidence for such sex-specific migration.

In this paper I will present a synthesis of the state of the art in Koryako-Chukotian historical linguistics, and indicate where further work should be focussed when conditions allow.

Keywords

Koryako-Chukotian, phonology, language classification, wave model, gender linguistics

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Asking about asking (about asking): Revisiting the Performative Hypothesis

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Keywords: questions, performative prefix, Performative Hypothesis, logical form, speech acts

Overall summary – We present some facts about naturally occurring questions which have not been discussed and which are captured by a syntactic constraint on the speech act level of the sentence. Our account relies on a revised version of the performative hypothesis.

Establishing a generalization – Questions such as (1)-B₁ occur quite naturally in conversations. (A₁ is the first utterance by A, B₂ the second by B, etc).

- (1) A₁: Are you married?
B₁: Am I married?
A₁: Yes. That's what I asked.
B₂: No. I'm single.

Descriptively, (1)-B₁ is not asking whether B, the speaker, is married, but is asking whether A is asking whether B is married. Assuming that speech acts are syntactically represented, i.e. that "performative prefixes" are part of logical form, (1)-A₁ and (1)-B₁ can be assigned the logical form (LF) in (2) (cf. Ross 1970, Lakoff 1970, Sadock 1974, Krifka 1995, 2001, Trinh & Truckenbrodt 2018)

- (2) A₁: Are you married?
LF: A ASK B [WHETHER are [you_B t_{are} married]]
performative prefix
B₁: Am I married?
LF: B ASK A [WHETHER [A ASK B [WHETHER am [I_B t_{am} married]]]
performative prefix performative prefix

Note that the LF of (2)-B₁ contains two subjacent performative prefixes. I argue that two is the maximum. Consider (3).

- (3) A₁: Are you married?
B₁: Am I married? (Intended reading: 'Are you asking whether I am married?')
A₂: # Are you married? (Intended reading: 'Are you asking whether I am asking whether you are married?')

The LF in (4) would yield the intended reading of (3)-A₂. The fact that (3)-A₂ is deviant under this reading suggests that LFs such as (4), with more than two subjacent performative prefixes, are ill-formed.

- (5) Constraint on Subjacent Performatives (CSP)
The number of subjacent performative prefixes cannot exceed two

CSP turns out to account for not only the facts just discussed but also several observations pertaining to excursive and declarative questions (Gunlogson 2002, 2003, Trinh & Bassi 2022, 2023).

The Revised Performative Hypothesis – Our account rely on the Performative Hypothesis (PH): speech acts are represented in grammar. Several criticisms have been raised against PH (Gazdar 1979, Levinson 1983). The most serious, we believe, is this: if PH is correct, (6a) and (6b) should be semantically equivalent, but they are not, as (6a) obviously describes the weather and (6b) the speaker.

- (6) a. It is raining
- b. I assert it is raining

I propose an updated version of PH, call it the "Revised Performative Hypothesis" (RPH). According to RPH, (6a) and (6b) have different LFs, namely (7a) and (7b), where S denotes the speaker.

- (7) a. S ASSERT [it is raining]
- b. S ASSERT [I_S assert it is raining]

Thus, RPH predicts (6a) and (6b) to have different meanings: the first says S asserts something about the weather, while the second says S asserts something about S. I provide a number of other arguments in support of RPH.

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“Stylish” similatives. A corpus-based study of STYLE-nouns in Italian and Russian

Similarity is an acknowledged strategy exploited in linguistic categorization. Within the class of similatives, we can distinguish the well-studied TYPE-noun constructions, which express similarity between two elements in terms of taxonomic relationship and relying on encyclopedic knowledge: e.g., [N1 *tipo* N2] in Italian or [N1 *tipa* N2_{GEN/NOM}] in Russian (Benigni 2014, Kolyaseva & Davidse 2018, Voghera 2013), where N1 and N2 are related by hyponymy/hypernymy relations. The grammaticalization process of such nouns from taxonomical predicates to approximators has been widely investigated (Mihatsch *et al.* In press). Less attention, however, has been paid to another group of similatives, namely, the category of STYLE-nouns. Different from TYPE-nouns, the grammaticalization process of STYLE-nouns starts from attributive predicates of the kind *N1 is in the style of N2*, and, as markers of similarity, they express indexical manner (Masini & Mauri 2020).

In this contribution, we aim to investigate STYLE-nouns by focusing on Russian and Italian, since nouns like It. *stile* ‘style’ (1), and Ru. *stil* ‘style’ (2) seem to have already undergone a grammaticalization process:

- 1) *Siamo stati sistemati in una dependance, una casetta stile "sette nani"*.
‘We were settled in an outbuilding, a "seven dwarfs"-style cottage.’
- 2) *Prigotov'tes' k praktičeskoj trenirovke v stile vol'pinizma*.
‘Get ready for a Volpinism-style practical training.’

Drawing on authentic data from ruTenTen17 and itTenTen20 web corpora, we aim to further analyze:

- a) the main Italian and Russian STYLE-nouns and their degree of grammaticalization. What are the members of such a category? How are they distributed and used in the two languages?
- b) The mechanisms exploited by STYLE-nouns to express similarity and the kind of similarity they encode. What is the relationship between N1 and N2? What meaning does this relationship entail?
- c) The competition between STYLE-nouns and TYPE-nouns. Are STYLE-nouns and TYPE-nouns interchangeable?

First, a corpus-driven scrutiny allows for the identification of a wide range of STYLE-nouns in the two languages. In addition to those exemplified above, various concurrent constructions with different STYLE-nouns were retrieved in both languages, e.g., It. [N1 *alla (moda/maniera di)* N2] ‘N1 in (the mode/manner of) N2’, [N1 *a mo' di* N2] ‘N1 by way of N2’, and Ru. [N1 *v duče* N2_{GEN}] ‘N1 in the spirit of N’, [N1 *v manere* N2_{GEN}] ‘N1 in the manner of N2’.

Then, a qualitative corpus-based analysis is carried out to investigate the collocates (what class N1 and N2 belong to) and the context of use of each construction. Constructions are selected based on a fixed minimum frequency per million words. Despite language-specific characteristics, it emerges that the mechanism that underlies STYLE-nouns similarity does not depend on encyclopedic knowledge, but rather on the context and values stored in common ground. In these constructions, N2 evokes a reference frame in which N1 is inserted through similarity and processes of metonymic extension.

Finally, a comparison of the results with existing literature on TYPE-nouns permits to highlight the hierarchical relationship between these two categories. Most often TYPE-nouns can replace STYLE-nouns and be completely acceptable, whereas only in specific contexts can the latter substitute the former.

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Multiple factors affecting the grammar of heritage languages. Evidence from Piedmontese in Argentina.

In this presentation we discuss the preliminary results emerging from fieldwork carried out in April 2022 in Argentina, in the provinces of Córdoba and Santa Fe, aimed at the documentation of heritage Piedmontese.

Piedmontese (ISO: pms) is an Italo-Romance language spoken in North-Western Italian region *Piemonte*. In spite of having a written tradition and partial standardization, Piedmontese does not have official recognition and is therefore to be considered relatively endangered. The current documentation of this language mostly consists of normative grammars, dictionaries and linguistic atlases (see Regis & Rivoira *forthcoming* for a review). Piedmontese is also spoken as a heritage language in Argentina, especially in the provinces of Córdoba and Santa Fé. Migration from Piedmont towards this area started at the end of XIX century, when the development plan for rural economy of Argentina invited the arrival of migrant workforce from Europe. Also due to the relative isolation of the rural settlements, Piedmontese was in fact transmitted as a heritage language until present day, even if its functions and usage contexts within the community have been greatly reduced over time.

Fieldwork data consist in 1) linguistic autobiographies in Piedmontese; 2) observation of spontaneous interaction in Piedmontese (folk tales, jokes, songs, ...); 3) ethnographic observation of cultural practices related to the celebration of Piedmontese language and culture. Part of the data has been transcribed and provided with morphological glosses prior to archiving to an open-access database.

Linguistic analysis of the materials collected so far allows us to observe how multiple factors interact in shaping the grammar of heritage Piedmontese, as previously argued by seminal works on heritage languages such as (Benmamoun et al. 2013, Polinsky 2018, Nagy 2018). First, contact with Argentinian Spanish led to massive borrowing (Poplack 2018) of Spanish lexicon, mostly nouns, verbs and discourse markers, with different strategies of morphological integration; see e.g. (1):

- (1) *ël CRIOLLO a=l'ha amprendu a TOM-é MAT-o dal GRINGO*
the:M.SG native 3SG=CLIT=have:AUX.3SG learn:PP to take-inf mate-.SG from_the foreigner
‘the native has learnt to take mate from the foreigner’ (Spanish in capitals)

However, several phenomena are hardly explained by language contact itself. These include the development of unpredictable agreement patterns that are unattested in homeland Piedmontese, but appear consistently throughout the corpus, as in (2)-(3):

- (2) *ij scòl-e*
the:M.PL school-F.PL
‘the schools’ (homeland variety: *le* (the:F.PL) *scòle*)
- (3) *loli ha andait-a bin*
that:M have:AUX.3SG go:PP-F.SG well
‘that went well’

Such phenomena are interpreted in our analysis as deriving from incomplete acquisition in an untutored environment and subsequent fossilization. This view is also supported by sociolinguistic evidence gathered through content analysis of the interviews. Most people in fact declare having abandoned the use of Piedmontese after childhood and having started over using it in their fifties, thanks to revitalization activities put up by local associations. We will thus also reflect on how sociolinguistic and ethnographic analysis of fieldwork data may have a large impact on our interpretation of structural phenomena.

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The rise and fall of overabundance: The case of Croatian genitive plural forms

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Keywords: Croatian, overabundance, nominal morphology, corpus-based approach, genitive plural

The present talk investigates the spread and hypothesized decline of overabundance (Thornton 2019) in genitive plural (GPL) forms of Croatian feminine nouns ending in *-a*. Here, overabundance occurs regularly with nouns ending in a consonant cluster (*kocka* ‘cube’). In reference grammars (e.g., Babić et al. 2007), such nouns can display up to three competing endings: *-ā* (*kockā*), *-i* (*kocki*), and the *-ā* ending with an alternate stem where *ā* breaks up the stem-final consonant cluster (*kocākā*). Overabundance within the GPL cell is theoretically possible with any noun of this set, which in terms of membership makes it one of the richest instances of overabundance in Croatian.

This instance of overabundance is relatively recent. According to prescriptive sources (Težak 2005), it results from the spread of the more recent *-i* ending at the expense of the other two endings. This shift has been in progress since at least the mid-20th century, although at different rates with different nouns and in different registers.

More interestingly, there are indications that overabundance in this cell shows signs of decline: while the shift has certainly produced many nouns with overabundant GPL cells, there are many where it can be hypothesized that the *-i* ending has already prevailed. The investigation reported here is the first attempt to test this hypothesis, and more generally, to fully describe and quantify this shift, which – in contrast to other trends in Croatian usage – reduces overabundance rather than increasing it.

To that end, we have collected evidence from a sample of 208 Croatian nouns from four contemporary dictionaries and two corpora of contemporary Croatian and have made two kinds of comparison. First, we compare forms cited in dictionary entries with the *Riznica* corpus of contemporary Standard Croatian to examine differences between dictionary forms and contemporary standard language usage. Dictionaries tend strongly to cite at least two forms and often all three possible forms. In contrast, the counts from *Riznica* show that almost 63% of nouns occur predominantly with the *-i* ending (these are nouns where the *-i* ending has a share of at least 70% – see Bermel & Knittl 2012a; 2012b for this threshold). Only 17% of nouns have a more balanced profile in *Riznica*.

Second, we examine differences between *Riznica* and colloquial usage reflected in the *forum.hr* corpus. This comparison allows us to approximate the extent to which the *-i* ending has spread beyond the usage sanctioned in contemporary standard language. For 80% of the nouns, the most frequent ending matches in both corpora. However, for the remaining 20%, the difference suggests a shift towards a greater share for the *-i* ending in *forum.hr*.

The results suggest that with most nouns overabundance in the GPL might be rapidly waning in favor of the *-i* ending. This reduction of overabundance appears to be unique in the Croatian nominal system, where overabundance is generally maintained. In the talk, various explanations for the spread of the *-i*-ending and for the unique behavior of this slot are discussed in addition to corpus evidence.

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Word-formation and semantic analysis of onomatopoeia

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Keywords: onomatopoeia, iconicity, derivational networks, word-formation, semantics

This paper presents a contrastive analysis of English and Slovak onomatopoeia-based derivational networks. Since there are various definitions of onomatopoeia, it is firstly explained why we chose to adhere to the one we are using, i.e., direct imitations of natural sounds by means of a language-specific system of phonemes, with distinction between primary and secondary onomatopoeia (Körtvélyessy 2020). The semiotic nature of onomatopoeia is also examined, following the theory presented in Radden (2021). The paper is based on the research done for the dissertation thesis, that covers 32 onomatopoeia-based derivational networks for the English language and 32 for the Slovak language. The sample of the onomatopoeic words is evenly divided into 16 different sound-types based on the sound-types, i.e., the source of the imitated sound (e.g., air, water, mammals, etc.). The outcomes of the research are illustrated in this paper by four exemplary derivational networks created for the most common onomatopoeic word of each language for the sound type “air” and sound type “water”. The objective is to evaluate similarities and differences between (i) onomatopoeia-based networks and networks based on non-iconic words, and (ii) between Slovak and English networks. The former comparison is based on the relevant chapters on English and Slovak derivational networks in Körtvélyessy et al. (2020). While the analysis of the research relies on several parameters, including size and depth of the networks, their saturation values and the word-formation processes applied in derivation, the main focus of the current paper is on the semantic facet of derivational relations in the networks, in particular, the significance of individual semantic categories, their derivational combinability, blocking effects, and, crucially, various semantic shifts in the individual degrees of derivation that lead to the loss of the sound-imitating nature inherent in the underlying onomatopoeia. The results suggest that the original sound-imitating nature of onomatopoeia is often lost in derivation because of extensive use of metaphor and metonymy in the process of derivation.

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The translation of the *Dioptra* as a parallel corpus for Middle Bulgarian

It is a well-known fact that most medieval Slavonic texts are translations from Greek (e.g. Taseva 2013: 129). Parallel corpora like TOROT (Eckhoff/Berdičevskis 2015) and PROIEL (Eckhoff et al. 2018) are thus valuable resources for any research on medieval Slavonic. However, existing corpora include mainly texts in Old Church Slavonic and Old East Slavonic. Other varieties, like Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic, are hitherto underrepresented. We would therefore like to present a project in which the first morphologically annotated parallel corpus will be constructed for a text written in Middle Bulgarian Church Slavonic. The creation of such a corpus will make the application of corpus linguistic and statistical methods possible and thus allow for a better understanding not only of diachronic changes in Balkan Slavic but also of the influence that can be contributed to Greek as the source language. The expression of determination is a field where such an interplay can be observed and analysed, as endogenous (postposed demonstrative, adjectival long form) and exogenous (use of *иже* imitating the Greek article) expressions compete with each other. It must, however, be kept in mind that even the endogenous expressions of determination may be highly dependent on the syntax of the original. Since Middle Bulgarian translations oftentimes are extreme examples of word-by-word-translations, postposed demonstratives having a Greek equivalent do not allow for any conclusions regarding the development of the modern Bulgarian article. Any work on a text like the *Dioptra* must thus bear its specific characteristic as a translation in mind and pay special attention to those instances where the original and translated texts differ.

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The diachrony of weather predicates: Evidence from the history of Icelandic

Weather predicates in Icelandic can occur in the following four surface patterns (Sigurðardóttir & Eythórsson 2019): (1a) with an overt NP-argument, (1b) with the expletive *það* ‘it’, (1c) with the overt quasi-argument *hann* ‘he’, and (1d) without any overt element. The meaning of all the structures in (1) is ‘it gets windier’.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| (1) a. Vindinn hvessir. | b. Það hvessir. | c. Hann hvessir. | d. Hvessir. |
| wind.ACC gets-windier | EXPL gets-windier | he gets-windier | gets-windier |

These facts appear quite complex and it may seem difficult to account systematically for the attested variability. However, by comparing the state of affairs in Modern Icelandic to that of Old Icelandic, on the basis of historical corpora, we can disentangle the complex situation and sketch a plausible diachronic development, involving the interaction of argument structure and the coding of weather events (Eriksen et al. 2012). Other syntactic changes in Icelandic also play a role, such as the emergence of the expletive *það* (16th century) and the introduction of the quasi-argument *hann* (17th century). The elements *það* and *hann* are synonymous with the pronouns meaning ‘it’ and ‘he’, respectively.

Our account of the diachrony of weather predicates in Icelandic is as follows. First, we demonstrate that these predicates show different characteristics in terms of their argument structure. Based on their historical origin, they can be divided into three categories: (i) Intransitive verbs taking nominative subject (*kólna* ‘get cold’, *hlýna* ‘get warm’, *blása* ‘blow’, *frjósa* ‘freeze’), (ii) intransitive (anticausative) verbs taking oblique subject, either in accusative case (*hvessa* ‘get windy’) or dative case (*kyngja* ‘snow a lot’), and (iii) denominal verbs like *rigna* ‘rain’, originally without any (overt) subject, which can be secondarily (metaphorically) construed with a dative subject. Second, on the basis of the synchronic variation exemplified in (1), as well as the syntactic changes which led to that situation, a diachronic directionality in the coding of weather events can be inferred. By and large, there is a development from a coding of the weather event by an NP argument, occurring together with a predicate such as in (i) and (ii), to a coding by a predicate only, as in (iii). A relevant example involves *hvessir* with an overt NP, as in (1a), which in later Icelandic can also appear without an overt NP, as in (1d). Thus, there is a strong tendency, perhaps due to a cognitive bias, to form a uniform category of weather predicates, without an NP.

To conclude, a series of diachronic changes have given rise to the apparently complex synchronic situation in (1). Although weather predicates in Icelandic have different origins (witness categories (i)–(iii) posited above), they exhibit the same diachronic directionality with respect to changes in argument structure and coding of weather events. The general trend involves a development from a construction with an NP and a predicate to a construction where the predicate alone bears the core weather-related meaning.

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Towards a reconstruction of the Proto-Witotoan pronominal system (Northwest Amazonia)

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<Northwest Amazonia, pronoun systems, cross-referencing agreement markers, proto-Witotoan, classifiers>

This work reconstructs the pronominal systems—free pronouns and cross-referencing agreement affixes on verbs—of Proto-Witotoan, an ancestor of Murui-Muina (previously referred to as ‘Witoto’), Ocaina, and Nonuya from Colombia and Peru (e.g. Fagua Rincón 2013, Wojtylak 2020). In their systems of free pronouns and pronominal cross-referencing markings on the verbs, Witotoan languages distinguish between three persons, three numbers (singular, dual, and plural), and two genders (feminine and masculine). There are clear formal correspondences between these systems: 1SG/DU/PL and 2SG/DU/PL free pronouns are the source of bound 1SG/DU/PL and 2SG/DU/PL cross-referencing agreement markers. To illustrate this, two paradigms of Witotoan 1SG/DU/PL person pronouns/bound pronominal forms are given in Tables 1-2 below:

Table 1. Witotoan cognate sets – first person independent pronouns

	MM				OC		NO	Proto-Witotoan
	Murui	Mika	Minika	Nipode				
	S/A/O				S/A	O	S/A/O	
1SG	kue				xõ	xõũ	hoʔé	*k ^h oʔe
1PL	kaɪ				xaaho		toó	*kaw
1DU.M	koko				xoxo		kóoho	*ko-k ^h o
1DU.F	kaɪɲaɪ	—	kaɪɲaɪ		xaa-ka		—	*kaw-ko

Table 2. Witotoan cognate sets – Witotoan first person bound pronominal forms

	MM				OC	NO	Proto-Witotoan
	Murui	Mika	Minika	Nipode			
1SG	-kue	-ke	-kue		xo-	ho-	*k ^h o-
1PL	-kai				xaho-	to-	*kaw-
1DU.M	-koko				xoxo-	ko-	*ko-k ^h o-
1DU.F	-kaiŋai	—	-kaiŋai		xaka-	—	*kaw-ko-

Formally and functionally, there are differences between Witotoan 1- and 2- (SAP) vs. 3-person (non-SAP). Our reconstruction demonstrates that:

- i) Proto-Witotoan had originally singular vs. plural distinction for 1- and 2-person, with the 1DU/2DU being a later addition to the system,
- ii) the 3-person pronouns and agreement markers on verbs originate from spatial and anaphoric demonstratives combined with animate classifiers (with different degrees of fusion),
- iii) Proto-Witotoan free pronouns gave rise to bound (S/A/O) agreement markers on verbs, as there is a clear formal correspondence between these forms.

This study is the first detailed analysis of the Witotoan pronoun system(s), including the areal perspective of Northwest Amazonia (i.e. the Caquetá-Putumayo River Basins groups with who the Witotoan peoples were in direct contact). The conclusions are drawn on the first-hand data gathered during fieldwork (Murui-Muina, Nonuya) as well as secondary sources, including linguistic descriptions and questionnaires sent to the linguists working with the languages in question (Ocaina, Bora, Miraña, Muinane, Andoke, Resígaro).

Our analysis is a contribution to the typology of person marking of South American languages, not only in terms of the reconstruction of the proto-system. The existence of 1/2/3 person and singular vs. plural number distinctions is considered to be almost universal, going back to Greenberg (Greenberg 1963, p. 96). Witotoan languages are somewhat exceptional as in their systems, feminine-masculine gender occurs in only in a subset of non-singular categories (Siewierska 2004, p. 107). This feature however appears not to be unique to Witotoan languages: unrelated Resígaro (Arawak) and Andoke (isolate), highly endangered languages spoken in direct vicinity, also share similar phenomenon. The feature of feminine-masculine gender in dual forms might thus be a result of areal diffusion in the region (Aikhenvald 2002, 2012: 128-155, Payne 1990).

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Sound symbolism and conventionality in Omaha sound roots

This paper investigates the degree of sound symbolism found in the sound roots of Umó^hoⁿ (Omaha), a Native North American language of the Siouan family. Sound roots in Siouan languages were described as early as Dorsey (1892) as “onomatopes”; most of them are onomatopoeic bound roots that combine with different affixes to create verbs – see (1).

- (1) a. **s’u** “resembles the sound heard in planing (*S ! s ! s !*)” (D92)
 ba-s’ú “to scrape wood” (with **ba-** “by pushing”) (DD)
 b. **taxi** “formed from the sound *tx*” (D92)
 ga-táxi “make the sound *taxi* by striking (a tree)” (DT)
 (with **ga-** “by striking”)

In addition to their onomatopoeic nature, sound roots are often subject to consonant gradation of their fricatives, whereby different points of articulation symbolically refer to different grades – as in (2), where the further back the point of articulation is, the more intense and harsh the sound imitated. In terms of Johansson et al.’s (2020) classification, consonant gradation would fall into the more conventional “relative type” of iconicity.

- (2) **zúde** “to whistle, as a man” (DD)
 zudé “refers to the expulsion of the breath by a person (D92)
 or animal that is nearly exhausted from running, etc.”

The phenomenon of consonant gradation is a typical example of sound symbolism as defined by Nuckolls (1999:228). It makes the sound roots, and the verbs derived from them, move away from a purely imitative word formation (or root formation) to a more conventional system. The semantic analysis of consonant gradation is made complicated by several cases of polysemy, as in (3).

- (3) **sađu** “rattling of corn (...) rattling of the rattle snake” (D92)
 jađu 1) “swishing sound, made in water”
 2) “the sound made by the hitting, dragging, etc., of a chain” (D92)

A few roots also enter into consonant gradation relationship with roots that do not refer to sound. This could illustrate semantic shifts away from onomatopeia, as in (4).

- (4) **staki** “flying off, as drops of water flung (...)” (DD)
ftaki “[one] flapping or slapping sound (...)” (D92)

I will discuss the interplay between sound imitation and consonant gradation in a set of around 50 sound roots in Umóⁿhoⁿ, among which 15 enter into consonant gradation relationship among themselves, and 3 enter into consonant gradation relationship with non-sound-imitating roots.

Examples of sound roots, their meanings, derived forms, and uses are brought from the philological study of various lexicons and texts (among others: Dorsey 1890, 1891; Rudin et al. 1989-1992; Saunsoci & Eschenberg 2016; Sanchez et al. in progress).

Abbreviations

- D92 Dorsey (1892)
 DD Dorsey (n.d.)
 DT Dorsey (1890)

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Locative relations and valence extension: multifunctional locative markers in Mocoví (Guaycuruan, Argentina)

In many languages the expression of locative events, e.g., ‘the cat is on the table’, is semantically and structurally characterized by a type of locative predicate (e.g., locative or positional, see Ameka, 2007; Ameka & Levinson, 2007). There are, however, languages which mainly express locative events through verbal affixes, which signal the type of spatial relation between a FIGURE or TRAJECTOR and the GROUND or LANDMARK (Levinson & Wilkins, 2006; Svorou, 2002). Combining spontaneous and elicited speech, the present study explores the encoding of locative constructions in Mocoví (Guaycuruan, Argentina), a language in which verbal suffixes play an important role in locative event expressions. Furthermore, this work shows that these suffixes are not only restricted to the domain of location, but also serve to increase verb valence.

Mocoví has a paradigmatically elaborated system of locative suffixes (Carrió, 2009; Grondona, 1998; Gualdieri, 1998f), i.e., *-lek* ‘loc₁’, *-ge* ‘loc₂’, *git* ‘loc₃’, *gi* ‘loc₄’, and each of these markers specifies whether the figure is on top (*-lek*), next to (*-git*) or inside (*-gi*) the ground or in another unspecified distant location (*-ge*). Compare examples in (1).

- (1) a. *Ø-paʔa:-lek* *ke-na* *lawa*
 3.II-be.located-LOC₁ OBL-DET₃ earth
 ‘(the tube) is on the ground.’
- b. *Ø-paʔa:-ta-gi* *na* *lawa*
 3.II-be.located-DUR-LOC₄ DET₃ earth
 ‘(the seed) is in the soil.’

Although the basic locative function of these markers is evident with stative verbs whose basic meaning entails a broad notion of location, the distribution of these markers and their impact on verb meanings has not been systematically addressed. The first part of this presentation aims at filling that gap by showing distributional and semantic properties of locative markers when occurring with different verb types. Observe, for instance, that *-lek* also conveys a similar meaning to partial affectedness (in the sense of Beavers, 2011). The predicate in (2) entails that the single argument expresses a change-of-state only in its upper part, but such entailment is not present in the *lek*-unmarked form of *-fiwi* ‘be/get dry’.

- (2) *r-fiwi-lek* *na* *lawa*
 3.INTR.II-be/get.dy-LOC₁ DET₃ soil
 ‘The ground is dry on the surface.’

The second part of this talk will focus on valence-increasing. The data show that some of Mocoví’s locative markers can add a new participant to the verb argument structure. In (3), for instance, *-lek* adds a beneficiary participant, creating an ambitransitive construction (see Dryer, 2007; Zúñiga, 2017) with two non-subject arguments and an intransitive subject. Here, we discuss whether all locative markers have such an applicative function and whether certain types of applied semantic arguments call for specific locatives.

(3) *so i-taʔa ajim r-lawat-gan-lek waqaeʔ*
 DET₂ 1POSS-father 1SG.PRON 3.INTR.II-kill-VM:INTR-LOC₁ chicken
 ‘My father killed a chicken for me/in my honor.’

The range of functions that locative markers display in Mocoví expands the typology of structural means known for expressing locative constructions. It also highlights the connection between the domain of spatial relations and valence increase, a phenomenon that has not received much attention across South American languages until recently (e.g., Kohlberger, 2022; van Linden, 2022).

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On bullshit: How can indifference toward truth be characterized?

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Keywords: bullshit, lies, commitment, accountability, deception

Since Frankfurt's well known essay *On Bullshit* (2005) many accounts on bullshit have been proposed (Kenyon & Saul 2022, Carson 2016, Meibauer 2016 and Stokken & Fallis 2019). The concept has also been applied to broader phenomena such as post-truth (McIntyre 2018, Ball 2017), fake news (MacKenzie & Bhatt 2020) or negationism (Douglas 2006). Overall, it appears that bullshit has become a popular topic within the realms concerned with misleading speech that goes beyond lying, given its persuasiveness and implications.

However, there is currently a lack of consensus and a clear definition of bullshit. A minimum consensus seem to be it is a speech characterized by the lack of concern or indifference toward truth and, as a result, differs from lying. But I will show that specifying which is the distinctive pragmatic feature of a bullshitter remain challenging. I address this issue and propose a commitment-based approach as a potential solution.

The main challenge lies in the ambiguity surrounding key features that typically help elucidate the characteristics of speech types, such as the speaker's attitude or intentions. Main approaches to distinguishing lying from misleading relies on identifying these patterns. In the case of bullshit, these key aspects remain unclear. The characteristic of "being indifferent toward truth" fails to provide this specific information. Additionally, existing examples in the literature significantly diverge on these basic features.

In view of this, I will first present a taxonomy of examples to provide a comprehensive understanding of what have been called "bullshit" and assess this heterogeneity. Second, building upon Marsili's (2021) notion of assertoric commitment, and argue that although speakers on the examples exhibit different patterns, there is a common factor among them: their ability to avoid the usual costs associated with lying. This is what enables them to be indifferent toward truth, and differ from liars. A liar has to care about truth not just, because she says something false believed or she intends to deceive, but because in saying what she says, she exposes herself in a certain way, to some challenges. Here lies the distinctiveness, but also the persuasiveness and efficacy of bullshit speech.

Thus, the paper examines the reason behind the lack of clarity of bullshit, and explore the strategies employed by bullshit speakers to disregard responsibility. This includes analyzing how certain linguistic patterns enable speakers to disengage from accountability, and the crucial role of social and contextual factors, particularly in those examples of post-truth contexts. In this way, I not only hope to contribute to the elucidation of the notion of bullshit. Focusing on commitment and understanding these strategies will contribute to the comprehension of the implications of deceit in contexts of persuasion, argumentation, and exchange of testimonies.

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Varieties of passive in the Lavongai-Nalik languages of Northern New Ireland (Papua New Guinea)

In this paper, I present some findings from my recent fieldwork on voice systems in the Meso-Melanesian Lavongai-Nalik (LN) languages of Northern New Ireland (Papua New Guinea): Lavongai, Tigak, Tiang, Kara, Lakurumau, and Nalik (Fig.1 and Fig.2). I show, these languages display a degree of variation actually greater than previously assumed.

Previous research has reported on the presence of an agentless morphological passive in the Lemakot dialect of Kara, formed by means of the suffix *-an*, believed to be absent in the other LN languages, and to be consistently agentless (Schlie 1983; Dryer 2013). However, my fieldwork has showed that the *-an* passive is also attested in Tigak dialects; moreover, in Tigak, and in the Losuk dialect of Kara, passive agents are allowed, with some semantic limitations: only animals and natural forces are permitted, never humans (1).

Tigak (Nusa dialect)

- (1) *Tang bogo ga=po punuk-an tana ta piu/*yaanu*
 ART pig REALIS=PERF kill-PASS by ART dog/*man
 ‘The pig has been killed by the dog/*man’

Even more interestingly, in the north-western dialects of Kara (Nonopai and Losuk), a second passive form is found, which is formally identical to the detransitivized (semi-transitive, as per Sugita 1973) form of transitive predicates (2b, 2c). Typical morphological means of detransitivization in Kara include reduplication, ablaut, and the use of the antipassive suffix *-aai* (< Proto-Oceanic *aki). Such “detransitivization” passive is productive, but with some limitations unknown to the *-an* passive (for instance, it cannot be used when both A and P are human). Whilst passive formed by means of the suffix *-an* are encountered in other Oceanic languages (and can be traced back to Proto-Oceanic; Ross 2012), the “detransitivization” passive is, to my best knowledge, a unicum in the Oceanic family.

(2) Kara (Nonopai dialect)

- a. *Ne=fo ves-an-a lifu*
 1SG.S=PERF make-APPL-TR house
 ‘I build a/the house’
- (6b) *Ne=va~ves-aai lifu*
 1SG.S=RED~make-ANTIP house
 ‘I have (usually) build houses’
- (6c) *A lifu (Ø=)fo va~ves-aai // ves-an-an*
 ART house (3SG.S=)PERF RED~make-ANTIP make-APPL-PASS
 ‘The house has been built’

The Tigak and Kara situation is quite unusual: in Melanesian languages, morphological passives are rare (Lynch et al. 2002), and mostly agentless (Ross 2012.). It poses a series of questions: why two passive constructions? What are the reasons for the semantic limitations to agents in Tigak and Kara passives? How can a functionally antipassive formation (detransitivized transitive predicates) develop into a passive? In this paper, I only tackle the last one. I suggest, that the Kara detransitivization passive may have emerged first in predicates that used *-aai* to form semitransitives: following Janic (2016), I consider **aki* a general detransitivizing device, which, in a first stage, left the assignation of the semantic role of the S-argument (A or P) open to interpretation, being able to derive both passive and antipassive meanings, and later specialised in some languages (Micronesian) as a passive, and in other (including LN languages) as an antipassive. In some Kara varieties, **aki* has retained its original flexibility, which has later been generalized to all de-transitivization devices forming semitransitives.



Fig.1 LN languages



Fig.2 Fieldwork locations in the Kara-speaking area

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Interjections, vocatives and adversative particles: For a syntax of *micro-discourses*

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Keywords: Interjections, Vocatives, Adversative particles, discourse, prosody

The issue: In this work I discuss the distribution and the properties of some primary interjections in the Roman dialect – *aò* – in Neapolitan – *uè* and *uà* – and in the Treviso dialect – *ehi*, compared with the secondary one *areo* – in emotional contexts, such as surprise and disapproval. In these contexts, they can cooccur with vocatives and adversative particles, such as *ma* (but), giving rise to interesting patterns exemplified by example (1)-(3).

The data: Consider the following examples:

- (1) **Aò Giovà ma** che sta' a fa? Roman, disapproval question

Interj. Giovanni.voc but what are you doing?

Giovanni, what are you doing?

- (2) **Uè/uà Mari ma** nun era esse russ sto vestit?

Neapolitan, surprise question (from Marchetiello, 2022)

Interj. Maria.voc, but not was to be red this dress

'Maria, but wasn't it supposed to be red, this dress?'

- (3) **Ehi Nani ma** no te gavevo deto de studiar?

Treviso, surprise-disapproval question

Interj. Giovanni.voc but not I told you to study?

Giovanni, didn't I tell you to study?

Method: Data were collected by interviewing native speakers in a experimental plan concerning surprise and disapproval special questions. Given a certain context, they were presented with two tasks: an elicitation task and a repetition one. Results were recorded and analyzed by means of Praat (and ELAN as far the gestural component was concerned, not relevant however for the present proposal). Grammatical judgments on a Likert 1-5 scale were also asked.

Hypothesis and discussion: The widely held assumption is that these interjections represent autonomous speech acts – cf. among the many others Poggi (2009), Badan and Frascarelli (forthcoming), Munaro (2019, 2022).

This observation, however, does not fully explain their distributional properties. Moreover, the various dialects – ranging from Northern, Central and Southern Italy – are very much alike, as far the distribution of the items in question is concerned, meaning that the properties involved are very general. The generalizations emerging from the collected evidence are the following:

- The vocative always follows the interjection.

- The adversative particle always follows the interjection
- The vocative precedes the adversative particle

Hence, the resulting word order is: Interjection> Vocative> Adversative. Moreover, the adversative particle *ma* can be substituted by the conjunction *e*, or, less frequently, by other particles.

The data provide evidence for concluding that there is a **hierarchical structure** on the left of CP, beyond the left-periphery, including **interjection**, **vocative** and **adversative particle** in this order. The prosodical analysis provides additional evidence in favor a structural hypothesis. Interestingly, other orders are possible as well, but their prosodic realization and interpretation turn out to be systematically different.

I propose that these sequences are **micro-discourses**, i.e., utterances which look like a single sentence, but are actually constituted by a sequence of different speech acts, hierarchically organized in a discourse by means of the intervention of *discourse heads*. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that discourses, at least in the contexts investigated here, are not just a random sequence of sentences, but are structured according to general principles.

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The evidential *-jama* in Aymara. A case of grammatical replication?

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Keywords: <Evidentiality, Language Contact, Grammatical replication, Aymara, Spanish>

Typological research (Aikhenvald 2004) highlights the limited spread of evidentials from languages employing ‘evidential strategies’ to languages possessing ‘strong evidential systems’. In contrast, research on contact-induced language change suggests that there are no apparent constraints on transferring linguistic features from between languages (Thomason 2001: 11).

Aligned with the latter viewpoint, the aim of this study is to illustrate the spread of evidentials from Spanish, a language with evidential strategies, to both Muylaq’ (Moquegua-Peru) and La Paz Aymara (La Paz-Bolivia), two languages with strong evidential systems. Specifically, it focuses on the previously unnoticed evidential function of the Aymara comparative suffix *-jama* (Coler 2014; Hardman 2001), suggesting that it emerged through the replication process, as described by Heine and Kuteva (2005) from the Spanish comparative expression *como (que)* meaning “like (that)”. Recent investigations on Spanish (Quartararo & González Vergara 2020) have demonstrated that, in addition to its grammatical and discursive uses (RAE 2009), *como (que)* also functions as an inferential evidential (1). Both Muylaq’ and La Paz Aymara have replicated the inferential uses of the Spanish expression ‘*como (que)*’ through the suffix *-jama*. This replication process aligns with the ordinary grammaticalization pathway (Heine & Kuteva 2005)

- (1) PARTICIPANT2: Me sonó **como** arena a mí.
PARTICIPANT1: Sí / eso es **como** un muelle / ahí atrás(s).
PARTICIPANT2: Puede ser (Quartararo & González Vergara 2020: 330)
“It looks like sand to me”
“Yes, that looks like a dock, back there”
“Maybe”

La Paz Aymara

- (2) *Kayut cadenamp chinuntatjamakiwa cadent’ataxay* (AILLA: 5_AY_TASK)
kayu-t(a) cadena-mp(i) chinu-nta-t(a)-**jama**-Ø-k(a)-i-wa
foot-ABL chain-COM tie-IW-PTCP-CP-VBZ-INCOMPL-3>3.SPL-DECL
caden(a)-t’a-ta-xay(a)
chain-MOM-PTCP-SS
“Parece estar amarrado con cadena de los pies, encadenado / It seems to be tied up with chain by the foot, chained”

Muylaq’ Aymara

- (3) *Matiyux aymarx yatintaskirjamawa* (Coler 2014: 224)
Matiyu-x(a) aymar(a)-Ø-x(a) yati-nta-s.ka-ir(i)-**jama**-wa
Matt-TOP aymara-ACC-TOP know-IW-PROG-AG-CP-DECL
“It looks like Matt is learning Aymara”

Studies on evidentiality in Spanish showcase the inferential nature of the construction *parecer* + *infinitive* (Cornillie 2007). The usage of this construction, or its English counterpart “it seems/looks like”, in the translations provided by bilingual Spanish-Aymara speakers (see examples 2-3), further indicates the inferential function conveyed by *-jama*.

Apart from the functional similarities between *como (que)* and *-jama*, diachronic data also supports the proposed hypothesis. In the Aymara grammars authored by Jesuit missionaries in the 17th century (Bertonio 1603; Torres Rubio 1616), *-jama* is described solely as a nominal comparative.

The data utilized for this investigation have been collected by Matt Coler, who conducted fieldwork in the village of Muylaque between 2007 and 2009, and Geraldine Quartararo, who did her fieldwork in the La Paz department between 2014 and 2015. All data were obtained with Aymara-Spanish bilingual speakers.

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Finnic comparative constructions in an areal context

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Keywords: locational comparatives, particle comparatives, morphosyntax, Finnic languages, areal linguistics

Comparison can be defined “as a mental act by which two objects are assigned a position on a predicative scale”; inequality of these positions is encoded by comparative constructions (Stassen 2013). Typically, they are made up of two NPs, one marking the comparee and the other the standard of comparison (see 1–2). The marking of the standard has been used to distinguish between the main types of comparative constructions: locational, particle, exceed, and conjoined comparatives (ibid.). One language may contain several types. For instance, Võro South Estonian (Finnic < Uralic) displays a locational type (see the elative marking in 1) and a particle type (see the use of ‘than’ in 2). In the languages of Europe, the particle type is regarded as a joint innovation (e.g., Haspelmath 2001).

	comparee		standard	parameter
			+standard marker	+parameter marker
(1)	<i>tä</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>mu-st</i>	<i>lühkü-mb</i> (EVS)
	3SG	be.3SG	1SG-ELA	short-COMP
	‘s/he is shorter than me’			

	comparee				parameter +parameter marker	standard marker	standard
(2)	<i>üts</i>	<i>turak</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>iks</i>	<i>ulli-mb</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>tynõ</i> (EVS)
	one	fool	be.3SG	still	stupid-COMP	than	other
	'one fool is still stupider than the other'						

The present paper analyses comparative constructions in the Finnic languages (Estonian, South Estonian, Livonian, Votic, Ingrian, Finnish, Veps, Karelian, and Ludian) and draws parallels with the neighbouring non-cognate varieties of Latvian, Latgalian, and Russian. Although from a comparative perspective, Finnic comparative constructions have gained attention also before (e.g., Raun 1960, Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001, and Stolz 2013) – separate language overviews and grammar books have focused on parameter marking rather than the entire construction – the order of the parameter and standard has hardly ever been discussed. In the present paper, the aim is to review the already identified patterns but also to look for additional types of expressions and changes over time. By offering maximally good micro-areal coverage and including data from more recent times, we are hoping to detect patterns that have gone unnoticed.

The linguistic data mainly originated from text collections (e.g., EM IX), example sentences included in dictionaries (e.g., EVS), and language corpora (e.g., EDC); we also included our own fieldwork data. The final dataset consisted of more than 500 example sentences, which we coded for the following

characteristics: (i) standard marker and construction type, (ii) parameter and parameter marker, (iii) order of the parameter and standard.

By taking a micro-areal perspective, we were able to specify the ranges of spread for various constructions and by including newer data also detect some recent developments. The formation of comparative constructions in the Finnic languages shows both continuity (i.e., preserving effect) and contact-induced change.

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On the mass-count distinction of nouns denoting foodstuff

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Keywords: individuation, mass/count distinction, number, plural

This paper investigates the mass/count distinction in the domain of nouns denoting foodstuff in German in comparison to Russian. Nouns like *rice*, *corn* and *potatoes* denote **aggregates** – entities composed of units that habitually come together (Grimm 2012, a.o.). There is a great deal of variation in the grammatical encoding of aggregates in different languages but also within one language.

In German and Russian, aggregates in the domain of foodstuff may be encoded by singular mass nouns and by nouns in the plural. Many foodstuff aggregates encoded in German as plurals, are encoded by singular mass nouns in Russian (e.g., Corbett 2000). For instance, names of berries, legumes and root vegetables which are plurals in German (*Erdbeeren* ‘strawberries’, *Erbsen* ‘peas’, *Möhren* ‘carrots’) are singular mass nouns in Russian (*klubnika*, *gorox*, *morkov*).

It has been assumed that two types of grammatical manifestation – singular mass vs. plural – correspond to two different countability classes. Mass nouns are uncountable, since they do not display a singular/plural contrast and cannot combine with numerals; **plural aggregate nouns are countable nouns** (Wierzbicka 1988, a.o.), since they display a singular/plural contrast (*Nudel*.SG – *Nudeln*.PL) and can in principle combine with numerals (*drei Nudeln* ‘three noodles’).

We will critically scrutinize the view that all plural nouns denoting aggregates are countable. Although they are formally plural, it is not always the plural of its respective singular. We will show that in one reading the behavior of the plural aggregate nouns in German as *Erbsen* ‘peas’ is substantially parallel to that of mass aggregate nouns as *Reis* ‘rice’ but significantly different from countable non-aggregate nouns in the plural like (*die*) *Bürgermeister* ‘mayors’. **First**, the quantity of a set consisting of many mayors can be determined by counting the particular individuals. The quantity of peas/*Erbsen* can be naturally determined by weighing them rather than counting the particles. The same applies to aggregates denoted by mass nouns like *Reis*. **Second**, according to our corpus study (Cosmas II, IDS Mannheim) plural aggregate nouns, like mass nouns, can combine with non-individuating quantifiers like uninflected *viel* ‘much’ and *etwas* ‘a little’ (cf. *viel/etwas Reis*, *viel/etwas Erbsen*), while count plurals cannot, cf. **viel/*etwas Bürgermeister*. **Third**, plural aggregate nouns as well as mass nouns may combine with classifiers (*zwei Reis-Körner* ‘two grains of rice’, *zwei Erbsen-Körner* ‘lit. two grains of peas’, *zwei Stück Möhren* ‘lit. two units of carrots’) while countable nouns in the plural do not.

Conclusion: Our empirical investigation reinforces the impression that the plural of aggregate nouns may have a mass reading distinct from the regular counting plural. Mass plural of aggregate nouns in German, although it is formally identical to counting plural, is outside the number opposition singular/plural. It is an inherent, lexical plural in the sense of Acquaviva (2008) which should be analyzed in the realm of word formation rather than inflection, by analogy to collective *-a* plural in Italian. Thus, plural aggregate nouns belong to the same class of uncountable nouns as mass aggregate nouns.

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Between core and periphery: The development of English modal adverbs, evaluative adverbs and discourse connectives

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Keywords: adverbs, connectives, grammaticalization, discourse-prominence, English

It has long been observed that English discourse markers, connectors, comment clauses, and certain sentence adverbs occur in the same general slots (that may be further split into sub-slots): left periphery, right periphery and pre-verb/post-auxiliary. In recent discourse approaches to the peripheries, sentence adverbs have received less attention than categories such as pragmatic markers or discourse connectives; and pre-verbal 'peripheral' position has received less attention than left and right peripheries. This panchronic study compares the development and current usage of modal sentence adverbs, evaluative sentence adverbs and discourse connectives. A case study is presented of evidential *apparently*, evaluative *sadly* and connective *instead*. These three expressions have evolved through usage into stance expressions via similar mechanisms of change and scope expansion. They occur in present-day English (PDE) in the three 'peripheral slots', so that while they exemplify different types of meaning, their formal peripheral status is similar.

The first aim of the study is to investigate, quantitatively and qualitatively, to what extent the three expressions follow similar historical trajectories. The findings show parallels in the ways the scope of the expressions expanded, favoured by co-occurrence with adjectival participles and the verb 'be', which appear to provide diachronic 'switch points' towards wider scope. The second aim is to examine how their trajectories fit with three current models of the development of peripherals: grammaticalization (e.g. Brinton 2017), constructionalization (e.g. Traugott 2022), and cooptation into thetical grammar (Heine et al. 2017, 2021). The findings point to a reduction in information status, and thus to some compatibility with a discourse-prominence-based approach to grammaticalization (i.e. change towards discursively secondary status, distinguishing peripheral slots from peripheral items (Boye and Harder 2012, 2021)). They are also compatible with productivity within a discourse-level clause-modification schema; the commonalities across the three expressions can largely be modeled in terms of (changes to) horizontal construction-network relationships of function (Traugott 2022) or form (cf. 'allostructions' (Cappelle 2006)). Cooptation, insofar as it is an instantaneous operation involving functional and formal changes in parallel, is not evidenced in the findings, though there is evidence of what Heine et al (2021) call 'late grammaticalization'. As highlighted by Traugott, "the answer to the question 'periphery of what?' is complex" (2015: 127). Apparent regularities in the diachronic development, together with parallels between sentence modifiers and constituent modifiers, and close synchronic relations between the constituent source items and the newer peripheral items, suggest that many peripheral items are less 'peripheral' than has sometimes been claimed.

The study is based on British English. Data for the quantitative study are drawn from the Old Bailey Corpus, the CLMET corpus, BNC-1 and BNC-2014. Further data come from Early English Books Online and the Brown group of corpora (BLOB, LOB and FLOB).

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The semantics of size in nominal classification

The size of the object is one of the well-attested semantic parameters that may govern the classification of nouns (Aikhenvald 2000: 21). Broadly phrased, a size-based assignment rule states that bigger objects get assigned to one value and smaller objects get assigned to another value. However, even the most tentative inspection of grammatical descriptions reveals that their authors often have very different things in mind when reporting the presence of “size effects” in a given language.

In this talk, I suggest a more fine-grade typology of size expression in nominal classification. I consider gender and classifiers together as instantiations of classification.

My survey of a convenience sample shows that two distinct but related phenomena are repeatedly attributed to ‘size-based’ gender assignment in different sources. The first one is ‘true’ **categorization** on the basis of size; that is, comparable to any other categorization governed by semantic parameters, such as animacy or sex that is usually implied for nominal classification systems, the second one is the **evaluation** of referent’s size (Di Garbo 2014). Similarly to suffixal diminutivization, a noun may undergo an evaluative shift from its default class value to another one if its referent is conspicuously small/large as compared to the default (Grandi 2015).

For true size categorization, I suggest at least 2 different types of assignment rules. The first one, the rule of **categorical size**, is implied when species of a particular semantic category are assigned to a classification value on the grounds of their small/large size as compared to other species of the category. For example, in Abau (Sepik) names for smaller birds are assigned to feminine gender, while larger species are assigned masculine gender (Lock 2011: 49). The second one, namely, the rule of **absolute size**, is for cases when members of different semantic categories are assigned to a given class on the grounds of being ‘absolutely large’ or ‘absolutely small’. For example, in Motuna language (South Bougainville), the classifier for ‘fine things’ -wi’ pairs with nouns for roots, feathers, and hair, which do not make up a coherent category in any obvious way but are all very small (Onishi 1994: 166).

As the data from my sample show, there is a tentative correlation between certain morphosyntactic types of classification systems and certain types of size effects with absolute size being almost entirely confined to classifiers and virtually unattested in gender systems. As for the frequency distribution, size expression most often takes the form of the evaluative shift with African and Papuan macro areas being the hotbeds of this phenomenon. Categorical size seems to be a mere optional entailment of size evaluation and is only scarcely attested.

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Developmental trajectory of L2 and L3 vowel perception: Acoustic and perceptual similarity of English and Norwegian vowels to Polish vowel categories

The study aimed to examine the relationship between L3 Norwegian and L2 English vowel assimilation patterns to L1 Polish vowel categories and the acoustic distance between the vowels operationalized as the Euclidean distance. Previous research focused mostly on the second language (L2) perceptual assimilation patterns (Cebrian 2022, Tyler et al. 2014), and the relationship between vowel perception and acoustic parameters (Escudero et al. 2012). The novelty of the present contribution is to expand the scope to the third language (L3) and to trace developmental trajectory in a longitudinal design.

Our hypotheses for the L1-L2-L3 perceptual and acoustic similarity were as follows:

H1: The smaller the Euclidean distance (ED) between the two vowels, the higher the likelihood of assimilating a given L2/L3 vowel to a native Polish category.

H2: The reliance on ED will decrease with time.

H3: The Euclidean distance will predict assimilation better in L3 than in L2.

H4: Lip rounding and vowel length may modulate the assimilation patterns.

The participants involved 24 native Polish speakers (mean age 19.86) with L2 English (intermediate) and L3 Norwegian (beginner) learnt in a formal instructed setting. They were tested three times over the first year of L3 Norwegian instruction. The L2 and L3 perception was tested using PsychoPy (Peirce et al. 2019) separately on different days. In the perceptual assimilation task the participants were asked to assimilate 10 English and 16 Norwegian monophthongs embedded in nonce words /dVd/ to six Polish vowel categories (with orthographic labels) and to rate their goodness of fit on a 7-point scale. We examined the relationship between assimilation rates of English/Norwegian vowels to each Polish category, and the Euclidean distance between the reference vowels for Polish (Weckwerth and Balas 2019) and the English/Norwegian vowels presented in the perception experiment.

Statistical analysis was run in R (R Core Team 2022). The analysis using a negative binomial model for count data demonstrated that the larger the Euclidean distance, the fewer assimilations were predicted. Moreover, a stronger effect of the Euclidean distance was found in L3 Norwegian than in L2 English. The predicted effect of the Euclidean distance on assimilation count in both languages was the strongest at the first testing time and it diminished at T2 and T3 in both of the languages tested. There was some indication that marked lip rounding may influence assimilation patterns, however, vowel length did not play a role. A mixed effects linear model of Likert rating as a function of Euclidean distance, language and their interaction (with a by-participant random intercept) showed that the larger the Euclidean distance, the lower the goodness ratings and that English vowels were rated higher than Norwegian vowels.

All in all, the developmental trajectory of L2 and L3 vowel perception indicated that perceptual targets were largely modulated by the Euclidean distance, but they were also influenced by other phonetic features. Importantly, the perceptuo-acoustic similarity patterns appeared to be restructured during the first year of L3 learning pointing to the role of learning experience in developing L2/L3 vowel perception.

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Effects of translation in the syntactic realization of Recipient arguments in Middle English: Searching for unique items in translated and non-translated texts

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Keywords: translation, language contact, Recipient arguments, unique items hypothesis, Middle English

As the popularity of language contact through translation (LCTT) (Kranich 2014) as a research topic increases, numerous language change studies note that, due to the possibility of source-language interference (cf. Toury's (1995) law of interference and Teich's (2003) shining-through effects), translated texts may not be representative of a language as a whole and that they should be treated differently from non-translated texts (e.g. Taylor 2008, Haeberli 2018, Huber 2017). It becomes increasingly useful to the historical linguist to make use of insights from modern translation studies to understand and explain linguistic variation in their data. One translation universal, the translation of *unique items*, i.e. language structures unique to a target language when translated from a specific source language lacking a direct equivalent, seems relevant for the study of language change, as such structures tend to be proportionally underrepresented in translated text (Tirkkonen-Condit 2002, 2004 and Eskola 2004 and Cappelle 2012).

There is extensive diachronic research on the historical development and distribution of the different variants of the dative alternation and the syntactic realization of the Recipient argument of ditransitive verbs in English (see for example Zehentner 2018 and McFadden 2002). This development has also been examined from a contact perspective (Trips & Stein 2019 and Elter 2020) as a large proportion of the available Middle English (ME) text material is based on Old French (OF) source material.

I show how the frequency distribution of the different variants for the syntactic realization of Recipient arguments of ditransitive verbs in ME across texts translated from OF and non-translated texts (Trips & Stein 2019) may benefit from a corpus-based investigation focusing on such unique items, as there is an interesting asymmetry between available options in the language pair. While ME develops four equally grammatical options of syntactically realizing Recipients - the use of a i) bare noun phrase (NP) or ii) bare pronoun (PRO), or a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition *to* combined with either iii) a full noun phrase (*to*+NP), iv) or with a pronoun (*to*+PRO) -, in OF, the realization options are restricted to the prepositional options (*a*+NP and *a*+PRO) and a bare pronoun (PRO). What is not possible is the bare noun phrase option. According to the unique items hypothesis, this specific variant (NP) should thus be underrepresented in translated ME texts.

Data from the ME *Prose Brut*, a text translated from OF, corroborate this assumption, with only 7 out of 242 instances of Recipient arguments (2,9%) realized as NP. To test whether this underrepresentation is indeed an effect of translation and not a common target language pattern, I compare frequencies across translated and non-translated texts in the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English (PPCME2)*, *Parsed Linguistic Atlas of Early Middle English (PLAEME)* and the *Parsed Corpus of Middle English Poetry (PCMEP)*. Also, I explore how distribution and degree of

underrepresentation of the variant may vary between individual translations in light of different translation styles (cf. House 1997) and the relation between source and target texts.

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Adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions in three languages of Russia: A morphosyntactic congruence perspective

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Keywords: language contact, morphosyntactic congruence, adverbial clauses, conjunctions, Russian

The paper deals with adverbial clauses with Russian conjunctions in three languages of Russia: Nanai (Tungusic), Forest Enets, and Hill Mari (Uralic), cf. (1).

- (1) **jesli** čädän âl-at gän'ä
 if.R few be-NPST.2SG if
 'If there are few people, {there is simply only one game}.' (Hill Mari)

Some cross-linguistic generalizations on the borrowability of subordinating conjunctions appealing to their semantics and pragmatics have been formulated in the literature, cf. Matras (2007:56), Grant (2012), and Stolz & Levkovich (2022) (see also Forker, Grenoble 2021:278–280 on Russian conjunctions in languages of Russia).

In this paper, we focus not on the borrowability *per se* (i.e. presence / absence) of different conjunctions, but on their frequency in the recipient language. We consider not established loanwords, when borrowed conjunctions become part of the grammar of the recipient language, but rather code-switching or occasional (nonce) borrowing, when these conjunctions compete with native subordinators.

Table 1 shows that the sets of Russian conjunctions used in the languages in question are similar, but the relative frequencies of these conjunctions are very different. We explain the attested asymmetries appealing to the **congruence** vs. **incongruence** between native subordination strategies of the recipient language vs. those of the donor language (Russian) (cf. Weinreich 1953:25; Harris, Campbell 1995:123–125; Aikhenvald 2007:32; Sebba 2009; Besters-Dinger et al. 2014 on morphosyntactic congruence, or structural compatibility, between the grammars of contacting languages as a factor responsible for constraints on contact phenomena).

Table 1. Russian conjunctions in adverbial clauses
(% of clauses with RusConj [with RusConj] without RusConj]

	Nanai	Forest Enets	Hill Mari
<i>jesli</i> 'if'	15,71% [30 161]	5,29% [28 501]	49,1% [82 85]
<i>kogda</i> 'when'	5,23% [17 308]	2,87% [16 542]	0% [0 277]
<i>čtoby</i> 'in order to'	1,14% [2 174]	47,06% [64 72]	51,06% [48 46]
<i>poka</i> 'while'	14,29% [4 24]	10,6% [16 135]	77,42% [24 7]
<i>potomu čto</i> 'because'	33,33% [2 4]	94,44% [17 1]	96,97% [32 1]

<i>poka</i> +neg ‘until’	25%	[2 6]	75%	[6 2]	72,73% [8 3]
<i>xotja</i> ‘although’	0%	[0 2]	0%	[0 5]	35,29% [6 11]
total	7,74%	[57 679]	10,46%	[147 1258]	31,75% [200 430]

For each semantic type of adverbial clauses, we compared the native subordination strategy (outside clauses with Russian conjunctions) and that used in Russian and assessed their (in)congruence in the following parameters: whether the subordinate clause is finite or non-finite, whether a conjunction is used, which linear position this conjunction takes.

The general tendencies are as follows. Russian conjunctions are avoided when full congruence takes place. This explains, e.g., the absence of the Russian *kogda* ‘when’ in Hill Mari: the Hill Mari temporal clause is finite with a preposed conjunction, as in Russian. At the same time, Russian conjunctions are also avoided when full incongruence takes place. This explains, e.g., why the Russian *čtoby* ‘in order to’ is infrequent in Nanai, where purpose clauses are encoded by a dedicated converb with no native conjunctions.

We will also discuss “incongruence overcoming”, i.e., e.g., doubling, when both the native conjunction and the Russian one are used in the same clause (as in (1)), and the use of finite verbs (as in Russian) in the adverbial clauses that are normally non-finite.

Corpora (oral spontaneous text collections)

Nanai — ca. 40 000 tokens, collected by S. Oskolskaya and N. Stoyanova in Khabarovsk Krai (2011–2017);
Forest Enets — ca. 75 000 tokens, collected by O. Khanina and A. Shluinsky in the Taimyr peninsula (2009–2012);

Hill Mari (<http://hillmari-exp.tilda.ws/corpus>) — ca. 63 500 tokens, collected by the Lomonosov Moscow State University team (2016–2018).

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Grammatical variation is not suboptimal

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Keywords: grammar, variation, isomorphism, production difficulty, dysfluencies

According to the often-cited Principle of Isomorphism (see also Haiman 1980), true synonymy does not exist in language. In the realm of grammatical variation, many analysts interpret the Principle of Isomorphism as predicting that if two constructions happen to be synonymous then this synonymy is exceptional, and/or short-lived diachronically, and/or generally suboptimal for language users. Exceptionality is debatable, given the sizable literature on the existence, ubiquity, and systematicity of grammatical variation; it is also demonstrably not the case that grammatical alternations are necessarily short-lived (De Smet et al. 2018). But what about suboptimality?

It is of course at first glance not implausible that grammatical variation should be suboptimal. This is because grammatical variation (as opposed to e.g., lexical variation) is typically conditioned probabilistically by any number of contextual constraints. Before language users can make a choice as a function of the naturalness of variants in context, they need to check that linguistic context for the various constraints that regulate the variation at hand. This extra cognitive work might (or might not) increase cognitive load.

Our empirical point of departure is that if the Principle of Isomorphism is a design feature of human languages, then in usage data variation contexts should attract production difficulties. Against this backdrop, we report on the extension of a study (Gardner et al. 2021) that explores the link between production difficulty/suboptimality and grammatical variability using a corpus-based research design. Specifically, we investigate the well-known Switchboard Corpus of American English (542 speakers, 240 hours of recording), which covers telephone conversations. On a turn-by-turn basis, our analysis checks if the presence of variable contexts correlates with two metrics of production difficulty, namely filled pauses (*um* and *uh*) and unfilled pauses (speech planning time). We cover 20 different grammatical alternations in the grammar of English, which create a total of $N = 57,660$ choice contexts in the corpus materials. Consider the conversational turn in (1):

- (1) Well, um, um, um, I think that uh once we get the house refinanced, we're gonna probably try to take our free tickets and either go to Cancun or do the little uh trip to Ca- Southern California and then on up to (592ms) Utah (F/SM/born 1961)

(1) exemplifies a turn that features 5 filled pauses, 1 unfilled pause lasting 592ms, and a total of 3 grammatical variation contexts (*I think that once* vs. *I think ___ once*; *we're gonna* vs. *we will*; *try to take* vs. *try taking*). Do turns that contain more choice contexts also tend to feature more dysfluencies? Multivariate modeling including various controls shows that choice contexts do not actually correlate with measurable production difficulties, challenging the view that grammatical variability is somehow suboptimal for speakers.

To conclude, we knew before that grammatical variation is neither exceptional nor short-lived diachronically. We now also know that grammatical variation is not in any measurable way suboptimal

in language production. We will argue that it is time to question dogmas such as the Principle of Isomorphism.

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Morphological complexity of verbs across the frequency spectrum in Czech, English, German and Spanish

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Keywords: morphology, complexity, morphematic structure, verb, frequency

In this paper, we use corpus data and data from lexical resources to examine the relationship between the complexity of verbs' morphological structure and their frequency in four different languages. The analysis shows that morphological complexity is not evenly distributed across the frequency spectrum and its distribution is dependent on the language and its morphological characteristics.

Morphological complexity has been a focus of research in typology (Stump 2017, Berdicevskis et al. 2018, Çöltekin & Rama 2022) using measures based mainly on inflectional morphology (e.g., mean size of paradigm, morphological feature entropy). In contrast, we focus on the complexity of basic forms in the lexicon – whether they contain only the root (and possibly inflectional affixes), or also derivational affixes and/or multiple roots. With decreasing token frequency, the complexity of the verbs' morphematic structure and the number of verbs sharing the same root is expected to grow.

We analyze the verbal lexicon in Czech, English, German and Spanish. As data for the analysis, we use verb lists extracted from corpora (Čermák et al. 2000, BNC Consortium 2007, Geyken 2007, Real Academia Española 2014) which, despite some language-specific decisions in lemmatization and tagging, are comparable in size (1000 million) and genre composition.

We analyze the lemmas for:

- token frequency
- number of morphemes
- type of morphemes
- morphological family

using data from Universal Derivations (Kyjánek et al. 2021) and semi-automatic morphological segmentation (Žabokrtský et al. 2022) with manual post-checking.

The correlation between the analyzed features and token frequency is shown to be language dependent. Preliminary analysis of the top 500 verbs in Table 1 and Figures 1, 2 shows that the average number of morphemes is highest in Czech and German, where lemmas have up to 7 and 6 morphemes, respectively (cf. examples 1, 2). Verbs sharing the same root morpheme appear already in the top 500 frequency band, the most frequent family including 19 verbs in Czech (*jít* 'go') and 11 verbs in German (*nehmen* 'take').

- (1) u-s-kut-eč-n-i-t
DP-DP-root-DS-DS-TS-INF
'realize'
- (2) be-rück-sicht-ig-e-n
DP-root-root-DS-TS-INF
'consider'

The English and Spanish verbs mostly belong to separate morphological families and are mostly either monomorphemic (English) or contain the root with inflectional affixes (Spanish). This shows that in contrast to English and Spanish, Czech and German verbs exhibit complex structure resulting from word-formation processes even in the top frequency band.

Language	Morphological families	Morphemes
English	487	1.08
Spanish	476	3.14
German	299	3.60
Czech	242	3.73

Table 1: Number of morphological families and average number of morphemes in the top 500 verbs.

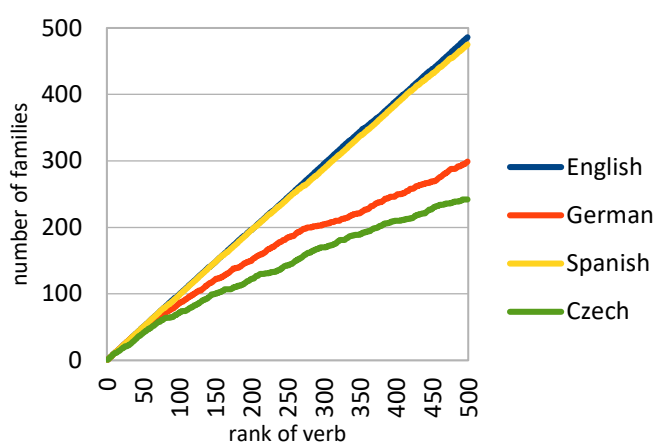


Figure 1: Growth of number of morphological families in the top 500 verbs.

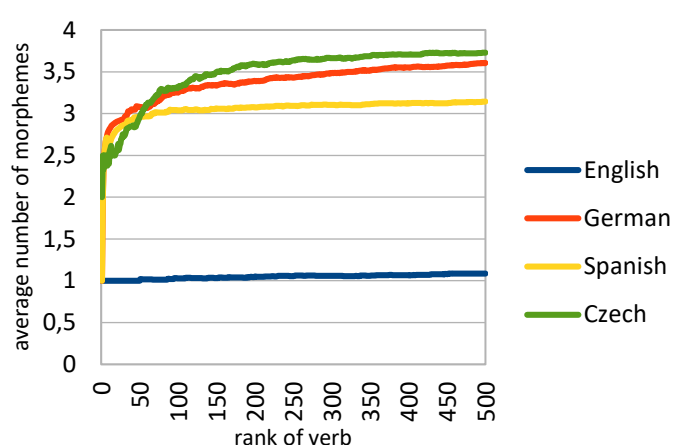


Figure 2: Growth of average number of morphemes in the first 500 verbs.

The analysis of verbs across the whole frequency spectrum contributes towards the clarification of the size and complexity of the verbal lexicon in the analyzed languages and presents the distribution of root morphemes and morphological complexity across the frequency spectrum as a possible measure of the complexity of the lexicon across languages.

Abbreviations

DP ... derivational prefix
DS ... derivational suffix
INF ... infinitival ending
TS ... thematic suffix

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(Im)polite use of demonstrative pronouns in Latvian and Finnish online texts

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Keywords: (im)politeness, pronouns, demonstratives, colloquial language, online texts

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This study investigates the (im)polite use of demonstrative pronouns (DPs) in Finnish and Latvian online texts, namely the use of DP instead of third person pronouns (3PP) when referring to persons. Using discourse analysis to study online texts, I argue that in both languages the use of DP instead of 3PP corresponds to the use described in the grammars (Kalnača, Lokmane 2021, Nītiņa, Grigorjevs 2013, Hakulinen et al. 2004), but is context dependent, hence there are some deviations not previously recognised, as positively connotated use in Latvian.

In both languages the use of DP instead of 3PP has roots in the dialects (Priiki 2017, 28, Mielikäinen 1982, 282, Ahero et al. 1959, 517), in which it has had neutral connotation. However, during time the use has experienced different change in each language. In Finnish, some DPs are used instead of 3PP, because it is demanded by the standard language rules (see (1)), while others are seen as neutral when referring to persons, especially in colloquial language settings (Hint, Nahkola, Pajusalu 2020, 55, Korhonen, Maamies 2015, 250, Lappalainen 2010, see (2)).

(1) Finnish

<i>Pärmäkoski</i>	<i>pysyi</i>	<i>hyvin</i>	<i>Björgeenin</i>	<i>vauhdissa</i>
Pärmäkoski.NOM	keep.PST.3SG	well	Björgeen.GEN.SG	speed.INESS.SG
<i>mukana,</i>	<i>kun</i>	<i>tämä</i>	<i>kiristi</i>	<i>tahtia</i>
along	when	this.NOM.SG	tighten.PST.3SG	pace.PRTV.SG
<i>matkan</i>	<i>puolivälin</i>		<i>Murhamäessä</i>	
distance.GEN.SG	halfway.GEN.SG		Murhamäki.INESS.SG	

‘Pärmäkoski kept up well with Björgeen, when *this [she] increased the pace in the middle of the distance, in Murhamäki.’ (www.yle.fi)

(2) Finnish

<i>Sisko</i>	<i>maalas</i>	<i>niiden</i>	<i>keittiön!</i>
Sister.NOM.SG	PAINT.PST.3SG	IT.GEN.PL	KITCHEN.GEN.SG

‘Sister painted their kitchen!’ (www.instagram.com)

In Latvian, however, the use of DP instead of 3PP has gained a negative and even pejorative meaning (Paegle 2003, 81, see (3)).

(3) Latvian

<i>Šitie</i>	<i>mierā</i>	<i>neliksies -</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>netiks</i>
this.NOM.PL	PEACE.LOC.SG	BE_LEFT. NEG.FUT.3	IF	GET.NEG.FUT.3
<i>pa</i>	<i>durvīm,</i>	<i>līdz</i>	<i>pa</i>	<i>logu!</i>
throughdoor.DAT.PL	CRAWL.FUT.3	THROUGH		WINDOW.ACC.SG

‘These won’t let you in peace – if [they] don’t get through the door, [they] will climb through the window!’ (www.tvnet.lv)

Still, I argue that it is not always the case, and the DP can be used instead of 3PP with a positive meaning in Latvian as well.

The corpus used for this study consists of online texts gathered by the author in the time span between year 2019 and year 2022 and includes approx. 10,000 word tokens for each text type in each language. The texts are extracted from blogs, online commentary, and *Instagram* stories. Only publicly available texts are used, and they are anonymized before the analysis. The extracted texts are searched manually to retrieve examples usable for this study. First, all DPs are identified, then the cases with DP used instead of 3PP are highlighted. When the appropriate examples are extracted, they are examined by applying qualitative analysis. The author studies, whether the use can be considered (im)polite by considering the context of each use, namely type of the text, communication platform, and nearby linguistic features, such as derogatory lexical items or repetitions.

The preliminary results show that there are slight differences in the use depending on the text type. The connotation in each language corresponds with the expectations, although in Latvian the use in colloquial contexts can be also neutral or even positive. Additionally, the author expects to find some patterns that would emphasize the (im)politeness of the used demonstratives and to determine, whether DP are used instead of 3PP as a means of (im)politeness or as a common feature of the online (colloquial) language.

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Modelling admixture across language levels to detect areal and genealogical patterns in language variation

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Keywords: language evolution, typological features, admixture model, language contact, language areas

The so-called “Altaic” languages have been a subject to debate for over 200 years. An array of different data sets have been used to investigate the genealogical relationships between them, but the controversy persists (Robbeets 2021, Tian 2022). The new data with a high potential for such cases in historical linguistics are typological features. Although they are sometimes declared to be prone to borrowing and discarded from the very beginning (Wichmann and Holman 2009), at other times they are considered to have an especially precise historical signal reaching further back in time than other types of linguistic data (Nichols 1992, 1993, Dunn et al 2005, Dediu and Levinson 2012).

We use a large set of typological features collected for Turkic, Mongolic, Tungusic, Japonic and Koreanic languages (Hübler 2022) and a method from population genetics (STRUCTURE) to test the performance of typological features in attributing languages to language families (Hübler and Greenhill 2023). STRUCTURE (Pritchard 2000, 2003) is based on an admixture model and tries to find homogeneous groups within the data. It probabilistically assigns each language to a population, or ancestry. The ancestral profile of each language thus consists of proportions of one or more contributing ancestries. There are two relevant advantages of using STRUCTURE: first, the languages in question do not need to be related; second, it allows us to simultaneously investigate an areal and a genealogical signal in the data, in contrast to the tree of descent as a model of language evolution. Previously, STRUCTURE was applied to typological language data to study historical interactions between languages and dialects (Reesink et al. 2009, Bowerman 2012, Syrjänen et al. 2016, Norvik et al. 2022).

Different sets of grammatical features, just like different domains of lexicon, can point to either areal dispersal or to a common descent. To further investigate these differences, we split our data into three sets, spanning over phonology, morphology and syntax. Our analysis shows that morphological features have the strongest genealogical signal and syntactic features diffuse most easily. This result supports the previous finding (Thomason and Kaufman 1988) that morphological features are the last to be borrowed in situations of extensive language contact. When using only morphological structural data, the model is able to correctly identify three language families: Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic, whereas Japonic and Koreanic languages appear to be similar morpho-syntactically and share their predominant ancestry. We also compared the amounts of admixture the language families have experienced. While Koreanic and Japonic languages are homogeneous in terms of their phonology and morpho-syntax, Mongolic languages have a high amount of admixture on average.

The insight that morphological features point primarily to genealogical relationships opens a prospect of using them to detect relationships on a macro-family level. The method used here, combined with morphological language data, will allow testing other hypotheses on language family relationships.

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Diachronic pathways to case marking alignment, and their consequences for the explanation of synchronic cross-linguistic patterns

A major issue in cross-linguistic research on case marking is to account for the various alignment patterns attested for the three arguments A, S, and P. These patterns have been assumed to reflect some general principles of optimization in the use of case marking: dedicated case marking (case forms used for one argument only) is limited to arguments more in need of disambiguation, and semantically or pragmatically similar arguments are encoded through the same case forms (Du Bois 1985, Comrie 1989, Dixon 1994, Mithun and Chafe 1999, among others).

This view is based on the synchronic properties of the relevant alignment patterns (the distribution of individual case forms across different arguments) and the cross-linguistic rarity of other logically possible patterns (e.g. tripartite alignment), not diachronic processes leading to individual languages having or not having some particular pattern. In this paper, the major developmental processes will be discussed that have been shown to give rise to ergative, accusative, and active alignment cross-linguistically, based on data from grammaticalization studies, historical linguistics, and the specialized literature on alignment in particular languages (see e.g. Harris and Campbell 1995, Gildea 1998, Mithun 2005, Creissels 2008, Gaby 2008, Haig 2008, Holton 2008, McGregor 2008, Chappell 2013, Verbeke 2013, Coghill 2016, Melis 2021). These processes include the reanalysis of the argument structure of pre-existing constructions, metonymization processes whereby various types of pre-existing elements (e.g. verbs, topic or focus markers) are reinterpreted as case markers for a co-occurring argument, processes of phonological reduction that give rise to distinct case forms for particular arguments, and the extension of existing case forms to novel contexts. The central claims of the paper are that

(i) These processes provide no evidence that the resulting alignment patterns reflect principles of optimization in the use of case marking, because they are driven by inherent or contextual properties of particular source constructions, which are unrelated to such principles.

(ii) In the resulting alignment patterns, the distribution of individual case forms across different arguments cannot be taken as evidence for such principles, because it is due to either inheritance (some case form inherits the distribution of particular source constructions or developmental processes, independently of the assumed optimization principles) or residue (some case form becomes restricted to particular arguments as a new form develops for the other arguments, also independently of these principles).

(iii) Principles of optimization in the use of case marking may possibly lead to the retention or loss of particular alignment patterns once they are in place in a language, thus ultimately contributing to shaping their cross-linguistic distribution. This phenomenon, however, is distinct from the processes whereby individual patterns emerge in the first place, so it should be investigated separately.

These facts call for a source-oriented approach to case marking alignment and recurrent cross-linguistic patterns in general, one where the focus shifts from the synchronic properties of individual patterns to disentangling the effects of several distinct source constructions and diachronic processes that give rise to these patterns and shape their cross-linguistic distribution over time.

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From Reality into Wishful Thinking: A Non-Perfective Use of a Perfective Participle in Azeri

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Keywords: participle, perfectivity, modality, imprecative, Turkic

“Imprecative illocution” is defined as associated with curses (Hengeveld 2004: 1190). Typologically, it is expressed by forms related to imperative or future modality (Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 163–164).

Unlike some Turkic languages (Abish 2014: 58–59, Jankowski 2010: 149), Azeri does not possess a designated imprecative mood. However, Azeri perfective participles present a peculiar semantic use, arguably not found in related languages and non-addressed in any academic literature, i.e. curses (1) or curses disguised as blessings (2):

- (1) Azeri (AA)
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>Ciyər-i</i> | <i>yan-mış</i> | <i>Zərifə</i> | <i>bayaq</i> | <i>çix-anda</i> |
| liver-POSS:3 | burn-PTCP:RES | PN | earlier | exit-TEMP |
| <i>çaynik-i</i> | <i>də</i> | <i>öz-ü-ylə</i> | | <i>apar-ıb-mış.</i> |
| teapot-ACC | ADD | own-POSS:3-with | | carry-PRF:3-EVID |
- lit. ‘It looks like Zərifə, her liver BURN, took the teapot with her when she went out earlier.’

- (2) Azeri (MQ)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Axır</i> | <i>vaxt-lar</i> | <i>bu</i> | <i>Allah</i> | <i>saxla-mış</i> | <i>Hacı</i> |
| end | time-PL | this | God | keep-PTCP:RES | PN |
| <i>qoy-m-ur</i> | <i>gecə-lər</i> | | <i>yat-mağ-a.</i> | | |
| put-NEG-IPFV:PRS:3 | night-PL | | sleep-INF-DAT | | |
- ‘Lately this Hacı, God KEEP (him) alive, has not been letting (us) sleep at night.’

The suffix *-mış* has been attested in Turkic languages already in eighth-century inscriptions (Tekin 1968). Though the use of *-mış* as a predicative suffix is equally attested in the earliest records of Turkic, it is generally believed that its primary functions were attributive (Baskakov 1971). Participles derived with *-mış* are historically found in languages as distant from one another as Yakut, Chagatai, Cuman and Western Oghuz, including Azeri. In Turkish (and Azeri, where they behave similarly), they are described as indicating “an attribute that has been actualized at a point in the past distant from the here-and-now” (Banguoğlu 1974: 272 via Slobin & Aksu 1982: 188) and could be qualified as resultative. Their attributive use, however, shows some semantic-syntactic restrictions:

- they can only encode a resultant state, including if it is semantically inherent to them:

- (4) Turkish (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 188)
- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| <i>öl-müş</i> | <i>adam</i> |
| die-PTCP:RES | man |
- ‘a/the dead man’

- if the verb refers to a continuing process, a *-miş* participle is only acceptable if all the elements of its basic argument structure are expressed:

(5) Turkish (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 189)

- | | | | |
|----|---|----|---|
| a. | * <i>öğren-miş</i> <i>adam</i>
learn-PTCP:RES man
'a/the man who has learned' | b. | <i>dil_bilimi</i> <i>öğren-miş</i> <i>adam</i>
linguistics learn-PTCP:RES man
'a/the man who has learned linguistics' |
|----|---|----|---|

- if the verb is transitive and conveying a change of state, a *-miş* participle can only be used alone in the passive:

(6) Turkish (Slobin & Aksu 1982: 189)

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| <i>kır-ıl-mış</i>
break-PSV-PTCP:RESL
'a/the broken glass' | <i>bardak</i>
glass |
|--|------------------------|

While the imprecative modal participles in Azeri seem to respect these restrictions, they present a deviation from the typological tendency of expressing curses through non-perfective aspecto-modal categories, and from the semantics of a perfective and result-oriented action which unites *-miş* participles in the Turkic languages which possess them. Azeri has seemingly selected these participles to relativise objects of verbs which as finite predicates would feature a mood rather than an aspect. This presentation will attempt to reconstruct this unusual grammaticalisation path.

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On the relations of SAY verbs and Deixis in Formosan Languages

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Abstract

Numerous studies have shown that simulative marker *like*, manner deictic term *so*, and deictic motion verb *go*, can develop into quotative markers (see Buchstaller & van Alphen 2012: xii–xiv; Güldemann 2008: §5.1.2–§5.1.5; Vandelanotte 2012 ; Teptiuk 2020). Güldemann therefore proposes that a quotative marker can be derived from various origins, e.g., SAY verb, manner deixis, simulative markers as well as other sources, and develop into various grammatical markers, e.g., complementizer, evidential marker and/or discourse marker (Güldemann 2002:283).

However, linguistic evidence in most Formosan languages, Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, reveals a rather different picture. Unlike what are reported in Buchstaller & van Alphen (2012), Güldemann (2001, 2002, 2008), and Teptiuk (2020), just to name a few, where the uses of *go*, *like*, and *so* (and their cross-linguistic counterparts) used as quotative markers are “innovations” or “new quotatives”(in Buchstaller & van Alphen’s term), SAY verbs in most Formosan languages are semantically ambiguous, encoding simultaneously say-do.so, say-be.so, say-go, or say-like meanings, as in (1). The large amount of the linguistic evidence suggests that these are not homographs, nor are they linguistic coincidences.

The main purpose of this study is to provide further evidence for the role of SAY verbs in the genesis and development of grammatical markers by examining the relations between SAY verbs and deixis across Formosan languages. We argue that SAY verbs in Formosan languages were performative verbs X with general meanings, and are intrinsically of both ‘saying’ and deictic meanings. The results of this study may contribute theoretically to a better understanding of the development of SAY verbs, and may also shed some lights on the typological studies of SAY verbs and deixis.

Key words: SAY verbs, deixis, Formosan languages, performative verbs

Data

1a. Paiwan (*One Hundred Paiwan Texts* 005-011) (say-do.so)

“aku su=**aya-in** a ku=aljak?”
why 2SG.GEN-say-PV NOM 1SG.GEN=child
‘Why did you do so to my child?’

1b. Puyuma (Teng 2022:89, #7-1a) (say-be.so)

yi! nu ka=ta imu, ta=**kuwa**-aw?

INT when <AV>say=1PL.NOM TOP 1PL.GEN=say-PV

'Ay, when (since) it is so, what else can we say?'

1c. Saisiyat (e-dictionary of Council of Indigenous Peoples, Taiwan) (say-go)

siya s<om>olong 'iyakin **Sa'**, "**Sa'**=ila koring ka
3SG.NOM <AV>stir.up 1SG.ACC say go=COS beat ACC
hiza mae'iyaeh."

that person

'He stirred me up, saying, "Go and beat that person.'

1d. Thao (Jean 2018:76, #5-8b) (say-like)

mihu a azazak a shaqish mia-**zai** ihun.
2SG.POSS LNK child LNK face.NOM AV-say 2SG.ACC

The face of your child looks like you (yours).

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Middle voice and sigmatic future in Homeric Greek: between modality and event types

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Keywords: <Homeric Greek future tense middle voice inaccusativity modality>

This paper addresses the question of the relationship between middle voice and future tense in ancient Greek. In particular, the connection between -s- morpheme, middle voice and intransitivity is investigated (Delbrück 1897, Meillet 1929, Gonda 1960, Watkins 1962, Benveniste 1966, Neu 1968, Perlmutter 1978, Hopper & Thompson 1980, Kemmer 1993, Kurzowá 1993, Kümmel 1996).

The selection of middle voice in the ancient Greek sigmatic future was traditionally explained in relation to the desiderative value of the -s- morpheme (Magnien 1912, Chantraine 1942, Schwyzler 1939-1971, Pariente 1963, Sihler 1995, Willi 2018). This study tests the hypothesis that the lexical-semantic properties of verbs play a crucial role in the voice selection of this type of future.

The verbs which show a sigmatic future are analysed on both formal and functional grounds, with the aim of clarifying whether these verbs are included in the *media tantum* group (cf. Lazzeroni 1990, Benedetti 2002, Romagno 2002, 2005) or, rather, encode the values that have been attributed to the oppositional middle (Romagno 2010, 2021). Moreover, the relationship between middle voice and the category of *irrealis* is investigated (cf. Palmer 2002, Roberts 1990, Bugenhagen 1994).

The corpus consists of Iliad and Odyssey. Both traditional tools (Chantraine 1942, Gehring 1970) and online data bases are used (TLG) for the research.

The results of this study show that: 1) the distribution of sigmatic future does not follow the *media tantum* pattern; 2) this future does not show the original unagentive value of the middle (e.g. the future κείσομαι 'I will stay' does not mean the state of the subject but its expectation) but – rather – ingressive and dynamic values (cf. Lazzeroni 2016), and the values that are typical of oppositional middle (cf. the causative opposition μνήσω 'I will make remember'/μνησόμεναι 'I will remember' or the reflexive opposition ἄσω 'I will feed'/ἄσομαι 'I will feed myself'); 3) the selection of middle voice in this type of formation is related to the counterfactual nature of the future. Moreover, these results suggest that the sigmatic future is a category that comes after the grammaticalization of tense in the reconstructed model of the Indo-European verbal system (Lazzeroni 1977, 1996).

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On the Special Grammar of toponyms in constructions of spatial relations

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Keywords: toponyms, spatial relations, Special Grammar, morphosyntax, typology

While spatial relations are a well-established topic in linguistic research (e.g. Creissels 2006; Lestrade 2010; Pantcheva 2011; Stolz et al. 2014), toponyms, just as (proper) names in general, have long been neglected by linguists. As Van Langendonck (2007: 17) states, “[e]ver since Antiquity, it has been held that proper names are nouns (or possibly noun phrases)”. In recent years, however, it was found that proper names frequently show morphosyntactic properties that distinguish them from common nouns (cf. Anderson 2007; van Langendonck 2007). On the basis of German data, Nübling et al. (2015: 64–90) similarly infer that there is a *Special Onymic Grammar* (SOG). Given that names as a whole do not always behave homogeneously in every language, it is assumed that there is also not one uniform SOG.

This talk provides further evidence of the existence of a *Special Toponymic Grammar* (STG) as introduced by Stolz et al. (2017). Toponyms are often used as Ground in constructions of spatial relations, therefore, STG frequently manifests itself in constructions expressing (i.) Place (*in Athens*), (ii.) Goal (*to Athens*), or (iii.) Source (*from Athens*). To determine whether STG applies, toponyms are compared to common nouns and, wherever possible, personal names. This predominantly qualitative research is based on synchronic data retrieved from descriptive-linguistic material, and is conducted within the framework of functional typology.

One of the most prevalent features observed for toponyms is the zero-marking of spatial relations, whereas common nouns (and other proper names) are overtly marked (cf. Stolz et al. 2014). In some cases, different constructions have to be used with toponyms, common nouns, and personal names, respectively, as illustrated in (1).

(1) Betta Kurumba (Dravidian) Source constructions (Coelho 2003: 203–204)

- a. *nawə meri-tl i:tu wanmu:ru yali ədɪ-t-i*
1SG.NOM tree-LOC from some leaf take-RLF-1SG
‘I took a few leaves from the tree.’
- b. *nawə bokkpura-Ø i:tu ban-t-əɖə*
1SG.NOM Bokkapur-Ø from come-RLF-SG
‘I came from Bokkapur.’
- c. *əɖə bummi ipəli i:tu ɖuɖɖə bə:d-s-əɖə*
3SR.NOM Bommi with from money bring-RLF-SG
‘He took the money from Bommi.’

The common noun *meri* ‘tree’ in (1a) takes the locative suffix when it occurs as the complement of *i:tu* ‘from’. The toponym *bokkpura* in (1b) in contrast does not need the locative suffix. The personal name *bummi* in (1c) does not take the locative suffix either. Instead, the postposition *ipəli* ‘with’ combines with *i:tu*. It follows that Betta Kurumba employs three different constructions for Source depending on the type of Ground.

I show that STG in constructions of spatial relations is no marginal phenomenon, but a frequent occurrence in the world’s languages. The zero-marking of toponyms in contrast to common nouns or anthroponyms proves to be one of the most prevalent manifestations of STG, but other phenomena, e.g. a different set of adpositions or case markers, can also be found. Furthermore, it becomes clear that neither toponyms nor common nouns form homogeneous classes in themselves. Instead,

different semantic or etymological features as well as cultural norms may influence the categorization of nouns and names in individual languages.

Abbreviations

1 = first person, 3 = third person, LOC = locative, NOM = nominative, RLF = Realis theme formative, SG = singular, SOG = Special Onymic Grammar, SR = Singular remote pronoun, STG = Special Toponymic Grammar

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Examining the maintenance of dialect features in regional urban Armenian speech via variationist analysis of vowels in Gavar, Armenia

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Keywords: Sociophonetics, variation, Armenian, dialects, vowels

Though linguistic variation has been studied in relation to both prescriptivism and diglossia, it is less clear how language varies in contexts where both of these factors are present. Regarding variation in Armenia, where the legacy of prescriptivist Soviet language policies (Slezkine, 1994) coexists with diglossia (Karapetian, 2014, pp. 32-33), Hodgson (2019, p. 96) has claimed that a “quasi-standard colloquial language” has spread to most cities, with dialects remaining primarily in villages. However, this phenomenon has not been systematically investigated. Accordingly, the present study examines colloquial speech in the regional city of Gavar and considers two questions. First, to what extent are residents maintaining the local dialect’s vowel system? Second, which demographic factors or language attitudes relate to maintenance of dialect vowels? While some previous studies describe dialect leveling in Gavar (Baghramyan, 1972), others maintain that speakers have preserved the dialect (Katvalyan, 2016; Mkrtch^hyan, 2015). However, these studies do not undertake quantitative analysis that would facilitate a more nuanced understanding of the variable use of dialect features. The present study, which addresses this gap, focuses on vowels because of their potential social salience according to local research assistants, and because of numerous differences between the dialect’s vowel system and that of Standard Eastern Armenian (SEA) (Dum-Tragut, 2009; Katvalyan, 2016; Khach^hatryan, 1988).

The data come from 31 interviews conducted by a local research assistant in July 2022, which consisted of a conversation, picture naming task, word list, and metalinguistic questions. The analysis involves measurement of F1 and F2 for tokens from the picture and word tasks. Each speaker’s alignment with the dialect vowel system is determined via visual inspection of vowel plots and will later be confirmed via statistical analysis. With respect to the first research question, analysis is still underway for all 31 interviews, but preliminary results from 5 participants reveal that some align more with the dialectal system, while others align more with SEA. Regarding the second research question, generalizations about social factors and attitudes correlating with variation cannot yet be made. However, factors like gender and education seem potentially relevant. Language attitudes do not relate to dialect maintenance in an obvious way, with all 5 preliminary participants expressing positive attitudes toward both the local dialect and SEA. This suggests that there are competing types of linguistic prestige in Armenia. With respect to the study’s broader implications for understanding linguistic variation in contexts where prescriptivism interacts with diglossia, it thus seems that diglossia can shield dialects from the effects of prescriptivist ideologies.

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The Influence of Preceding Consonant and Following Vowel on the Production Portuguese /r/ by L1-Mandarin Learners

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Keywords: phonetic context, onset cluster, European Portuguese, Mandarin Chinese, L2 speech

In this study, we explore the effect of adjacent phonetic contexts on L2 segmental learning. In particular, we examined whether the L1-Mandarin learners' production of European Portuguese tap in onset cluster /CrV/ is subject to the influence of the preceding consonant and that of the following vowel, as reported in prior research. On the basis of Zhou [1]'s results, we predicted that a preceding alveolar stop will promote the production of /r/, namely /tr/ > /pr, kr/. Following Vale (2020) and Zhou (2021), we further expected to observe that the production accuracy of /r/ is higher when followed by /a/ than by /i/.

14 native Mandarin speakers first learned to associate 12 Portuguese pseudo-words containing different types of /CrV/ clusters to 12 pictures and then performed a picture-naming task. This task is more suitable for the present study than other production tasks, because picture-naming does not require the activation of orthographic representations (as in the case of a reading task) and it avoids misperception effect (as in the case of an imitation task). Both orthographic and perceptual influences have been previously reported on L1-Mandarin learners' acquisition of EP /r/ (Zhou 2021). L2 production data were judged by 25 Portuguese native raters and then analysed with a logistic mixed-effects regression model. The model's results are summarised in Table 1.

As shown in the Figure 1, the experimental results indicate that the preceding stop affects L2 production of /r/ as a function of place of articulation (/tr/ > /kr/ > /pr/). We argue that this may be accounted for by different degrees of articulatory effort, rather than by phonological markedness or lexical frequency. An effect of the following vowel was also found (/pri/ > /pra/), which might be attributed to articulatory factors as well. The implication of these results on the theoretical development of L2 speech research is also discussed.

Contrast	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i> .value	95% CI
pri - pra	-1.66	0.66	0.012	[-2.95, -0.37]
pra - cra	1.85	0.68	<0.01	[0.51, 3.2]
cra - tra	4.32	0.73	<0.001	[2.89, 5.75]

Table 1: Results of the mixed-effects logistic regression model.

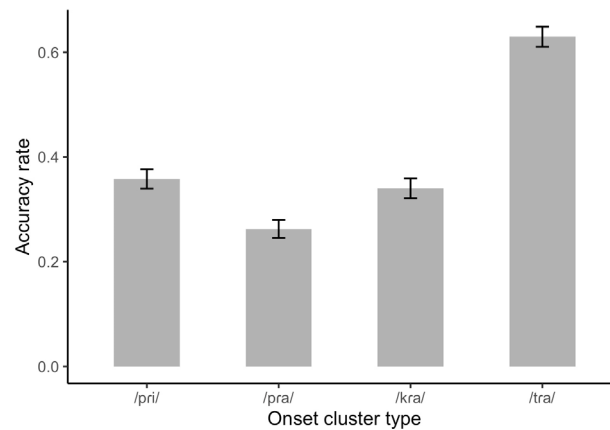


Figure 1: L1-Mandarin learners' production accuracy as a function of EP onset cluster type.

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Quotative uses of Polish similitive demonstratives: The relevance of manner/quality semantics, and pathways of development

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Keywords: direct quotation; similitive demonstratives; quality and manner semantics; colloquial spoken Polish

This paper presents strategies of direct quotation that employ two similitive demonstratives (SDs), adverbial *tak* ‘so/like so’ and adjectival *tak-i* ‘such/like this’, in colloquial spoken Polish. Emphasis is placed on two verbless quotative strategies: NP *tak* and NP *tak-i*, as in (1) and (2), respectively. Note that the second coordinate in (1), the speech-introducing clause, lacks a verb.

(1)

a on taki oburzony no nie w tym momencie na mnie
and he TAKI indignant PART no in this moment on me
i tak “to ty wolisz? nie to ty wolisz słuchać jakiejs bajery niż prawdy?”
and TAK so you prefer no so you prefer listen some bullshit than truth
‘And he (is/was) kind of indignant, right? at me at that moment, and (is/was) like, “So you prefer...? no, so you prefer to listen to some bullshit than the truth?”’

(2)

ja taka “eee okej”
I TAKI-F uhh okay
‘I (am/was) like, “Uhh, okay”’

Quotative uses of SDs have been noted cross-linguistically (e.g. Cameron 1998, Golato 2000, Güldemann 2008, Buchstaller & Van Alphen 2021, König 2015, 2017, Næss et al. 2020), but in Polish they have not been studied yet outside the canonical ‘say’+‘so’ pairing. The source of data in this paper is Spokes – a corpus of casual conversational Polish (Pęzik 2015). A sample of 89 data points collected from 5.5 hours of recordings was analysed, and the observed use patterns are the following. The ways in which Polish *tak* and *tak-i* encode, respectively, manner and quality in exophoric, endophoric and cataphoric uses is also reflected in their quotative uses, i.e. in examples like (1) the quoted material is likely to represent words that had been actually uttered (a manner reading), while the quoted discourse in (2) is likely to be a constructed and enacted representation of the reported speaker’s attitude/state of mind (a quality reading) (‘I was like, “Uhh, okay”’ = ‘I was surprised/shocked/not in the mood to argue’).

There is some usage overlap: in cases like (1) and (2), *tak* and *tak-i* are interchangeable. However, in examples such as (3), the inherent manner and quality semantics comes into play:

(3)

coś się mu wkręciło i taki był “ha ha hi hi”
something REFL him got.into and TAKI was <laughter>

i nagle tym telefonem tak "jeb"
 and suddenly this-INST telephone-INST TAK bam!

'Something got into him, and he was **like**, "Ha ha hee hee", and suddenly (he went) **like**, "Bam!" with his phone'

Tak-i and *tak* are not interchangeable in (3). *taki był "ha ha hi hi"* requires a quality SD to describe some properties of the speaker, while *i (on) nagle tym telefonem tak "jeb"* requires a manner SD to describe the manner with which the phone was thrown away. *Tak-i* is thus geared towards quality readings, and *tak* towards manner readings, in accordance with their respective inherent properties.

Further, for NP *tak* and NP *tak-i*, I offer two different accounts of their emergence, invoking mechanisms of grammaticalization, constructionalization, and pragmaticalization. As will be argued, NP *tak* is a reduced clause (originally NP VERB *tak*), while NP *taki* is a stacking of two independent quotative strategies: a self-standing NP on the one hand, and *taki* on the other. The study contributes to our understanding of how SDs are recruited in clause combining tasks involving the integration of direct quotes – actually uttered or constructed – into speakers' utterances.

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**Sociopolitical Complexity Drives Grammatical Complexity:
An Experimental Cross-Linguistic study of Thematic Role Assignment**
(abstract)

This talk presents the results of a large-scale cross-linguistic experimental study supporting a positive correlation between certain aspects of grammatical complexity, and complexity in various sociopolitical domains such as language size (number of speakers), language status (local vs. national), and others.

The experimental study measures the extent to which thematic roles are encoded in different languages. Given a simple construction such as CHICKEN EAT, the experiment measures the degree to which various morphosyntactic devices (eg. word order, case marking, and so forth) differentiate between thematic roles (eg. agent and patient). A world-wide sample of 69 languages reveals a striking correlation to the effect that languages associated with higher sociopolitical complexity (eg. English, Arabic, Chinese) differentiate thematic roles to a greater extent than languages of lower sociopolitical complexity (eg. Ju|'hoan, Yali, Tikuna). Further manifestations of the same correlation are also observed language internally, whereby dialects/registers/varieties of higher sociopolitical complexity exhibit greater thematic role differentiation than their counterparts of lower sociopolitical complexity (eg. Standard vs. Neapolitan Italian, Standard vs. Riau Indonesian, Standard vs. Osaka Japanese). Similarly, within the same language variety, speakers of higher SES display greater thematic role differentiation than speakers of lower SES.

The results reported on here lend further force to our increasing awareness that the investigation of human language and cognitions needs to escape the bounds of WEIRD languages and societies, and focus more on languages of low sociopolitical complexity. In particular, patterns of grammatical features observed in languages of low sociopolitical complexity provide a promising window into the challenging question of how the human language capacity, and the variegated languages that instantiate it, may have evolved.

Elusive argumenthood: Mapping argument status gradience along dimension-specific criteria

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Keywords: argumenthood, Estonian, spatial case, judgment task, gradience

This study investigates the strength of argument connection between verbs and various spatial case marked constituents in Estonian. Instead of defining argument status through morphosyntactic properties as a binary concept (Blake 2001), psycholinguistic studies have demonstrated the effect of the cognitive reality of argumenthood on various behavioural indicators (reaction times and offline output, Clifton et al 1991). In this vein, some studies have used behavioural data to investigate the argument status of non-canonical arguments, identifying semantic dimensions along which the (semi-)argumenthood of Instruments (Koenig et al 2003, Rissman et al 2017) and spatial adverbials (Koenig et al 2003) varies. For the latter, scope appears to decrease argument strength, meaning that participant locations describing only the object ('I hid it in my pocket') are stronger arguments than event locations describing all participants ('I played guitar in my room'). However, the effect could also have been due to directionality as almost all participant locations in Koenig et al (2003) were Goals while event locations were directionless Locations.

The present study uses an argument judgment task to investigate the argument status of non-spatial, abstract spatial, directional and non-directional spatial phrases in Estonian. The six spatial cases of Estonian (out of 14 cases total) vary greatly in terms of functionality, making them convenient for building a highly varied set of stimuli.

In particular, the study tests two hypotheses: 1) entirely bleached verbal arguments (e.g. the complement of *sõltuma* 'depend on') are stronger arguments than abstract spatial constituents (*lähenen teema-le* approach.1SG topic-ALL 'I am approaching the topic') and 2) directional spatial phrases (*riputasin seina-le* hang.1SG wall-ALL 'I hung [it] on the wall') are stronger arguments than non-directional spatial phrases (*keetsin poti-s* boil.1SG pot-IN 'I boiled [it] in the pot'). Both hypotheses were tested in a judgement task and in a task where experiment participants had to name the event participants of verb lemmas. The judgment task showed that hypothesis 1 does not hold while hypothesis 2 holds. Results from the lemma assessment task are expected to reflect the same effects. The study offers valuable insight into the nature of the argument connection between verbs and accompanying constituents, proposing new criteria affecting the connection in the spatial dimension, which can further be tested in studies in other languages.

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Yiddish function words borrowed from Slavic languages

This paper provides new insights into the etymology and functional characteristic of Yiddish function words borrowed from Slavic languages. Few studies have explored this lexis (cf. Weinreich 1958, Löttsch 1974, Reershemius 2007). The Weinreich overview proposes an almost complete list of Slavic borrowings within synsemantic expressions, e.g. *vedlik* ‘according to’ (cf. Pol. *wedwuk*), *tsi* ‘whether’ (cf. Pol. *czy*), *xoç* ‘although’ (cf. Pol. *choć*). These data, practically without changes or additions, are discussed in the other studies. Although the mentioned investigations are interesting, they fail to account for the detailed etymological and functional characteristics of the words in question. To date, research on loan function words has mostly focused on their meaning, inner structure, and pragmatic features. Furthermore, the syntactically oriented Reershemius paper suffers from some weak points and generalizations.

The paper proposes a comprehensive list of functional lexis in Yiddish borrowed from Slavic languages and points out, taking into account the respective categorial features, the origin of particular Yiddish words, e.g. an operator *same* in superlative constructions is identified as a Russian borrowing (Rus. *samyj* + COMP ‘most’), while in limitative use, it is considered a Polish loanword (Pol. *sam* ‘exactly’), cf.

- (1) *Mayn same balibter fraynt.*
POSS INTS favorite.COMP friend.ACC.SG
‘My most favorite friend.’

vs

- (2) *In same center fun shtat.*
PREP LIM centre PREP city.DAT/GEN.SG
‘Right in the heart of the city.’

This work explores, for the first time, the correlation between the source language structure and a type of contact situation (borrowing vs. imposition) within Yiddish function words, as approached in Thomason & Kaufman (1988), Thomason (2001) or Mailhammer (2013). It provides important insights into an interface between a functional characteristic of the word and its etymology, e.g. a Yiddish reduplicated unit *ot-ot* is, regardless of phonetic features, more similar to the East Slavic contact structure than to the West Slavic one, cf. Yidd. *un ot-ot vet men zikh khapn* ‘and people will realize right away’ and Rus. *kazalos’ vot-vot upadut* ‘it looked like they would soon fall’. The proposed method makes it possible to precisely characterize a given language unit from the functional perspective as well as to develop a hypothesis on the ways in which it was borrowed, e.g. *abi* in the optative function comes from Polish, while *abi* + *wh*-operator as a marker of indefiniteness is a Ruthenian loan.

Within the adapted theoretical approach, two options are worth considering. The first one recognizes the borrowability of function words as a universal phenomenon, occurring between languages of different genetic and typological backgrounds. This account is supported by for example Stolz and Lekovych (2022). The other one is more conservative and considers borrowing of functional lexis to be exceptional (cf. Jakobson 1985). By discussing the conditions and scope of the borrowability of synsemantic words from one language family into Yiddish, this paper offers arguments supporting the latter account.

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Age, morphological form and semantic information

We investigate how inflectional choices in reaction to ambiguous inflectional forms change as people age. With age, people gain more experience on language (Ben-David et al., 2015) and hence are exposed to more variation in language. Therefore, one can assume that older adults should be more tolerant towards variation than younger adults. However, according to the concept of statistical preemption (e.g., Goldberg 2011), older adults should become more categorical in their inflectional choices: age of a language user (and hence experience) increases their confidence that they would have heard a certain word form by now if the form was in use. In the current paper we explore this hypothesis by administering a forced-choice experiment with Finnish speaking younger and older adults. Participants had to choose an appropriate inflected form for a word with a defective inflectional paradigm. We measured reaction times and variation of choices. According to our hypothesis, age should negatively correlate with the amount of intra- and inter-speaker variance.

This link between an older age and less uncertainty related to inflectional choices could also be explained by the decline of our cognitive functions that accompanies healthy aging. E.g., cross-sectional and longitudinal studies have found that word retrieval abilities peak at 30-40 years and gradually decline from there, with rapid deterioration beginning in the mid-60s for cognitively healthy adults (Goral et al., 2007; Zec et al., 2005). Our enquiry investigates whether this trade-off between more experience with language and less efficient utilization of cognitive and physiological resources leads older adults towards a compensatory strategy while they perform language tasks. More categorical choices made by older adults could be thus interpreted as a compensatory strategy. However, actual choices made by our participants will be measured against a model. We model obtained inflectional choices in a more accurate way compared to models with more traditional corpus-based predictors such as form frequency (which would be zero for many defective forms). We utilize word embeddings (vectors) which are representations of the meaning of words (e.g., Jurafsky & Martin, 2021). Since finding embeddings for many of the forms of defective words that participants produce is one of the serious challenges, we use imputed vectors instead. The distributional hypothesis was originally formulated at the level of lexemes, not at the level of word forms. We therefore do not have embeddings for stems or inflectional endings; however, using a new method (described in more detail in AUTHORS

2022), we can build up representations for these inflectional features. This approach allows us to study embeddings of inflected word forms for which there is no largely accepted candidate or that are not in use (epiphenomena or consequences of defectivity). (441 words)

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The nanosyntax of Ukrainian deadjectival verbs

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Keywords: adjectives, verbs, comparatives, nanosyntax, Slavic

1. **outline** This study considers Ukrainian deadjectival verbs that are comprised of an adjectival root (which can be preceded by a prefix), an inchoative or a causative suffix, and an agreement marker. Inchoatives and causatives have different morphological markers. Inchoatives can be built both on the positive and the comparative forms of an adjective, while causatives are built only on the positive form. These differences in morphology can be explained using Nanosyntax.

2. **the data** Ukrainian deadjectival verbs have dedicated causative and inchoative morphology: a thematic suffix *-y* for causatives (Table 1) and a thematic suffix *-i* for inchoatives (Table 2).

Adjectives		Causatives	
bil-yj	white	bil-y-v	made white
vesel-yj	funny	vesel-y-v	made funny

Table 1. Causatives in Ukrainian

Adjectives		Inchoatives	
bil-yj	white	bil-i-v	became white
vesel-yj	funny	vesel-i-v	became funny

Table 2. Inchoatives in Ukrainian

Interestingly, Ukrainian inchoatives can also be formed on the comparative form of an adjective, namely an adjective with a comparative marker *-iš*, as in Table 3. In such case it has to be followed by a thematic suffix *-a*. Such option is not available for causatives, as in Table 4.

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Inch POS		Inch CMPR	
bil-yj	bil-iš-yj	bil-i-v	became white	bil-iš-a-v	became whiter
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	vesel-i-v	became funny	vesel-iš-a-v	became funnier

Table 3. Inchoatives in Ukrainian: positive and comparative

Adj POS	Adj CMPR	Caus POS		Caus CMPR	
bil-yj	bil-iš-yj	bil-y-v	made white	-	-
vesel-yj	vesel-iš-yj	vesel-y-v	made funny	-	-

Table 4. Causatives in Ukrainian: positive and comparative

3. **analysis** I am using the framework of Nanosyntax (Starke 2009) to account for the observed differences. Two important ingredients are submorphemic syntax (there are more featural distinctions than there are morphemes available), and phrasal spell-out (spell-out targets phrases, not heads). I suggest that the differences in the morphology of Ukrainian deadjectival verbs come from the number of features that inchoatives and causatives spell out (proposed for Czech by Caha et al. 2021). I adopt the containment approach used in Vanden Wyngaerd et al.: “the causative verb contains the inchoative, just like both types of verbs contain the adjective” (2022: 251). Ramchand (2008) suggested that the InitP is absent in inchoatives. As a result, the tree I am using for causatives is in Figure 1, where the marker *-y* spells out ProcP and InitP, while the tree for inchoatives is in Figure 2, where the marker *-i* spells out ProcP only.

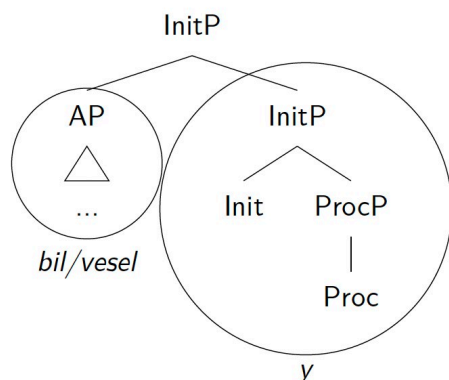


Figure 1

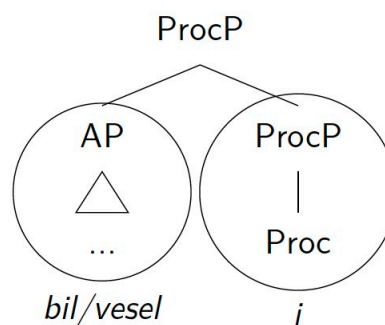


Figure 2

Now, taking it all as a starting point, there also has to be an explanation for why inchoatives can be built both on the positive and comparative, while causatives are only built on the positive. I suggest that there has to be a place for C1 and C2 (comparative 1 and 2 respectively) which is presented in (Figure 3). In case of inchoatives which are built with a comparative marker *-iš* (Inch 1) C1 is spelled out as *-i* (blue cell), C2 is spelled out as *-š* (lime), and Proc is spelled out as *-a* (cyan). In case of inchoatives which do not have comparative morphology (Inch 2) C1, C2, and Proc are all spelled out as *-i* (pink). In case of causatives (Caus) C1, C2, Proc, and Init all get spelled out as *-y* (lilac). Init is absent in inchoatives (black cells) and present in causatives.

AP	C1	C2	Proc	Init	
bil	i	š	a		Inch 1
bil	i				Inch 2
bil	y				Caus

Figure 3

4. conclusions Different morphological markers of deadjectival verbs in Ukrainian and their ability of being built on the positive and/or comparative degree of adjectives are due to the number of features that their thematic and comparative suffixes spell out.

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Degree expressions *una*, *jona*, and *džyk* with verbs in Komi

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Keywords: Komi, degree expressions, high degree, telicity, gradable verbs

This study describes the distribution of Komi (Permic, Uralic) high degree expressions *una*, *jona*, and *džyk* with telic verbs. Although the three Komi expressions are known to have some overlap, the following questions have not been previously described and will be discussed in this paper:

- 1) What is the exact distribution of *una* and *jona*?
- 2) Do some types of verbs appear with all three expressions?
- 3) How do the three expressions combine with telic verbs?

It has been noted cross-linguistically (Löbner 2012; Fleischhauer 2016) that degree modifiers have a different distribution according to modification type – English employs *a lot* for both degree and extent gradation (*grows a lot* and *works a lot* respectively) while German uses *sehr* for degree (*wächst sehr*) and *viel* for extent (*arbeitet viel*) gradation (Löbner 2012: 232). Based on corpus-findings (KKJ; Arkhangelskiy 2019), Komi is similar to German, using two separate adverbials: *jona* mainly for degree (intensity) and *una* for extent (quantity) gradation, while the enclitical *džyk* has both readings in its scope (*jona bydmyny ~ bydmyny džyk* ‘to grow a lot’ and *una udžalö ~ udžalö džyk* ‘works a lot’). Note, that *jona* also appears with some verbs as a quantifier (like *sjorn’itny* ‘speak’, etc.); similarly, *džyk* is a productive intensifier of degree verbs, but an infrequent quantifier of (mostly) atelic verbs.

It is generally assumed that high degree modifiers like *a lot* reject telic predications (Caudal and Nicolas 2005, Löbner 2012), although recent works show that the gradeability of telic verbs depends on the openness of the scale and type of telos the verb is associated with (Fleischhauer 2016). This applies also to Komi, e.g. for *setčyny* ‘surrender’, the maximal telos denotes the point of *complete surrender* which is at the end of the scale (*dz’iködz setčyny* ‘to surrender completely’), while standard telos denotes a non-maximal degree where some result state of *surrender* has been reached but allows further degree modification [1].

[1]	Ėn'ys	i	èz=džyk	setčy	polömysly, /---/
	female.3SG	PAR	NEG.3SG.PST=AUG	give.CNEG	fear.3SG.DAT

‘The female [animal] did not give in to fear as much, /---/’ (Jushkov 2001).

In my data, *jona* and degree modifier *džyk* combine with gradable accomplishments (e.g., *vežörsjavny* ‘become reasonable’, etc.) that have their standard and maximal telos separate and which allow for further modification. Achievements and non-gradable accomplishments (e.g., *kazjavny* ‘notice’, *šedny* ‘get caught’, etc.) have their standard and maximal telos fall together and do not combine with *jona*, but may combine with *una*, and quantifier *džyk*. For this talk, I use data from the Giellatekno Komi corpus (Borin *et al.* 2012) to exemplify the types of verbs that combine with either *una* or *jona*,

compare the findings with the verbs combining with *džyk* and *dz'iködz* 'completely' to show how the choice of modifier is based on the open or closed scale of the telic verbs.

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Triadic Object Experiencer verbs in Polish

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Keywords: Object Experiencer verbs, T/SM restriction, split stimulus, the possessor-attribute alternation, the Polish language

Cross-linguistically, Object Experiencer (OE) verbs may select three arguments - an experiencer, a causer, and a T(arget)/S(ubject) M(atter) (e.g. Pesetsky 1995, Reinhart 2002). However, there seem to be restrictions on how these arguments combine with OE verbs. Pesetsky's (1995) T/SM restriction specifies that the causer and the T/SM can never co-occur with the same predicate. This predicts that there should be no triadic OE verbs.

The paper demonstrates that there are OE verbs in Polish that disobey the T/SM restriction, cf. (1) and (2), taken from the National Corpus of Polish (NKJP, www.nkjp.pl).

(1) Wykłady ze sztuki zainteresowały mnie tą tematyką. (NKJP)
lectures.NOM on art interested.PERF me.ACC this topic.INST
'Lectures on art made me interested in this topic.'

(2) Szkoła obrzydziła mu czytanie książek. (NKJP)
school.NOM disgusted.PERF him.DAT reading .ACC books.GEN
'The school made him disgusted with book reading.'

In (1), the verb *zainteresować* 'to interest' takes three arguments, the nominative causer, the accusative experiencer, and the instrumental T/SM. In (2), the verb *obrzydzić* 'to disgust' co-occurs with three arguments - the nominative causer, the dative experiencer, and the accusative T/SM. Since the OE verbs in (1) and (2) are triadic, they violate the T/SM restriction. Consequently, these data cast doubts on the universality of the T/SM restriction (cf. also Abrines and Royo 2021). Based on the Polish data like (1) and (2), we propose that the T/SM restriction should be rejected (cf. Doron 2020).

We provide a syntactic analysis of triadic OE verbs in Polish. We argue that in (1), the causer occupies Spec, VoiceP, not Spec, vP (contra Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2020), because (1) may form a verbal passive, (3):

(3) Zostałem zainteresowany tą tematyką przez wykłady ze sztuki.
becameinterested this topic.INST by lectures on art
'I was made interested in this topic by lectures on art.'

Likewise (2) can form a verbal passive, which supports the claim that the causer is merged in Spec, VoiceP on a par with (1). The two remaining arguments in (1) are VP-internal, whereas in (2) the dative experiencer is merged in Spec, ApplP, and the accusative T/SM is merged VP internally.

We also argue that examples like (4) do not contain a triadic OE verb, but instantiate the possessor-attribute alternation of Levin (1993:190):

(4) Język postów zafascynował mnie swoją autentycznością. (NKJP)
language.NOM posts.GEN fascinated.PERF me.ACC self's authenticity
'The language of internet posts fascinated me with its authenticity.'

We argue that the OE verb in (4) has two arguments, an experiencer and a T/SM, realised in two structural positions. (4) lacks a causer and may only be paraphrased as 'I was fascinated with the authenticity of the

language of internet posts'. In (4), there is a possessor-attribute relation between the nominative and the instrumental phrase, where the nominative phrase in Spec, vP binds the reflexive possessive *swój* 'self' within the instrumental. There is no argument in Spec, VoiceP in (4), since (4) cannot form a verbal passive. Thus, the OE verb in (4) is dyadic, not triadic.

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Divergence in the Torlak Dialect across the State Border between Serbia and Bulgaria

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Keywords: Torlak dialect, Serbian dialects, Bulgarian dialects, state border, language boundary

The Torlak dialect, spoken in parts of Eastern Serbia and Western Bulgaria, is divided by the state border. The authors seek to determine if this border also functions as a language boundary in the microregion that has existed since 1833. This issue has not been previously investigated (Kochev 2001; Tetovska-Troeva 2016). It is unknown whether contemporary linguistic situations are characterized by diglossia or diaglossia, and to what extent they occur. Similarly, the role of "horizontal" differences resulting from territorial variation, and "vertical" differences influenced by the standard languages or regiolects, are not understood. It is also unclear whether individual dialects diverge, develop advergently with standards, or maintain their a sic state, opposing it to the norm.

This study focuses on two geographically adjacent local border idioms, Timok-Zaglavak in Serbia and Belogradčik/Stara Planina in Bulgaria, respectively, which belong to the same Stara-Planina dialect (Sobolev 1998). The authors identify and classify divergence processes in the dialect, using quantitatively and qualitatively comparable material of spontaneous oral speech of representative informants collected in the field in the 2020s. The speech samples are provided.

The authors used methods of field linguistics and synchronic descriptive dialectology to select informants for interviewing and collecting speech material, and methods of phonetic/phonemic transcription and historical-philological analysis of spontaneous oral text to analyze the material. They contrasted elements of more than forty dialectal differences characteristic of the basic Torlak dialect with elements of dialectal differences characteristic of Serbian and Bulgarian standard languages or (supra-)regional East Serbian and North-West Bulgarian koiné during the analysis.

The analysis demonstrates that the Torlak dialect is still spoken in Eastern Serbia and Western Bulgaria, and there are no "horizontal" differences between the idioms of the base dialect. However, the two idioms develop divergently, reflecting the impact of standard languages and/or (supra-)regional koiné. Each dialect develops advergently with its respective national norm; Serbian and Bulgarian, respectively. The political border between Serbia and Bulgaria, limiting the communication of the Torlaks to either the Serbian or the Bulgarian national communities, respectively, and creating two situations of differently directed diaglossia, caused the division of the historically unified community of dialect speakers into the clearly opposed Serbian and Bulgarian parts.

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Concessive conditionals in Cappadocian Greek: Issues of divergence and contact

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Keywords: concessive conditionals, Cappadocian Greek, Turkish, language contact, typology

In this talk we present preliminary results from an ongoing investigation into concessive conditionals (CCs) in Cappadocian, a near-extinct variety of Greek originally spoken in Asia Minor which has been heavily influenced by Turkish. We investigate whether Cappadocian CCs deviate from their Standard Modern Greek counterparts and, if so, whether the deviations can be attributed to language contact with Turkish.

CCs are a special type of conditionals which express a set of antecedents that all lead to the same consequent q : 'if $\{p_1, p_2, p_3, \dots\}$, then q ' (König 1986; Leuschner 2006, 2020). Three quantificational strategies are distinguished (ibid.): scalar concessive conditionals (SCCs) mention an extreme value p_n and imply that q also holds for other, less extreme values (cf. English *even if* p_n); alternative concessive conditionals (ACCs) express a disjunction which exhausts the scale at hand (cf. English *whether* p_1 or p_2); universal concessive conditionals (UCCs) express free-choice quantification over instantiations of a variable, often realized as an interrogative-like pronoun (cf. English *WH-ever*).

Under Haspelmath & König's (1998) typology of CCs in European languages, Turkish qualifies as uniformly-coding, i.e. as a language that encodes all CCs as conditionals, while Standard Modern Greek is differentially-coding, i.e. a language in which only SCCs have overt conditional coding, while ACCs and UCCs have primarily quantificational, e.g. interrogative-like, coding. This typological divide makes Cappadocian an interesting case study.

We investigate the coding strategies of Cappadocian CCs in a corpus of 58 folktales from 11 villages (ca. 50,000 words, the largest Cappadocian text collection to date). While Cappadocian CCs are differentially coded like their Standard Modern Greek counterparts, the actual coding is distinct between both varieties. In part, these differences are due to Turkish influence, as Turkish loan words are found in ACCs, e.g. *jáxot ... jákot ...* 'whether ... or ...' < Tr. *yahut* 'or, else', and sporadically in UCCs, e.g. *-dak* in *ótia-dak* 'whatever' < Tr. *dek* 'until, as far as'. Mostly, however, Cappadocian CCs differ from their Standard Modern Greek equivalents in ways that cannot be attributed to Turkish. In Cappadocian SCCs, the focus particle *ke* 'even' invariably follows the conditional conjunction *an* 'if', whereas *ke* precedes *an* in SCCs in Standard Modern Greek (where *an ke* is purely concessive). And whereas Haspelmath & König (1998) suggest that Standard Modern Greek UCCs usually contain focus particles like *-ðipote* 'ever' or *ke* 'even' and/or conditional *an*, Cappadocian UCCs lack any coding other than the WH-word in 68% of all instances.

In future steps we will investigate whether these differences are a consequence of changes in Modern Greek, with Cappadocian preserving coding strategies from earlier stages of Greek due to its relative isolation from mainstream Greek since Byzantine times. Future research should also account for SCCs in the Floīta dialect, which are introduced by *an ki* like exceptive conditionals ('if not' / 'unless'). To our knowledge, concessive and exceptive conditionals are not coded identically in any other varieties of Greek nor, indeed, any other languages.

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Comparing morphosyntactic patterns in Katukinan, Harakmbut and Arawan: Genealogical relations or language contact?

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Keywords: South American languages, genealogical relationships, language contact, Katukinan, Harakmbut, Arawan

This paper investigates hypotheses about the genealogical relationship between the Katukinan (K), Harakmbut (H), and Arawan (A) language families put forward in the past two decades. Adelaar (2000) was the first to propose a genetic link between the Katukinan and Harakmbut families, adducing mainly lexical evidence (viz. 53 (near-)cognate lexical items); cognacy of grammatical items was scarce (only a handful of items). In his (2007) paper, Adelaar added data on Katawixí to the picture, also drawing on lexical evidence. Subsequently, Jolkesky (2016) put forward the addition of one more family to the genetic grouping, viz. the Arawan family, again on the basis of lexical correspondences.

However, morphosyntactic evidence for these hypotheses has been slim and unsystematic. This paper will further investigate this type of evidence in two ways. On the one hand, it takes a wide-scope approach, comparing grammatical descriptions of the three families. It will show that these families differ considerably in core aspects or areas of grammar. For instance, Katukina-Kanamari codes all TAM distinctions (except durative aspect) as clause-level particles (Queixalós Forthcoming), while Harakmbut codes them through suffixes attached to the finite verb (Van linden 2023). The marking of grammatical relations is also different. In Katukina-Kanamari, intransitive verbs go uninflected for person, as do transitive verbs if the subject participant is expressed by an external NP (Queixalós Forthcoming), as in (1). In Harakmbut, by contrast, all finite verb forms carry person prefixes, as in (2), with transitive verbs showing a hierarchical indexation system in which speech act participant O-arguments trigger relational person prefixes (Van linden 2022); compare *oʔ-wek-me* in (2) for a 3SG-acting-on-3SG configuration with *mbeʔ-wek-ay-me-ne* in (3) for a 3SG-acting-on-1SG configuration.

Katukina-Kanamari:

- (1) *pi:da-na=* *wu-tu* *niama* *tyohi*.
jaguar-CASE= want-NEG then PalmSp.FruitBeverage
‘Then the jaguar did not want the palm *sp.*-fruit beverage.’ (Queixalós Forthcoming)

Harakmbut (Arakmbut/Amarakaeri variety):

- (2) *wa-mationka-eri* *oʔ-wek-me* *keme-ta*
NMLZ-hunt-AN 3SG.IND-wound.with.arrow-REC.PST tapir-ACC
‘The hunter pierced the tapir.’ (Van linden 2023: 463)
- (3) *wa-mationka-eri* *mbeʔ-wek-ay-me-ne*
NMLZ-hunt-AN 3SG>1/2SG-wound.with.arrow-AVRT-REC.PST-IND
‘The hunter almost pierced me.’ (Van linden 2023: 463)

Other areas in which these two families pattern differently include the marking of grammatical relations on dependents, adnominal possession, evidentiality, the coding of oblique participants, and noun incorporation. Such differences seem hard to reconcile with genetic relatedness.

On the other hand, we will compare inflectional and derivational formatives from the three language families, looking for grammatical cognacy much like the Katukinan-Arawan-Harakmbut Database (KAHD) (Gerardi et al. 2022, Gerardi et al. In preparation) seeks to identify lexical cognates. The languages included in this ‘grammatical’ database are Arakmbut/Amarakaeri (H), Deni (A), Jarawara (A), Kanamari (K), Kulina (A), Paumari (A) and Sorowaha (A). We also added Apurinã (Arawak) to the database, as it has been in contact with Katukinan and Arawan languages (Facundes 2000). These two ways of comparing morphosyntactic information, constructions and cognacy of morphemes, will allow us to shed more light on the question of whether these families are genetically related or if the similar lexical, morphological, and morphosyntactic patterns are due to horizontal transfer (borrowing of pattern and/or matter).

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
<	acting on
ACC	accusative
AN	animate
AVRT	avertive
CASE	case marker for ergative, genitive, object of postposition
IND	indicative
NEG	negation
NMLZ	nominalizer
REC.PST	recent past
SG	singular

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The discourse basis of (non)finiteness in Abaza

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Keywords: Abaza, morphology, (non)finiteness, syntax, discourse

It is generally accepted that finiteness as a cluster of properties of verbal forms heading independent clauses (Nikolaeva 2010, 2013) correlates with discourse foregrounding of events expressed by these clauses (Givón 2001: 386; Wårvik 2004). At the same time, it is known that sequential events in the main narrative line, being typically foregrounded, are often encoded as converbs or “medial verbs” rather than finite verbal forms (Haspelmath 1995; Givón 2001: Ch. 18; Kibrik 2013). We report a case-study from Abaza, a polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian minority language of Russia, where the status of events in narrative chains is non-trivially reflected in their hybrid morphological encoding sharing features of both finiteness and non-finiteness. Our data mainly comes from the recordings of the “Pear stories” (Chafe ed. 1980) obtained from four native speakers in 2021.

Abaza, like closely related Abkhaz (Hewitt 2010), shows a fairly consistent distinction between finite and non-finite verbal forms. The former have dedicated suffixes, e.g. the Declarative *-d*, occurring in the Present, Future and the otherwise unmarked Aorist (past perfective) tenses, as well as the Retrospective suffix *-n*, occurring e.g. in the Imperfective Past. Non-finite verbal forms are either unmarked or feature one of the numerous dedicated affixes, e.g., the Adverbial suffix *-ta*.

The tense forms most commonly found in narrative chains are the perfective past tenses Aorist in *-d* and its retrospective counterpart (Retro-aorist) in *-n* (1), which, while formally finite, shows some properties of medial verbs, e.g. only rarely occurs independently. While Aorist is typically found in the end of an episode, the Retro-aorist tends to encode events linked by causal relationship (1) or belonging to the same dynamic scenario (2) (Schank & Abelson 1977; Kibrik 2013).

- (1) *háqʷə-k* *d-a-qa-pá-n* <...> *a-qá-št-d*
stone-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-jump-RS 3SG.N.IO-LOC.ELAT-fall.ELAT-DCL
'He stumbled on a stone and (everything) fell down.'

- (2) *d-á-kʷ-ča-n* *də-žá-kʷ-lə-χ-d*
3SG.H.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-sit-RS 3SG.H.ABS-LOC.ELAT-LOC-go_out-RE-DCL
'He sat (on the bicycle) and drove away.'

Abaza speakers often employ the historical present strategy in narratives, encoding the main line events by Present forms in *-aj-d*. Remarkably, under conditions similar to the occurrence of the Retro-aorist in past-tense narratives, in present-tense narratives forms with the Adverbial suffix *-ta* attached to the declarative Present marker are found (3).

- (3) *χ-čá-k* *ʃa-qá-j-χ-aj-d-ta*
three-apple-NUM CSL-LOC.ELAT-3SG.M.ERG-take-PRS-DCL-ADV
a-sabáj-kʷa *j-ʃa-rá-j-t-aj-d*
DEF-child-PL 3PL.ABS-CSL-3PL.IO-3SG.M.ERG-give-PRS-DCL

‘He takes three apples and gives them to the children.’

Both the Retro-aorist and the Adverbial Present forms share finite and non-finite features, which iconically reflects their functional duality as expressing events that are simultaneously foregrounded and integrated into larger discourse units. Moreover, the adverbial suffix can attach to some other finite forms as well, and the narrative texts that we have analysed suggest that all such hybrid forms show parallel discourse properties encoding foregrounded events belonging to the same coherent episode. Thus the Abaza data shows that careful analysis of discourse structure is essential for the understanding of the functions of verbal forms and that different degrees of (non)finiteness reflected in verbal morphology can be employed to signal subtle differences in discourse status of events.

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The Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), which establishes the order according to which languages vary on the basis of the syntactic function that they can relativize (1), was formulated by Keenan and Comrie (1977, 1979) on a typological basis, and has been an influential model to analyse relative clauses ever since (cfr. Lehmann 1984, Dik 1997, *inter alia*).

(1) Subject > Direct object > Indirect object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of comparison

In Ancient Greek, while all the positions in the AH can be relativized (Perna 2013: 324), discussions with respect to syntactic functions and their constraints have been made for Classical Greek (Perna 2013, Fauconnier 2014, Faure 2021) and New Testament Greek (Du Toit 2016, Hayes 2018), and the AH has been applied by López Romero (2022) to investigate relative constructions in Sophocle's tragedies. However, as argued by Bentein and Bağrıaçık (2018: 552), no attention has been dedicated to the topic in Post-Classical Greek documentary papyri, where the behavior of relative clauses remains largely unexplored (Kriki 2013, Bentein and Cattafi, *forthcoming*).

In this paper, drawing data from the EVWRIT database of documentary texts, I will address the relationship between the different types of relative clauses and their function in a corpus (2) of letters and petitions (Palme 2009) from the first to the eight century AD. The relative clauses were annotated in the documents with a combination of digital and traditional methods.

(2) Number of texts	Letters	Petitions
Middle Post-Classical (I-III AD)	332	170
Late Post-Classical (IV-VIII AD)	258	103

Moreover, since, because of the diversity of textual data available, non-literary papyri from Egypt have recently stimulated a socially informed analysis of language variation in the field of Post-Classical Greek (Bentein 2019, Bentein and Amory 2022, Bentein, Cattafi and La Roi, *forthcoming*), I aim to relate the positions of the AH to the different social and stylistic contexts. The basic assumption of the AH is that some syntactic roles are more easily recoverable than others: as it was demonstrated by Romaine (1982) for Scots English, syntactically simple styles show a greater proportion of relative clauses on the left side of the hierarchy, starting from the subject function, while complex styles do the opposite.

I will therefore illustrate to what extent a similar reasoning can be applied to the specificity of relative clauses in documentary papyri, with writers relativizing more complex positions in higher register texts such as petitions compared to lower register texts such as private letters, making it possible to draw a stylistic continuum on the basis of the AH also in Post-Classical Greek.

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On a basic distinction between adverbial clauses appearing outside of their hosts

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Keywords: extra-clausal adverbial clauses, world-related, discourse-related, sequential ordering, sentence grammar vs. discourse grammar

The talk aims to establish a basic distinction between two classes of adverbial clauses appearing externally to their hosts ($\text{AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$) focussing on German $\text{AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ preceding their hosts. $\text{AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ of the first class ($\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$) refer semantically to the world, cf. (1a), $\text{AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ of the second class ($\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$) refer to the discourse situation, cf. (1b). Thus, only $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ contribute to the propositional meaning of an utterance. The following observations will be discussed: A $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ has to follow a $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$, cf. (2). $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ can be used parenthetically without much effort, $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ can be used so only with strong signs of separation, cf. (3). All $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ constitute a separate speech act, but not all $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$, cf. the possibility of hosting a speech act-sensitive strong root phenomenon (RP) like the interjection in (4) (Frey 2023). All $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ can host a weak RP like a modal particle (MP), but only some $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ can (Haegeman 2020, Frey 2023), cf. (5).

- (1) a. Ob es passt oder nicht, wir müssen die nächste Sitzung verschieben.
whether it suits or not we have-to the next meeting postpone
b. Bevor wir beginnen, wir müssen die nächste Sitzung verschieben.
before we start we have-to the next session postpone
- (2) a. Bevor wir beginnen, ob es passt oder nicht, wir müssen ...
b. *Ob es passt oder nicht, bevor wir beginnen, wir müssen ...
- (3) a. Wir müssen, (→) ob es passt oder nicht, die nächste Sitzung verschieben.
b. *Wir müssen, (→) bevor wir beginnen, die nächste Sitzung verschieben.
- (4) a. [Ob es passt oder nicht, Mann], wir müssen
whether it suits or not man we have-to
b. * [Bevor wir beginnen, Mann], wir müssen
c. * [Wenn du mich nun so fragend anschaust, Mann], wir müssen ...
if you at-me now so questioningly look man
- (5) a. Ob es nun eben passt oder nicht, wir müssen ...
whether it now MP suits or not we have-to
b. *Bevor wir nun eben beginnen, wir müssen ...
c. Wenn du mich eben nun so fragend anschaust, wir müssen ...

It will be argued that $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ are treated by regular clausal syntax. All $\text{W-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ belong to the type of non-integrated adverbial clauses, which are ActPs (Frey 2023, Krifka 2023) that are attached to the ActP of their host and encode subsidiary speech acts. With regard to $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$, it will be shown that some have the properties of central adverbial clauses, some those of peripheral adverbial clauses and some those of non-integrated adverbial clauses (cf. Haegeman 2020, 2003; Frey 2023). Furthermore, those D-ExtAdvCl s that have the properties of central or peripheral or non-integrated adverbial clauses have the form of central or peripheral or non-integrated adverbial clauses of clause-internal syntax. It will be claimed that $\text{D-AdvCl}_{\text{ext}}$ are treated by Thetic Grammar, a type of discourse grammar (Heine et

al. 2013). Thetic grammar has its own regularities but crucially is built through cooptation, a cognitive communicative operation whereby pieces of clausal syntax are transferred to discourse grammar. This can explain the different properties different D-AdvCl_{ext}. Finally, it will be argued that no AdvCl_{ext} can occur syntactically fully integrated into its host. It will be maintained that apparent counterexamples to this claim contain other types of adverbials with different syntactic and semantic properties.

An overall conclusion will be that clausal syntax interacts only indirectly with discourse grammar. The syntax-semantic interface and the syntax-pragmatic interface are different in nature.

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The “missing” dative alternation: typology and history of Late Latin ditransitives

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Keywords: ditransitive verbs, dative alternation, alignment patterns, usage-based factors, Late Latin

The aim of this paper is to analyse the argument structure of Late Latin ditransitive verbs through a corpus study over the *Brepolis Library of Latin texts* and the *DigilibLT*. We examine the diachronic development of six ditransitive verbs from a both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective, namely *do* ‘to give’ and *dono* ‘to donate’ (physical possessive transfer); *doceo* ‘to teach’, *flagito* ‘to entreat’, *loquor* ‘to talk (to), to tell’ (cognitive transfer); *celo* ‘to hide’ (dispossession).

The two non-agentive arguments, Theme (T) and Recipient (R), are often expressed through different types of constructions across languages, which have been described also in terms of alignment patterns in typological perspective (cf., e.g., Haspelmath 2005 and Siewierska 2013). In this respect, Malchukov et al. (2010: 2) point out that “ditransitive verbs of a language do not necessarily behave uniformly. [...] Thus, we will not assume that there is necessarily a single major ditransitive construction in a language”. This may give rise to different patterns of alignment preference, but also to alternation and splits, as documented already in Early Latin (cf., e.g., Adams & de Melo 2016 and Napoli 2018).

The data from Late Latin still point to a fluctuation of the way in which the R is realized for the analyzed verbs, although with a partial reorganization of the strategies involved. For example, as is known, the prepositional strategy with *ad* ‘to’ expanded (ex. 1), and the double object construction was dismissed in favor of the dative for encoding R (ex. 2), although not for all verbs.

(1) *De his enim **ad discipulos loquitur** dicens [...]*

‘For he talked about these things to the disciples, saying [...].’ (Aug. *serm.* 210, 3)

(2) *Huius autem admirabilis rei rationem colligo ut possum, **quam vobis non celabo***

‘But I shall consider, as I can, the reason for this extraordinary thing that I will not hide from you.’ (Aug. *serm.* 389, 10)

Since one of the distinctive features of ditransitives is precisely their synchronic variability, the diachronic approach has much to say about their nature, shedding light on distinct routes of evolution followed by individual verbs in terms of *emergence*, *development*, and eventual *loss* of construction alternation (see Fedriani & Napoli 2020).

Starting from a comparison with the rise of the so-called “dative alternation” in English (see, e.g., Zehentner 2019), which emerged from a scenario that, apparently, was similar to the one found in Late Latin, we aim to answer the question as to why in the history of this language such a phenomenon did not develop at all for some verbs and did not become productive for others – what we may call the “missing” dative alternation, with a look at the transition to Romance.

Our results show that the changes in the argument structure should be interpreted in the light of a more general development, and point to a conspiracy of functional and usage-based factors – namely frequency, markedness, productivity, analogy, transparency, and semantic prototypicality – that determined the diachronic preference for the indirective alignment in Romance.

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Specifying time-stability of oscillating structures in clause combining

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Keywords: Syntax, clause combining, indeterminate structures, complement taking predicates, Slavic

Oscillating structures are indeterminate structures whose interpretation cannot be reduced to one specific reading. Unlike ambiguous or polysemous structures, their indeterminacy is fundamental, since it does not originate from different underlying structures and therefore cannot be resolved, e.g., by providing more information (cf. Mendoza/Sonnenhauser, forthcoming). See examples below.

In our presentation we focus on a specific type of clause combining, in which the non-first conjunct of a pair (or chain) is introduced by an uninflected word marking directive or optative speech acts (= DIR-clauses). This conjunct may be understood as a self-standing utterance (coding the content of the speech act), but it may also be interpreted as a purpose or complement clause. The former reading may be triggered by a potential complement-taking predicate (CTP) in certain cases, whereas in others the DIR-element may induce a purpose or complement reading. See examples (1-2).

Slovene

- (1) *Popoldne je šef končno ukaza-l,*
afternoon AUX.PRS.3SG boss-(NOM.SG) finally order[PFV]-PST-(SG.M)
naj me pokliče-j-o k nj-emu.
DIR 1SG.ACC call[PFV].PRS-3PL to 3-DAT.SG.M
'In the afternoon the boss finally **ordered** that they call me to (come to) him.'
(lit. '... **may** they call me to him')
(from Uhlik 2018: 412)

Polish

- (2) *Powiedz mu, niech jutro przyjdzi-e do kantor-u.*
say[PFV]-(IMP.SG) 3SG.M.DAT DIR tomorrow come[PFV]-(FUT.3SG) to cantor-GEN
'Tell him, **may** he come to the cantor tomorrow.'
(Polish National Corpus; Wł. St. Reymont: Ziemia Obiecana. 1898)

Such situations are typical of oscillating structures, and they are rather widespread. Analogous cases, also from other notional domains (for instance, temporal sequence or cause-effect relations), are discussed – from different angles – in Grković-Major (2021), Letuchiy (2021: §3), Wiemer (forthcoming).

Oscillating structures are particularly instructive when it comes to tracing diachronic change, since typically they create favorable conditions for reanalysis. However, often oscillation remains unnoticed, because linguists tend to overstate, or force, categorial assignments. By contrast, speakers, obviously, live very well with the lack of categorial decisions in natural discourse. We assume that this favors the time-stability of oscillating structures.

Using DIR-clauses as an example, we explore the time-stability and prominence of oscillating structures. In a pilot study based on random samples from corpora reflecting different diachronic stages of Russian, Polish, and Slovene (see Corpora), we (i) examine the proportion of oscillating instances in relation to the entire sample and (ii) present ordered lists of potential CTPs left to DIR-clauses. These properties are assessed from a diachronic perspective. Results on (i) will allow for specifying the persistence rate in terms of token frequency, while (ii) will help understand whether changes in the classes of potential CTPs as triggers of oscillating interpretations have occurred.

A perusal of corpus data and relevant literature suggests that such structures have been appearing in the earliest available attestations up to our days for the same DIR-units. Therefore, we expect these

structures to be persistent, but also that extension and types of oscillation-triggers changes across time.

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Corpora

- Polish National Corpus: <http://nkjp.pl/>
- KorBa: The Electronic Corpus of 17th- and 18th Century Polish Texts (up to 1772)
- Russian National Corpus: <https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>
- IMP language resources for historical Slovene: <http://nl.ijs.si/imp/>
- Gigafida: <http://www.gigafida.net/>

Forms of address: A function-to-form analysis

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Keywords: forms of address, vocative, Functional Discourse Grammar, discourse-functions, prosody

Forms of address are vocative expressions that are formally extra-clausal elements, i.e. semantically and syntactically external to the ‘host’ sentence, related to it by some discourse-pragmatic function (Kaltenböck et al. 2016: 1-26). Their extra-clausal status is generally assumed to trigger a prosodically independent, parenthetical realization (e.g. Nespor & Vogel 1986: 188, Selkirk 2009, 2011). However, this hypothesis has not been empirically validated in the case of vocatives. Rather, there is good indication that it is their particular discourse-pragmatic features that trigger their specific prosodic features. This paper addresses this issue by looking at recorded speech (ICE-GB corpus, see Nelson et al. 2002) and offers a function-to-form theoretical analysis using the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008).

In terms of function, vocatives are usually divided into ‘calls’ and ‘addresses’ (Zwicky 1974, see also Davies 1986, Leech 1999, Huttenlauch, Feldhausen & Braun 2018). These functions are usually related to position, and it is generally agreed that the initial ones mostly function as calls (attention-getters), and that the medial and final ones are addresses, i.e. serving to “maintain or emphasize the contact between the speaker and addressee” (Zwicky 1974: 787). As for prosody, there seem to be differences between vocatives in the initial position, which are usually found to be prosodically independent (Parrott 2010), and those in the medial and final position, which are mostly deaccented (see e.g. Pierrehumbert 1980, Hock & Dutta 2010, Parrott 2010). Consider the following examples:

- 1) *Dad*, will you have some more juice? (ICE-GB: S1A-022 243)
- 2) You’re such a snob, *dad*. (ICE-GB: S1A-007 180)

Whereas in (1) the default pronunciation of *Dad* would be prosodic separation, the same element in (2) is normally phrased together with the rest of the utterance. *Dad* in (2) could also form a separate prosodic domain, but the function would be quite different, it would serve as attention-getter. Therefore, the detached forms seem to serve the function to get the attention of the addressee (true vocative function) regardless of the position and those integrated are used to maintain the contact with the addressee. This correlation is supported by the corpus data.

Considering this variation in function and prosodic realization, it seems unjustified in theoretical terms to account for such elements as parentheticals in general. It is more suitable to approach the problem from a functional theoretical perspective. Since the architecture of FDG captures the interface between discourse-pragmatic and phonological features in a systematic manner, it offers a solution to the problem. The address forms can be analysed at the discourse-pragmatic level either as complete functional units (Discourse Acts), in which case they will be prosodically non-integrated in the host utterance, or parts of Discourse Acts (e.g. explicit expression of the addressee), in which case they will be characterized by prosodic integration. FDG thus provides the tools to account not only for the distinctive discourse-pragmatic functions of the forms of address, but it can also relate them systematically to the position and prosodic realization.

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Iconicity in the streets, multimodal metaphor in the sheets: Chinese ideophones on social media

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Keywords: onomatopoeia, ideophone, twitter, multimodal metaphor

It is well-known that some words contain structural elements that make them sound like what they mean, e.g., *woof-woof* ‘dog barking’ and *zigzag* ‘running forward while alternating between two sides.’ These words are known as onomatopoeias and ideophones (Akita & Dingemanse 2019; Körtvélyessy 2020). Many experimental studies have investigated the nature of form-meaning mappings (Lockwood & Dingemanse 2015; Winter & Perlman 2021; Ćwiek et al. 2022) but there remain gaps in our knowledge about how these words function in terms of their semantics and pragmatics (Nuckolls 2022). This study addresses this gap by constructing a multimodal corpus of Chinese ideophones and investigating semantic extensions found within the data.

The target ideophones come from the Chinese Ideophone Database (Van Hoey & Thompson 2020). Data was collected on Twitter. Valid data included tweets containing target ideophones in conjunction with a picture or video. Such visual references show that actual usage of ideophones often differs from dictionary definitions as typically used in decontextualized experiments. Preliminary findings indicate that chains of cognitive mechanisms like metonymy and metaphor (Goossens 1992) play a major role in the dataset. The inclusion of visual references leads to a stretching of ideophones’ basic meanings, resulting in cognitive blends (Fauconnier & Turner 2002). This important finding shows how purely iconic underpinnings of ideophones is quite malleable when facing the pressures of actual usage, as opposed to resisting it. The visual imagery of Chinese ideophones (Van Hoey & Thompson 2020; Van Hoey 2022) more vividly draws in users into the posts, similar to how ads work (Pérez Sobrino 2017). As a result, Chinese ideophones and onomatopoeias on social media indeed can indeed be said to be “the next best thing to having been there” (Dingemanse 2011: 299).

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Verb-Object pairs in the Latin, Gothic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavonic translations of the Gospels: a treebank-based quantitative study on the influence of Greek word order

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Keywords: Bible Translations, Word order, Ancient Greek influence, Early Indo-European Languages, Random forests

The Gothic, Armenian and Old Church Slavonic (OCS) versions of the Gospels are among the earliest attestation of these languages. Together with the original Greek and the Latin versions, they constitute a parallel corpus, representing an ideal tool for syntactic reconstruction. However, since all these texts are translations from Greek, separating Greek syntactic features induced by contact from native ones is not straightforward (cf. Cuendet 1929, Rhodes 1977: 176-178, Friedrichsen 1977: 392, Lunt 1977: 431-442, Miller 2019: 502-521).

Eckhoff (2018) measured Greek influence on the order of Verb-Obj pairs and adnominal possessors in the OCS version of the Gospels against additional predictors (part-of-speech, animacy, givenness status, topicality, definiteness, number value). Zanchi et al. (2022) extended the analysis to other word-order (WO) patterns and to all the above-mentioned versions of the Gospels as contained in PROIEL (Haug and Jøhndal 2008). Comparing the frequency of cases in which head initial ordering in a target language mirrors Greek ordering with the expected ratio of head initial constructions in that language, Zanchi et al. showed that not all patterns mirror Greek WO to the same extent: Verb-Obj and Noun-Adj pairs follow Greek more closely as they are more subject to WO variability, whereas Noun-Gen pairs are less dependent on Greek and more on WO preferences of the target language. Random forest classifiers showed that Greek WO plays a predominant role in the prediction, but other features also help improve the results.

In order to deepen our understanding of the role of native syntax, in this study we limit the analysis to Verb-Obj pairs, but extend the range of possible predictors for WO: we make a distinction between verbs occurring in main and subordinate clauses, finite and non-finite verbs, as well as between different parts-of-speech of the object (Zanchi et al. 2022 only considered nouns).

For data extraction, we exploit the word-to-word alignment of the translations with the Greek original provided by the PROIEL infrastructure, which allows us to extract all WO matches, mismatches, and cases of non-correspondences between the original and the translations in Verb-Object pairs. Although this quantitative approach offers better statistical evidence than more limited studies based on a choice of passages, from a preliminary inquiry it results that certain mismatches and non-correspondences would be impossible to explain without manual scrutiny. For instance, mismatches in WO may be due the employment of chiasm in the translation but not in Greek (1), whereas different lexicalization patterns may lead to non-correspondences (cf. Greek *daimonízomai* ‘be possessed by a demon’ and Latin *daimonium habere*). Thus, beside allowing for a more fine-grained quantitative analysis of all predictors, confining the analysis to Verb-Obj pairs allows to manually check our results on a sample corpus and assess the validity of the methodology employed.

(1) a. Greek

*eán tinos adelphòs apothánē kai **katalípēi** gynaika kai mē **aphē** téknon.*

b. Gothic

*jabai his broþar gadaupnai jah **bileipai** genai jah barne ni **bileipai**.*

‘If a man’s brother dies, and **leave** his wife behind him, and (lit.) children not **leaves**.’ (Mark 12.19)

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Towards an Areal Typology of Focus Constructions: A Look from Europe and Mesoamerica

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Keywords: focus construction; information structure; morphosyntax; areal typology; European languages; Mesoamerican languages

The talk presents a pilot study in the areality of morphosyntactic ways of encoding narrow focus, here termed *focus constructions*. This feature is investigated in languages of two geographic regions: Europe and Mesoamerica. The goals of the investigation are twofold: to determine whether focus constructions in the examined areas show convergence patterns and to make a first step towards a systematic crosslinguistic study of morphosyntactic focus encoding.

Following Lambrecht (1996: 213), focus is provisionally defined in this investigation as the non-presupposed semantic component of a proposition expressed by a clause. Focus may extend over the whole proposition as in (1B), proposition without the topic referent as in (2B), or a single semantic component, such as the referent of the NP *Mary* in (3B). The talk concentrates on grammatical means of encoding the focus structure as in (3B).

- (1) A: *What happened?*
B: *Mary ate the cookie.*
- (2) A: *What did Mary do next?*
B: *She ate the cookie.*
- (3) A: *The cookie is missing, who could've eaten it?*
B: *It was Mary who ate the cookie.*

There has been no systematic research on the cross-linguistic range and global distribution of focus constructions so far. Drubig and Schaffar (2001), Givón (2001: 221–251) and Croft (2022: 353–358) present surveys of focus encoding that, however, are not based on methodical study over a controlled language sample. Kalinowski (2015), on the other hand, is a systematic study of focus constructions, but is limited to the languages of Africa.

In an effort to predict what kind of linguistic features tend to be areally convergent, Matasović (2002: 65) proposes this is the case with “pragmatically motivated features”, naming features related to

information structure as an example. Although there have since been studies attempting to empirically assess the areality of particular features (Daumé 2009; Cathcart et al. 2018), they do not include any focus-related features. The hypothesis to be tested by this investigation is that focus constructions are areally convergent.

The study builds on data about focus constructions from ca. 45 languages representative of the language areas in the examined regions identified in the literature. The data is collected from secondary sources and coded using the autotypologising method (Bickel & Nichols 2002), meaning that the parameters for analysing the constructions are identified considering the data and continually revised during data collection.

Preliminary results from Europe indicate a situation more complex than expected. The largest European linguistic area, Standard Average European (see Haspelmath 2001), has no dominant focus construction. On the other hand, robust clefts are mostly concentrated in the languages of Europe's western coast, which was already noticed by earlier researchers and led Wehr (2001; 2015: 198–199) to propose a linguistic area constituted by the Celtic languages, French, Portuguese and possibly English. However, this account offers no explanation for its robustness in the Scandinavian languages. All this warrants widening the research for a better understanding of focus constructions' distribution and convergence.

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Verbless Questions in Oral Monologic Discourse

This paper presents a pilot study into the use of verbless questions, e.g. (1) – (3), in oral monologic discourse in English.

- (1) What if they made that decision versus to build their own culture? How would the world be different? How would their lives be different? *Their impact?*
- (2) If you're creative enough, playful enough, fun enough, can you get through to anyone? *Yes or no?*
- (3) I hadn't done this thing but I had done another. *And so?*

Recent contrastive corpus analysis has shown that the variation between the presence and the absence of a verb in *questions* (i.e. defined semantically as per Huddleston, 1994: 413) is a particularly sensitive issue for the English language (Bondarenko & Celle, 2018; Bondarenko, 2021: 425-435). Specifically, the absence of the verb has been identified as a grammatical marker of *indirect* speech acts in English questions. Furthermore, key-word statistical lexical analysis has shown that verbless sentences depend more on *common ground knowledge* for their resolution than verbal sentences (Bondarenko, 2019; Bondarenko, 2021: 399). These studies have been based on a *written* corpus that is largely *dialogue-based*. The present pilot study extends the analysis of verbless questions to monologic oral discourse.

For the present study, we work with a corpus of TED-talks, the questions of which have been annotated for discourse function and multimodal features by Celle & al. (forthcoming). The focus of our paper is particularly on the verbal versus verbless distinction within this annotation. Specifically, we explore to what extent discourse coherence relations (in the sense of Hobbs, 1990; Kehler & Rohde, 2017; Celle & al., forthcoming) of *verbless* questions in monologic discourse are similar or different compared to those of *verbal* questions. In addition, we further annotate the verbless questions of the TED-talks corpus in terms of the presence or absence of syntactic antecedent-based ellipsis (as per Bondarenko, 2021: 188-199), as well as the direct versus indirect classification (as per Bondarenko & Celle, 2018: 353-354), in order to compare these features with those of the previous dialogue-based written corpus studies. By doing so, we aim to shed light on the form and rhetorical function of particularly the verbless type of question in monologic discourse.

Key words: verbless questions, monologic oral discourse, coherence relations, English

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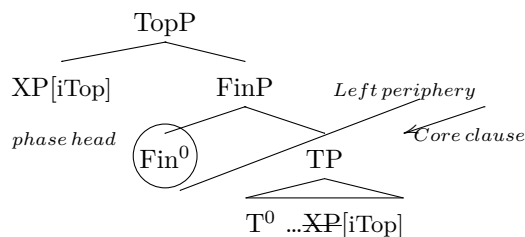
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Core clause, left periphery, and dislocation : towards a unified theory

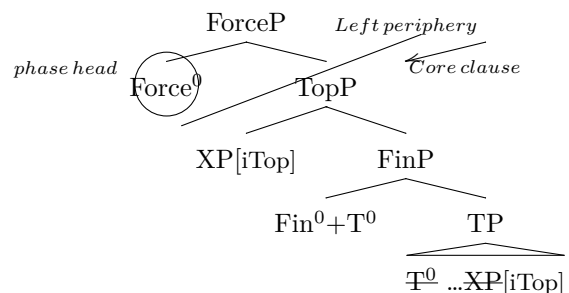
The objective of this paper is to present a new theory that derives rather than stipulates the distinction between the core clause and the periphery. The central claims are that (i) peripheries are created by a phase head in the C-domain, that (ii) all elements in the peripheries are dislocations, and that (iii) all peripheral elements are topical in nature, in the general sense whereby a topic is a domain-restrictor for the computation of the truth value expressed by the core clause (Erteschik-Shir 2007).

As for (i), this theory departs from the universal identification of the periphery with the C-domain (Rizzi 1997 et seq.) Rather, I suggest that the periphery is intimately tied to phasehood (Chomsky 2000; Gallego 2012), such that the merger of the phase head Fin^0 creates the left periphery by transferring the core clause to the interphases. Any elements added to the derivation beyond that point are peripheral, dislocated, and topical. However, in some languages like V2-languages, the finite verb moves into the head Fin^0 (Walkden 2017) This has the effect of rendering the phase inactive, such that no periphery is created. In other words, parts of the C-domain – notably the topic projection(s) – are not left peripheral in V2 languages.

(1) The Romance clause



The Germanic V2 clause



Evidence comes from the different behaviour of topics in non-V2 and V2-languages. In the former, topics are dislocated (De Cat 2007), insensitive to Weak Cross Over, and obligatorily tied to a resumptive pronoun in the core clause (2). In the latter, the exact opposite holds: topics are not dislocated, sensitive to Weak Cross Over, and not tied to a resumptive in the core clause (3).

- (2) *Gianni_i, sua_i madre lo ha sempre viziato* (CLD in Standard Italian)
 Gianni his mother him_{CL} has always spoilt
 ‘Gianni, his mother has always spoilt him’
- (3) **Johnny_i har moren hans_i alltid bortskjemt* (V2-topicalisation in Standard Norwegian)
 Johnny has mother his always spoilt
 Intended : ‘Johnny, his mother has always spoilt him’ (co-reference impossible)

This does not mean that V2 languages do not have peripheries, since Force^0 is also a phase head (cf. rightmost tree in 1). This higher periphery is activated in the ill-named *Contrastive Left-Dislocation* structure (4). Crucially, these topics behave exactly like the CLD-construction in Romance: they are dislocated, linked to a resumptive, and seem to obviate the WCO-effect:

- (4) *Johnny_i, ham_i har moren hans_i alltid likt* (CLD in Standard Norwegian)
 Johnny him has mother his always liked

Taken together, these data strongly suggest that it is possible to define the left periphery as a dislocated syntactic domain situated above the phase heads of the C-layer, and that the behaviour of topics with respect to phenomena like resumption and WCO is determined by whether they are merged above or below the phase head. Finally, I will also show that some elements standardly considered to be peripheral are in fact either clause internal (such as the focus projection) (Samek-Lodovici 2015) or maximally occupy the head of Fin itself (such as question particles). This suggests that the structure of the left periphery, as defined here, is in fact rather coarse, since it only contains topical information.

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The influence of vocal iconicity on word structure through stress and segment placement

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Keywords: sound symbolism, iconicity, preactivation, word formation, language processing

Iconicity, the resemblance-based mapping between aspects of form and aspects of meaning (Winter & Perlman 2021), is increasingly considered a foundational and crucial feature of language. Furthermore, cues used for improving language processing, including iconicity, benefit from being emphasized within words. Stressed phonemes result in more precise phonetic realization and when the onset of a word is heard, a set of words in the mental lexicon with the same initial segments compete for activation (Marslen-Wilson 1980, and Norris & McQueen 2008). The present study investigates if stress and segment placement have a positive effect on vocal iconicity.

12 cross-linguistically established sound-meaning associations (Blasi et al. 2016, Erben Johansson et al. 2020, and Joo 2020), along with 3 non-iconic sound-meaning combinations were selected. Each sound-meaning pairing was represented by audially recorded nonsense words that varied in stress and segment placement. 300 participants (from 30 languages) were asked to listen to each stimuli word and rank it according to how well it fits its meaning. Stressed segments were ranked significantly higher than unstressed segments in the iconic words and there was a significant negative effect for segment position in the control words, which indicates the presence of hidden segment position effect.

To ascertain the cross-linguistic prevalence of these findings, 125 established sound-meaning associations from natural languages (Erben Johansson et al. 2020), along with 16 control concepts, were analyzed. Sounds used in iconic concepts were found to occur more towards the beginning of words compared to the same sounds in control concepts.

These findings show a general segment prominence effect on vocal iconicity. Stress tends to prevent phonetic erosion and, in combination with pre-activation effects, it causes iconic segments to be diachronically retained and then progressively moved towards the onset of words. Thus, these factors seem to affect word formation and sound organization across lexica.

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Methodology issues in detecting phonesthemic change in the English lexicon

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This paper seeks to pursue the analysis of two phonesthemes (i.e. “[F]orm-meaning pairings that crucially are better attested in the lexicon of a language than would be predicted, all other things being equal” Bergen 2004: 293) *fl-* and *sw-* from a lexicographic and a corpus analysis standpoint. Prior study of *fl-* words in Smith 2016 aimed to detect patterns of semantic change in *fl-* monomorphemes using key words in the OED, proposing 11 key corresponding features of the phonestheme *fl-* (such as MOVE THOUGH AIR, SUDDEN VIOLENT). Evidence of the emergence of semantic change amongst the group of *fl-* words was found, notably with some evidence of post-attestation emergence of new features (such as FAIL STRUGGLE CONFUSE). The results showed that *fl-* appears to have a strong analogical pull (or “productivity”) leading to effective crossmodal correspondences in the lexicon (Smith 2019) based on a multimodal analysis of meaning. Drawing on these results, a comparative analysis of *sw-* words has however shown that not all phonesthemes appear equal, with *sw-* words in the OED exhibiting very little acquisition of new post-attestation features.

This paper seeks to pursue the investigation into phonesthemic behaviours from a diachronic standpoint, asking the question whether a typology of phonesthemes can be developed based on their ability to trigger post-attestation senses, relating to etymological ties, lexicographic senses and a corpus analysis of distributional ties with collexemes, i.e co-occurring forms in specific distributional slots (Sketch Engine). The question at stake is the cohesiveness and stability of a form-meaning correspondence in the face of the multiple motivational ties occurring in the lexicogrammatical continuum that may contribute to strong form-meaning correspondences and strong entrenchment in the minds of speakers (Schmid 2020). It is likely that issues such as word frequency combined with the prototypicality of words and word senses affect the iconicity readings of phonesthemic words. This means a competition-oriented view may provide more insight into the role played by phonesthemes in organising the core lexicon (Bergen 2004).

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On locational constructions in Uralic languages

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Keywords: locational constructions, situative strategies, Uralic, Russian, copula

Locational constructions can exercise two functions: predlocative and existential (Haspelmath 2022; see also Creissels 2019). These two functions can be expressed by several formal constructional elements, like prototypical copulas, posture verbs, or others like situative strategies, recently proposed by Basile (2021). Situative strategies are locational constructions based on a verb with meaning FIND, often in reflexive or passive use, and are common in European languages like Russian, where the same situative strategy can express respectively a predlocative (1a) and an existential (1b) construction.

(1) Russian (Indo-European<Slavic; Anna Branets, p.c.)

- a. Еда находит-ся на столе
 Eda ***nachod-it-sja*** *na* *stole*
 food find-PRS.3SG-REFL on table.PREP
 ‘The food is on the table.’
- b. На столе находит-ся еда
 Na *stole* ***nachod-it-sja*** *eda*
 on table.PREP find-PRS.3SG-REFL food
 ‘There is food on the table.’

In this study, we will look at occurrences of the Russian situative verb *nachodit'sja* in parallel texts, and we will check how these strategies are translated into several Uralic languages. Our data comes from two main corpora: “Finland – Past and Present” by the Research Unit for Volgaic Languages, University of Turku (<https://finno-ugric-corpora.utu.fi/cqpweb/>), and Parallel Bible verses for Uralic languages (PABIVUS)

(korp.csc.fi/korp/?mode=parallel#?corpus=pabivus_fin_1938¶llel_corpora=fin&cqp_fin=%5B%5D). Additionally, we also take some examples from the Corpora of Uralic Volga-Kama Languages (<http://volgakama.web-corpora.net/>).

Preliminary results point toward the specificity of use of situative strategies in Russian (2a), while Uralic languages more often employ simple copulas (2b), posture verbs (2c) or instances of verbal predication. Given the literary style of the corpora searched and keeping in mind that one of them is made of Bible translations, we argue that, when situative strategies are used in minor Uralic languages, they may be considered innovations due to prolonged contact with Russian. Moreover,

Russian could be employing situative strategies more often because of the absence of an overt copula in the present tense.

(2) a. Russian

Большинство	город-ов	находи-ло-сь	на	юго-западе
<i>Bol'sinstvo</i>	<i>gorod-ov</i>	<i>nachodi-lo-s'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>jugo-zapade</i>
majority	town-GEN.PL	find-PST.SG.N-REFL	on	south-west
Финляндии				
<i>Finljandii</i>				
Finland.GEN				

b. Moksha

Пяле-да	ламо-ц	финнонь	ош-не-нь	эзда
<i>Pjale-da</i>	<i>lamo-ts</i>	<i>finnon'</i>	<i>oš-ne-n'</i>	<i>ezda</i>
half-ABL	many-3SG	Finnish	town-PL-DET.GEN	of
уль-сть				
<i>ul'-st'</i>	<i>Finljandija-t'</i>	<i>ljambe-šin'</i>	<i>stjama</i>	<i>šire-sa</i>
be-PST3PL	Finland-DET.GEN	south-west	standing	area-LOC

c. Komi

Унджык	кар-ыс	сулал-и-с	Рытыв-лунвыв
<i>Undžyk</i>	<i>kar-ys</i>	<i>sulal-i-s</i>	<i>Rytyv-lunvyv</i>
many.COMP	town-3SG	stand-PST-3SG	west-south
Финляндия-ын			
<i>Finljandija-yn</i>			
Finland-INE			

'The majority of towns was found/was/stood in the South-West of Finland.' (Suomi 667)

We also consider that Finnic languages like Finnish and Estonian probably represent an exception. The grammaticalization of find-based strategies into copulas has most likely happened earlier, in consequence of contact with Germanic languages like Swedish and German. Of these two, modern Swedish still extensively uses the copular construction *det finns* (EXPL find.MID) in existential predication. Similarly, Finnish employs the verb *löytyä* (find.REFL) in a wide range of constructions, including existential constructions (Basile & Ivaska 2021). While a diachronic typology is beyond the scope of this paper, these preliminary considerations are essential to have a clearer picture of the variation of use of situative strategies and other forms of locational predication within Uralic languages.

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***Morir morirás* ‘for certain you will die’: Intensifying strategies in Medieval Spanish biblical translations**

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Keywords: Hebrew tautological infinitive construction, Spanish medieval translations of the Bible, calque, pragmatics, corpus linguistics

The infinitive absolute followed by an inflected form of the same verb (i.e., the tautological infinitive construction) is a characteristic feature of Biblical Hebrew that has been extensively studied (Harbour 1999, Kim 2009, Callaham 2010, and Hataav 2017, among others). It is an optional construction, with pragmatic functions such as emphatic assertion, intensification, or expressive reinforcement of verbal meaning.

Most Spanish medieval translations of the Bible, which were done by Jewish translators from the Hebrew original, tend to render the structure literally, as in example (1):

- (1) *morir morir*
die-INF die-3SG;FUT
'he surely will die'

As a result, tautological infinitives are quite common in medieval Spanish Bibles (Galmés de Fuentes 1996, Pérez Alonso 1997, Viejo Sánchez 2006, Schwarzwald 2010). To analyze this phenomenon exhaustively in medieval and early modern Spanish, we analyzed all relevant examples found in the *Biblias Hispánicas* parallel corpus. In total, we found 474 passages in 432 verses in the Hebrew bible and extracted them together with their translations. The translations of these passages – including those from the Vulgate – were then manually annotated considering sixteen different categories corresponding to different translation strategies (infinitive, gerund, repetition of the verb, omission, etc.).

Our study presents novel findings in several aspects: first, it contributes to characterizing the language of biblical translation. Second, it takes advantage of a corpus of translation equivalents to observe the various strategies used in medieval and early modern Spanish to render the pragmatic values of the Hebrew infinitive absolute.

Finally, we explore the hypothesis of a possible transfer of this calque to the vernacular. The calqued structure is formally identical to the modern Spanish topicalized infinitive (see example 2), and there is some overlap regarding pragmatic functions such as contrast.

- (2) *comer no come*
eat-INF not eat-3SG
'(as for eating) he doesn't eat'

We will contrast arguments that favor and disfavor the hypothesis of the modern Spanish topicalized infinitive having originated from the calque of the Hebrew infinitive absolute-construction.

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Semantic swap, network reconfiguration or both? The loss of causative *do*

The literature on language change is rich of studies in which it is analysed how linguistic constructions come into being, while less attention has been given to how constructions are lost (a few exceptions are Hundt 2014, 2021; Leung and van der Wurff 2018; Breban and Kranich 2021; Zehentner 2022). The present presentation focuses specifically on the factors that cause constructions to be lost by looking at the disappearance of causative *do*, of which an example is given in example (1), during the course of the Middle English (ca. 1100-1500) period.

- (1) Ðis hali mihte ðe dieð ilieuen ðat fader and sune and hali gast is an
This holy virtue you makes believe that father and son and Holy Spirit is one
soþ almihti godd on þrie hades inammned
true almighty God in three heads named
'This holy virtue makes you believe that father, son and Holy Spirit are one true
almighty God named in three ways' (CMVICS1: 25.275)

The first attestations of *do* used as a causative verb can be traced back to Old English, when it occurred in particular with a clausal complement introduced by *þæt* 'that' and, more rarely, with an infinitival complement (see Royster 1922; Ellegård 1953). In Middle English, causative *do* is mainly found in texts written in the Eastern Midlands dialect until the fourteenth century, when it began to decrease in frequency of usage and to be used only with specific types of verb (Moretti 2022). At the end of the Middle English period, causative *do* appears to be no longer a productive verb, as it occurs exclusively in fixed phrases with verbs related to intellectual processes (such as *understand* in *do me to understand*, see OED, *do*, v. 29).

In this paper, I aim to investigate the decline of causative *do* using several Middle English corpora, namely the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (PPCME2, Kroch and Taylor 2000), *Parsed Corpus of Middle English Poetry* (PCMEP, Zimmermann 2015), (PLAEME, Truswell et al. 2018) and *Parsed Corpus of Early English Correspondence* (PCEEC, see PCEEC 2006). First, I explore the semantic (e.g. animacy of the causer, animacy of the causee, semantic class of the verbal complement) and syntactic (e.g. infinitive vs. *to*-infinitive vs. *that*-clause complements) features that characterise causative *do* in Middle English. The goal is to provide a fine-grained description of the behaviour of causative *do* and the types of causation it expresses, by framing the analysis within the existing typological classification of causative constructions (Croft 1991). Second, I include in the analysis other causative verbs, specifically *make*, *cause*, *gar*, *have* and *get*, which are annotated for the same features described above for causative *do*. The data set is then submitted to a multiple correspondence analysis (Levshina 2015). The goal of the quantitative analysis is to investigate how the position of causative *do* within the causative system changed during the entire Middle English period and, ultimately, determine the factors that led to its demise. Preliminary results suggest that both semantic competition with the newly-emerged causative *make* and changes to other, related causative constructions caused causative *do* to be lost.

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It does not always take two:

Revisiting overabundance in Italian verb morphology

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Keywords: overabundance, augment, theme elements, verb morphology, Italian

Overabundance has been well documented in Italian verb morphology (Thornton 2011, 2012), however it still poses a problem to models of language processing and production (Albright 2002, Montermini and Boyé 2012, De Martino et al. 2020). This paper focuses on Italian third conjugation verbs in *-ire*, where some verbs have an augment in addition to a theme-element. This augment can be obligatory (1a), absent (1b) or optional (1c) in the inflectional paradigm.

- (1) a. *finire* 'end' > (*io*) *finisco* '(I) finish'
- b. *dormire* 'sleep' > (*io*) *dormo* '(I) sleep'
- c. *applaudire* 'applaud' > (*io*) *applaudisco* vs. (*io*) *applaudo* '(I) applaud'

According to recent theoretical analyses, *-isc-* is a "purely morphological" (Aronoff 1994) element that functions as a strong identity marker for third conjugation verbs in general (Pirelli and Battista 2000, Thornton 2011, Da Tos 2013, Maiden 2018).

To test to what extent *-isc-* is perceived as identity marker by speakers, we investigate preferences (i) in doublets as in (1c), to determine speakers' preferred form and (ii) a potential extension of the augment to all third conjugations verbs. We designed an acceptability judgement task, focusing on 24 verbs (8 per subtype as in (1)) from the *-ire* conjugation. Each verb is presented, only once either with or without the augment, in 3SG and 1PL of the present indicative embedded in short constructed sentences (e.g., *Gianni apparisce dopo cena.* vs. *Gianni appare dopo cena.* 'Gianni appears after dinner.'). We then asked both native and non-native speakers of Italian to rate how acceptable the sentences are to them on a seven-point scale. If the augment functions as identity marker, we expect a preference for the verbs with augment especially for learners of Italian, as this may help in the identification of the conjugation class.

First results show an intriguing picture, especially with regard to verbs of type (1c): Overall, the non-augmented variants of these verbs receive higher ratings than the ones with augment. However, responses are characterized by high inter-speaker variability. Considering the informants' level of language competence, the analysis shows that the higher the language competence, the better participants rate the absence of the augment in the optional verbs. Conversely, speakers with lower levels of language proficiency give higher ratings for verbs with *-isc-*. By comparison, native speakers appear to be more categorical in their decisions, i.e., the presence of the augment generally tends to result in lower ratings. As for verbs of types (1a) and (1b), results are rather homogeneous, i.e., in ungrammatical cases informants react as expected with low ratings for both type (1a) without augment, and type (1b) with augment. Hence, these results corroborate our hypothesis that the augment functions as an identity marker, but this seems to be restricted to learners. At the same time, they suggest that L1-speakers and proficient speakers privilege "regular" inflected forms.

The results from our study thus contribute to a better understanding of how overabundance is treated by native and non-native speakers and to what extent it may facilitate recognition of word class.

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Grammaticalisation of *kidè* as a similitive marker in contemporary Enggano

This paper presents a case study of similatives in Enggano, an Austronesian language spoken on Enggano Island off the south coast of Sumatra, Indonesia. It compares and contrasts the expression of similarity in Old Enggano vs Contemporary Enggano using legacy materials collected in 1930s by Hans Kähler, and comparing with a modern corpus collected since 2018 as part of an ongoing language documentation project.

In Old Enggano, similatives of both quality and manner are expressed using a verb *ki-doo* ‘be.similar’ which typically combines with the nominalised form *e-iya* ‘nature’ (from the verbal root *ia* ‘be/exist’ that is used in existential constructions). The combination of *kidoo* and *eiya* is so common that the compound form *kidooiya* ‘be.like’ also exists:

- (1) 'o'o k-edo **ki-doo** e-i-ya ka-pae e-edo-bu
 2SG FOC-cry FOC-like DIR-EXIST-NMLZ OBL.HUM.PL-child DIR-cry-2SG
 ‘you cry like the children’ (Kähler 1940, grammar)

- (2) ka e'anaha ka-b-ai-xa **ki-doiya** u-kiu
 then 3-BU-come-EMPH FOC-similar OBL-wind
 ‘and then he came like the wind’ (Kähler 1961, text)

- (3) meo u-aba-'a'o e-baka-'a:u **doo** 'ua ki-pari'o e-'o'o u-'ue
 why 2-ABA-point DIR-face-1sg like 1SG FOC-make DIR-strength OBL-sea
 ‘why do you point at my face as if I had (made=) caused the unruliness of the sea’
 (Kähler 1975, text)

The similitive can occur both with and without the verbal marker *ki-*. It has secondary functions familiar from the typological literature, e.g. expressing hypothetical similarity (Treis & Vanhove 2017), (3). It seems that *doo* (and variant form *nōdō*) may be related to the manner deictic terms *no'o:i'ie* ‘like this’, *no'oaha* ‘like that’.

In contemporary Enggano, *kidè* is used in similitive constructions. This is cognate with *kidoo* having undergone regular sound changes, such as the shift of /o/ to /ə/ (è) (see Smith 2020). However, it is rarely followed by a noun meaning nature. Instead, *kidè* patterns similarly to Indonesian *seperti* ‘like’ (Sneddon et al. 2012):

- (4) ki ku-'ueh **ki-dè** kak k-a'a
 3SG FOC-sleep FOC-like person KI-dead
 ‘It [the baby] slept like a dead person’ (Kähler 1955 retelling, written)

- (5) kep i ium [...] mè' **ki-dè** ium-ium nè'en
 not.yet exist house REL FOC-like house-REDUP now
 ‘There weren't yet houses like today’ (pidah rumah, text)

- (6) **ki-dè** u ku-'u ë'
 FOC-like 1SG FOC-say DEM
 ‘As I said...’ (perkawinan, text)

(7) ka-b-a lagi **dè** puru ke', ka-b-a kō'kō'
 3-BU-come again like leaf tree.sp 3-BU-come sago.palm
 'There was also ke' leaves and sago palm [used for the roof]' (bahan bangunan)

Unlike *kidoo*, which is mainly used to express concrete or hypothetical similarity, *kidè* can also be used in illocutionary clauses expressing 'as we used to say' (Pierrard 2008), (6), and in nominal listing (Güldemann 2007), (7). Consequently, there are several differences between how *kidoo* is used in Old Enggano, and *kidè* in contemporary Enggano. We argue that these differences reflect both language contact with Indonesian, where *seperti* can be used with similar semantic extensions (Sneddon et al. 2012), as well as recognised grammaticalization pathways (Treis & Vanhove 2017).

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The *very* problem – The problem of using *very* as a diagnostic for lexicality

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Keywords: Functional Discourse Grammar, degree modification, lexical status, modifiability, *very*

Approximators, like *nearly* in (1), have attracted valuable research in the past (e.g. Morzycki 2001; Rotstein & Winter 2004). However, the question of what their lexical status is, still lacks a definite answer.

(1) a **nearly** straight line (COCA)

Since modifiability by another lexeme is often employed as a criterion for lexicality (e.g. Bybee et al. 1994; Keizer 2007), *very* has been regarded as the typical indicator for lexical status (Quirk 1985; Huddleston & Pullum 2002). This, however, hinges on *very*'s own lexical status.

This paper investigates a) the lexical status of *very* (as degree modifier and adjective intensifier), b) the implications of its (lack of) fully lexical status for its use as a diagnostic for modifiability, and c) the combination of *very* with the approximator *nearly*.

Use is made of the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), which employs focalizability, modifiability, and specifiability (= modification via grammatical means) to distinguish between Modifiers (lexical), Operators (grammatical), and Lexical Operators (in-between category) at different levels of analysis (Keizer 2007; Hengeveld 2017; Giomi 2020).

- (2) [...] policies that help household [...] refinance their homes at **very** low interest rates (COCA)
- How low are the interest rates? – **Very** (low)
 - [...] at **VERY** low interest rates [...]
 - [...] at **super/mega/very very** low interest rates [...]

In (2), **very** combines with the open-scale adjective *low*, resulting in a degree reading. As can be seen in (2a) and (2b), *very* is focalizable through questioning (see Boye & Harder 2012) and specifiable through an emphasis operator resulting in prosodic prominence. Cases of direct modification by a full lexeme, however, are hard to find, as *super* or *mega*, as in (2c), are analysed as intensifiers located at the Interpersonal Level (=pragmatics) as opposed to the degree *very* being located at the Representational Level (=semantics). *Very* itself cannot be allowed as an example of direct modification since its lexical status is at debate. Thus, *very* is analysed as a Lexical Operator, i.e. a semi-lexical element.

Nearly, in (3), presents a similar picture in that it can be focalized and specified, yet not directly modified except by *very*, which, as argued above, is not a full lexeme. Consequently, *nearly* is analysed as semi-lexical as well.

- (3) [...] acquiring **nearly** extinct animals proffers social status ... (COCA)
- How extinct are the animals? – **Nearly** (extinct)
 - [...] acquiring **NEARLY** extinct animals [...]
 - [...] **quite/pretty/very nearly** extinct animals [...]

In sum, both *very* and *nearly* are analysed as Lexical Operators, i.e. semi-lexical elements, lacking the property of modifiability. Consequently, one needs to be careful in relying on *very* as a diagnostic for lexical status.

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Upper Kuskokwim Athabaskan: A case of resistance to language contact

Upper Kuskokwim (UK) is an Athabaskan (Dene) language of interior Alaska. Ancestors of the modern UK people have been residing in the area for some millennia (Kari 2010). UK demonstrates an unusually low level of external linguistic influence. The goal of this paper is to describe and explain this phenomenon. Four kinds of potential external influence may be expected in UK: neighboring Athabaskan languages, Yup'ik Eskimo, Russian (in the 19th century) and English (in the 20th century). All of them will be considered in turn.

- Potential borrowings from the adjacent related languages are difficult to recognize as Athabaskans traditionally had a knowledge of inter-language sound correspondences and recalculated borrowings into the local phonetic system, making them indistinguishable from original forms (Krauss 1981).
- The only other indigenous contacting group were Yup'iks of middle and lower Kuskokwim. There is no evidence of any UK people learning Yup'ik, and contact was largely avoided in traditional times. Accordingly, only a few lexical borrowings from Yup'ik have been identified in UK. Several individuals of Yup'ik origin joined the UK community in the 20th century, but left no visible trace in the language.
- Contact with Russians started in mid-19th century and had vast impact on the UK culture. UK has about 80 lexical borrowings from Russian, all being nouns denoting European artefacts or religious concepts. These borrowings have indications that they travelled from Russian to UK via other Athabaskan, or Yup'ik, or both. However, some words appear to have been borrowed directly from Russian. Still there is no historical evidence of UK people being bilingual in Russian. It is most likely that direct Russian borrowings got established not via bilingualism but via the process that can be called ostensive presentation, or explicit encoding (term from neurobiology of learning).
- Contact with English speaking migrants to the UK area started around the turn of the 20th century and became more intense in the 1930s and 1940s. The period of partial English bilingualism was relatively short and resulted in several lexical borrowings and a single grammatical borrowing. In the 1960s a rapid language shift ensued, which led to language endangerment. The speech of modern UK speakers involves numerous English elements that must be properly treated as code mixing rather than borrowing.

Causes behind the traditional linguistic purity of UK include: long residence in the area; native comparative knowledge of Alaskan Athabaskans; general disinclination of the Athabaskan languages to borrowing from unrelated languages (Sapir 1921, Brown 1999); scarcity of contact with Yup'ik; geographical isolation; lack of bilingualism in Russian; brief period of partial bilingualism in English.

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The rise of ideophonic compound verbs in Archi (East Caucasian)

Archi is a one-village (1000 speakers) and unwritten East Caucasian language of the Lezgian branch spoken in an isolated valley of highland Dagestan. It has for centuries been in contact only with the larger, high-prestige, and recently literacy-developed Lak and Avar languages, which belong to other branches of the family. Most East Caucasian languages and all those of the Lezgian branch have a large and productive class of compound verbs combining a light verb (essentially ‘to do’ or ‘to be’) and an element known as ‘coverb’, of nominal, adjectival, verbal or unknown origin. Such compounds compensate for the overall scarcity of verbal derivation.

Archi stands out among its closest relatives of the Lezgian branch in the way it has created, undoubtedly under the impulse of Lak, a large class of compounds using the verb *bos* ‘to say’ as a light verb. We call ideophones all uninflectable coverbs used with *bos*, as well as any unverbated element in verbs ending in *-bus* or *-mus*, which represent avatars of *bos*. Our study attempts a classification of ideophonic verbal compounds in Archi found in available corpora such as <http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/archi/corpus.php>, and Chumakina’s Archi dictionary (<https://www.smg.surrey.ac.uk/archi-dictionary/>).

Since Archi has only around 200 simple verbs, compounds are an important part of the verbal lexicon. While many coverbs combine with both the light verbs ‘to do’ and ‘to be’, the coverbs used with ‘to say’ are not used with other light verbs. Archi ideophones are never reduplicated. Their phonotactic shapes are not substantially different from other parts of speech. Some of the ideophonic coverbs are identified by us as Avar loans, testifying to the productivity of this type, and the suppletive masdar form *-t’i* of the verb *bos* is a Lak borrowing, showing the borrowed origin of this pattern.

While previous overviews of the Archi verbal system have identified compounds with ‘to say’ as verbs of speech and ‘mouth activities’, as well as a class of sound ideophones and unclassified ‘others’, our more specific and fine-grained study reveals subclasses of ideophonic compounds expressing non-auditory sensations, movements and contact, and effort-demanding activities. We also discovered that 30 unverbated ideophones of the latter subclass and showing the verbalizing ending *-mus* are actually related to non-ideophonic roots attested as full-fledged proper verbs in other Lezgian languages. This provides an insight into how the verbal lexicon undergoes reshaping in situations of isolation from closest relatives and heavy structural pressure from remotely related and larger, dominant languages.

This study will also contribute to the better understanding of how ideophonic compound verbs with a verb of saying emerge and expand as an innovative and areally determined feature within a language family showing typologically diversified profiles as to the structuring of the verbal lexicon.

Grammatical constructions of impoliteness in Afrikaans

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Keywords: misgendering, dehumanisation, insult, abusive language, taboo language

Warning: This abstract contains examples of language that might be offensive to some users.

Disclaimer: Our classification of racist, homophobic, and other offensive expressions is based on our subjective understanding and analysis of their context and intended meaning, and does not imply endorsement or agreement with these views.

In the introduction to *The Grammar of Hate*, Knoblock (2022: 2) remarks that “research into grammatical issues of discriminatory discourse is less common” than research into the “lexical and discursive features of such discourse”. Several chapters in her book therefore address this hiatus by focusing on, among other, dehumanising and misgendering language usage mainly in English, but also in Czech, Danish, Dutch, German, Greek, Russian, and Ukrainian. Despite this variety in languages, she calls “for more concerted efforts to include a wider range of languages in international-level publications” (Knoblock 2022: 6). Our current research attempts to provide data and insights from Afrikaans.

Culpeper (2011: 8) notices, indeed, that “[a]cquiring relevant data for impoliteness research is particularly difficult”, which is even more true when working with grammatical phenomena (e.g., pronoun usage) than when working with lexical data. We will therefore firstly present our methodology for discovering grammatical construction inductively, viz. firstly corpus-driven (i.e., discovered in the data), then corpus-based (i.e., verified in the data), then knowledge-based (e.g., from existing knowledge), and lastly intuition-based (i.e., from our own knowledge and experience).

In our paper, we will strive to cover as many constructions as possible (rather than looking at one or two constructions in detail. Some of the strategies and constructions we have already “discovered” from the NWU web commentary corpus (CTeXT 2018), include:

(1) Misgendering through pronoun usage

Ek stem saam oor Caster hy is 'n yster

I agree with about Caster 3.SG.M is a iron

‘I agree with you: Caster [Semenya], he is the bomb!’ (used ironically to complement and insult)

- With some original Afrikaans data, we will support the views of several of the chapters (specifically 4 to 8) in Knoblock (2022) focusing on English, Ukrainian, German, and Czech that grammatical neutering (i.e., the switch from *he* or *she* to *it*) is a powerful dehumanizing and othering strategy in written discourse. We will specifically focus on racist and homo-/transphobic language.

(2) Dehumanising through deadjectival nominal constructions

Heyneke moet maar 'n klomp **swart-e-tjie-s** stuur na Argentinië

Heyneke must but a number **black-NMLZ-DIM-PL** send to Argentina

'[National rugby coach] Heyneke must just send a number of **blackies** to Argentina'

- Recently, Hogeweg and Neuleman (2022: 84) found that “slurs [*faggot*] are considered to be more hurtful than nouns [*homo*], and that nouns ... are considered to be more hurtful than adjective noun combinations [*homosexual man*]” (our examples). With reference to Camp (2013), among others, we argue that deadjectival nominals (e.g., *a homosexual*) could be considered more hurtful than noun-only constructions.

(2) Degrading through metonymic references

'n Mens vertrou nie 'n swart÷gat nie.

a person trust not a black÷ass PTCL.NEG

'One can't trust a black ass.'

- Evaluative person name affixoids (EPNAs) like ÷*gat* can be divided broadly into two metonymic categories: (1) BODY PART FOR PERSON, such as *pampoen÷kop* (pumpkin÷head 'simpleton'); and (2) (PART OF) CLOTHING FOR PERSON, such as *vet÷sak* (fat÷bag 'fatso').
- Other insulting metonymic references include cases where a negatively perceived group is implicitly referred to by means of some stereotypical metonymic relation, e.g., instead of saying *busse vol swart mense* ('busloads of black people'), a hurtful way is to refer to *busse vol* ('busloads') only.

(3) Misgendering through phonological/orthographical deformation

Casper Semenya

id.

'Casper Semenya' (using a male first name Casper instead of the female first name Caster)

- By using a male name instead of a female name (or vice versa), the referent could be purposefully misgendered. This strategy, on the other hand, is often used jocularly, ironically, or emphatically in gay speak.

(4) Insulting through impolite formulae (Culpeper, 2011)

Hoekom F@\$@f jy nie jou **gemors!!!!**

why [implied swearing] 2SG.SBJ not 2SG.NSBJ rubbish

'Why don't you just fuck off, you piece of garbage!'

- Recently, Van Olmen, Andersson, and Culpeper (forthcoming) illustrated how personalised negative vocative constructions in Dutch, English, and Polish are conventionalised for impoliteness, but that “[m]ore research is required ... to see how pervasive this phenomenon is”. Data from Afrikaans might contribute to a better understanding of these constructions.

(5) Dehumanising through inanimate binomial measure constructions

Jaag die spul chinese terug na hul eie land

chase the caboodle Chinese.PL back to their own country

'Chase those / that bunch of Chinese back to their own country'

- Constructions like *’n klomp/spul X·PL* (a bunch/caboodle of X·PL), or *’n stuk X* (a piece of X), where X is usually an inanimate referent, can be used to refer to people in a degrading manner.

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A Corpus-based Study of Endoclititic $=\hat{i}\$$ in Kurdish

Endoclititics and mesoclititics, clitics that appear within their hosts, are typologically rare phenomena found only in a few languages such as Udi (W. Smith, 2014), Pashto (Kopris, 2009), Degema (Kari, 2002) and Andi (Maisak, 2018). This paper follows Anderson (2005) and (Walther, 2012) in using the term endoclititic to mean any word-internal cliticization. Kurdish, an Indo-European language of >25M speakers, is known for displaying a number of morphological complexities related to endoclititics. While Sorani Kurdish endoclititic pronominal person markers have been extensively discussed in the literature (Walther, 2012; Bonami and Samvelian, 2008; Allahweisiazar et al., 2022), to the best of our knowledge, the endoclititic $=\hat{i}\$$ ‘also/even/too’ and its variants have not been documented in any variants of Kurdish. Yet, Sorani Kurdish data shows that the distribution of the endoclititic $=\hat{i}\$$ is influenced by the complex placement properties of the language’s enclitic pronominal person markers. This paper investigates the interdependent complexities of Sorani Kurdish endoclititic markers. Using a corpus-based approach, we compare the usage and distribution of complex Sorani Kurdish $=\hat{i}\$$ to variants found in other Kurdish varieties which do not display the same complex person marker placement patterns (see Table 1): Kurmanji and Zazaki $\hat{j}i$ and $\hat{z}i$ (also zi) appear as free morphemes; Gorani $=\hat{i}\varsigma$ and Southern Kurdish $=\hat{i}\$$ appear as enclitics and follow oblique morphemes or precede pronominal suffixes, but do not interact with enclitic person markers (MacKenzie, 1966).

Language	Variant	Endoclititic
Kurdish	Kurmanji	$\hat{j}i$ (ژی)
	Sorani	$=\hat{i}\$$ (یش) / $=\varsigma$ (ش)
	Southern	$-\hat{i}\$$ (یش) / $-\varsigma$ (ش)
Zaza-Gorani	Gorani (Hawrami)	$-\hat{i}\varsigma$ (یج) / $-\varsigma$ (ج)
	Zazaki	$\hat{z}i$ (zi)

Table 1: The $=\hat{i}\$$ endoclititic in variants of Kurdish and in Zaza-Gorani

Sorani Kurdish enclitic pronominal marker placement has been shown to be dependent on complex subject vs. object person/number properties and tense interactions (Bonami and Samvelian, 2008; Walther, 2012). Sorani Kurdish $=\hat{i}\$$ appears to be linked to those variable placements, as illustrated in Figure 1.

Specific morphosyntactic features determine the insertion of the endoclititic, but realizations also differ between Northern Sorani (e.g., Mukri, examples 1 and 2) vs. Southern Sorani (e.g., Ardalani, examples 3 and 4). It is worth mentioning that we follow Matras (2019)'s classification of Sorani.

- (1) *hatîşim.*
hat=îş-im.
 come=also-PST.1SG.
 ‘(I) also came’

(2) *helîşhatim.*
hel=îş-hat-im.
 up=also-flee-PST.1SG.
 ‘(I) also fled away’

(3) *hatimîş.*
hat-im=îş.
 come-PST.1SG=also.
 ‘(I) also came’

(4) *helhatimîş.*
hel-hat-im=îş.
 up-flee-PST.1SG=also.
 ‘(I) also fled away’

[illegible]

Figure 1: The placement of the endoclititic =*îş* (in green boxes) and agent marker (in grey boxes) with respect to the base and each other in a verb form in Northern Sorani

We collected data for Gorani, Sorani and Southern Kurdish and analyzed the presence of $=i\dot{s}$ both as an enclitic and as an endoclititic within special verb forms. In Northern Sorani, our findings show that $=i\dot{s}$ tends to attach to the leftmost morpheme within the verb itself regardless of the transitivity of the verb. This is akin to the behavior of pronominal endoclititics in past transitive verbs (W. Smith, 2014). On the other hand, in Southern Sorani, particularly Ardalani, it tends to appear at the end of the verb. This is similarly observed in Southern Kurdish and Gorani. In all the varieties, the placement of $=i\dot{s}$ within a phrase varies based on the intended meaning or emphasis on a specific word. But based on extensive corpus analysis, we also show how the frequency of $=i\dot{s}$ is affected by the complex patterns of pronominal endoclititics and by more or less straightforward interactions between the personal markers and $=i\dot{s}$.

This work documents a new and rare phenomenon and analyzes it using a data-driven corpus approach. The collected data will also be useful for further analyses in the field.

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Impoliteness and offensiveness: The case of English slang suffixoids

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While lexical and discourse strategies of impoliteness and offensiveness have been widely studied hitherto (Culpeper 2011), there is limited research devoted to the contribution of grammatical and morphological aspects to impolite language. This paper provides a corpus-assisted analysis of slang morphological means used with offensive effects, including phenomena such as insults, criticisms, contempt, and verbal aggression. The focus is on four compound families (*X-ass*, *X-brain*, *X-face*, *X-head*), which are often used in English slang to form complex words referring to specific groups, such as homosexuals, fools, or ineffectual people (Mattiello 2022b). The paper aims at demonstrating that, because of their frequency and productivity in the formation of forms of impoliteness, *-head* and similar elements have developed from compound constituents to affixoids, i.e. bound morphemes originated from free morphemes. In other words, affixoids are transitional phenomena between affixes and compound constituents: like affixes, they have a bound status (cf. *writ(e) + -er* and *air/bone/cabbage/egg/meat + -head*), yet, like compound constituents, they correspond to autonomous words (cf. *-head* vs *head*; see ‘transitional phenomena’ in Mattiello 2022a). However, affixoids have acquired a more abstract and generalisable meaning than that of their parent morphemes: e.g., in *Green’s Dictionary of Slang* (Green 2023), the suffixoid *-head* is said to create terms ‘with a negative personal meaning’, often referring to fools or idiots. In particular, 1) suffixoids have acquired a figurative, namely metonymic and metaphorical meaning (e.g., in *cabbagehead*, *-head* stands for ‘a person’s brain’ made of/full of what is specified by the first element), and 2) they are used in English slang with a specific pragmatic function, i.e. to express rudeness or even offend others.

The paper adopts a morphopragmatic approach (Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi 1994) to investigate the pragmatic meanings obtained by morphological elements. It explores the pragmatic functions/effects associated with slang words in situations of impoliteness: e.g., *birdbrain* (*Ha, even a birdbrain can get that one*), *airhead* (*You do realise she is a total airhead*), or *fat ass* (*Get in the goddamn car, you fat ass*) display a derisive, critical, and offensive function in their respective contexts. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses of data drawn from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA, Davies 2008) shows the frequency of the morphological processes, their privileged co-texts and collocates, as well as their negative potential and face-threatening power. A contrastive English-Italian analysis in the parallel corpus OPUS2, available on Sketch Engine (Kilgariff et al. 2004), shows that, while English expresses impoliteness through forms that are borderline between derivation and compounding (see, e.g., the suffixoids *-head*, *-face*, etc.; cf. the *-o* suffix investigated in Mattiello 2023), Italian rather uses noun phrases (e.g., *cervello di gallina* lit. ‘brain of hen’ for ‘birdbrain’; *testa vuota* lit. ‘head empty’ for ‘airhead’), derived words (e.g.,

svampito ← NEG. *s-* + *vampa* 'flame' + P.PART. *-ito*, 'airhead, absent-minded'), or augmentatives (e.g., *ciccione/grassone* ← *ciccia/grasso* 'fat' + AUG. *-one*, 'fat ass') to render comparable concepts and produce similar effects.

Keywords: impoliteness, English slang, morphopragmatics, affixoids, transitional morphology

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Less is more. Overabundance in minoritised Slavonic varieties

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Keywords: *corpus; inflectional morphology; multilingualism; overabundance, sociolinguistics.*

This paper aims to sketch potential connections between inflectional morphology and sociology of language. Phenomena around inflectional morphology are often explained by pure morphology, morphophonological processes and/or diachrony (e.g. Baerman 2011; Thornton 2019). These analyses are plausible and have enlightened our understanding of inflectional morphology. However, as I propose, they fall short of explaining other language external causes that can contribute to the emergence or absence of overabundance.

OVERABUNDANCE is a phenomenon in inflectional morphology which happens when two or more forms are available for one single slot of the paradigm. For example, the forms *burnt* and *burned* are both past tense forms of the same verb in English and can be interchangeably used in any context without any sociolinguistic or stylistic weighting (Thornton 2011). In this paper, I argue that the sociolinguistic environment can play a determining role in the emergence or absence of overabundance, based on fieldwork data from Slavonic minoritised varieties spoken at the intersections of several national borders.

In Dorian's (2010) study of fisherfolk Scots Gaelic varieties, she showed how certain sociolinguistic settings could create a climate that favours the preservation of overabundance. Among the most defining factors would be being a small-speech community, economically deprived (and thus, in which everyone belongs to the same social class) and a lack of awareness of a standard form of their variety (vid. Milroy 1999). In this paper, I try to replicate the experiment with several minoritised Slavonic varieties spoken around international border areas (cf. Woolhiser 2008); namely: Podlasian, Rusyn and West Polesian. They are in similar settings like the ones described by Dorian (2010), with the addendum of a multi-side and more pronounced language contact with other closely related and more standardised Slavonic varieties.

First, I have selected 65 parameters of inflectional paradigms (nouns, verbs, adjectives and pronouns), in order to look at instances of overabundance. The criteria for choosing these have been based on points in which Slavonic languages differ from each other; e.g. [POLISH] *siostr-q* vs. [RUSSIAN] *sestr-oj* vs. [UKRAINIAN] *sestr-oju* 'sister' [INS.SG]. Second, I have tested whether there are more or fewer instances in the minoritised varieties than in the more prestigious and standardised varieties looking at relevant online corpora and my own fieldwork data. Not surprisingly, minoritised varieties score higher in overabundance, since as Dorian (2010) argued, speakers in such settings are far less likely to judge it negatively. Third, I have been considering the etymology of each overabundant form. I show how language contact (i.e. in minoritised varieties borrowing from neighbouring standardised varieties) can also contribute to having more forms per inflectional cell.

In sum, I focus on phenomena around overabundance to test some hypotheses about the correlation between language contact, sociolinguistic status and inflectional morphology. The results point to the fact that future studies on inflectional morphology should be more considerate of language-external factors.

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The position of the theme vowels *e* and *i* in the functional spine of Russian verbs: evidence from denominal and deadjectival verbs

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Keywords: Russian, theme vowels, event structure, denominal verbs, deadjectival verbs

It is a well-known fact that in Slavic languages, the same thematic vowel can give rise to several structural and semantic types of denominal and deadjectival verbs, cf. (Jabłońska 2007) on Polish. The same holds true of Russian, where many derivational models were identified (Shvedova et al. 1980), of which the most productive ones are those involving the theme vowels *e* and *i*.

In this talk¹, I explore on the cases where *e* and *i*-vowels derive verbs from other parts of speech and, therefore, their semantic contribution can be evaluated. I propose that the best way to capture the differences between *e*- and *i*-vowels is to implement Ramchand's model of predicate decomposition (Ramchand 2008), where the process sub-event is encoded by the *e*- vowel and the initial sub-event by the *i*-vowel, following the line of reasoning proposed by Jabłońska (2007). I show that this model predicts the behaviour of all the types of verbs attested in Russian. Namely, I will show that: 1) all the verbs that are derived with *e*-vowels are unaccusatives (but not necessarily change-of-state-denoting); 2) all the verbs that are derived with *i*-vowels are obligatorily non-unaccusatives, bringing to light several structural types that were not previously explored in detail (emission verbs, stative causatives, behavior-related verbs, predicates denoting taste perception, and some others). Some of the derivational models in question are exemplified below. However, contra Jabłońska (2007), I reject the idea that the verbs derived with *i*-vowels have a process state in their event structure, which is confirmed of some of them with durative adverbials. In other terms, the *i*-vowel encodes processes causing states (deadjectival inchoatives) as well as states causing states.

(1)	poln-yj	'plump'	poln-i-t'	'make sb. look plump'	
	strojn-yj	'slim'	strojn-i-t'	'make sb. look slim'	(stative causatives)
(2)	xitr-yj	'cunning'	xitr-i-t'	'act cunningly'	
	gost'	'guest'	gost-i-t'	'be a guest'	(behaviour-related verbs)
(3)	gor'k-ij	'sour'	gorč-i-t'	'be sour'	
	kisl-yj	'acid'	kisl-i-t'	'be acid'	(verbs of taste)

I will explore the question of whether my findings can be extended to all the instances of Russian theme vowels (to be discussed in my talk). I will also compare the event structure of behavior-related verbs with *i*-vowel to those derived with suffixes *-(stv-)ova* and *-niča*. I show that: 1) in case of *i*-verbs, the behavior-related semantics is only determined by the ergativity of the base adjective; 2) suffixes *-(stv-)ova* and *-niča* lexicalize the functional sequence possibly including the pluractionality/imperfective exponent *-a*. As a consequence, the verbs of the latter type can be derived from nouns of different semantic classes but give rise to the same structural type. As a result, I

¹ The data used in the survey come from the grammatical description (Shvedova et al. 1980) as well as from several dictionaries of Russian language. The grammatical judgments used in the survey are based on the author's native speaker judgments.

hypothesize that the difference in interpretations might be due to the difference in functional structure underlying different theme vowels.

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