

**Plenary speakers****Attracting agreement: a psycholinguistic account.**

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Agreement phenomena have always posed a great puzzle to both general linguists and psycholinguists, starting with the fact that agreement is not strictly necessary and yet it is present in most of the world's languages. An equally shocking aspect of agreement is that, being in principle a simple feature-copying or feature-sharing operation, feature harmonization is very often violated by numerous mismatches. Most of these are driven by obvious semantic interference. Corbett (1979, 2006) has shown that mismatches obey a certain logic: they tend to occur more the more structural distance exists between controllers and targets. Other recent proposals are more dichotomic in suggesting two different paths for agreement: a formally-regulated concord path, and a more semantically-inclined index path (Wechsler 2011; Wechsler & Ham 2011). Here I argue that these proposals are adequate but do not provide the whole picture. By examining psycholinguistic work, especially on the phenomenon known as *attraction* (Bock & Miller 1991; Bock et al. 2001; Eberhard et al. 2005; Wagers et al. 2009; inter alia), I aim to show that the perennial problem of semantics interfering with form in agreement operations can only be solved if we take stock of two other factors which have not yet been given due attention: one is the size of the morphological component of each language examined, as this inversely correlates with semantic interfacing. The other is the direction of encoding, since more interfacing is to be expected in production than in comprehension. In other words, I will argue that, rather than having or not having semantics run agreement relations (a fixed all-or-nothing affair), and rather than having semantics arbitrarily, the degree of semantic interfacing in agreement is predictable on morphosyntactic and psycholinguistic grounds.

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**Cognition, Typological Generalizations and Universal Grammar.**

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In this talk I will consider two potential arguments for Universal Grammar other than that based on poverty of the stimulus. One stems from the limited number of notions that are *grammatically encoded* in the languages of the world. The other rests on the fact that of all mathematically possible orders of constituents only a subset is actually attested. Neither limitation appears to follow naturally from cognitive, historical, cultural, processing, or other factors; which makes it plausible to think of them as forced upon us by Universal Grammar, perhaps as a consequence of how it crystallized at some distant point of the evolution of our species.

**The swing of the pendulum: the status of analogy in linguistic theory  
from the Junggrammatiker up to the present**

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In this talk, I consider the role played by analogy in language processing and the status given to it in linguistic theory, starting with Hermann Paul's *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, via psycholinguists such as Ester (1973), to the most recent writings on this topic, 'swinging' between 'taxonomic' neogrammarian views and 'mentalistic' generative ideas.

For most Neogrammarians, analogy was an exception to the rule (*falsche Analogie*): sound changes were seen as *laws*, with exceptions to these inexorably relegated to the 'back-benches'. A strong dislike of analogy is also found in the Transformational Generative tradition (cf. Kiparsky 1974, Lightfoot 1979: 359ff. and many others). The thinking there was (and still is) that analogy cannot be captured within rules, it is taxonomic and unrestrictive, making analogical explanations 'arbitrary'.

The neogrammarian emphasis on the study of language as a scientific enterprise, on laws, is probably one of the reasons why in later linguistic (esp. generative) models, rules (later constraints) were primary, while analogy kept being seen as secondary, a mechanism involving mere surface phenomena that cannot be used to explain the grammar system nor grammar change. In change, re-analysis (rule re-ordering/-loss/-addition) became the most important mechanism.

It is interesting that a number of Neogrammarians, notably Paul and Brugmann, gave analogy a much more prominent place both in language change and language learning. The link between these two domains now seems generally accepted: for Paul as well as later linguists the principles that play a role in language acquisition must also play a role in change. The lowering of the status of analogy in later (synchronic) grammatical models therefore led to the idea that it could neither be an important principle in language learning nor in change. This ultimately resulted in the argument within the generative school that language acquisition is guided by children's 'innate grammar' rather than by analogy.

I would like to look at advances made in more recent (psycho)linguistic research through the rise of the new fields of corpus linguistics and subdomains in cognitive science such as neurolinguistics, to see where these have brought us. Based on these findings, I will put in a plea for analogy as the basic principle in language acquisition and change. I will argue (pace most generative models, grammaticalization theory (cf. Traugott and Hopper 2003: 310), and historical linguists such as Harris and Campbell (1995: 50-51), that re-analysis is not primary but should be seen as a meta-linguistic mechanism; a mechanism that *describes* change but does not *explain why* and *how* change takes place. Similarly in synchronic models, 'rules' describe and show regularities, but do not explain them. If it is indeed correct that, as Katz (1964: 133) wrote in the early days of generative grammar, that, since the psychologist and the mentalistic linguist are constructing theories of the same kind, i.e. theories with the same kind of relation to the neurophysiology of the human brain, it follows that the linguist's theory is subject to the requirement that it harmonize with the psychologist's theories dealing with other human abilities and that it be consistent with the neurophysiologist's theories concerning the type of existing brain mechanisms.

Then we should follow new developments in these areas, we should align these to our own linguistic modeling in the hope that we look for the reasons for change in the right places and that our model indeed, some day, reaches this 'harmony'.

### The challenge of non-discreteness: Focal structure in language

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Linguists generally think about language as a hierarchical system of levels, and each level has certain units: phonemes at the phonological level, phrases in syntax, etc. At each hierarchical level units display a paradoxical behavior. They are segmental, and at the same time they somehow tend to avoid segmentation. This can be seen in both paradigmatic and syntagmatic aspects. Consider the phonological level. Paradigmatically, each language is typically believed to have a fixed set of phonemes. But all kinds of partial membership in this set are systematically found across languages, e.g. it is unclear whether one must posit the difference between hard and soft /ž/ and /ž'/ in Russian. Syntagmatically, it is difficult to draw a clear boundary between segments in phonetic signal. For example, when pronouncing something like /ko/ labialization is found already when the consonant is pronounced. Moving to other levels, many of us are familiar with intermediate phenomena such as clitics (see e.g. Nikolaeva 2008), small clauses, parcellated discourse units, blurred distinctions between meanings of a polysemous word, etc., etc. Considering diachronic change, it is hard, if possible at all, to draw a firm line between evolutionary statuses of linguistic elements. For example, English or German person agreement markers are generally automatic grammatical elements but still have some uses echoing their erstwhile referential function, common in conservative Indo-European languages (cf. expressions such as German *gratuliere* or English *sounds good*).

It is not just individual linguistic elements that show non-discrete effects but also whole languages. We think about languages as discrete entities when we say something like "There are three (or four) East Scandinavian languages" or "Old Norse is the ancestor of the modern Scandinavian languages". But such statements are gross simplifications, as boundaries of a single language, historical boundaries between old and modern languages, and the internal unity of ancestor languages are all tentative (see e.g. Dahl 2001).

Language seems to simultaneously long for discrete, segmented structure and try to depart from it. Non-discrete effects permeate every single aspect of language and cannot be discarded as a mere nuisance. The problem of non-discreteness is central to the theory of language. Philosophers, psychologists, and linguists have approached this problem using the notions of prototype (e.g. Rosch 1973) and radial category (Lakoff 1987). However, these notions only address paradigmatic relations, whereas the non-discreteness problem is of a more general nature. I propose that in the case of language we deal with a special kind of structure that is unlike both discrete and continuous relations: **focal** structure. Focal structure consists of foci that contain focal points, proximal and peripheral elements, outliers, and also mergers belonging to two or more foci at a time. Examples, visual representations, and analyses of focal structures are presented in the paper.

Linguists' common failure to acknowledge the importance of non-discrete effects may be due to an inherent predisposition of the human analytical mind, to the stereotypes developed in natural sciences, or to a cultural bias. In any case, this is an instance of "schematicism" discussed in Kant's *Critique of pure reason* that may prevent humans from seeing the phenomenal world. Of course, in the case of language and, more generally, cognitive phenomena Kant's problem is particularly acute as mind here functions both as an observer and an object of observation. From the point of view of progress in linguistics, it is worth trying to circumvent the discreteness bias and to seriously explore the focal, non-discrete structure that is in the very core of language and cognition. In the talk I propose several avenues of research potentially helping to do that, including the study of prosody, gesture, and non-categorical referential choice in discourse.

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**Interaction and variation in pluricentric languages – communicative patterns  
in Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish.**

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Communication across national and linguistic borders plays an important role in today's Europe. Language contact always involves cultural encounters, since the ways people express themselves are linked to the norms and expectations of the particular community where the language is spoken. Speakers of different first languages are often aware of the potential cross-cultural miscommunication their different linguistic backgrounds might cause, while interlocutors who speak the same language, but belong to different speech communities – broadly speaking different nations – are not as well prepared for any communicative problems. In Europe there are many pluricentric languages – languages that have more than one national centre. English, French, German, Dutch and Swedish are examples of languages that have official status in more than one European nation. Despite this, there has been very little research into how national varieties of pluricentric languages differ in terms of communicative patterns due to their use in different societies.

presentation is to discuss pragmatic and interactional aspects of language use in pluricentric languages. More specifically, I compare communicative patterns in the two national varieties of Swedish – Finland Swedish and Sweden Swedish – in order to illustrate the breadth of interactional and pragmatic variation that exists between the two national varieties. For this purpose, I will draw on a variety of sociolinguistic data, including research on reported address practices (Clyne, Norrby & Warren 2009) and ongoing research on naturally occurring conversations, particularly in the domains of service, education and health care (Norrby, Wide, Lindström & Nilsson 2012). Data for the above studies have been collected through various methods, including questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and recorded interactions. For example, findings for Finland Swedish show that in service encounters there is a greater tendency towards more formal address forms and greetings, and that routines for self-introductions follow patterns more typical of Finnish than of Swedish. Data from university supervisions show that the Sweden Swedish supervisor delivers criticism in a more indirect and cautious manner compared to her Finland Swedish counterpart, whose interactional style is more direct. Interpersonal orientations in Finland-Swedish doctor-patient interactions, again, rely on more formal patterns of address and introductions, and make use of different feedback tokens compared to Sweden Swedish.

The systematic differences at the formal, interpersonal and interactional levels of language use between the two national varieties of Swedish also highlight the need for further inquiry into the micro-pragmatic variation in pluricentric languages in general, and how such differences between varieties can be linked to macro-pragmatic aspects, e.g. socio-historical developments within and between nations, languages and cultures that result in different linguistic identities, ideologies and norms at the level of society (see Muhr 2008 for the division between macro- and micro-pragmatics). In other words, greater knowledge of the micro- and macro-pragmatic variation in pluricentric languages will help raise speaker awareness of potential pitfalls in cross-cultural encounters.

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Clyne, Michael, Norrby, Catrin & Warren, Jane. 2009. *Language and Human Relations. Styles of Address in Contemporary Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**All abstracts (poster, general and workshop sessions)****The case differential: syntagmatic versus paradigmatic case. Its status in synchrony and diachrony.**

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Research questions: In today's dominant discussions on case and its licensing mechanics there is only one approach: the syntagmatic type of case assignment. The present article describes patterns of 'paradigmatic' case assignment in contrast to 'syntagmatic' case assignment. Paradigmatic case assignment means that two different morphological cases fill the same slot licensed for the same theta role, whereas under the strategy of syntagmatic case assignment there is just one case form assigned for one theta property. By paradigmatic case, we mean that the same case-assigner can take more than one case, depending on a number of factors among which aspect.

Illustrations: Illustrations will be provided from modern languages as well as older states. See the following pair alternating between Accusative and Genitive in Modern Polish, *Podaj mi proszę wody!* ≠ *Podaj mi proszę wodę!* meaning 'Give me water, please!' the only difference being that "water" with the accusative DP in the second example makes reference to some definite DP, whereas the genitive object DP in the first sample has an indefinite or partitive reading. Another example is the Accusative-Dative differential in Modern German *Er rief ihm* "he called him.DAT" vs. *Er rief ihn* "he called him.ACC. The dative realization in the first sentence is rarer and stylistically marked as antiquated in today's German, but it is equally correct.<sup>1</sup> The meanings run slightly split. Notice that the older use of *rufen* 'call' can be replaced by the particle verb *zurufen* 'call toward' only in the case of the dative differential. The extent to which aspect is involved is illustrated in the following Polish examples:

**(1) Imperfective → Indefinite reading**

Czytałem	wczoraj	książkę.
read.3sg.pret.imperf	yesterday	book.acc.f.sg
'I read <b>a</b> book yesterday.'		

**(2) Perfective → Definite reading**

Przeczytałem	wczoraj	książkę.
read.3sg.pret.perf	yesterday	book.acc.f.sg.
'I read <b>the</b> book yesterday.'		

Approach, method: The deeper reason for paradigmatic case is that the alternates encode covert differences of reference and discourse status in languages, or their diachronic states, where the respective functional equivalents (such as (in)definite articles) have not (yet) emerged or are amiss.

(Expected) further developments and diachronic results: We argue that such paradigmatic bare case doubling occurs only when the triggering force is an active and powerful *aspect* system as in Modern Russian and Polish as well as in early states of Germanic (Gothic, Old High German). It will be seen that the phenomenon of *object differential/DOM* in various modern languages may be seen as a fossilized trace of this earlier, far more dominant, case assignment and encoding strategy.

<sup>1</sup>Google just lists: *ruft zu*, *ruft nach* 'calls at, calls toward/for' (but this is just another solid proof of the empirical unreliability of corpus evidence). Quite expectedly, (8)-(9) are found either as a morphological syncretism, for example in substandard Viennese *i ruaf/siach eam* 'I call/see him.ACC' (formally also 'him.DAT'), or in North German (Platt)/Dutch/Flemish varieties such as *Hij/hem werd geholpen* 'he/him was helped', in which the paradigmatic morphological dative has completely died out.

**The latest word on figurative language: metonymy trumps metaphor in the domain of communication.**

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As communication is a central human activity, we often have a need to refer to language itself. In fact, Jakobson (1960) posited the metalinguistic function as one of six basic functions of language. Language about language has been studied above all from the perspective of figurative language, specifically metaphor (e.g. Grady 1998; Reddy 1979; Vanparys 1995); early work on metaphor in communication even inspired the theory of conceptual metaphor (Grady 1998:205). However, the present study suggests that the focus on metaphor has led to a neglect of metonymy, metaphor's figurative twin, and tests the hypothesis that metonymy is also a central trope within the domain of communication.

To do so, an empirical study of word—one of the most frequently used noun lemmas in the English language (Leech et al. 2001)—was carried out. Instances of word were retrieved from the British National Corpus, a 100-million-word corpus representing a wide range of communicative events. The dataset includes 4,000 examples, constituting a random sample of 10% of the total occurrences of *word(s)*.

The results show that word is highly figurative in its usage (>50%). Among the figurative tokens, metonymic uses are considerably more frequent than metaphorical uses (1,552 metonymic versus 624 metaphorical uses for *words*; note that a given example can be coded as either), which not only supports the hypothesis, but actually shows that at times metonymy predominates over metaphor. This accords with previous corpus-based research—based on body-part nouns—finding that “a very large proportion of non-literal language is metonymically-grounded rather than metaphorical” (Deignan and Potter 2004:1245; also Hilpert 2007).

WORD has a range of semantic mappings within the single domain of verbal communication; while its core meaning is taken to refer to a small unit of language (the “grammatical word”), it is very frequently extended through metonymy to refer to units of communication of varying scope, such as a speech act (*a word of warning*), information (*send word*), a quotation (*in NP's words*), or an argument (*have words*). The metonymic extensions found will be summarised in the talk. The type of metonymy that predominates is synecdoche, which occurs when “a term normally referring to part of an entity is used to stand for the whole entity” (Deignan 2005:56). For example, having *a word* with somebody does not involve communicating one word only, but engaging in a full conversation.

A considerable proportion of the metonymic word patterns were found to be multi-word units, not conforming to the prototypical ‘one-word’ metonymy discussed in the literature. Furthermore, these multi-word units typically do not economize with words; for example, the string *give [one's] word* may be substituted by the single verb *promise*, and *say a few words* by *give a speech*, which means that the traditional rationale for metonymy—abbreviation (e.g. Nerlich 2006:111; Warren 1992:72)—does not apply. All in all, the study shows that metonymy is a robust and varied phenomenon that, at least in the domain of communication, may be more significant than the vastly more-studied phenomenon of metaphor.

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### **The emergence of complex onsets in Turkish through language contact.**

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Complex onsets constitute marked syllable structure (Greenberg 1978; Kager 1999:95-97; Blevins 1995:217) and are consequently either not attested or attested only to limited extent in many languages (Maddieson 2011). Furthermore, in second-language acquisition complex onsets cause problems for native speakers of languages that lack them (Anderson 1987; Abrahamsson 1999). Turkish is one of these languages that lack complex onsets in their native lexicon (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:13) and where they cause problems in second-language acquisition (Bannert 1990:155). Nevertheless, since the 19<sup>th</sup> century Turkish has borrowed a large number of words, first from French and then from English, which contain complex onsets in their original forms. These forms have orthographically preserved the complex onsets, reflecting the ambition to pronounce them “correctly”. However, in pronunciation the onset clusters are generally reported to be broken by vowel epenthesis between the consonants (Göksel and Kerslake 2005:13). Some linguists claim that Turkish speakers actually pronounce these clusters without epenthesis and that complex onsets thus constitute licit syllable structure in Turkish (Benzer 2010). It has also been proposed that speakers with good knowledge of foreign languages with onset clusters would pronounce such loanwords without epenthesis (İskender 2008).

The aim of this paper is to empirically document the pronunciation of different Turkish speakers and to test the hypothesis that knowledge of “cluster languages” is a decisive factor. The study compares monolingual speakers with different types of bilingual speakers, who all have Turkish as their first-acquired language. The participants were 55 speakers in Turkey and 35 speakers in Sweden. Some of the speakers in Turkey can be considered monolingual while others have varying degrees of experience and knowledge of cluster languages such as English, often starting in secondary school. The speakers in Sweden are mainly early bilinguals with exposure to both languages already prior to schooling. The rationale behind this choice was to compare the role of language dominance (i.e. the fact that Turkish is dominant in Turkey but dominated by Swedish in Sweden) and its concomitant effects. Phonological transfer of this kind is namely more likely to be directed from a dominant language to a weaker language. The data were elicited through an oral fill-in-the-blanks test. The sentences contained loanwords with complex word-initial onsets. The study was designed to engage the speakers in a linguistically demanding task, thereby distracting them from the actual object of investigation.

The results show that there is considerable interpersonal and intrapersonal variation among the speakers in Turkey and that this variation cannot be satisfactorily explained by reference to knowledge of cluster languages. In contrast, the speakers in Sweden show a striking lack of variation as almost all speakers pronounce complex onsets without epenthesis in almost all instances. These results suggest that even though historical language contact has gone some distance in introducing complex onsets into the Turkish of some speakers in Turkey, what is really needed for an across-the-board integration of this marked syllable structure is higher contact intensity such as in a minority context with early, wide-spread and advanced bilingualism.

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**The glocalized multimedia discourses of the 'originary peoples' of South America:  
new voices and their use of (linguistic) evaluative interplay.**

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In this paper I explore how the use of evaluative language in media technologies can contribute to the emergence of new discourses which in turn play a very important role in the weaving of new identities, and may as well enable long-forgotten voices to finally be heard and valued. In particular, I focus on the glocalization of some of the indigenous cultures of South America through their use of media technologies, a process that seems to have had great impact upon and against previous (mis)conceptions regarding these groups' identities. Thus, and following Robertson's (1997) characterization of 'glocalization' as "the simultaneity -the co-presence- of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies", I explore how these 'originary peoples' (*pueblos originarios*, as they call themselves in Spanish, in reaction to the negatively-charged terms "aboriginal" or "indigenous") make use of a universal medium (the world web) in order to serve and to share their particularized social and cultural views.

I shall discuss how this modern mode of intercultural communication (the 'originary peoples' speaking to the world through the web) has changed the general perception of their group identity (for instance, by examining the evaluative comments of the public in their blog), and has helped in the configuration of a new discourse that presents itself as a vehicle for the expression of novel voices that allow these cultures to be seen in a more dignified light.

The corpus used for the analysis has been taken from the "Pueblos Originarios de Argentina" website, where these groups interact with the rest of the world by means of reading texts, videos and a final blog section where the visitors can make their comments and express their opinions and feelings about these cultures. Taking into account the fact that the use of evaluative language is clearly interpersonal and that it can be considered, as Bednarek (2008:2) observes, "the epitome of language as a social instrument", I shall look into the use of what this author calls "the evaluative interplay" by analyzing cases of evaluative *conflation*, *collocation* or *modulation*, and how they respond to different parameters which in turn may be connected to similar or related cognitive models (Lakoff 1987).

I argue that this kind of evaluative interplay may even contribute to alter and change the collective idealized cognitive model (ICM) of some concepts, and in this particular case, of the concept of "indigenous people", thereby emphasizing the essential role of language and communication in this process of change, because it is mainly through language and discourse that these evolving societies are voiced.

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**On the realization of external arguments in nominalizations: a cross-linguistic perspective.**

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We deal with a restriction on the realization of the external argument in deverbal nominals which is illustrated below:

- (1) a. **the expert/the results** verified the diagnosis  
b. the verification of the diagnosis **by the expert/\*by the results**

Sichel (2011) recently (re)formulated the restriction as follows: in English, while verbal forms allow both direct and indirect participants/causers as external arguments, nominals derived from them require direct participation (regardless of animacy restrictions). We offer a syntactic analysis according to which this restriction is related to the absence of Voice in derived nominals and the type of prepositions that introduce event participants in the nominal domain (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou and Schäfer 2009). Based on cross-linguistic evidence (English, German, Greek, Romanian, Spanish and French), we show that this structural hypothesis captures the realization of nominal external arguments satisfactorily.

We first show that this restriction cannot be related to the size of events that fit into derived nominals (contra Sichel 2010, 2011). Sichel argues that English derived nominals are always simple events and thus allow only direct participants/causers as external arguments. However, these nominals permit *re*-prefixation, e.g. *the re-verification of the diagnosis*. *Re-* has been argued to be compatible with accomplishment predicates only (Wechsler 1990), which are standardly analyzed as complex events (Grimshaw 1990). This makes Sichel's account untenable.

The structural hypothesis gains support from the behavior of *ing-of* gerunds, which, unlike derived nominals, do not show this restriction. These have been argued to include the external argument of the verbal form (Kratzer 2003, among others), which, in syntactic terms, means that they inherit Voice from the verb.

Further support for a syntactic approach comes from comparing the English data with the corresponding derived nominals in German, Greek, Spanish, French, and Romanian. While Spanish and Romanian show the *direct participation effect*, the other three languages don't. Our analysis predicts that: i) Romanian and Spanish nominals should lack Voice and their prepositions should be thematically restricted (as they are similar to English derived nominals); ii) as Greek, German and French nominals are similar to *ing-of* gerunds (i.e. no restrictions with respect to the distribution of *by*-phrases), they should either have Voice (option 1) or compensate its absence through the lexical flexibility of their prepositions (option 2). We show that both these predictions are borne out. Option 1 is exemplified by Greek, and Option 2 by German and French.

Our analysis suggests that: a) not all types of nominalizations share the same internal structure (*ing-of* gerunds vs. derived nominals, Abney 1987, Alexiadou 2001 and others), b) *by*-phrases in English/Romanian/Spanish derived nominals cannot introduce all types of participants, as opposed to their German/French counterparts, although all these nominals lack Voice. This predicts that in these languages there are two types of *by*-phrases: an argumental one in the structures with Voice (e.g. *ing-of* gerunds), and a modifier one in the absence of Voice (e.g. derived nominals, contra Bruening 2011).

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**Initial detachments in spoken Estonian: insertion of longer thematic elements in discourse.**

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This paper intends to analyse one type of detachment constructions in spoken Estonian (initial detachments (ID) where the lexical element is modified by a relative clause) from the point of view of information structuring. At least ¼ of examples in the examined corpus (initial detachments in different types of conversations – everyday conversations, institutional dialogues, interviews) are of that subtype. Ex:

Hh *need kulud mis teil lähevad ütleme teie ravimiseks ja te a e:t ravimiseks ja haiglaraviks võibolla ja=ja võibolla arsti visiidi tasuks ja vot need kaetakse.*

Hh these expenses that you-ADESS go:3PL say:1PL you-GEN treatment-TRANSL and treatment-TRANSL and hospital care-TRANSL maybe and=and maybe doctor visit-GEN pay-ESS and PRT they cover: ips pr

Hh *these expenses that you take let's say for medical care and you er medical care and care at the hospital maybe and=and maybe paying for a visit to the doctor PRT they will be covered.*

The Information Structuring as a framework for this study is understood following the Prague school researchers as a level distinct from the morphosyntactic and semantic level which can be analysed using a model based on three pragmatic constituents: Theme, Rheme, Mneme (Fernandez-Vest) or Topic, Focus, Anti-Topic (Lambrecht).

When comparing Estonian to some typologically different languages (English or Romance languages, especially French), it becomes clear that Estonian (a language where the word order is argued to be conditioned by pragmatics rather than by syntax) uses discourse segmentation for information structuring purposes to a lesser extent than the above-mentioned languages. However, the detachment constructions (initial detachments/final detachments which often correspond to the informational constituents preceding and following the Rheme) which have been described as a universal property of “unplanned discourse” (Gundel 1988) are relatively frequent in different types of conversations in Estonian; in another Finnic language, the Finnish they are considered as grammaticalized devices (ISK 2004).

Some of the major functions of IDs which have been described in very abundant literature are: introducing a topic which is not at the center of attention (Gundel 1975, Prince 1984, Pekarek 2001) and shifting the topic (Cornish 1987, 1999, Geluykens 1992, Lambrecht 1994) or contrasting (Geluykens 1992, Lambrecht 1994).

According to the preliminary results most of these lexical elements combined with a relative clause are functioning as themes at the local level and they are in general inferable from close cotext and not developed further; we assume that this property might be related also to the specific nature of relative clauses. The introduction of a totally new theme seems to be rather exceptional. The second group of examples show these constructions operating at discourse/textual level, where they allow to reiterate the theme of a long sequence, possibly reach a generalisation/reiterate an agreement and at the same time, complete the sequence.

There seems not to be a dedicated particle which would be systematically used at the intersection of detached element and the main clause (cf in Finnish optional *ni(in)*), but the particle *vot/vaat* can be used as well as an optional short pause.

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### Marking vagueness in second language production: a first enquiry on Italian data.

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Vagueness is a primary resource in native-non native interaction. Indeed, native speakers may help learners in achieving understanding of unknown expressions by means of more vague (and common) lexicon; besides, L2 speakers often overcome their lack of lexical resources by relying on the more competent speaker's cooperative behaviour in interpreting vague expressions. Learners may be aware or not that an expression will result as vague; in the former case, they may mark it as vague or they may leave it unmarked.

In L2 research, vagueness has been considered among conversational strategies in native-non native interaction (Ellis, 1999; Gass, 1997; Gallaway and Richards, 1994), and the role of cross-linguistic influence in the use of markers of vagueness has recently been investigated (Terraschke, 2007 and 2010). The present research adopts an acquisitional perspective in dealing with the way L2 initial learners mark the use of vague expressions, and address the following questions:

- which different (lexical, syntactic, discursive) means do initial L2 learners use to mark vagueness?
- are common strategies and acquisitional paths observable when comparing different learners? and, in this case:
- how these findings correlate with regularities observed in typological research, f.i. sources of lexical markers of vagueness (Mihatsch, 2010; Rosenkwist and Skärlund, 2011; Voghera, 2011)?

The paper proposes a qualitative analysis of Italian L2 speech by untutored learners with typologically different L1s (Chinese, Thai, Tigrinya) involved in dyadic conversations with native speakers. First results suggest that common strategies for the marking of vagueness early arise, such as:

- the use of constructions, namely lists of co-hyponyms, often in asyndetic constructions (see Bonvino, Masini and Pietrandrea, 2009), offered as instantiations of a more general or abstract meaning:

\C\ sempre veni a casa mia: e palale per caffè mh gelato \*and\* giocca: a(n)che:

[Cilla explains that she has some Italian friends: people that "always come to my house, and talk, for coffee, ice-cream and play too"]

- the use of lexical markers, such as *così* (= so, like that), in the value of general extender (Overstreet, 1999 and 2005; also *generalized list completer*, Jefferson 1990; or *vague category identifier*, Channell 1994), that "cue the listener to interpret the correlated element as an illustrative example of some more general case" (Dines, 1980: 22). *Così* often follows a list:

\MK\ ristoranti - negozi eh - (i)draulico - così + c'è tanti lavori\_italiani - Asmara

[Markos describes the Italian settlement in Asmara: "restaurants, shops, plumber, *così*, there is many Italian jobs (=workers) Asmara"]

The very same structures often occur in the native speaker's speech, suggesting that input is a primary source for their use in L2 production. However, not all markers of vagueness used by native speakers also occur in learner's speech, and more general schemas of recurrent patterns need to be taken into account: the investigation of early constructions in L2 speech may therefore contribute to the study of basic recurrent constructions for this semantic domain.

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#### Perceptual and sociolectal dimensions in color category construal.

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Color categorization constitutes an important part of human vision, which is arguably the most important source of perceptual information for humans. So it is not surprising that it has invariably attracted the interest of linguists, anthropologists and psychologists trying to uncover the cognitive and linguistic mechanisms underlying color category construal. The proposed study builds on several research traditions in color categorization: experimental anthropological studies of universal constraints on color categorization (Berlin and Kay 1969, Jameson 2005, Roberson 2005); linguistic corpus-based analyses of color terminology (Kerttula 2002, Steivall 2002); discourse-oriented philological studies of color naming in advertising (Graumann 2007, Plümacher 2007). Taking into account the important insights into the multiple aspects of color naming and categorization provided in these studies, we look for an integrated model of color term meaning and its variation.

In line with the multivariate model of semantics developed in Cognitive Linguistics (Geeraerts et al. 1994, Geeraerts 2006), we view color concepts as multidimensional cognitive constructs simultaneously determined by multiple factors of linguistic, perceptual, sociolectal or discursive nature. In the proposed study, we address color semantics from a semasiological perspective and focus on the conceptual variation in the different types of color names. More specifically, we compare the semasiological variation in the most salient (basic) color terms like *red*, *blue*, *black* and the less salient (non-basic color terms) like *navy*, *lavender*. Starting from their referential core meaning defined by location in the color space, we explore the contextual effects that lead to variation in the extension of different color terms. In other words, we answer the questions: what parts of the spectrum do the color terms like *blue*, *navy*, *lavender* refer to? And is their reference the same when we speak about lipsticks, cars or t-shirts?

The analysis is based on an extensive self-compiled database of color names and color samples (over 75 000 observations) from the web-sites of the US manufacturers used for online marketing in four product categories (automobiles, clothing, makeup, and house paints). The material includes linguistic, sociolectal and referential parameters of color naming in advertising and is specifically compiled to allow language-independent measurement of the color term reference using the RGB values of the color samples.

We begin the analysis by mapping the referential range of the color terms in three-dimensional (RGB) color space. We use the data visualizations to identify the extension of color categories of different specificity and the patterns of their referential overlap. At the second stage, we focus on the contextual factors, such as product category and subcategory, country of origin and target consumer that affect the category construal. We are particularly

interested in the possible correlations between the salient dimensions in the color space identified in psycholinguistic research and their linguistic expression.

The preliminary results of the analysis suggest that contextual factors can have a significant effect on the category construal, which confirms the findings in other semantic domains (see, for instance Geeraerts et al. 1994) and the insights gained from color studies based on text corpora.

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## Phonology and morphophonemics in Icelandic and Faroese loanwords.

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In Faroese, as well as Icelandic, apparent gaps in phonological systems are revealed when loanwords are adapted. For example vowel change in Faroese, such as the rounding and diphthongisation of historical /i:/ to /ʊi/ and the delabialisation of /au/ to /ei/, eliminated some very natural forms from the native vocabulary. However, the gaps left by these changes are filled by loans like *bilur* [pi:lʊ] ‘car’ and *dinosaurur* [tino'sau:ʊ] ‘dinosaur’. Similarly, the obstruent systems of both languages have some apparent gaps which are filled by loanwords (cf. Árnason 2011: 103-106, 118-21, Hansson 2003). As pointed out by Hansson, these facts cause problems for the “Richness of the Base” hypothesis (McCarthy 2002). In these instances the adoption of loans exposes what may be called latent structure, which is not evident from the output forms of the borrowing language. Another place where loanwords bring out latent structure in the systems of Icelandic and Faroese is the non-initial stress in loans like Faroese *politikkur* [poli'tʰk:ʊ] ‘politics’ and Icelandic *instrumental* [ʔstru'menʔal] ‘instrumental’. Here the typically European pattern of non-initial stress is obtained in Icelandic by applying phrase phonological stress patterns, whereas non-initial stress patterns have become part of the word-phonological system of Faroese.

On the other hand some parts of the phonology seem to be impenetrable by borrowings. There are no Faroese loans showing the traditional closed syllable structure (with short vowels and devoiced sonorants) in form like *fint* [fʰɔɪnt] ‘fine-NEUT’ or *fólk* [fœlk] ‘people’. This type of phonological structure sounds very “native” or “Faroese”. In other words, new forms with this type of structure would be seen as fully “naturalised”, e.g. *Fólkaflokkur* [fœlkaflo'kku] ‘People’s party’. New entries into the Faroese vocabulary basically adapt to the system of long (and partly diphthongal) vowels, and not to the short system, cf. *katólskur* [kʰa'tʰo(u)lskʊ] (\*[kʰa'tʰælskʊ]). The short vowel system, which participates in morphophonemic paradigms like *ljótur* [lou:tʊ] ‘ugly’ vs. *ljótt* [lœ't:] ‘ugly-NEUT’, thus seems to be closed to loanwords. And In Icelandic it is clear that some lexicalised phonological patterns, such as u-umlaut and some instances of devoicing before sonorants are closed to loanwords, cf. *kaktus* [kʰaxtus] (\*[kʰæxtus]) ‘cactus’, *vampíra* [vampira] (\*[vampira]) ‘vampire’.



One aspect of the problem of analysing the linguistic interference is how the new forms adapt or are incorporated into the “text”. It will be shown that in some instances the foreign (in Icelandic mostly English, but in Faeroese either Danish or English) forms are treated as alien (Ger. *Fremdwörter*), but still uttered with an Icelandic/Faroese accent, but in other cases they have become part of the vocabulary as true loans (Ger. *Lehnwörter*).

The overall effect of borrowing is that the more typically European patterns gain ground at the cost of the native ones. This might be taken as showing the “emergence of the unmarked” in linguistic contact, but another story might be to see this as the result of “phonological globalisation” in favour of sociolinguistically stronger structures and patterns.

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## The role of iconicity in the order of 14th-century Florentine double object clusters.

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In 13<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine, clusters comprising 3<sup>rd</sup> person accusative (ACC) and 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> singular/plural dative (DAT) clitic pronouns had a fixed order: the ACC clitic always preceded the DAT (1). In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, however, the DAT-ACC order emerged (2a), in alternation to the ACC-DAT (2b).

- (1) *non la t'insegnò tutta*  
 “he did not teach it to you entirely.” (Novellino, ca. 1281-1300)
- (2) a. *Noi te 'l diamo*  
 “We give him to you” (Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine (Ameto), 1342, 780)  
 b. *merita ch'io il ti dica*  
 “it is worth that I tell you” (Comedia delle ninfe fiorentine (Ameto), 1342, 755)

Aski and Russi (2010, 2011) argue that the variable order was pragmatically constrained, that is, it reflected a form of *pragmatic iconicity* prompted by sentence and discourse pragmatics principles: the DAT-ACC order was triggered primarily by sentence topicality (Myhill 1992) and enhanced participation (i.e., degree of affectedness) of the DAT referent, whereas the ACC-DAT was governed by the discourse saliency (i.e., importance to the plot and/or the interlocutors; Givón 1988, 1995) of the ACC referent. Furthermore, they suggest that a form of *structural iconicity* (syntagmatic endophoric; Nöth 2001: 22) that may have contributed to the grammaticalization (i.e., fixation) of DAT-ACC; that is, causative constructions and constructions involving the verbs *convenire* ‘to suit’ and *parere* ‘to seem’ + infinitive, which appear to prefer the DAT-ACC order in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine. In the first two contexts, the DAT-ACC order is structurally iconic since the DAT clitic, which occurs first in the cluster, is an argument of the first (and second) verb, while the ACC clitic, which appears second, is the argument of the second verb (the infinitive). In the third context, although the DAT does not have a dual role, it is the indirect object of the first verb *parere*, and the ACC is the direct object of the infinitive. (For other proposals on the role of (morphological, syntactic and/or semantic) iconicity as a primary factor driving the shift to the DAT-ACC see Antinucci and Marcantonio 1980; DeKock 1985; Galambos 1985; Pearce 1991; Maiden 1995; Russi; Pescarini 2011; on the relation between iconicity and grammaticalization see Fischer 1999.) According to De Cuypere (2008: 104), a relation is iconic only if it adds extra meaning to the text or determines the interpretations of the linguistic structure. We argue that in our case, pragmatic iconicity pertains to an early stage in the grammaticalization of clitic pronouns and is later eliminated in favor of structural iconicity, which carries no meaning in the discourse.

This study investigates the demise of the alternation between the two orders in favor of the DAT-ACC. The extension of Aski and Russi’s (2010) structural iconicity proposal to a larger corpus of 14<sup>th</sup>-century Florentine texts (particularly, all Boccaccio’s narrative works) reveals a nearly consistent DAT-ACC order in causatives and constructions with *convenire* and *parere*. Our results suggest that structural iconicity may have tipped the scales in favor of the DAT-ACC order, leading us to conclude that in Florentine, the fixation of the DAT-ACC order was influenced by a shift from pragmatic to structural iconicity.



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## An analysis of regional lexical variation in California English using site-restricted web searches.

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Research question: The main goal of this study is to describe regional variation in California English through an analysis of written newspaper language and a quantitative and corpus-based analysis.

Approach: The innovative approach of this study is the contrast with traditional methods of data collection in dialectology. Traditional methods include linguistic interviews in the form of postal questionnaires (e.g. Davis 1948), fieldworker interviews (e.g. Kurath 1939-43), and telephone interviews (e.g. Labov et al 2006); some rare cases of corpus-based data collection are also recorded (e.g. Grieve 2009). However, a lexical study requires an extremely large corpus or a huge amount of interviews.

Method: In order to overcome the obstacle of the quantity of data, a new method of data collection was developed. The method aims to identify patterns of regional lexical variation using site-restricted web searches. For each variant of a lexical alternation, the number of pages containing that variant in a series of city newspaper websites is counted. A Perl (LWP) script was used to automatically query online search engines and extract the number of hits from the html source code for the results page. Given these results, the alternation is then measured quantitatively as a proportion. This method has been validated in the US as a whole (Grieve and Asnaghi 2011). Thanks to the quantity of the data and to advanced statistics it is possible to find regional patterns despite this noise of the data collected through site-restricted web searches.

Raw maps show the results of the research: each alternation is measured quantitatively as the proportion of the first form relative to the second form, and then mapped. Local Spatial Autocorrelation statistics is used to smooth

raw data cutting through all the noise (Ord and Getis 1995; Grieve 2011). Autocorrelated maps identify significant patterns of spatial clustering, the result being similar to an isogloss drawing.

A multivariate spatial analysis will be conducted to identify common patterns of regional variation and dialect regions (Grieve et al 2011).

Data: A list of 422 Californian Newspapers from 336 Californian cities was collected. A list of 130 word alternations was also collected: variables were chosen both following previous dialectology studies (Vaux's Harvard Survey of North American Dialects; Kurath's A Word Geography of the Eastern United States, 1949; Cassidy's Dictionary of American Regional English, 1985-2002; Grieve's A Corpus-Based Regional Dialect Survey of Grammatical Variation in Written Standard American English, 2009) and from a convergence/divergence project on The Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English (Ruetter et al in preparation).

Expected results: As a result, it will be possible to compare maps plotted from this new study to previous Californian English maps (Bright 1971), Spanish in California maps, settlement maps and travel time maps, in order to identify significance of these predictors. Also, North/South and inland/coastal distinctions, if applicable, will be considered.

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### **Ndavi puru na soluzioni! (There must be a solution!) Existential constructions in southern Calabria and northeastern Sicily.**

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Existential constructions are characterized by the presence of an auxiliary verb in conjunction with a nominal that plays the dual role of predicate and argument (La Fauci and Loporcaro 1997 and La Fauci 2000).

As highlighted by Amenta (2001), in old Italian, existential constructions present both *essere* ('to be') and *avere* ('to have') with the addition of the locative particle *ci* (ECCE-HIC), which reduces to «a clitic proform appearing in the auxiliary of a noun predicate which is also an argument» (La Fauci and Loporcaro 1997: 5). In Vulgar Sicilian – where the two auxiliaries (*essiri* and *aviri*) compete (La Fauci 1984 and 1992) – these constructions always exclusively select *essiri*. Nevertheless, Amenta (2004) finds sporadic evidence of *aviri* in the *Sposizioni del Vangelo della Passione secondo Matteo* and *Munti della santissima orazioni* (prose vernacularizations, found in *Collection of Sicilian texts of the XIV and XV centuries* of the *Centro di Studi Filologici e Linguistici Siciliani*).

As early as the sixteenth century, constructions with *aviri* were classed as being 'wrong' by Mario Claudio Arezzo (1543) in the *Osservantii dila lingua siciliana et canzoni inlo proprio idioma* (Chapter [258] on *Modi di parlari mal ditti*).

In modern Italian and Sicilian, existential constructions with *essiri* (+ *ci*) prevails over the construction with *aviri* which remains unrecorded in Italian or Italian dialect grammars. Existential construction with *aviri* is reported only indirectly in a single example given by Rohlfs (1969, III: 899) regarding the lack of clitic *ci* in dialects of Southern Calabria and Salento (Puglia): «in Salento [they say] [...], *non báu* ‘non ci vado’ [‘I do not go’], *non ave cchiú* ‘non ce n’è più’ [‘there is no more’]».

This research paper presents survey data that illustrates, in accordance with the former hypothesis, how constructs with *aviri* appear instead to remain in current use in dialects of southern Calabria, Salento (the area of Lecce) and northeastern Sicily (the area of Messina). Data were obtained using a morpho-syntactic questionnaire administered to a sample of informants of different ages and levels of education from Calabria and northeastern Sicily.

Using the collected corpus, typological analysis of the existential construction was carried out with particular reference to the construct with *aviri* on the basis of the following parameters:

- a) choice of auxiliary;
- b) presence / absence of the clitic proform *ci* and possible replacement with other locative proforms.  
Explanations for this phenomenon are put forward.
- c) position of the nominal;
- d) definiteness of the nominal;
- e) agreement between verb and nominal.

In addition to the typological analysis of the data collected, a diachronic hypothesis is put forward regarding possible reasons for the resistance of the construct with *aviri*. Synchronic evaluation is also made of the vitality vs obsolescence of the phenomenon in relation to diatopic distribution (and thus to the degree of linguistic dynamism of the locations), and the incidence of diastatic variables.

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**What does *intersubjectivity* mean? A terminological inquiry through the metalinguistic imaginary, from Benveniste to grammatical perspectives.**

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Raising the issue of “intersubjective perspectives in grammars” amounts nowadays to the indexation of both a theoretical paradigm and a forever broadening range of linguistic phenomena. The distinctive features and the actual relevance of such phenomena in linguistic research depend to a significant extent on the complex imaginary that is linked to the term *intersubjectivity*. Indeed, this term is far from being limited to linguistics; rather, it seems to work as a bridging label that allows linguists and grammarians to think about the problems of their object, i.e. the language, in connection with other fields of the humanities, like sociology, philosophy, or anthropology. One (cross-)step further, one might even consider that the prefix *inter-* — that flourishes in various terminologies of the humanities (e.g. *intertextuality*, *interdisciplinarity*, *intermediality*) — leads to the surfacing of an epistemological paradox, namely the lack of critical appraisal of the term from which it is derived, in the present case, *subjectivity*.

In the present paper, we suggest pursuing matters that we addressed in two recent studies (dealing with the terms *subjectivity* and *énonciation*; see respectively Lettre13 2011a and 2011b). Our aim is to have a close examination of the origins and motivations for referring to *intersubjectivity* as well as for adopting an *intersubjective* perspective in grammatical description. A central hypothesis in this respect is that a terminological inquiry into the metalinguistic imaginary of both French and English linguistic literature leads to a better understanding of what is actually at stake behind mere labels. We will focus especially on the gradual shifts in meaning that took place in the literature since Benveniste’s writings (who was admittedly the first among the linguists to grant such a central place to the term *subjectivity*) down to the most recent occurrences of the term *intersubjectivity* in the writings of scholars such as Traugott (2010). In this perspective, special attention will be paid to the more or less conscious *micro-shifts* that result from the translations (French to English) as well as to the parts played by passing figures such as Lyons (e.g. 1994).

Our goal is admittedly to cast new light on linguistic concepts based on a terminological inquiry that would reveal its imaginary genealogy, i.e. to account for the origin, the spreading, and the success of the term *intersubjectivity* in addition to its purely theoretical and empirical potential for describing linguistic structure and interaction.

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**A Romanian data-driven analysis of the structure type relație om-natură (“man-nature relationship”).**

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The Romanian structure *relație om-natură* (“man-nature relationship”) is cross-linguistically widespread and typical for a series of relational nouns, such as *agreement*, *interaction*, *mixture*, etc., which can have a “compound” expansion (*Canada-U.S. agreement/meeting*, *parent-child interaction/rapport*, *air-water mixture/combination*, etc.). Despite its frequency, especially in newspapers, this type of structure didn’t draw the interest it deserves.

Our analysis is twofold oriented. We will firstly examine the grammatical relationship between *relație* (“relationship”) and *om-natură* (“man-nature”), and, secondly, the construction *om-natură*. We adopt a non-transformational and data-driven approach within the Construction Grammar framework [3]. We use data from a large Romanian newspaper corpus.

In French literature [7], it is stipulated, without argumentation, that, in a phrase like *un conflit parents-enfants* (“a parents-children conflict”), *parents-enfants* is a compound noun (cf. [2]) functioning as adjunct of the noun *conflit*. This resembles the Romanian phrase *relație om-natură*. However, in our opinion, *relație/conflit* are semantic predicates

with two arguments and *om-natură/parents-enfants* are neither compound nouns, nor adjuncts, but constructions (according to Construction Grammar). That is, *parents-enfants* is a construction by the fact that its parts (*parents* and *enfants*) are phrases functioning as complements of the relational noun (*conflict*). The construction parts satisfy the valency of the noun and manifest argument features, such as:

- obligatory realisation in context – the elements involved in a relationship have to be recoverable in the context (cf. [4]):
  - a. \**There is a harmonious relationship.*
  - b. *There is a harmonious man-nature relationship.*
  - c. *The man began to protect the nature. Now, there is a harmonious relationship.*
- argument composition phenomenon – verbs governing the noun *relationship* take noun's arguments as their subjects:
  - a. *The man and the nature entertain a harmonious relationship.*
  - b. \**The man entertains a harmonious relationship.*

Note that it is not the verb *entertain* which requires a multiple subject. The ungrammaticality of b. comes from the fact that *relationship* lacks a complement. It has to be said *with whom/what* the man entertains a relationship.

- the noun *relationship* selects reciprocal prepositional phrases (PP): *between*-PP or *with*-PP, also showing multiple argument realisation (cf. [5], [6]).

The construction determining the noun *relationship* is not a lexical compound, especially because its parts can take their own expansions and have different referents, as Romanian data in corpus show.

relația                    *drepturile omului – mass media – societatea civilă*  
the relationship the human rights – mass media – the civil society

Unlike [1], [7], we will argue that the construction is not an elliptical form of *between*-PP.

- a.        *relația            dintre   mine   și   tine*  
           the relationship between me.ACC and you.ACC
- b.        *relația            eu   –   tu            / \*mine – tine*  
           the relationship me.NOM – you.NOM / \*me.ACC – you.ACC

If the structure b. was the elliptical form of a., one could not explain why the pronouns change the case from accusative to nominative.

In sum, we will show that “compound”-like expansions are in fact valencial complements of nouns that semantically imply reciprocity. We will propose an analysis of such constructions and we will provide a series of the nouns that select such constructions, extracted from a Romanian corpus.

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**A comparative construction-specific approach to grammatical relations:  
the alternating predicate puzzle.**

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With *alternating predicates* Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat arguments of the argument structure swap places with each other, usually without any obvious change in meaning (Barðdal 2001, Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005). Previous research on Icelandic has shown that these predicates clearly instantiate two distinct argument structure constructions, Dat-Nom and Nom-Dat, and that one does not involve topicalization of the other. Rather, both word orders are equally neutral and either argument behaves syntactically as a subject with regard to all the behavioral subject properties of Icelandic, although of course not simultaneously. The existence of alternating predicates poses a problem for derivational accounts, but it is not problematic on a non-reductionist constructional approach where grammatical relations are taken to be not only language specific but also construction specific (Croft 2001, Barðdal 2006). This is especially the case if the account is coupled with a model of argument linking, where the order of the arguments is regarded as a derivative of causal conceptual structure and the force-dynamic relations between the participants. On such an approach, alternating predicates involve one verb figuring in two distinct, but related, argument structure constructions.

Alternating predicates are not confined to Icelandic, but have also been documented in other (early and modern) Germanic languages, like Faroese (Barnes 1986), Old and Middle English (Allen 1995), and the older Mainland Scandinavian languages (Barðdal 1998). German, which aside from Icelandic is the other major modern Germanic case language exhibiting Dat-Nom structures, has so far not been properly investigated from this perspective. It is well known, however, that the dative exhibits several subject properties in German, although the nominative also exhibits such properties (cf. Primus 1999, Wunderlich 2009, *inter alia*). The dative occupies first position, inverts with the verb, and may be raised to subject in Raising-to-Subject constructions, while the nominative controls agreement and is left unexpressed in control infinitives.

In this paper we compare Dat-Nom predicates in Icelandic and German and show that in German either argument exhibits considerably more subject properties than generally assumed. We start with an internal Icelandic comparison of alternating Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat predicates and non-alternating Dat-Nom predicates, and show that there is an asymmetry found between them with regard to behavioral properties of subjects. We then compare German Dat-Nom predicates with the two Icelandic types, establishing that the German predicates pattern with the alternating Dat-Nom/Nom-Dat predicates in Icelandic and not with the non-alternating ones. Examining systematically the behavioral properties of either argument in both languages, we conclude that the standard analysis of German in terms of a Dat-Nom structure, whereby the *lower argument* of the argument structure (the nominative) is regarded as the subject (cf. Wunderlich 2009), does not do justice to the German data. Rather, we show that an analysis in terms of a systematic alternation of two argument structure constructions is needed for German.

The present research demonstrates that a comparative construction-specific approach to grammatical relations is entirely possible, even though the concept itself may appear as a contradiction in terms. This result falls out naturally from the assumption that grammatical relations are construction specific; in this case research on grammatical relations within a single language manifests itself as being comparative in principle. That is, cross-linguistic research on grammatical relations of corresponding constructions is in effect no different than research on grammatical relations across many constructions within a single language. A major problem with the universal concept of grammatical relations is how to decide upon which properties should be regarded as pivotal and which not, and how to weigh the subject properties against each other, when they leak across constructions or across arguments within a construction, as in this case. Exactly like on the single-language construction-specific approach, this is a non-issue, since grammatical relations are regarded as derivatives of the constructions themselves and hence defined for each construction.

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### On the various sizes of (pro)nominal complementizers.

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If many researchers agree about the nominal status of complementizers (Comp) cross-linguistically (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971, Kayne 2008a, Manzini and Savoia 2003, Aboh 2005, Arsenijevic 2009, Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010, Roussou 2010 a.o) their nature has rarely been debated: most of these authors take their head status for granted, whereas for Kayne 2008b, Leu 2008, it's an XP. Since Comps in natural languages are often homophonous with relative, demonstrative or interrogative pronouns (Dutch *dat*, English *that*, Greek *oti/pu/an*, French *que*, Italian *che*, Gbe *dě*), it would be surprising if this homophony was accidental, and a unified analysis would account for it with a greater explanatory power (Roberts and Roussou 2003, Kayne 2008b, Roussou 2010).

I focus on the syntax and semantics of French Comp *que* that can be selected by different types of predicates, one of these creating *factive* islands. I adopt Kayne 2008b and Leu 2008, and claim that Comps are best analyzed as XPs. I argue that Comps are nominal phrases: *Que* morpho-phonologically resembles relative, interrogative and exclamative pronouns.

Within nano-syntax (Starke 2011), there is no lexicon before syntax: lexical items (LI) are structured in organized semantico-syntactic features. I argue that there are three pronominal phrases *que* 'that', of different sizes, with three semantics, feeding three different syntactic behaviors. In the spirit of Rooryck 2000 and Sportiche 2011 for relative pronouns, I argue that the three pronominal Comps are structured in different features, where each *que* is technically not a root. Even if all Comp *ques* are minimally composed of the same "nominal" features, the different homophonous pronominal *ques* each combine different additional features, creating different LIs. The nominal root *que* is basically an indefinite on which features might be structurally added. I propose that the locus of variation relies on the functional domain of the nominal phrase, namely,  $F^\circ$ , which can be recursive, or absent, (1).

(1)  $FP^{(*)} > QP > NP$

As such, *que* can be the spell out of three different subtrees, of different sizes. If the biggest *que* spells out a larger syntactic structure than smaller *ques*, smaller *ques* will leave some layer(s) of structure available for further use while specific types of *que* will 'eat out' those layers (terminology from Starke 2011).

Since these three *ques* are homophonous to relative, interrogative and exclamative pronouns, I propose that they serve as basic structures for the feature make-up of relative, interrogative and exclamative XPs, the variation relying on the type of Q involved (relative, wh or exclamative). Hence all *ques* can be the spell out of different subtrees, of different sizes.

Decomposing these LIs into hierarchically organized semantico-syntactic features will force me to reconsider the issue of locality: transparency/opacity effects could be explained w.r.t the atomic features constituting each type of Comp. I claim that they are potentially [+Q], partitive and/or specific. Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 2004) accounts for dependencies: Qspecific/ Qpartitive are phrases creating weak and strong islands. I conclude that size matters: the bigger *que* is structurally, the more it intervenes; the smaller it is, the less it intervenes.

**About the nature of German children's emotion lexicon.**

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Emotion language plays an enormous role in people's everyday lives, in linguistics, however, emotion has received relatively little attention so far. To partially fill this gap we aimed to focus emotion words, particularly the emotion lexicon in children. Verbal expression of emotion words starts as early as two years of age (Denham, 1998; Izard and Harris, 1995). Infants initially have a simple emotion vocabulary consisting of primary emotions such as *joy* and *anger*. In the second and third year of life children begin to specifically use their emotion lexicon. Bretherton and Beeghly (1982) reported that over 60% of two-year-old children used the emotional labels *happy*, *scared*, and *mad* in their expressive language. Ridgeway, Waters, and Kuczaj (1985) found that more than 75% of 3 year old children used the emotion terms *good*, *happy*, *sad*, *angry*, *loving*, *mean*, and *surprised*. Thus, gradually, children use sophisticated labels for different emotional states. Although the early development of expressive emotion vocabulary is quite well documented, there are no studies, which have investigated the development of the emotion lexicon in older children. What is known is that the emotion lexicon in grade-schoolers is still significantly developing (Baron-Cohen, Golan, Wheelwright, Granader, and Hill, 2010; Hascher, 1994). The present study was designed to delineate further the nature of German primary school children's emotion lexicon. 180 German children ( $M = 7.93$  years,  $SD = 0.72$ ) and 180 monolingual German-speaking adults ( $M = 22.16$  years,  $SD = 2.95$ ) participated in this study. For the assessment of the expressive emotion lexicon we used a free listing task, in which subjects are asked to list as many emotion words as they knew. On basis of these listings we examined, which labels children's emotion category include. We analyzed not only the "correct" words (members of the emotion category), but also the "errors" in children's emotion listings to gain insight in children's idea of emotions. Free listing studies commonly analyze only children's correct responses. Incorrect answers are mostly ignored as random. However, we assumed that children's incorrect responses have some kind of systematology and reveal aspects of the nature of children's semantic emotion category.

In sum, we (1) asked which emotions are the most and least frequent emotion words in grade school children's vocabulary, (2) explored the variability in children's category of emotion, and (3) assessed differences in the nature of the emotion lexicon between children and adults. We hypothesized that children have a broad emotion vocabulary, with the basic emotion as the most frequent words, but that they might not yet have an adult-like emotion category in terms of complexity and "accuracy" of the category members.

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**Comparing Norwegian and German verbal coding frames.**

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When investigating verb frames, linguists focus on 'valence alternation' which is the ability of verbs to occur in several syntactic frames. Valency studies inspired by Levin's work (Levin 1993) are often conducted for one specific construction in a single languages and are guided by the hypothesis that semantic classification of verbs can be achieved through a syntactic study of their properties. In our presentation, we would like to present a comparative study of Norwegian and

German verb frames which bases itself on two data sources, an enumeration of 263 Norwegian construction types developed by the Data-driven Valence Typology (Hellan and Dakubu 2010) and on a test suite of 70 verbs compiled by the Leipzig Valency Classes Project (<http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/valency/index.php>).

While the work to be presented has a clear descriptive and documentary underpinning, its results are also of analytic interest. For our presentation we will focus on verb equivalents across the languages which nevertheless occur in a construction frame in only one of the two languages which is otherwise attested for both languages. Cross-linguistically non-overlapping distributions of sentence frames are interesting since they are not expected to be systematic under the assumption that a verb's syntactic frames allow the verb's semantic classification. That is, verbs with a similar semantics across languages are expected to occur predominately in similar sentence frames given that these frames are available.

It is noteworthy to mention that the descriptive core of the project resides in a database of interlinear-glossed verbal coding frames for Norwegian and German. Each frame is provided with a detailed morpheme-to-morpheme annotation as well as a global annotation, specifying frame specific parameters such as Situation type, Frame alternation, Modality, Force and Polarity, to name some. Next to the frame spanning properties, agreement and case information as well as relational information and Role information are provided on the morpheme level. Results will be freely available online and can be exported in several formats including XML. In our presentation we will provide exemplifications in human readable format (Interlinear Glossed Text) and in machine readable format (XML).

Turning now to the analysis, certain things are already established. It is for example well known that Norwegian and German both feature passives as well as presentationals:

- (1) a. Det må forventes mye bråk på fredag ettermiddag.
- b. Es muss mit erheblichem Lärm am Freitag nachmittag gerechnet werden.

That Norwegian allows morphological passive (shown in (1)) but allegedly does not have a middle voice like German, as in "Das Brot schneidet sich leicht" where the Norwegian counterpart is "brødet skjære-s lett" but not "brødet skjærer seg lett" is immediately a more involved matter for which the classificatory system is as much in focus as the construction itself. We can easily point to known differences between Norwegian and German such as German is SOV Norwegian SVO, Norwegian makes much less use of case, has a stricter word order and does not allow scrambling to just name some. We know already that

- (2) Han ble antatt forsøkt skutt på Uteøya.

is a typical Norwegian construction, and we know also that it is not very difficult to enumerate constructions which are attested for both languages, but only as long as we are liberal relative to the similarity of the verbs that serve for exemplification. Although a sentence frame might be attested in both language, little is known about its language specific range. E.g., while you can say in Norwegian as well as in German "Ich hämmere das Metall flach", it is not so clear whether you can say with the same ease "Ich machte die Schuhe flach" (which is a perfect sentence in Norwegian), although one can easily imagine a small boy saying "Mama, er hat den Ball flach geschossen". This sentence is unmarked in Norwegian, while one is tempted to classify it as belonging to a sociolect in German. Although we certainly do not expect to find idiomatic expressions derived from resultative frame spread over both languages, such as the German "Er hat ihn platt gemacht" which is not attested for Norwegian, we nevertheless would like to understand why some verbs that enter painlessly into a resultative construction in Norwegian cannot do so in German and vice versa.

Although "Er macht die Schuhe flach" is not an expression of German, "Er macht seine Mutter verückt" is. These few example illustrate that even if the verb is attested in both languages in a sentence frame, the 'right' choice of language specific secondary predicate will decide if it is felicitous. A further phenomenon that an approach that not only focuses on enumeration of construction types but also reports their distribution can unearth, is that marginally sachverhalts might be expressible in one language, but not in the other, leading to frame-gaps.

- (3) a. Skinken henger mør
- b. \*Der Schinken hängt sich zart
- c. \* Ich hänge den Schinken zart

(3) a is a Norwegian resultative construction but in German can neither be expressed as a Middle nor as a Resultative.

In our presentation we will argue that for a cross-linguistic comparison of verbal coding frames, the enumeration of constructions is as important as an account of their distribution across the language specific verbal inventories. Only then will we be able to see cross-linguistic distributions and gradience and thus present a realistic account of verbal coding frames.

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### Discourse status of oblique arguments in Spanish.

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Framed within the study of the syntax-pragmatics interface, the goal of this presentation is to discuss the discourse status of obliques in Spanish. In particular, whether they exhibit the discourse behavior expected of arguments, in accordance with the trends discovered by the model of the Preferred Argument Structure (PAS; Du Bois 1987, Du Bois *et al* 2003) or not.

The expectations of a Preferred Argument Structure apply only subject and (direct) object arguments. The discourse status of obliques is more controversial, and somehow mimics their also ambiguous grammatical status, where some obliques are considered more “argumental” than others (RECIPIENTS vs. BENEFICIARIES, for example).

In this presentation we examine the discourse behavior of obliques associated with verbs of transfer, motion and saying. Verbs of transfer typically require the expression of a dative argument, introduced exclusively by the preposition *a*, expressing the semantic roles of RECIPIENT (1a), SOURCE (1b) or BENEFICIARY (1c). Verbs of motion frequently occur with prepositional phrases expressing some (sub-type of) LOCATION, usually a semantic argument of the verb (2a), but whose encoding may be grammatically optional (2b). Finally, verbs of saying may co-occur with one or more obliques introduced by a limited array of prepositions, expressing semantic arguments filling most typically the roles of HEARER OF THEME (3).

- (1)
  - a. *Mejor na' más le doy un dinero al jefe y ya.*
  - b. *Le quitaron todo su salario al chico.*
  - c. *Le compró un departamento a su hijo mayor.*
- (2)
  - a. *Fue a la farmacia.*
  - b. *Corrió (a la farmacia / debajo del puente / a través del campo).*
- (3)
  - a. *Pablo le habló a Carolina (sobre el asunto / del asunto / acerca del asunto).*
  - b. *El ministro anunció su renuncia (ante los medios / frente a los medios).*

Thus, whereas these three verb types have in common their typical co-occurrence with oblique arguments, they differ in terms of whether these obliques are “obligatory” (as with argumental datives) or “optional”; how frequently these “optional” obliques appear in discourse; what semantic roles they may express; and whether they can be introduced by more than one (predicative) preposition (as with LOCATIONS and TOPICS) or just by a single (non-predicative) one (as with RECIPIENTS).

In this presentation we examine the frequency of occurrence, type of realization (pronominal, nominal, clausal) and type of denotatum (given, new, persistent) of these oblique arguments based on spontaneous data from peninsular, Mexican and Argentinean Spanish, in order to determine to what extent their discourse behavior reflects their diverse grammatical characteristics.

## Towards an anaphoric approach to Ossetic correlatives.

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The correlative construction of relative clauses is found in a large number of languages of the world, but it is most well-studied in modern Indo-Aryan languages, especially in Hindi. In a correlative construction, the relative clause is usually left-dislocated, and NP<sub>mat</sub> (in the terminology of Andrews 2003) is marked by an NP containing a demonstrative (the *correlate*). One of the most influential modern analyses of correlatives was proposed by Srivastav (1991), who argued that the subordinate clause in correlatives is left-adjoined to the main clause CP, and binds the correlate like a dislocated element binds its trace. In contrast, a recent analysis of Hindi correlatives by Bhatt (2003), now accepted by the majority of researchers, argues that correlatives are base-generated left-adjoined to the correlate, and are then moved to the left periphery.

I argue that the behaviour of correlative clauses in Ossetic challenges both of these analyses. Bhatt's analysis is problematic for Ossetic, as correlatives in this language fail all most of his diagnostics for movement (in particular, Condition C effects and variable binding phenomena), except for island effects. On the other hand, Srivastav's analysis also seems to be unoptimal for Ossetic, as the relationship between the dislocated relative clause and the demonstrative pronoun is clearly not the same as the relationship between a dislocated element and its *in situ* position. For example, the correlate corresponding to several subordinate clauses can bear the associative plural form (1), which means that its reference is wider than the clauses that correspond to it; correlatives can be «double-headed», with different nouns used in the relative phrase and in the correlate (2); it is possible to omit the correlate when it is the subject, and two correlatives can correspond to one and the same subordinate clause (3).

- (1) n3 zur-zən3n [saš ad3m 3r-3mbərd mard-m3] [saš s3š:əg  
NEG speak-FUT.1SG how.many people PV-gather dead-ALL how.many tear  
=əl f3-kalt:-oj] <...> wəd3-t:-əl  
3SG.ENCL.SUPER PV-spill:TR-PST.3PL 3PL.DIST-ASSOC-SUPER  
'I will not speak about (such things as) how many people came to (honour) the deceased, how many tears they spilled...' (Bagaev 1982: 440)
- (2) [uroč-ə sə l3p:u q3r-3j zərt:-a] wəsə fədwaž-ə  
lesson-IN what boy sound-ABL.speak:TR-PST.3SG that mischievous.boy-GEN  
nə-jjar-ž-ət-3m f3-zur-zən3n  
PV-give.birth-PTCP-PL-ALL PV-speak-FUT.1SG  
'I will summon the parents of the mischievous boy who spoke loudly during the lesson!'
- (3) [χisaw =d3m qulon s3št-3j kʷə k3š-a] w3d wəj sə  
master 2SG.ENCL.ALL partial eye-ABL if look-SBJV.3SG then 3SG.DIST.NOM what  
amon-ə sə?  
mean-PRS.3SG what  
'What does it mean if (your) master looks at you with a partial eye?' (*Max dug* 4, 2001, p. 93)

I argue that these facts suggest that correlates in Ossetic behave like ordinary anaphoric pronouns. This, in turn, means that Ossetic correlatives are best analyzed as instances of obligatory pronominal anaphora, where the relative phrase is the antecedent, and the correlate is the anaphor. This is a welcome result, considering works on diachronic syntax such as (Givón 2009: 98–103), where one of the paths of grammaticalization of relative clauses involves the conventionalization of anaphoric relations in discourse. Ossetic data also demonstrate that, despite their surface similarity, correlative constructions in different languages can have vastly different internal structures, and an analysis from one language should not be mechanically translated to another one.

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### Epistemic marking in Kogi (Arwako).

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Verbal auxiliaries in Kogi have a unique status among the Arwako-Chibchan languages of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta region in northern Colombia (Hensarling 1991; Ortiz Ricaurte 1994; Olaya Perdomo 2000; Stendahl 1968). A central component of the Kogi auxiliaries is a set of prefixes, *na-/ni-/sha-/shi-/ska-* that signal a pragmatically defined relationship between the speech participants in terms of the speaker's and the addressee's (a)symmetric access to some object of discourse. More specifically, the forms encode the speaker's assumptions regarding the addressee's access/non-access to information and at the same time, the speaker's own access/non-access to the same ([omitted name] forthcoming a). The auxiliary prefixes are formally identical but may be grouped semantically according to speech-act type; *ni-/na-* are statement-like; *shi-/sha-* share interrogative connotations, and *ska-* resembles the 'optative'.

The semantic contrasts found in the prefixes do, however, not permit an analysis in terms of 'assurance', 'possibility', or 'doubt' that are found in descriptions of epistemic-modal systems. Nor is 'information source', or evidentiality, a relevant semantic domain. The Kogi prefixes are analyzed as featuring a *complex* epistemic perspective (Evans 2007), which separates them from other qualificational marking systems (Lyons 1977; Nuyts 2008) in that they are defined by the configuration of the *ground* rather than by the relationship between the *figure and the ground*, as in e.g. epistemic modality. It is primarily a matter of assumed access in terms of memory and/or attention, not strong or weak beliefs.

However, in comparing Kogi to the other Arwako-Chibchan languages, most prominently Ika, it is apparent that functional parallels may be drawn to formally distinct systems of epistemic assessment. In Ika, the functional motivations underlying complex epistemic marking has resulted in a version of egophoric marking (i.e. conjunct/disjunct; see [omitted name], forthcoming b) This observation links complex epistemic marking in Kogi to the aforementioned qualifications (i.e. evidentiality, modality) with egophoric marking acting as a conceptual bridge between subjective and inter-subjective (i.e. complex) evaluations.

The presentation investigates the interaction between predicate-type, subject person, and complex epistemic marking, and considers conversational restrictions on distribution and interpretation in the combination of these parameters. The resulting analysis offers evidence for viewing speech-act distinctions in Kogi in terms of speaker-stance and alignment (cf. Heritage to appear; DuBois 2007) rather than in terms of sentence type and a declarative-interrogative contrast. Methodological issues are discussed with respect to the challenges of defining the semantics of *na-/ni-/sha-/shi-/ska-* as well as strategies used to elicit utterances featuring said markers. The presentation builds on first-hand data collected by the author in Santa Marta, Colombia.

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### Touch adjectives in Swedish and their semantic relations to other senses.

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Even though the exact nature of the notion of the senses is debated within the natural sciences, the notion of the five senses – sight, touch, hearing, smell and taste – has remained stable in human cognition and language over thousands of years. By studying the linguistic encoding of the five senses, together with results from psycholinguistic experiments, in this case from a Cognitive Semantics perspective (Lakoff and Johnson 1980 [2003], Grady 1997, Talmy 2000, among others), we can learn a great deal about the ways we perceive things around us, and how these perceptions are part of our general cognitive understanding of the world.

In most European languages, sensory perceptions are typically encoded as adjectives (cf Bergström 2010). These adjectives are used for describing numerous everyday, human experiences, both physical and non-physical ones. The sensory adjectives are traditionally described as belonging to one particular sense (cf Abelin 1988, Stålhammar 1997). However, there are reasons to believe that there are no clear-cut semantic boundaries between these adjectives with respect to which sense they belong to, as illustrated in the following examples:

- 1) *en fyrkantig låda* ('a square box')
- 2) *en blöt tröja* ('a wet shirt')
- 3) *en het gryta* ('a hot stew')

The adjective *fyrkantig* ('square') typically describes a visual perception, but this quality can also be felt by touching a square object with your hands, with your eyes closed. That something is wet, like a shirt, is typically perceived of by touching this object with your hands or your body, but the wet quality can also sometimes be perceived by the eyes. In the case of the hot stew, the adjective *het* ('hot') can refer to a spicy taste, as well as to a hot temperature (= touch). The senses seem to be interrelated at the physical and the linguistic level both (cf Howes 2006).

When shifting from the physical to the non-physical (metaphorical etc.) domain, the relations between the senses, as represented by the adjectives, become even more complex:

- 4) *Hon gav honom en hård blick.* ('She gave him a hard stare.')
- 5) *Hennes röst var mjuk och öm.* ('Her voice was soft and tender.')
- 6) *Hon var en het kandidat till tjänsten.* ('She was a hot candidate for the position.')

*Hård* ('hard') and *mjuk* ('soft') are considered to be typical touch adjectives, but in the above metaphorical uses, they describe a visual (4) and an audible experience (5), even though the experiences have an emotional flavour. Touch adjectives are considered primarily to describe emotions, when used metaphorically (Stålhammar 1997). In the last example (6), however, the meaning of *het* ('hot') has nothing to do with the five senses, nor with emotions.

The paper focuses on touch adjectives in Swedish in physical and non-physical uses, and their relations to other senses. The results come from corpora studies (mainly newspapers and novels), and from two studies with informants. In the first study, informants have estimated the multiple sensory affiliation of each touch adjective. In the second study, informants have decided on the acceptability of non-conventional combinations of touch-adjectives with nouns, in order further to investigate the semantic boundaries and overlaps between the senses.

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### The *bei*-passive in Mandarin: a comparative approach to Improper Movement.

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The Mandarin *bei*-passive is typologically unusual: when its agent ('by-phrase') is overt, the patient exhibits long-distance relationships, island sensitivity, and compatibility with resumptive pronouns.

- (1) Nei feng xin bei wo jiao Lisi qing Wangwu tuo ta meimei ji-zou le  
That CL letter BEI I tell Lisi ask Wangwu request his sister send ASP  
'That letter was told-Lisi-ask-Wangwu-have-his-sister-send by me.' [Huang 1999:15]

The *bei*-passive is thus incompatible with the canonical A-movement type account. Instead, it is widely accepted that the *bei*-passive corresponds derivationally to English *tough*-constructions (Huang 1999, Lin 2009 etc.), such that the patient/experiencer relates to its gap via null operator movement and predication (Huang 1999; cf. Chomsky 1977):

- (2) NP<sub>i</sub> BEI [<sub>CP</sub>OP<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub>Lisi...send t<sub>i</sub>]]  
  
 Predication          A'-movement

Despite enjoying wide consensus, the syntactic consequences of this account have not been addressed. The goal of this paper is to clarify a derivational strategy compatible with the empirical facts of the *bei*-passive.

I first present new evidence that suggests the widely adopted predication account makes false predictions. (2) entails that NP<sub>i</sub> is base-generated in spec-T, receiving a theta-role *in situ*. I show that adverbial scope and reconstruction indicates that in fact NP<sub>i</sub> must be selected in comp-V.

A non-predicational account of *tough*-movement employing Improper (A-A'-A) Movement (Chomsky 1981, Hicks 2009) is compatible with this conclusion. I show that reconstruction, and properties of quantified DPs and quantifier scope, offer independent support that the *bei*-passive is derivationally equivalent to Improperly Moved *tough*-constructions. However, this conclusion is problematic in current theory, given the widely assumed Ban on Improper Movement (BOIM) (Chomsky 1981).

Given the observed syntactic parallelism between *tough*- and *bei*-constructions, I extend a more recent account of *tough*-movement to Mandarin passives. Hicks (2009) offers a minimalist update of Chomsky's (1981) analysis of *tough*-movement. BOIM is evaded via 'smuggling' (in the sense of Collins 2005) of the embedded object by a null operator. I argue that this wrongly predicts that subextraction is insensitive to BOIM in English (Grewendorf 2003); I then present new evidence showing that if BOIM holds in Mandarin, it must also apply to subextraction from A'-moved phrases.

However, Mandarin, like other East Asian languages (Huang 1999), exhibits Indirect Passives, where part of the logical object remains *in situ* in comp-V.

- (3) Ta bei tufei sha-le fuqin  
he BEI bandit kill-ASP father  
'Zhangsan's father was killed by the bandits' [Huang 1999:51]

I introduce overt case-marking patterns in Korean and Japanese (Washio 1993) and the indefiniteness condition on the retained object (Lin 2009). I suggest that this evidence offers only partial support to Hicks' (2009) analysis of the internal structure of the moved DP; however the ensuing proposed refinement of the status of the null operator voids

the subextraction problem. The paper thus clarifies both the syntactic derivation of Mandarin passives, as well as proposing some restrictions on licit Improper Movement.

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### Why only large web corpora provide answers to certain linguistic questions.

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The internet is a vast source of linguistic data, but making use of this source is burdened with specific problems (Kilgariff und Grefenstette 2003). These problems have not kept researchers from compiling web corpora (e.g., Baroni et al. 2009). Even sceptical authors like Thelwall (2005) conclude “that this approach is still justified if care is taken and alternatives are not available”. We argue that in practice there are no alternatives available for many research questions. First, we introduce our collection of multi-billion token web corpora, then we talk about two applications where no other sufficient source of data was available.

Our corpora (German, Spanish, Swedish, English) are made from several hundred million downloaded web pages (approximately random samples, cf. Manning et al. 2009:435ff). They were cleaned, converted, and linguistically post-processed. Perfect and near duplicates were removed. The resulting corpora are cleaner than previously available ones like the WaCky corpora (Baroni et al. 2009), which for example contain 3 to 4 times more duplicate sentences. Furthermore, our corpora have a unique composition. E.g., they contain up to 30 % near-spontaneous language from forums etc. (the evaluation method followed Sharoff 2006).

The first sample study deals with the productive formation of V+N compounds like *rascacielos* (*skyscraper*) in Spanish. The task was to compile a list of all such compounds from the corpus. The size of our corpus (1.2 billion tokens) and the option to use it freely with the IMS Corpus Workbench (<http://cwb.sourceforge.net>) allowed us to write a complex script to generate a list of 3750 candidate lemmata and retrieve frequency information for them. Had the corpus not been available locally, we would have had to go through the 258 million noun tokens in the corpus to find the compounds manually. All other available corpora like the CREA corpus (154 million tokens) or the Corpus del Español (100 million tokens) are too small and not accessible in a manner suitable for automatic scripted retrieval.

The second study deals with shortened forms of the German accusative indefinite article (Vogel 2006). In the masculine, we find *einen Tisch* (*a table*) → *nen Tisch*, and, correspondingly, in the neuter *ein Kind* (*a child*) → *n Kind*. However, the over-marked form *nen Kind* also occurs, and we wanted to examine the conditions for its use. Corpora like DEREKO or DWDS do not contain the register in which we find such forms. The deWaC is too small to provide enough hits for statistical testing. Our 9 billion token corpus of German, however, contains several thousand occurrences of the over-marked forms for more frequent neuter nouns. It turned out that in the frequency table for nouns occurring with *nen*, a neuter (*Bild* – *picture*) entered as high as on rank 10.

We argue that these examples show that the internet is one of the most important sources of data for large-scale corpus studies, if properly constructed static web corpora are available.

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### Italian cognate constructions.

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Cognate Constructions – exemplified by (1) (taken from Levin 1993:95) – have been extensively studied in various languages (e.g. Greek, Hebrew, Russian, Vietnamese; cf. e.g. Mittwoch 1988, Pereltsvaig 1999, 2002, Horrocks and Stavrou 2010), and especially in English (cf., a.m.o., Jones 1988, Massam 1990, Macfarland 1995, Nakajima 2006, Iwasaki 2007).

- (1) a. *Sarah smiled*  
b. <sup>??</sup>*Sarah smiled a smile*  
c. *Sarah smiled a charming smile*

Some work has been done on Romance languages as well (cf. Larjavaara 1997, Real-Puigdollers 2008), but little or nothing has been said on Italian. Contrary to what is claimed by Pereltsvaig (1999), Italian has Cognate Objects (COs) (cf. also Renzi et al. 2001: 68, 189; De Roberto forthcoming). In our view, there are three possible patterns in Italian roughly corresponding to (1): the first presents a Direct CO (2a); the second an Indirect CO introduced by the preposition *con* 'with' (2b); and the third an Indirect CO introduced by *di* 'of' (2c).

- (2) a. *Sorrise*            *un*        *sorriso*            *amaro*  
         (he)smiled        a        smile            bitter  
b. *Sorrise*            *con*    *un*        *sorriso*        *amaro*  
         (he)smiled        with   a        smile        bitter  
c. *Sorrise*            *di*        *un*        *sorriso*        *amaro*  
         (he)smiled        of        a        smile        bitter  
All meaning: 'He smiled a bitter smile / bitterly'

Interestingly, the various patterns are not always completely interchangeable, as illustrated in (3), where the unergative *ridere* 'to laugh' hardly takes a Direct CO, independently of the corradical cognate found in the construction (see the event/result nouns *riso/risata* in (3)).

- (3) a. *Rise*                    <sup>??</sup>*un*        / <sup>?</sup>*con un*        / *di*        *un*        *riso*        *amaro*  
         (he)laughed        a        / with a        / of        a        laugh        bitter  
b. *Rise*                    <sup>??</sup>*una*        / *con una*        / *di*        *una*        *risata*        *amara*  
         (he) laughed        a        / with a        / of        a        laugh        bitter  
All meaning: 'He laughed a bitter laugh / bitterly'

This variation is particularly interesting in the light of data from other European languages: English, for instance, has Direct COs (1c) and *with*-patterns (*Sarah smiled with a charming smile*) but not *of*-patterns (*\*Sarah smiled of a charming smile*); Russian, instead, presents both instrument-marked (4a) and accusative-marked (4b) COs (cf. Pereltsvaig 1999).

- (4) a. *Ona*        *ulybnulas'*        *krivoj*                    *ulybkoj*  
         she        smiled            crooked.INSTR        smile.INSTR  
         'She smiled a crooked smile'  
b. *On*            *sdelal*        *delo*  
         he            made        job.ACC  
         'He did (his) work'

In the full paper, we analyse in detail the Italian Cognate Constructions in (2) – with the aid of corpora – and compare them with data from other languages, primarily English and Russian. In particular, we investigate the following issues: a) the status of Italian COs with respect to the argument-adjunct distinction (i.e.: are Italian COs thematic arguments, non-thematic arguments, adjuncts or other?); b) the nature of the CO, in particular its morphological relationship to the verb (i.e.: are COs always morphologically related to the verb?); c) the syntactic role of the (Direct) CO with (the few instances of) unaccusative verbs (i.e.: *morire la morte del giusto* ‘to die the death of the just’); d) and finally the semantic effect of the CO with respect to the lexical semantics of the verb.

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## Dative subjects in Lithuanian vs. Icelandic: What do they have in common and where do they differ?

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In Lithuanian, as in many related and unrelated languages, arguments in canonical subject position of certain predicates are marked with the dative case.

Ex.	Man	pagailo	vaiko.
	Me:DAT	feel_sorry:PST3	child:GEN
	‘I felt sorry for the child.’		

Their status as subjects however has been a matter of controversy (Holvoet 2009). On the other hand, as is well known, the status of dative subject in Icelandic is uncontroversial (e.g. Andrews 1976, Zaenen, Maling and Thráinsson 1985, Sigurdsson 1989, Jónsson 1996). This has traditionally been claimed to be an innovation and unique to Icelandic. Recently however, research in favour of Oblique Subject Hypothesis (cf. Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005) has appeared. They assume that oblique subjects have been syntactic subjects from the beginning and not that they develop from objects. This has been shown in the oldest attested records of Old Icelandic, Old Swedish, Early Middle English (Barðdal and Eythórsson 2003, Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005) and Old French (Mathieu 2006).

Similar research is now being carried out for other ancient and archaic Indo-European languages, e.g. Grillborzer (2010) for Old Russian, Fedriani (2009) for Latin, Danesi (unpublished data: 2011) for Old Indo-Iranian, and Dewey (unpublished data: 2011) for Early West Germanic. They all attest many subject properties of the subject-like oblique.

The present paper is aimed at providing evidence of dative subjects from Lithuanian. It will present preliminary results from an ongoing research on the status of dative subjects in both Modern Lithuanian and from oldest texts from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. The following questions will be raised and discussed:

- How do Dative subjects behave in Modern Lithuanian?
- How did Dative subjects behave in the oldest texts written in Lithuanian?
- How have the constructions and their subject properties developed from Old to Modern Lithuanian?
- What are the differences / similarities with the textbook-example Icelandic?

My results and analysis will provide general information on non-canonical subjects in Lithuanian, their syntactic behaviour and historical development as well as a deeper understanding of both semantic and syntactic differences and similarities of these constructions in the two languages. Finally it will attempt to show that evidence from Lithuanian can support the Oblique Subject Hypothesis.

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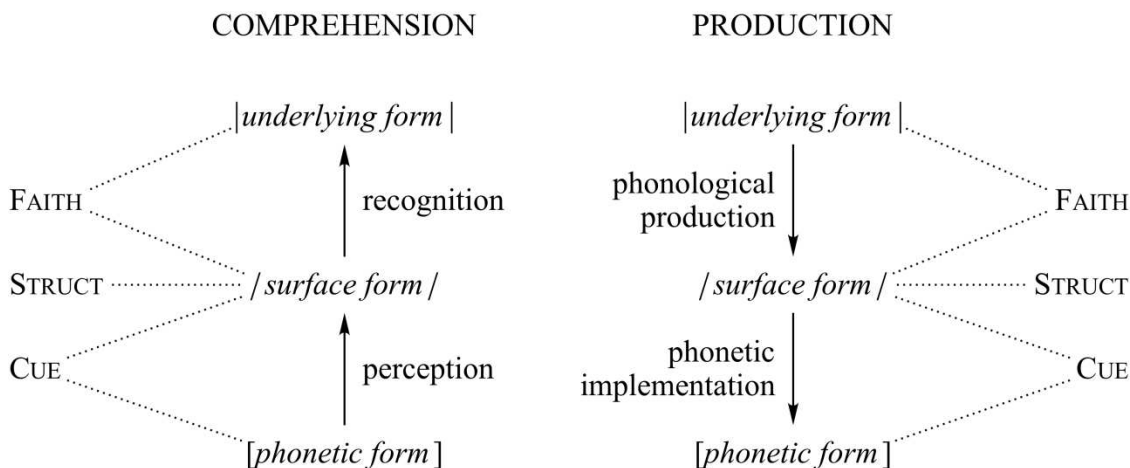
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## Explaining divergent repair in bidirectional three-level Optimality Theory.

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Boersma (2000) started describing loanword adaptation in terms of the same OT constraints as first-language production and comprehension. A slightly simplified version of that model is the following (Boersma and Hamann 2009):



This model explains apparent asymmetries between loanword adaptation and native phonological production (called *divergent repair* by Kenstowicz 2005) without taking recourse to loanword-specific mechanisms. Boersma and Hamann (2009) give the example of Korean, where the structural constraint SYLLCON (“plosives aren’t followed by nasals”) is satisfied by nasalization in phonological production but by vowel insertion in perception. In Korean phonological production, underlying [kuk+min] becomes /kuŋ.min./ at the surface (hence [kũŋmin] phonetically), because the faithfulness constraint DEP-V (“no surface vowel without underlying correspondent”) outranks IDENT(nasal). In perception, the English word *picnic* enters the Korean ear as the phonetic form [pʰɪknɪk] and is then converted natively to the phonological surface structure /pʰi.kʰi.nik./ (hence to the underlying form [pʰikʰi.nik]) because the cue constraint \*[ \_ ]/+nas/ (“a phonetic closure silence does not correspond to phonological nasality”) outranks the cue constraint \*[ \_ ]/i/ (“a phonological vowel /i/ doesn’t correspond to phonetic nothingness”). The divergent repairs in production and perception are thus caused by the different types of constraints that SYLLCON fights with: faithfulness in production and cues in perception. Since SYLLCON has to work on the *output* of perception as well as on the *output* of phonological production (as seen in the figure), this situation can only arise if the model has three levels of representation and SYLLCON acts on the middle level.

In this talk we analyse examples of several more languages exhibiting this kind of apparent asymmetry. Here are three reanalyses of data mentioned by Peperkamp et al. (2008):

1. In Malayalam (Mohan and Mohan 2003) the undominated structural constraint is “no voiceless singleton intervocalically”: an *underlying* intervocalic singleton ([makan]) is repaired in phonological production by voicing (/ma.gan/), due to IDENT(length) >> DEP(voi), whereas a *phonetic* voiceless singleton entering from a foreign language ([beikæ]) is perceived as a voiceless geminate (/be.kkar/), due to \*[no periodicity]/+voi/ >> \*[small duration]/+long/.

2. In Thai (Kenstowicz and Suchato 2006), the structural constraint is “no light final syllables”: an *underlyingly* short final vowel ([pʰrá]) is repaired in phonological production by glottal stop insertion (/pʰraʔ/), due to IDENT(length) >> DEP(?), whereas a *phonetic* short vowel entering from a foreign language ([kʰoumæ]) is perceived as a long vowel (/kʰô:.mâ:/), due to \*[no stop silence]/?/ >> \*[small duration]/+long/.

3. In Japanese (Itô and Mester 1995), the structural constraint is “no /je/ sequence”: an *underlying* je sequence ([moj+eru]) is repaired in phonological production by deletion (/mo.e.ru/), due to IDENT(syllabic) >> MAX(j),

whereas a *phonetic* je sequence entering from a foreign language ([jɛmɛn]) is perceived as two syllables (/i.e.men./), due to \*[vocalic high F2]// >> \*[low energy]/+syll/.

Our point is that these explanations are impossible in e.g. Kenstowicz's two-level model, and that Peperkamp's model has trouble with them because, being non-OT, it cannot generalize the fact that the same high-ranked constraint is active in production and perception.

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## The development of configurationality in Germanic clauses and noun phrases.

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A common historical change is a development from a relatively flexible word order, where the order is determined to a large extent by information-structural status, to a more rigid order, where syntactic principles determine order. This can be described as increased configurationality, with the clausal category changing from a non-projecting exocentric category to an endocentric structure. One type of evidence for increased configurationality is functional information becoming associated with a particular structural position (see for instance Nordlinger 1998, Brensnan 2001). Clause structure in the Scandinavian languages illustrate this general change; in earlier stages information-structural constraints played an important role in determining word order (e.g. Faarlund 2004), but over time clause structure has been syntacticised. There is some degree of disagreement as to how configurational modern Scandinavian clause structure is (with Sells 2001 and Börjars, Engdahl and Andréasson 2003 departing from standard fully configurational approaches), but there is agreement that clause structure is configurational in the sense that finiteness is associated with the second position in main clauses, with an initial information-structurally privileged position preceding it; the languages are verb-second, or more correctly 'finite-second' and the clause is assumed to be headed by a projecting functional category.

In this paper, we argue that there is evidence from Faroese that noun phrases have undergone a similar process of syntacticisation. We argue that Old Norse nominal phrases were non-configurational both in the sense that word order was largely determined by information structure and in that definiteness could be represented in a range of places within the noun phrase. Definiteness could be expressed as a bound morpheme on the noun or the adjective, or as a syntactic element, and nominal word order was relatively free. The syntactic definiteness marker was not obligatory, but was restricted to environments where the noun was modified by an adjective or where a weak adjective was nominalised. The position of possessive determiners, demonstratives and adjectives was not rigid and was influenced by information-structural factors. Given assumptions about configurationality sketched above, this leads us to the conclusion that the noun phrase had a flat structure, with one information-structurally privileged position before the noun.

We provide data from earlier stages of Faroese illustrating emerging configurationality. We show that this process has been completed modern Faroese, where in referential noun phrases, (in)definiteness has to be marked on the left edge, but it can be marked morphologically or syntactically, hence (in)definiteness has become associated with

a particular position. Furthermore, the order between other elements cannot be varied for information-structural purposes. This is evidence for a functional category having developed which heads the noun phrase. We show that Modern Faroese has developed 'definite-first' nominal structures (cf Chierchia 1998 NP vs DP languages), on par with its 'finite-second' clausal structure, and we present evidence that there are both similarities and differences between the development of the noun phrase and changes that have taken place to clause structure.

### Exaptation in syntax.

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Lass's reference to junk in language (1990) has drawn attention to a type of change involving linguistic elements which have reached the end of their usefulness. Lass distinguishes three possible scenarios for such items: survival as such, disappearance (adaptation), and recycling as something else (exaptation). The three possibilities are illustrated by the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sg. present tense agreement marker -S in English, which has been made redundant, though not functionless, by the generalisation of overt subjects in finite sentences (survival in standard varieties of English and disappearance or exaptation as a tense marker in other social or regional varieties). Exaptation, in this example as in many others in the literature, appears as a form of grammaticalisation, which shares an important number of features with traditional forms of reanalysis involving items which are still in use, thus raising the question of its theoretical relevance with regard to language change.

The present paper explores possible differences between exaptation and adaptation and attempts to draw a line between the two types of grammaticalisation in syntax. Adaptation is defined as a form of rationalisation triggered by an initial mismatch between the source and its new environment and involving a path of change. An example of adaptation is that of the reanalysis of infinitive TO from adposition to I triggered by the N-V reanalysis of the old IE nominal infinitive. Exaptation on the other hand is characterized as involving a functional leap from source to target, which is made possible by the absence of an initial mismatch between the source and the target of the change. No path is involved and no transitional stages are observed, a fact which is confirmed by the possible existence of competing targets for the same source. The example chosen is that of the rise of auxiliary DO out of a disused causative verb in obsolete VI constructions, which came to be redeployed as a periphrastic form with the establishment of configurational case. The development of periphrastic pronominal forms in French out of the existing paradigm of personal pronouns with the same effect of maintaining the SVO word order in questions, however, shows that exaptation applies to material which is still in use, thus disqualifying the notion of functional uselessness as a necessary condition for exaptative change in linguistics, as repeatedly noted in the literature.

Exaptation, if it is to be distinguished from adaptation, can thus be described as a type change involving sources which have either lost their original distinctive features and/or whose formal features are directly compatible with those of the target category, as in the case of N-V or complement-subject reanalysis in the development of noun clauses. Where adaptative reanalysis is a type of adjustment made necessary by a change in the environment of the form, as in biology, exaptation is a free "opportunistic" redeployment of material designed to make language more efficient. With this new extended definition, exaptation, as opposed to adaptation, becomes the driving force in language change.

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**On the double life of the English verb 'happen'.**

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Things happen. And typically not much else. The verb *happen* is the eventive verb par excellence, as in *Something strange happened to me* or *How did it happen that your family got divided over this question?* (National Public Radio, March 26, 2005; COCA). *Happen* here is “extension-oriented” (Dufaye, 2009, 97). While hampered by relatively few inflectional restrictions, it is severely constrained with respect to subject selection (*\*Four children happened to Mary*).

It is another, intension-oriented and modal type of use (Mair, 1990; Jamet, 2009), that this paper addresses. It is exemplified by *I happened to see John yesterday* and *It so happens that I saw John yesterday*. *Happen2* is inflectionally restricted (e.g. the *be-ing* form is markedly disfavoured). Syntactically it is a one-place predicate which either behaves like a raising verb, or else selects an extraposed *that*-clause as logical subject — and in so doing has the distinction of being the only verb in the English language that can be framed by *It (just) so — that*. Not content with displaying its etymological colours semantically (*hap* in Middle English meant ‘chance’), it typically fulfills conversational functions that are largely *sui generis*.

This paper will focus on the link between the semantics of *happen2* and its pragmatics and the relevance, in this regard, of its morphosyntax — which will mean paying special attention, among other topics, to the contrast between the *X happens to V* and *It so happens that p* constructions.

To delineate how *happen2* implements the modality of fortuitousness, a systematic survey of its favoured vs. disfavoured inflections, syntactic environments and lexical collocations will be carried out. Because of its size and genre-sensitivity, the *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)* allows for meaningful frequency counts and an evaluation of the verb’s “plasticity” through probing for the occurrence of putatively impossible or vanishingly rare constructions.

From a pragmatic viewpoint, the key question formulated by Sacks (1992) is this: what is a speaker accomplishing by saying what she is saying in the ongoing interactional context? Analysis of instances of *happen2* in the spoken part of COCA reveals a speaker (generally in the Second Pair Position of an adjacency pair) using the verb to deny agency in the stance she is expressing *vis-à-vis* her interlocutor’s assumptions. The implication — reflecting the conceptual metaphor “an EVENT is an ACT”, as posited by Lakoff and Turner (1989) — is that *Chance is the agent, and the speaker the acted upon*. This move confers upon her external authority to project the “rightness” of her stance for polemical effect. That there is no gainsaying it is guaranteed by her lack of agency, which is for that matter anyone’s lack of agency:

— *I know you ... didn’t like the male-bashing script*

— *Right. There was a problem with it, I felt, because I happen to like men.*

(NBC Today January 10, 1997)

The paradox here is that ontological fortuitousness feeds conversational necessity.

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**Ancient contact languages: between indeterminacy and contextual dependence.**

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Intense language contact may lead to two different types of contact languages: type A shows an *i n c r e a s e* of grammatical complexity, such as e.g. Modern Faroese due to very intense contact with Danish since the late Middle

Ages (with structural replications from Danish, which lead to an increase of grammatical variation; cf. Petersen 2010), whereas type B, typically represented by pidgins and some creoles but also by distinct (ancient) contact languages such as Ancient/Proto-Germanic, show a considerable *d e c r e a s e* in grammatical structures and categories compared with other contemporary Indo-European dialects such as Classical Latin or Greek (see Braunmüller 2008a,b).

In my presentation I will show that the contact languages of type B do not only show fewer grammatical distinctions due to non-native language acquisition, mostly by adults (see McWhorter 2007: loss of complexity, no over-specification) but the few categories left tend to become vague or, rather, *underspecified* in their nature (compared to related dialects of the same genetic origin). Such reductions in grammar primarily lead to a considerable increase in contextual dependence (cf. Gil 2009). Moreover, reduced and underspecified grammars generally seem to show more *vagueness/indeterminacy*, but may later, when re-implemented, thus permit *multi-functional* grammatical categories, which tend to cover divergent but semantically related properties by one underspecified grammatical marker.

These observations will be illustrated by an analysis of the Ancient/Proto-Germanic verbal system (only two tenses are left in Proto-Germanic: present and past, there is no future tense; the IE subjunctive was lost [the optative, however, preserved] and the passive voice forms are missing as well, neglecting some residual forms in Gothic; no prefix verb formation as e.g. in Latin), the system of conjunctions, prepositions and determiners and, later, in the North Germanic dialects, the expansion of a newly created medio-passive, representing now (medio-)passive, reflexive, reciprocal and deponential verb constructions.

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### Complexity in L1 and L2: a corpus-based comparative study of lexical and syntactic variation.

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Contrastive interlanguage analysis assumes that learners speak an ‘interlanguage’ (cf. Selinker 1972) that systematically differs from the target language. This method allows us to study the overuse and underuse of certain words and structures by learners which “contribute to the foreign-soundingness of perhaps otherwise error-free advanced interlanguage” (Granger 2008: 267).

The ALesKo learner corpus (cf. Zinsmeister and Breckle 2010) is a small-scale, multi-level annotated comparable corpus consisting of two subcorpora: essays by advanced Chinese learners of German and comparable essays by German native speakers, which originally were collected as part of the Falko corpus (Lüdeling et al. 2008). The subcorpus L2<sub>all</sub> consists of 43 texts and 11,716 tokens (Ø 272 tokens/text, Ø 25 sentences/text), the subcorpus L1<sub>all</sub> contains 24 texts and 17,185 tokens (Ø 716 tokens/text, Ø 48 sentences/text). All texts are described by metadata. They were preprocessed and annotated with linguistic information, e.g. part of speech of individual words and topological fields of clauses, according to the same guidelines, which allows us to compare the statistics of the two subcorpora in a systematic way. This provides evidence of the overuse and underuse of certain linguistic items in the learner texts.

The aim of our study is to model the complexity of the texts (cf. Skehan 1989) on different levels (cf. e.g. Wolfe-Quintero, Inagaki, and H.-Y. Kim 1998, Ortega 2003 and Lu 2011 for different (syntactic) complexity measures). The statistics allow us to compare the L2 subcorpus with the L1 subcorpus and serve as a basis for drawing conclusions as to the learners’ competence in German.

In our paper, we present quantitative descriptive analyses of the ALesKo corpus which measure the relative complexity of the L1 and L2 subcorpora with respect to the following lexical and syntactic aspects (Zinsmeister and Breckle in press): (i) lexical variation (i.e., vocabulary variation) in terms of Type-Token Ratio (TTR) and Vocabulary Growth Rate (cf. Baayen 2008), (ii) syntactic variation in terms of sentence length, (iii) clausal embedding complexity,



i.e., the depth of clausal embedding, and (iv) complexity of the prefield (cf. model of topological fields, e.g. Höhle 1986) and linguistic material that precedes the prefield, including coordinating conjunctions and left dislocations.

Our results show that the L2 texts are lexically poorer than the L1 texts. They also contain on average shorter sentences, which are also less deeply embedded than those in the L1 texts. However, the L2 texts and the L1 texts do not differ significantly with respect to the length of their prefields, although there is more variance in the L1 prefields. As found for the depth of embedding, the L2 texts contain significantly less material preceding the prefield than the L1 texts.

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## Tense and evidentiality in Mongolian in an areal perspective.

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Contemporary Mongolian is spoken in an area stretching from Kalmykia in the west to western Heilongjiang in the east and from Lake Baikal in the north to the Ordos plateau in the south. Within this area four major dialect groups are found, namely, western Mongolian or Oirat, northern Mongolian or Buryat, eastern Mongolian or the Khorchin group, and central Mongolian, consisting of Khalkha, Chakhar and Ordos. Previous research has mainly focused on phonological and morphological differences between these varieties, leaving most things functional in the dark. Especially Chakhar and Khorchin are presumed to be functionally homogeneous (Jorigtu, p.c., June 2011, Tulgaguri, p.c., July 2010).

However, even a cursory look at existing research shows that this assumption is difficult to defend. Grammarians from the east (e.g. Cinggeltei 1999) and descriptions of eastern varieties (e.g. Bayancogtu 2002) treat *-jee* as a fairly general past marker, while descriptions of Central varieties (e.g. Kim 1995, Sechenbaatar 2003) indicate that it is an inferential. This corresponds to significant frequency differences between these markers. A systematic investigation of Khalkha and Khorchin reveals substantial differences with respect to imperfectivity, tense, obligatoriness of tense marking, and evidentiality. E.g. while *-na* is used for general imperfectivity in Khorchin, it is restricted to present tense imperfectivity in Chakhar and to present tense imperfectivity of a few stative verbs in Khalkha, being replaced by the Turkic loan suffix *-dag* in both varieties, which is marginal if at all finite in Khorchin. And



while Khalkha makes use of three past markers of which one is evidentially neutral, Khorchin appears to make use of just one marker.

Taking a look at ancient Mongolian as attested from the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century, it becomes apparent that the evidentiality system of Khalkha (by and large) is a retention. Explicit tense marking, on the other hand, increased in Khalkha, while it decreased in Khorchin. So why did Khalkha and Khorchin develop the way they did? The Khalkhas remained always out in the steppe, and even in times of Manchu and Russian suzerainty retained a high degree of self-government. The aspectual system of Khalkha might possibly be understood as being part of a much larger Sprachbund stretching up to the Balkan (see Friedman 2000), and temporalization can probably also be related to this question. On the other hand, starting from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Khorchin were under continuous Manchu and later Han rule, with attempts of colonialization starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, turning most Khorchin pastures into cultivated fields during the Cultural Revolution. And it is Chinese and Manchu that Khorchin had most contact with. As tense and evidentiality marking is absent in Chinese, the developments in Khorchin can be seen as a partial integration into the Chinese language sphere.

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### "This is a vague answer" – Judgments about vagueness in ordinary discourse.

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This paper focuses on evaluative expressions about vagueness in French and German written media discourse. The aim of this research is to outline the concept of vagueness in ordinary discourse from a new perspective: the ordinary speaker's point of view. The study analyses the uses of the adjectives and nouns *vague* in French and *vage/Vagheit* in German employed by speakers encountering an expression or an utterance they consider "vague". We apply thus a qualitative and inductive method, which acknowledges a special interest in speakers' metalinguistic evaluative statements in order to investigate if ordinary speakers do judge the same sequences as "vague" as those commonly stated in the pragmatic and philosophical literature about vagueness (*kind of, sort of, and stuff, thingy*, etc.). The investigation is based on *Folk Linguistic* methods (Niedzielski and Preston 2000, Paveau 2008) as well as on pragmatic approaches in studies about *Evasion* (Bull and Mayer 1993, Clayman 2001, Rasiah 2010) and considers an intention-based semantics (Grice 1957).

The data consist of newspaper articles containing value judgments like *c'est vague* (it's vague), *réponse vague* (vague answer), *expression vague* (vague expression), etc.

Examples:

- Les mesures législatives relatives au séjour des étrangers, (...) interviendront « *dans un second temps* », ce qui est **jugé trop vague** par certains responsables UDF.

[ The legislative measures relating to the stay of foreigners, (...) will take place "*subsequently*"; this has been **judged too vague** by certain UDF's officials ]

*Le Monde*, 26 Septembre 1996

- Ausländer* (...) ist ein **vager Begriff** ohne klar definierten Inhalt, der sich deshalb bestens zur politischen Instrumentalisierung, ja, zur Demagogie eignet.

[ *Foreigners* (...) is a **vague concept** without clearly defined content, which is optimally suited for political purposes, even for demagogu ]

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 19 novembre 2002

It will be shown that speakers, by using the words *vague/vage*, may for instance point out a lack of information, a high degree of abstractness or a problem of multi-referentiality of the expression being judged – aspects which are not necessarily considered in vagueness studies. From a pragmatic point of view, it is possible to make assumptions about the functions those judgments are fulfilling, such as disqualifying one's opponent, a common strategy in political debate situations. Almost all those judgments will be considered as essentially critical statements that display a negative attitude towards vagueness in language which can be shown in terms of collocations like *vague and dangerous*, *vague and superficial* [= *vague* + negative value terms] (cf. Channell 2000) or in negatively connoted speech acts like *regretting the vagueness of...*, *criticizing the vague answer*, etc. This result differs from the mostly positive value attributed to vague expressions (*sort of*, *kind of*) in pragmatic studies about vagueness (Channell 1994, Jucker et al. 2003, Overstreet 2005).

Based on speaker judgments, our study attempts to determine the different meanings and functions attached to these evaluating terms and thus to contribute to a larger definition of the concept of vagueness.

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### Speeding up language change: examples from the former Yugoslavia.

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This presentation looks into the relationship between spontaneous and engineered language change, as illustrated from the former Yugoslavia. Most of it concerns Serbo-Croatian, as a unique instance of history unfolding before the observers' eyes, with a living language splitting up into four officially recognized successors (Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin) within a mere two decades. Having occurred under the impact of the competing nationalist ideologies and separatist political agendas which culminated in the disintegration of Yugoslavia, this process of directed dissolution raises the intriguing question of how long a language can withstand concentrated assaults on its identity and integrity. (See e.g. Bugarski 2004ab, 2005, Bugarski and Hawkesworth 2004, Greenberg 2004.).

An important role in these developments was played by violent propaganda and verbal manipulation, war-mongering and hate speech, coupled with attempts at rewriting history by ethnic cleansing of language and projecting imagined frontiers back into the past. Such external pressure inevitably initiated or speeded up divergent internal developments within the successor languages. Apart from some common processes of spontaneous change, these four have followed different paths. Serbian was subjected to directed change only marginally, but the other three have undergone numerous and various language engineering measures specifically designed to differentiate them from each other and especially from Serbian, thereby justifying their new official names. However, these steps have had only a limited effect on the current profiles of these idioms, the net result being that what remains essentially one language

linguistically has been fashioned into four languages politically: a triumph of the symbolic over the communicative function of language.

As to the current status of Serbo-Croatian itself, the controversial question of its present existence must be posed on several levels. From the linguistic point of view it can still be said to exist as a single polycentric standard language with four national variants, a position supported by the empirical fact that speakers of the latter normally communicate as smoothly as before. On the other hand, Serbo-Croatian clearly no longer exists as a legal or political entity, having been replaced by its official descendants in all the constitutions and laws of the newly independent states on its territory. And on a third level, social psychological, concerned with speakers' feelings about the identity of their mother tongue and with their habitual ways of naming it, Serbo-Croatian remains alive for a dwindling minority, the overall majority now identifying with Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, or Montenegrin.

While in some cases inspired or supported by reputable linguists assuming the role of national leaders, the processes of non-spontaneous divergence have for the most part been actually driven and propagated by political and cultural rather than truly professional elites. Serious contributions from historical linguistics and sociolinguistics have yet to catch up with the prevalent popular quasi-historical misrepresentations and emotionally charged polemics frequently masquerading as scholarship. (Gröschel 2009 on Serbo-Croatian, and Kordić 2010 on the paradigmatic Croatian case, are excellent recent illustrations of the kind of responsible work that is needed.).

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## The Masculine wives of southern Italy.

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This paper discusses a typologically rare (Corbett 1991) –although not unknown (Enger 2002, 2009)– gender-assignment phenomenon, the ‘victory’ of purely form-based gender-assignment rules over semantically-based ones. In the Calabrian dialect of Bocchigliero, all plural nouns ending in *-i* are masculine while those ending in *-e* are feminine (see TABLE.I). Since ‘wives’ has inflectional *-i* in the plural (*mugliera/muglieri*, Type IV), it is masculine regardless of the sex of the referent and the gender of the corresponding singular (see (a)).

- (a) *S' u mprustu fosse bùonu, si 'imprestèrranu i muglieri*  
If the.M.SG lending.M.SG was good.M.SG REFL lend.COND the.M.PL wife.M.PL  
'Were lending profitable, people would lend their wives.' (Scafoglio 1928:35)

TYPE I -u/-i	<i>u cìciaru</i>	<i>i ciciari</i>	'chickpea'
	the.M.SG chickpea.M.SG	the.M.PL chickpea.M.PL	
TYPE II -a/-e	<i>la pupa nova</i>	<i>le pupe nove</i>	'new doll'
	the.F.SG doll.F.SG new.F.SG	the.F.PL doll.F.PL new.F.PL	
TYPE III -e/-i	a. <i>u prievite nùovu</i>	<i>i prieviti nùovi</i>	'new priest'
		the.M.SG priest.M.SG new.M.SG	the.M.PL priest.M.PL new.M.PL
	b. <i>la cruce nova</i>	<i>i cruci nùovi</i>	'new cross'
		the.F.SG cross.F.SG new.F.SG	the.M.PL cross.M.PL new.M.PL

TYPE IV -a/-i	<b>la vutta</b>		<b>i vutti</b>	'barrel'
	the.F.SG barrel.F.SG		the.M.PL barrel.M.PL	
TYPE V -V/-ure	a.	<b>u tiempu</b>	<b>le tiempure</b>	'time'
		the.M.SG time.M.SG	the.F.PL time.F.PL	
	b.	<b>la campu</b>	<b>le campure</b>	'caterpillar'
		the.F.SG caterpillar.F.SG	the.F.PL caterpillar.F.PL	
TYPE VI -u/-e	<b>u diebitu</b>		<b>le diebite</b>	'debt'
	the.M.SG debt.M.SG		the.F.PL debt.F.PL	
TYPE VII -V/-V	a.	<b>u bicchieri</b>	<b>i bicchieri</b>	'glass'
		the.M.SG glass.M.SG	the.M.PL glass.M.PL	
	b.	<b>la ficu</b>	<b>le ficu</b>	'fig'
		the.F.SG fig.F.SG	the.F.PL fig.F.PL	

This innovation (the development of a 'non-autonomous' gender-value (Corbett 2010) involving nouns with human reference that are feminine in the singular and masculine in the plural) is unique in Romance. How did it emerge? The most plausible scenario is that all nouns with plural *-i* were reanalysed as masculine, in a hypercorrecting response to the influence of neighbouring dialects where the distinction between M.PL *-i* and F.PL *-e* underwent regular phonetic neutralization (yielding *-i* in both genders). This reassertion of what appears to have been the indigenous model 'goes too far' in Bocchigliero, carrying with it even those instances of *-i* which are in origin autochthonous feminine plurals.

There is a *tendency* in the singular, too, to align feminine gender uniquely with an ending, namely *-a*; although here the ending is adjusted to fit the gender, not the reverse, and the singular retains significant semantic and lexical determinants of gender, in sharp contrast with the plural, where an inflexible and wholly predictable correlation of gender with form has emerged.

We conclude that this development shows the emergence of an autonomously morphological system of morphosyntactic agreement, probably induced by a hypercorrect response to ambiguity regarding the gender-value of inflectional endings. That speakers appear to have favoured an entirely stable and predictable, but purely formal, pattern, over one that is semantically or lexically determined, is behaviour detectable in other areas of Romance historical morphology (Maiden 2005), and may call for a revision of what historical morphologists should regard as 'natural' or 'expected' in morphological change, along lines which we shall discuss.

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## The dispersal of linguistic and cultural features and their relationship to each other: how quantitative and multi-methodological techniques might open new windows to the past.

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Within historical linguistics, there are two main, competing models for explaining language change - the well-known tree and wave models. Neither of them is able to give a full picture of language change, since languages are equally likely to diverge into branches as to be influenced by neighboring languages. However, linguistic material can be inherently more or less stable, i.e., some parts are more likely to be substituted in a contact situation, whereas others are more likely to remain stable over time. This goes for typology (cf. Nichols 1992) as well as lexicon (cf. Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). Even though the inherent stability cannot be completely predicted, it can be taken into consideration when data are collected and analyzed comparatively.

When investigating individual languages or language families with few or no ancient written sources, one of the most basic problems is the identification of cognates, a prerequisite for all linguistic classification. Loans can often

not be distinguished from true cognates and the traditional method of harnessing the relative chronology of sound change as a tool to identify cognates easily becomes hypothetical and ad-hoc.

However, modern quantitative methods open up for new possibilities for organizing and comparing data that enable, in a broader sense, to take both inheritance and contact effects into consideration.

In the current project, "Historical language change and cultural identity: a case in Amazonia", quantitative methods are used to combine archaeological, cultural and linguistic data from the Amazonian area. The project is focused on the Arawakan language family but also involves the Tupian language family. Four types of data are collected: 1) archaeological and ethnographic data (e.g., the distribution of ceramic styles, ceremonial objects, etc., that has been documented as displays of ethno-linguistic identity by historical sources), focusing on the material culture of Arawak-speaking groups, 2) basic vocabulary data, aimed at creating cladograms and clusters, 3) cultural vocabulary data (e.g., terminology of crops, cultural artefacts, etc.), aimed at tracing the contact and spread of material culture and its accompanying linguistic features, and 4) selected typological structures (e.g., the alignment patterns of verb agreement, word order and case), aiming at understanding linguistic retention and contact.

The data are basically contrasted and compared by means of two techniques: Geographical Information Systems and cluster analysis of cladograms. Inherent stability is a key notion when data are organized and compared: basic vocabulary is used for creating cladograms and clusters in a traditional manner (cf. Walker and Ribeiro 2011, Payne 1991), which are projected onto maps (Carling et al. to appear); the geographical distribution of single typological features are analyzed and compared with language clusters; cultural vocabulary is analyzed by means of spatial distribution and compared with archaeological data as well as with language clusters.

The current presentation will focus on the advantages and the problems related to the combined use of these two techniques as well as on the potential for fruitful cross-fertilization between the two. Furthermore, alternative methods for cladistics (e.g., lexicostatistics, structural phylogenetics, cf. Walker and Ribeiro 2011, Danielsen et al. 2012) are discussed, as well as the problems and advantages of the technique when applying such combined applications to data generated by different academic disciplines. Data from ongoing fieldwork and documentation on lexical, typological, and cultural material will be presented during the talk.

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## Unexpressed objects and the semantics of predicates in Italian.

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This paper investigates the semantic constraints on object omission in Italian, in relation to:

- the interplay of the inherent and structural aspects of verb meaning with the degree of thematic specification of the subject (i.e., agentivity/control);
- the inherent characteristics of the O argument (e.g., animacy);
- the degree of semantic implication (i.e., 'lexical solidarity') between the verb and O (Coseriu 1971, Jezek 2003: 101 for Italian);

- the role played by the linguistic and extra-linguistic context in determining object omissibility with divalent verbs in Italian (Levin and Rappaport Hovav 2005, int.al.).

The interaction among these parameters allows us to identify three main subtypes of divalent verbs allowing optionality of O:

(i) activity verbs with an accomplishment use, like *leggere* 'read', *scrivere* 'write', *mangiare* 'eat', *dipingere* 'draw', *cucinare* 'cook', etc, i.e., verbs of consumption and creation, whose omitted object can be [ $\pm$ referential], indefinite or reconstructable from the context (so-called unspecified/indefinite object/strong optionality (Allerton 1980: 68-69, Levin 1993: 33, Cennamo 2003):

- (1) *Marco mangiò e poi uscì*  
 Mark eat.PST.3SG and then go.PST.3SG  
 'Mark ate and then went out'

(ii) other activity verbs, such as *affascinare* 'enchant', *visitare* 'visit', *ritrarre* 'draw/paint' and indefinite change verbs like *corrodere* 'corrode' allowing the intransitive variant only in atelic and imperfective contexts and whose unexpressed O is [ $\pm$  human][ $\pm$  generic][ $\pm$  plural] and either an experiencer (e.g., *abbrutire* 'abase', *angosciare* 'grieve', *annoiare* 'bore') or a patient (e.g., *corrodere* 'corrode', *stancare* 'wear out', *graffiare* 'scratch', *mordere* 'bite') (Lo Duca 2000: 229, Jezek 2003, Cennamo 2011):

- (2) *Giovanna affascina (\*ha affascinato)*  
 Jane enchant.PRS.3SG (have.PRS.3SG enchant.PP.M.SG  
 'Jane is charming' (lit. enchants)

(iii) verbs that only allow the intransitive variant if O is recoverable from the linguistic context (*anaphoric null object*), as in (3a) or from discourse (*deictic null object*), as in (3b), where the unexpressed O may refer to the Speech Act Participants (speaker and/or hearer) (Lo Duca 2000: 233-234, Jezek 2003: 100):

- (3) a. *Ho ascoltato la proposta e ho rifiutato*  
 have.PRS.1SG listen.PP.M.SG the proposal and have.PRS.1SG refuse.PP.M.SG  
 'I listened to the proposal and I turned it down'

- b. *Marco stanca /ha stancato*  
 Mark tire.PRS.3SG/have.PRS.3SG tire.PP.M.SG  
 'Mark wears me/us out/has worn me/us out'

Adopting an event structure perspective on objecthood and transitivity (Levin 1999) it will be shown that variability in the omissibility of O reflects both the event structure template of verbs (e.g., the low degree of aspectual specification of verbs) and the elements of meaning lexicalized in the verb, interacting, in different but principled ways, with non-event structure notions such as animacy, control, definiteness and referentiality.

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**Number words' frequency in modern Lithuanian.**

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Numerals have been studied from several perspectives: historical, etymological, typological, anthropological, cognitive and psychological. Nevertheless, one seldom meets quantitative studies displaying *how often* number words are used in a given language (See Thorndike and Lorge 1944 and Hurford 1987: 90-92 for modern English.). Not even specific studies on frequency like Bybee and Hopper (2001) or Bybee (2007) take numerals into account. Here we take up this point using data from modern Lithuanian, in order to show how productive such a survey can be.

Firstly, we provide the counting of number words' occurrences in the corpus *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas* ([http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/main.php?id=4andnr=1\\_1\\_2](http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/main.php?id=4andnr=1_1_2)); then we point out some noticeable features of the collected data and we suggest some explanatory hypotheses; finally, possible universal implications of this model are shown, and future directions of inquiry are encouraged.

Lithuanian data (see Tables 1-4 below) show that:

- 1 is by far the most used among numerals (311.964 occurrences);
- lowest numerals (1-5) are more frequent than the others;
- proceeding from 1 to 9, a trend emerges:

(1) *Frequency lowers as numerical value increases* (e.g. 2 = 125.187 occur.; 5 = 18.928 occur.; 9 = 5367 occur.);

- rule (1) breaks at 10 (the base of the system) which is much more frequent than 9;
- we recognize the same trend (with a few exceptions that can be explained) in upper cycles (11-19, 21-29, 10-90, etc.);
- the frequency matches with the internal structure of the system, i.e. higher or lower frequency correspond to different roles of numerals (simple units, bases, higher bases);
- in particular, "peaks" of frequency match with "round" numerals holding an important structural position. So,

(2) *A correspondence is shown between the structural role of the numeral, its cognitive salience, and its frequency of use*

The following main conclusions can be outlined:

- frequency of numerals is not random, so it can be subject to comparative predictions;
- the cycle 1-9 serves as a basic model ruled by (1);
- 1 serves as a model for all those numerals sharing the semantic property of unity: 10, 100, 1000, etc.;
- the whole system proceeds by reproducing the basic model;
- "round" numerals polarise a higher number of occurrences.

In my opinion, this is because round numerals fulfil the universal need of "milestones" along the endless path of numbers. Their status makes them more salient, more frequent in the language and more suitable for approximate uses, too (we say: "to round off" a quantity).

In conclusion, the frequency of numerals makes visible the cognitive and pragmatic pattern of numbers' usage, and throws light on how people – not only Lithuanians! – "tame" and structure the mathematically uniform sequence of numbers.

It would be worthwhile to develop this analysis applying it to other languages (especially non-decimal ones) in order to verify claims (1) and (2). This could be a first step towards a "frequency typology" of numerals.

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### Typology and corpora in lesser-described languages.

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CorpAfroAs (<http://corpafroas.tge-adonis.fr/>) is an integrated pilot project realized by field linguists for field linguists and typologists, which proposes:

- A methodology for the treatment of fieldwork textual data in lesser-described languages, from data gathering to automatic searches on the corpus,
- A free, open-source and user-friendly new software, ELAN-CorpA, developed within our project from Elan (Max Planck Institute Nijmegen),
- A pilot corpus composed of annotated first-hand transcriptions of narrative and conversational data in twelve AfroAsiatic languages (one hour per language), with accompanying sound files, list of glosses, grammatical sketches, and metadata.

The languages represented in the project are:

Kabyle, Tamashek (Berber),  
Hausa, and Zaar (Chadic),  
Beja, Gawwada, Ts'amakko (Cushitic),  
Wolaitta (Omotic),  
Moroccan and Libyan Arabic, Juba-Arabic, Spoken Hebrew (Semitic).

This presentation will focus on the last part of the project, namely the pilot corpus itself, which will be released to the public in the fall of 2012. We will concentrate on two aspects of the annotation of the data : prosodic segmentation, and morphosyntactic coding.

The whole twelve-hour corpus has been prosodically segmented into intonation units, on the basis of perception, and acoustic cues (pitch reset, lengthening and anacrusis, pauses). The result is systematic text-sound indexing based on minor (non-terminal) and major (terminal) units. This type of segmentation has often been considered to be useful for pragmatics, and information structure studies. We show in this presentation, that it goes far beyond, in that it plays a role in the analysis of grammatical phenomena as well.

The study of the Kabyle subcorpus will demonstrate this, by giving evidence for the role of prosody in the computation of grammatical roles.

Morphosyntactic coding has also been done for the whole corpus, and is accompanied by other information (parts of speech, semantic information, etc.) that allows the retrieval of significant bodies of data that in turn form the basis for hypothesis elaboration and verification. Thanks to the query system of Elan (regular expressions), this annotation schema allows to conduct searches on a single language, as well as searches among several or all the languages of the corpus.

We will analyze, as an example of a single-language search, the problem of covert vs. overt marking of absolute vs. annexed state on nouns in Kabyle: what is the extent of neutralization of this distinction in discourse, knowing that in the lexicon, half the nouns do not distinguish the two states morphologically ? And what consequences does it have on the structures used in the language?

As an example of multiple-language search, we will compare ventive extensions (forms and contexts) in several languages of the corpus (Tamashek and Kabyle (Berber) and Hausa and Zaar (Chadic)) in order to elaborate cross-linguistic hypotheses (historical, and typological ones).

The ultimate purpose of this presentation is to show how spoken corpora in lesser-described languages can be designed in order to elaborate and test linguistic hypotheses, within a single language and across several languages, provided the conditions for cross-linguistic comparison (homogenisation of annotations) have been met.

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### **Self-help genres in the changing Chinese magazine market.**

Chen, Wei-Ju  
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Globally operating media corporations send products around the planet to new markets. These media often contain genres not necessarily familiar in those territories. And genres, while they are containers of content, are also powerful shapers of the discourses that they contain. And existing local media must then often match these genres to remain in the market. While contents may be 'localised' the organising force of the genre can nevertheless provide a template that is 'global' and ideologically forceful. This paper, taking a multimodal critical discourse analytic approach, looks at the changing genre in women's lifestyle magazines in China since it entered the WTO in 2001. It begins by outlining some of the key points in media globalisation research in order to highlight areas that scholars identify as being in need of further research. It shows how genre research is one key area through which this can be addressed. The paper then outlines the changing magazine and media landscape in China with the lessening role of the state and its relationship with global capitalism. It then compares older and newer Chinese magazines and shows how new genres have emerged that are realised both through language, images and layout. The argument made is that while these may on the one level represent certain aspects of 'local' identities, values, ideas and attitudes the genres manage and package these into sequences of activity that serve in the first place the requirements of global capitalism. They promote individualistic, strategic and quasi-spiritual activities and goal reaching. To do this the paper shows a few historical examples as regards what changes and what stays the same and ultimately ask how genres can support specific kinds of people and specific kinds of societies.

### **What is the future of Greek?: a pragmatic analysis.**

Chiou, Michael  
(Independent researcher)

In this study, I consider the pragmatic parameters determining future interpretations in Modern Greek. Given the description in traditional grammar, future tense in Greek is formed with the particle  $\vartheta\alpha$  (tha=will) followed by the perfective or the imperfective non-past verb forms (PNP and INP). In recent work (Giannakidou 2009, 2011), it is claimed that the particle  $\vartheta\alpha$ , in  $\vartheta\alpha$  constructions, is not itself future but it is an epistemic modal operator with present (*now*) perspective. Moreover, leaving aside the INP verb forms which promote generic or progressive readings, the PNP introduces an open interval that depends on some other time to anchor its left boundary. This time will be provided by  $\vartheta\alpha$ , among others, thus yielding a time that starts now and moves forward open-ended. Therefore,  $\vartheta\alpha$  + PNP could be considered semantically ambiguous for present and future since it includes the time variable *n* (*now*) as well.

The question that immediately arises then is how do hearers induce future readings since there is nothing in  $\vartheta\alpha$  constructions that has a clear future time reference as part of its meaning?

To address this question I rely on studies according to which there is connection between reference to the future and (non)-veridicality (Comrie 1985, Fleischman 1982, Lyons 1977). I claim that future in Greek is heavily dependent on the pragmatic resolution to semantic content. A way forward, is to propose that future interpretations in Greek depend on speaker's communicative intentions, given the assumed state of mutual knowledge, and follow from a kind of pragmatic inference related to the neo-Gricean *Principle of Informativeness* or the *I-principle* (Levinson 2000).

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### The use of epistemic markers by native and non-native speakers in Latvian parliamentary debates.

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The Latvian Parliament (*Saeima*) consists of 100 deputies. In 2009, there were 78 deputies of Latvian nationality and 22 deputies declaring another nationality<sup>1</sup>. The latter shall be referred to as non-Latvian deputies (speakers).

The Rules of Procedure of the *Saeima* require a deputy to have command of the official – Latvian – language “at the level necessary for the performance of his/her professional duties”<sup>2</sup>. A self-assessment of one’s Latvian language skills is an obligatory part of the Curriculum Vitae that every deputy candidate submits to the Central Election Commission<sup>3</sup>. 11 of the non-Latvian deputies of 2009 described their Latvian skills as ‘fluent’ (*brīvi*), 7 as ‘good’ (*labi*), 3 as ‘proficient’ (*teicami*). One admitted to speaking Latvian ‘on a working level’ (*darba līmenī*).

This interesting sociolinguistic situation provides a lot of research opportunities. The fact that video and audio recordings of Latvian parliament sessions, as well as their written transcripts, are available on the Internet makes the access to the research material as unproblematic as possible<sup>4</sup>.

This presentation shall make use of these research opportunities in addressing the question of use of epistemic markers by native and non-native speakers in Latvian parliamentary debates<sup>5</sup>. Epistemic markers are understood as encoding the speaker’s degree of certainty about the knowledge expressed in the proposition or his/her assessment of the validity of the claim (after Timberlake 2007, Palmer 2001). They “always weaken the speaker’s commitment to factuality of his/her claim” (Wierzbicka 2006: 275), which is why the discourse of parliamentary debates should be a natural environment for them: epistemic markers, among other means, function as a face-saving device (term adopted from Goffman 1967) for public speakers.

The study shall focus on two epistemic modal adverbs (*iespējams* ‘possibly’ and *varbūt* ‘maybe’), means of full epistemic support (*neapšaubāmi* ‘undoubtedly’, *noteikti* ‘definitely’ and *bez šaubām* ‘without doubt’), means of partial epistemic support (*droši vien* ‘surely’, *domāt* ‘to think’ and *uzskatīt* ‘to believe, to have an opinion’) and of absent epistemic support (*laikam* ‘possibly, probably’) (classification of epistemic markers after Boye 2006). The investigation of their frequency, grammatical forms and functions that they carry out in an utterance is expected to reveal systemic differences between the way native and non-native Latvian speakers use them, and suggest possible reasons behind these differences.

A preliminary illustrative search shows that out of 50 examples (each) of *iespējams* and *varbūt* used in parliamentary debates only 2 and 8, respectively, were produced by non-Latvian speakers. Does the reason for it merely boil down to the lower participation frequency of non-Latvian speakers? If this is the case, however, then how to explain the fact that another expression analysed – *bez šaubām* – was used by non-Latvian speakers in 80% of the cases?

The presentation will hopefully answer these and many more associated questions and thus contribute to what we know about learning Latvian as a second language, the contact between Latvian and minority languages in Latvia, and other related issues.

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<sup>3</sup> For example: <http://www.cvk.lv/cgi-bin/wdbcgiw/base/saeima9.cvkand9.kandid2?NR1=andcbutton=69107734359/>, last accessed in January 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Video recordings: <http://www.saeima.lv/lv/likumdosana/saeimas-sede/video-translacijas/video-translacijas-2009/>; audio recordings: <http://www.saeima.lv/lv/likumdosana/saeimas-sede/audio-translacijas/audio-translacijas-2009/>; transcripts: [http://www.saeima.lv/Likumdosana/likumdosana\\_stenogrammas.html](http://www.saeima.lv/Likumdosana/likumdosana_stenogrammas.html); all accessed in January 2012.

<sup>5</sup> The corpus of parliamentary debates from 2009 used for this study consists of approx. 50 hours of audio recordings.

### Instances of semantic neology in the romanian language of marketing.

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Semantic neology has become a point of great interest of various terminological studies after the approaches to terminology have shifted from the classic, wüsterian view, which was prescriptive and denominative, to the modern, linguistic and descriptive one, which admits the existence of various linguistic phenomena in terminologies and also the multiple types of terminological variation. Semantic neology, as it is approached in this paper, is the result of terms' semantic variation when they are analysed from an interdisciplinary perspective.

This paper explores instances of semantic neology in the Romanian language of marketing by analysing a number of terms that marketing shares with other specialised languages and/or with the general language. The data we base our analysis on are collected from a corpus gathering Romanian marketing texts and from specialised and general language dictionaries.

The present article uses investigation instruments provided by lexical semantics and mainly draws on Cruse's book (2011), in which the author explores the contextual variability of word meaning (Cruse 2011: 100) and establishes sense boundaries according to three types of autonomy: attentional, relational and compositional.

The study has shown that a great part of the terminological innovation in marketing consists of recycling already existing words/terms and adding new semantic features so that they cover the new conceptual information that the marketing specialists intend to transmit. According to the sense boundaries that have been identified, the new marketing readings fall into three main categories, following Cruse's classification: full senses (discrete, no unification) (Cruse 2011: 103), spectral sub-senses (discrete, but unifiable) (Cruse 2011: 104) and ways-of-seeing (i.e. various perspectives taken on a referent that the mind unifies in a single conceptual unity) (Cruse 2011: 111).

The analyses have revealed that the marketing readings of most of the terms belong to the category of spectral sub-senses, which are mainly based on metaphorical extensions. Generally, the process of meaning extension follows a two-stage pattern: specialised language(s) (1) → general language; general language → specialised language(s) (2). What the general language conveys is a core meaning of the respective word/term, which is then extended according to the needs of the marketing domain. This approach is based on a dynamic view taken on words, in which their meanings share a rather abstract core meaning and emerge in actual use, being highly context-dependent; this is what Cruse names a "dynamic construal approach to variable word meaning" (Cruse 2011:119).

The ways-of-seeing category emerges from the functional perspective that the language of marketing projects on objects and which, in its turn, leads to the creation of new specialised meanings of already existing terms/words.

The study has shown that the two types of meanings (i.e. spectral sub-senses and ways-of-seeing) have a clear distribution and do not overlap: the way-of-seeing approach results in new readings of mainly economic terms, whereas the marketing reading of a non-economic term or a general language word involves a referent change based on metaphorical transfer.

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**Discourse-configurationality as an effect of the V2 parameter: the case of Mocheno.**

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In this work, I show that Mocheno, a V2 language of Old Romance type (Benincà 2006) with mixed OV/VO syntax, must be described as a discourse-configurational language in the sense of Kiss (1995:6), since both a topic and a focus must be expressed through a structural relation in all sentences. Within an antisymmetric (Kayne 1994) and cartographic (Rizzi 1997, Cinque 1999) framework, I provide evidence that discourse-configurationality in this language is not an independent property of grammar, but an effect of the V2 parameter.

The word orders that I will consider are those exemplified in (1), which will be shown to be restricted to precise topic/focus readings and to be in complementary distribution with other constructions, such as left/right dislocation. With OV syntax, the XP preceding the past participle is a new information focus and the fronted XP is a simple-preposed topic (1a); in sentences with VO syntax, the fronted XP is a focus and the XP following the past participle is a non-given topic (1b); an XP can follow the finite verb and precede sentential adverbs only when it is a contrastive topic (Frascarelli/Hinterhölzl 2007) and the fronted XP is a topic (1c).

- (1)
- |                                                          |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| a. <i>En de Maria</i>                                    | <i>hòt-er</i>           | <i>òlbe</i>       | <i>de zaitung</i> | <i>kaft</i>       | - OV             |
| to the Mary                                              | has-SUBJ-CL-III-SING-M  | always            | the newspaper     | bought            |                  |
| "To Mary he has always bought the newspaper"             |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |
|                                                          |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |
| b. <i>En de Maria</i>                                    | <i>hòt-er</i>           | <i>òlbe</i>       | <i>kaft</i>       | <i>de zaitung</i> | - VO             |
| to the Mary                                              | has-SUBJ-CL-III-SING-M  | always            | bought            | the newspaper     |                  |
| "It was to Mary that he has always bought the newspaper" |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |
|                                                          |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |
| c. <i>En de Maria</i>                                    | <i>hòt-er</i>           | <i>de zaitung</i> | <i>òlbe</i>       | <i>kaft</i>       | -long scrambling |
| to the Mary                                              | has- SUBJ-CL-III-SING-M | the newspaper     | always            | bought            |                  |
| "To Mary he has always bought the newspaper"             |                         |                   |                   |                   |                  |

The linear word orders and the information-structure facts in (1) will be captured through the idea that two peripheries are present in the clause – a high left periphery and a vP periphery (a.o. Belletti 2004) – both affected by a V2 rule (Poletto 2006) and involving the finite verb in the higher phase and the past participle in the lower one. It will be shown that the two verb forms can appear in two different heads within the two peripheries: i) when FocusP hosts an XP, both verb forms have to remain in the lowest head of the peripheries, giving rise to OV in the lower phase (1a); when FocusP is empty (or hosts a trace), the verb form has to move higher, leading to VO in the lower phase (1b) and creating the conditions for long scrambling in the higher one (1c).

The data discussed point to the fact that discourse-configurationality is an effect of much general syntactic constraints, such as the V2 parameter; this conclusion will be tested more widely by taking into consideration data from modern and Old Romance languages.

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**Vagueness in contrast: *En quelque sorte*.**

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Vagueness is essential property of natural languages, and can be encoded in the classification of words, or be attached to the systematic quality of language. In formal linguistics, a term *T* is defined as being vague if and only if there is such an object *O* so that the relation *O is T* cannot be interpreted as being true or false (Moeschler and Reboul 1994). Sperber and Wilson (2000) consider that vagueness lies in the use of a concept, while concepts themselves cannot be described as being vague. Vagueness could thus be seen as part and parcel of a continuum of degrees of acceptability. If this definition is true, vagueness is represented in the use of language.

Priority is given in our study to the adjustment strategy. This corpus-based analysis investigates the different uses of the phrase *En quelque sorte* in French and its various translations in English. In French, the first uses of *En quelque sorte* date from the 17th century when the phrase used to stand for «*d'une certaine manière* (in some way)» and gradually expanded to «*presque* (almost)». When confronting the French adverbial phrase *En quelque sorte* - meaning indetermination and vagueness - and its translations in a contemporary journalistic and literary bilingual corpus of about 500 examples, the variety of English phrases and items used to capture the meaning according to the contexts is amazing. Indeed, more than 50 different translations of *En quelque sorte* can be found. Such a variety highlights the different formal operations at stake, ranging from the scanning operation «*in one way or another*», a metalinguistic comment «*in some sense*», degrees in adequacy «*more of a N*» or even degrees in (non-) commitment as in:

- Elle revient **en quelque sorte** à la maison : After far too long away from the Festival, Krall returns "home".

In the different examples of our corpus, the propositional meaning of *en quelque sorte* leaves room for pragmatic interpretation. *En quelque sorte* signals a discrepancy between the propositional form of the utterance and the thought it represents. It can take in its scope a variety of different elements in the clause but also the proposition as a whole. Like downtoners, the French adverbial phrase *En quelque sorte* affects both the relation between the speaker and the hearer, but also the relation between the utterance and the context. It has a dual function of indicating a qualification of the encoded lexical content and what is present in the speaker's thought, and of calling attention to the relation between what is encoded and what is communicated.

The aim of the presentation is to show after Haspelmath (2010) that a concept can be understood in greater depth when viewed against the cross-linguistic background, and more specifically, how the various stages of the adjustment strategy illustrate a gradual move towards greater intersubjectivity.

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**Interpreting IDensification.**

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I propose a theory of the interpretative properties of the intensifier in English (e.g. *himself* as in *John himself met Mary*) based on the following assumptions;

- a) The intensifier always denotes an identity function (ID) which takes a nominal constituent *x* as its argument and maps it onto itself (Eckardt 2001).
- b) The intensifier always assumes a(ny) role of the component of information structure (IS), which consists of the autonomous notions of [contrast], [topic] and [focus] (Neeleman and van de Koot 2008, Neeleman and Vermeulen 2010).
- c) The intensifier always evokes the dependent function (DEP), which takes a nominal constituent *x* as its argument.

These assumptions combine to explain, among other things, the various readings of the intensifier: these mainly result from the interpretative effect related to the IS interpretations associated with the intensifier. For instance, (1) and (2) differ only with regard to the fact that in (1) *himself* is marked as CONTRASTIVE FOCUS (CF) whereas in (2) it is marked as Contrastive Topic (CT).

- 1) A: John's brother found the way to the station.  
B: No, you are wrong. John *HIMSELF* found the way to the station.
- 2) A: Tell me about John's brother. How is he taking the whole moving to Paris issue?  
B: Well, I don't know about John's brother, but John *himself* is fine with it.

The use of the intensifier in (1) (called the *in person* reading) is associated with the inference that *John*, the intensifier's associated DP, is a member of the set of entities that found the way to the station whereas *John's brother* is not. In (2), the use of the intensifier (called the *as for* reading) is associated with the inference that the speaker is unwilling or unable to make an alternative assertion about *John's brother*. Both inferences result from the interpretative characteristics of CF and CT (see Neeleman and Vermeulen 2010; see also Frey 2010 for a more flexible notion of contrast, which I adopt).

What all instances of the intensifier have in common (apart from IS marking) is the understanding that its associated DP is central in some way. Contrary to previous research (e.g. Gast 2006), I suggest that this results from the fact that ID evokes DEP. In (1) and (2) DEP (contextually realized as '*s brother*') is applied to *John* to give *John's brother*. As the literature on possession (e.g. Nikolaeva and Spencer 2010) points out, an asymmetric relation holds between the possessor and possessee; hence possession is correctly predicted to serve as a suitable linguistic instantiation of DEP (*x*). The general conclusion is that due to the evocation of DEP (*x*), the alternatives of an intensifier and its associate DP will invariably be an (linguistic or implied by context/discourse/general knowledge) expression of an asymmetric relation between (the intensified entity) *x* and *y*. Depending on the nature of this relation we may get a different reading, even if IS marking remains stable.

The table below summarizes the findings with regard to the different readings of the intensifier.

Reading	Denotes	Interacts with	Marked as
In person, delegative, even, without <i>x</i> 's help	ID ( <i>x</i> )	DEP ( <i>x</i> )	CF
As for	ID ( <i>x</i> )	DEP ( <i>x</i> )	CT
Also, pure Focus	ID ( <i>x</i> )	DEP ( <i>x</i> )	F
Aboutness	ID ( <i>x</i> )	DEP ( <i>x</i> )	T

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## 3D Linguistics.

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A main issue in contemporary linguistics is how to best represent language in a linguistic model, i.e. how to best design a grammar that represents its object of study, language. A linguistic school's account of linguistic phenomena depends upon the main architectural tenets of the theory at hand. The licensing conditions of empty categories, movement, etc. are a direct consequence of various factors defining the organization of a linguistic theory. Is the theory of language monostratal or are there various distinctive strata? Are the different levels of representation independent or derived from each other? Is there a clear priority of one level of representation over the others - a clear direction for inter-level mapping processes? Does the theory of language allow for mismatches in the quantity and type of representations that appear at the different levels of representation or does it search for a fully transparent interface between them?

This paper will discuss the relation between a linguistic model's architectural tenets and its use or rejection of empty categories, movement and other theory-internal devices in order to ultimately design a meta-theoretical methodology for the comparison and assessment of grammatical models and their syntax-semantics interface. In order to illustrate the relation between a model's architecture and its use of devices such as empty categories, a comparative method will be used to assess and confront three grammatical formalisms that show contrasting architectural tenets: mainframe Generative Grammar (Chomsky 1957, 1965, 1981, 1995), the Parallel Architecture (Jackendoff 2002, Culicover and Jackendoff 2005) and Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008, 2010). The data used to illustrate this claim will be real-world examples in the German and Italian language. The assessment and comparison will take place in a 3D fashion in that the three formalisms will be analyzed according to three architectural features:

- Distribution: a model's outsourcing of linguistic information into various representational strata.
- Derivationality (Sadock 2002, Jackendoff 2002): the sequenced, step-wise mapping between various strata and the avoidance or allowance of representational mismatches (Francis and Michaelis 2000).
- Directionality: the (non-)compulsory direction of derivations between the various strata where linguistic information is distributed, i.e. the priority of a level of description over the other(s) (Zwicky 1972).

A main research question will be whether a domino effect takes place between a model's approach to Distribution, Derivationality and Directionality, i.e. whether a certain choice that has been made as to any of the three architectural features above progressively restricts the allowed choices for the remaining two properties within a grammatical formalism. It will be claimed that the Distribution of linguistic information limits the choice as to possible derivational processes at the syntax-semantic interface and that the choice of a derivational model compulsorily leads to a pre-determined Directionality of interfaces. It will also be claimed that there exists a close relation between a grammatical model's approach to Distribution, Derivationality and Directionality, on the one hand, and representational abstractness and redundancy, on the other.

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### Origin and evolution of antipassive markers in West Mande languages.

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Mande languages are characterized by strict transitivity constraints that limit the possibility of using transitive verbs in constructions in which their second argument (the patient) is left unexpressed and is interpreted as non-specific. With transitive verbs devoid of the ability to be used intransitively with their first argument (the agent) in subject function, several strategies are used in order to demote the patient: periphrases in which a nominalized form of the transitive verb is the object of a verb 'do', reflexive constructions with an antipassive interpretation, and use of dedicated antipassive markers.

Antipassive markers are found in languages belonging to all major branches of West Mande: Manding (Creissels 2011), Soninke (Creissels 1991), Bozo (Daget and al. 1953), and Bobo (Le Bris and Prost 1981). Note however that, as discussed by Creissels (2011), the recognition of an antipassive marker in Manding is problematic, because in most Manding varieties (but not all!), the suffix in question tends to be reinterpreted as a nominalization marker and to lose its original link with the valency operation typically encoded by antipassive markers.

On the basis of both formal and functional criteria, two types of antipassive markers can be distinguished in West Mande:

- a first type found in Soninke, Bozo, and Bobo, whose expression involves only alternations affecting the last vowel of verbs and attributable to the presence of an underlying *i*; this type is functionally characterized by the fact that, in the three languages in which it is attested, the same formation has an anticausative function with some verbs,
- a second type found in some varieties of Manding and in Soninke, used exclusively with an antipassive function, but involving a suffix *-ri*, *-li* or *-ndi* very similar to a causative suffix found in the same languages and in Bozo.

The historical hypothesis I would like to discuss is that the first type constitutes the lexicalized vestige of a very ancient middle voice, whereas the second one originates from the grammaticalization of a verb 'make, do' still found in some varieties of Manding and in one of the three Bozo languages, reconstructable as *\*ti(n)*, which has also grammaticalized as a causative suffix. The fact that some languages use such a verb both in causative and antipassive periphrases (see for example French *faire acheter* – causative – and *faire des achats* – antipassive) provides some support to this hypothesis.

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**Typological hierarchies in synchrony and diachrony: the development of number marking.**

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The cross-linguistic encoding of number distinctions is described by two hierarchies, the number hierarchy singular > plural > dual > paucal/trial and the animacy hierarchy 1 > 2 > 3 pronouns > kin > human > animate > inanimate (Corbett 2000, among others).

These hierarchies have been argued to reflect two major principles: the tendency to use overt markers for less frequent number values (such as plural as opposed to singular), because these values are more difficult to identify, and the tendency to express number distinctions in the domains where they are more relevant, such as for example animates as opposed to inanimates (Greenberg 1966, Comrie 1981, Croft 2003, Haspelmath 2005).

These explanations are based on the synchronic distribution of number marking cross-linguistically, independently of the diachronic processes that lead to the development of the relevant constructions in individual languages. The paper discusses several such processes, based on detailed diachronic evidence from some fifty languages from different families, and shows that they provide no obvious evidence for the synchronic explanations. In particular:

- (i) Number markers originate from processes of reinterpretation of various types of source constructions, including, for plural, the grammaticalization of distributives (several North American languages) and expressions of multitude (several languages all over the world), and, for both singular and plural, the metonymization of oblique, genitive, or participial markers in constructions involving numerals, expressions of multitude, or indefinite expressions (several Indo-Aryan languages). Alternatively, overt marking for singular and plural develops as a side-effect of the fact that elements originally marked for number are grammaticalized to express categories other than number (for example, pronouns or demonstratives originally marked for number give rise to gender markers also indicating number, as attested in several African languages). All of these processes are arguably based on context-induced associations between the old and the new meanings of the relevant constructions, not the relative frequency of the relevant number values.
- (ii) The distribution of singular/plural distinctions across different domains is directly related to the original meanings of the relevant constructions, not any specific connection between these domains and number. Number markers restricted to animates typically originate from expressions specifically or frequently used with animates ('people', expressions of respect, distributives), while number markers used for inanimates typically originate from expressions not specifically pertaining to animates (such as 'all', 'a lot of' and the like). With pronouns, singular and plural forms sometimes express different meanings, and they often originate from independent processes of grammaticalization of different lexical sources.

These facts pose a number of challenges for current assumptions about typological hierarchies. Individual patterns described by these hierarchies may be a result of distinct diachronic processes in different languages, not amenable to a unified explanation, and based on mechanisms other than those that can be postulated on synchronic grounds. Hence, contrary to current research practice, typological explanations should be based on the comparison of diachronic processes, rather than the comparison of construction types defined on synchronic grounds.

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## Areal features of copular clauses in Karaim.

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Karaim in Lithuania and in West Ukraine (Halich) has been dominated by non-Turkic languages in more than half a millenium. As a result of this asymmetric linguistic situation, Karaim has acquired several non-Turkic features that are typical of some languages of the Circum-Baltic and West Ukrainian linguistic areas (Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2000). The talk will review different types of copied features of copular clauses and special uses of copulas in Karaim, comparing these with the corresponding features in the dominant languages that served as models for copying. The contact induced processes will be described in the Code Copying Model (Johanson 2002). The main issues to be dealt with in the paper are the followings.

In Turkic languages, a pronominal suffix representing the subject of the first or second person is attached to both nominal and verbal predicates and thus, serves as a copula, e.g. Turkish *Öğretmen-im* [teacher-COP1SG] 'I am a teacher', *Gel-ir-im* [come-AORIST-1SG] 'I come'. In spoken Karaim, nominal and verbal predicates behave differently. In present tense, no copula is normally attached to attributive predicates, e.g. *Mieñ ürianiuvčiu* [I teacher]. The same is true for locative predicates: *Mieñ Trochta* [I Trakai-LOC] 'I am in Trakai'. Tense or modality is expressed through copula verbs that—as other verbal predicates—necessarily bear personal markers in all persons.

Predicative possession is constructed with *bar-t* [existing-COP.DIR] and with a genitive or a locative form of the possessor *Mieñim / mieñdia eki tuvduhum bart* [I-GEN / I-LOC two sister existing-COP.DIR] 'I have two sisters'. The same form, *bart*, is used also in existential clauses *Bunda bar-t bir kibit'* [here existing-COP.DIR a shop] 'There is a shop here'. In Halich Karaim, *bar* is used in copular clauses, e.g. *Karaj bar-men* [Karaim existing-COP.1SG] 'I am a Karaim'.

Different types of copular clauses (attributive, identificational) in Karaim will be described and compared with the corresponding clauses in the contact languages. The attributive predicate in copula clauses in Karaim displays case assigning properties similar to Russian. The instrumental postposition can be attached to the nominal predicate, e.g. *Ata-m é-di savuchturuvču-ba* [father-POSS1SG be.COP-PAST3SG doctor-WITH] 'My father was a doctor'. The question will be addressed how the difference between attributive and identificational copular clauses are expressed in Karaim (cf. Pereltsvaig 2008 for Russian).

It will be shown that semantic and combinational properties of the copula verb *bol-* 'to become, be' in Karaim have changed as a result of selective copying. For instance, the modal auxiliary *bolalat* 'can' based on the copula verb *bol-* is used with infinitives to express possibility and ability. *Bol-* is used in the meaning 'tend to be', e. g. *Šahar-yn-da Troch-nun karaj-lar bol-a-dlar* [town-POSS3SG-LOC Trakai-GEN Karaim-PL be-PRES-COP3PL] 'The Karaims live in Trakai'. Furthermore, *bart* is employed in passive constructions based on a diathetically neutral past participle, e.g. *bar-t jaz-han* [existing-COP.1SG write-GAN.PART] 'is written'.

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## Germanic valence in a typological and theoretical perspective.

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Systematic attempts at describing and comparing languages with regard to their valence systems are often rooted in the notion of 'valence alternation', that is, the possibility for a given verb to occur in a plurality of syntactic and



semantic frames where the contribution of the verb itself is perceived as largely the same. This is the approach of the work of Levin (1993) and its computational extension *VerbNet* as regards single-language investigations, and the approach of the *Leipzig Valency Classes Project* as regards cross-linguistic investigations, the latter exploring the range of expression patterns of 70 situation types (presented as ‘verb meanings’) across 70 languages world-wide. Here, thus, the existence of a plurality of expression possibilities for a given type is systematically construed in terms of ‘frame alternations’.

What these approaches all presuppose without always making explicit is the constructional landscape in ‘absolute’ terms of the language(s) under consideration: alternations necessarily unfold across constructional patterns subsisting as patterns regardless of whether a verb happens to occur in one as an instance of a ‘variation’ or not. The present paper presents a methodology of contrastive valence description taking this circumstance more explicitly into account. Labeled as a *Data-driven Valence Typology* (DVT; see Hellan and Dakubu 2010), it offers

- (i) a principled underpinning of what can constitute a valence specification, in terms of a hypothesized universal inventory of ‘smallest analytic components’ of valence frame specifications, and
- (ii) ways of enumerating which types of valence frames will typically constitute the core sentential grammar of a language (called its *v(alence)-profile*).

In these ways, the methodology to some extent embodies a ‘comparative grammar’ for the languages concerned, not in terms of grammar writing but through propagation of those salient factors of the relevant grammars that are relevant for a succinct comparison of the languages, thus exposing just the ‘smallest analytic components’ of valence frame specifications in a systematic fashion.

The methodology thereby offers a specification space within which ‘alternation’-based approaches can be grounded, but it also allows in principle for contrastive valence studies *not* based on frame alternations. The paper will outline such an alternative perspective on valence comparison. It investigates two Germanic languages – *English* and *Norwegian* – which can be partly contrasted in terms of an alternation based comparison, but which show significant differences also in their ‘absolute’ construction inventories (v-profiles), and the paper will illustrate how such differences can be succinctly brought out. To bring these differences into perspective, the paper also presents the v-profile of the West African language *Ga*, which only minimally intersects with those of English and Norwegian, and less readily lends itself to analysis in terms of recognized instances of ‘alternation’. The former point illustrates the relevance of such an approach as a supplement to a frame-alternation-based approach for languages where alternations interestingly exist, and the latter illustrates how it may be the only basis for valence comparison for certain languages.

Relative to a study aimed at exploring the salient valence systems of European languages, the paper, through this triadic comparison, thus prepares the startpoint for a study of which valence system typologies are characteristic of European languages as a whole, in contrast to typologies found outside Europe, while presenting a v-profile-based valence comparison of Germanic languages with commonly recognized alternation phenomena in the background.

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## Relativization strategies in East Slavic vs. standard average european.

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Relativization strategies in East Slavic seem to be routinely misconstrued in the areal-typological studies of European languages. While discussing the uniqueness of the relative pronoun type and the corresponding type of relative clause

in SAE, Fiorentino (2007) mentioned Czech along with Slovenian and Serbo-Croatian, all employing resumption as a relativization strategy. The author (ib., 271) also claimed that Polish (a SAE language) and Russian (a non-SAE language) use only inflected relative pronouns (cf. Keenan and Comrie 1979, 343–344) unlike the mixed system of both inflected and invariable relativizers found in the SAE.

The status of Polish and Russian appears less murky in a recent classification of European relativization strategies prepared by Cristofaro and Ramat (2007). Russian belongs, according to them, to the languages of Eastern Europe, including Slavic languages, Finnish, Hungarian, and Rumanian, along with German and Greek, which all typically use an inflected element to encode the relativized item. Polish and Czech, however, together with the bulk of Western European languages, demonstrate a variety of strategies, in particular the use of absolute relativizer with (or without) a resumptive pronoun (Fried 2010).

Yet East Slavic reveals a more structured distribution of relativization strategies, which can be tentatively projected onto a continuum of relativization. On the one pole, one finds standard Russian and its dialects, which, with rare exceptions, make use of the inflected relative pronoun strategy (Šapiro 1953). In standard Belarusian the resumption strategy is restricted to lower positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy (AH), although a wider variety of roles is sporadically attested in its dialects; at the same time Belarusian reduces the use of the inflected *k*-relative pronoun (*\*k<sup>w</sup>i-*) at the cost of the *j*-relative element *jaki* (*\*jo*) (Atraxovič et al. 1959, 231). In standard Ukrainian and its dialects, which occupy the opposite pole, the relativized item can be encoded through (1) an inflected relative element (from both *\*k<sup>w</sup>i-* and *\*jo-*) and (2) invariable relativizer *ščo* (cf. Fr. *que*) together with the resumptive pronoun; the latter is capable of encoding the relativized item in any syntactic role of the AH, irrespective of written or spoken discourse.

Unlike Russian and Belarusian, Ukrainian shows competing relativization strategies and should be treated, therefore, as a SAE language.

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## Register and contour in the analysis of Latvian and Lithuanian tones.

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Latvian and Lithuanian tones / pitch accents are related not only to pitch, but also to duration, intensity, phonation (glottal stop or creaky voice in Latvian and Žemayt Lithuanian), and vowel quality (in Lithuanian). An analysis of Latvian and Lithuanian tones / accents often involves H and L at various levels of representation, while the other correlates are not taken into account or believed to be derived from pitch (Halle and Vergnaud 1987: 190–203; Blevins 1993; Kariņš 1996: 137–150). The paper shows that it is possible to analyse Latvian and Lithuanian tones in terms of register and contour (see Pham 2003). (The register and contour features are considered part of the underlying representation of morphemes; their presence in the surface form depends on stress in both Lithuanian and Latvian.) The paper is based on facts described by previous researchers, for the most part unknown to wider audience, because their works are only published in Latvian and Lithuanian.

Following Pham (2003: 19), register is understood as phonation type rather than pitch range. I divide the traditional three tones of Standard Latvian into two registers so that the broken tone, pronounced with creaky voice or glottal stop, has the marked feature for register. The other two tones, level and falling, are unmarked for register and differentiated from each other by their contour (see also Seržants 2006: 100). This model is justified by the well-known fact that the register feature is distinctive in unstressed syllables while the contour feature in some varieties of Latvian is only present under stress (see also Andronov 2002: 328 n.18).

The contour feature refers not only to tonal shape, but also to intensity and even, to a certain extent, duration (which seems to be directly derived from the absence of contour). The contour feature differentiates the acute (falling)

and circumflex (rising) tones in Lithuanian and is best described by Girdenis (2003: 273) as the contrast between the 'rougher' acute and the 'smoother' circumflex, where 'roughness' corresponds to the presence of contour (cf. Dogil 1999: 283). It is the absence of contour that seems to be marked, at least in Latvian where the falling tone often is a result of neutralization.

Since the acute tone in Žemayt Lithuanian may be realized either with the glottal stop or as the traditional 'falling' tone, there must be close relationship between the presence of contour and the marked feature for register. It is confirmed by the widespread merge of the falling and the broken tones in Latvian dialects. Although this may be proposed as an argument for treating the glottal stop as the realization of a contour (cf. Kariņš 1996: 148–149 for Latvian; see also Itô and Mester 1997), there is evidence to the opposite showing that, at least in some varieties of Latvian, the falling tone may be associated with another non-modal phonation type, namely, breathy voice (see Ābele 1931: 92; Rudzīte 1964: 312–313).

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## Complementation split with temporal adverbs in the dialects of south Italy.

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While the majority of Italo-Romance dialects show only one complementizer (Stand. It. *che*), in Salentino, Mid-Southern Calabrian and North-Eastern Sicilian a contrast between two complementizers is found: declarative and epistemic dependent clauses head by a complementizer, which is generally the outcome of lat. *QUIA* (> *ca*), whereas volitive dependent clauses head by a different complementizer, which is the outcome of lat. *MŌDO* in Sicily and in Calabria, of lat. *QUOD* in Salento. The first clauses are characterised by a deictic tense, that is by an independent time reference, whereas the second ones are characterised by a non-deictic, anaphoric tense (Calabrese 1993: 49). All these Extreme Southern dialects are well-known as for several cases of interference from Italo-Greek varieties. Therefore, Rohlfs (1969, 1983) argues that such double system of complementation reflects a similar pattern of Italo-Greek varieties, with a realis complementizer (*hóti* or *pôs*) opposed to an irrealis complementizer (*ná*). Nevertheless, he quotes in his works a third complementizer, *cal.* and *sic.* *chi* < lat. *QUID*, in free variation with *ca*.

The aim of this contribute is to investigate if such third form of complementizer represents a free-context variant of *ca*-type in the declarative and epistemic clauses, or if such distribution is motivated from a functional point of view. For the present work I utilised the data outcoming from my field research in the north-eastern Sicily and in southern Calabria's areas (september-december 2011) and from the most relevant works on this topic (Rohlfs 1983; Leone 1995; Cristofaro 1998; Ledgeway 2003, 2006; Manzini and Savoia 2005; Damonte 2009).

The hithertho collected data reveal that the alternation between *chi*-type and *ca*-type is in general diatopically motivated. Nevertheless, a functional difference emerges in some dialects in the use of *chi* with the adverb *dopo* 'after (that)' in the temporal clauses vs the *prima* 'before (that)'-type temporal clauses. In fact, in some varieties, the *QUIA*-type introduces declarative and epistemic clauses (a); the *MŌDO*-type is used with *prima* and introduces volitive clauses (b); lastly, the *chi*-type is used with *dopo* (c), e.g. (Bianco, RC):

- a. [l'pentsu ka (< QUIA) 'va:ju am'missa ccju t't'hardu] 'I think I'll go to mass later'
- b. [av'vertimi 'pri:mai (< MÖDO) 'vɛ:ni] 'Let me know before you come',  
[vɔʝʝui 'sattʃu kif'fai] 'I want to know what you are doing'
- c. [nef'ʃi:a 'dɔ:pu ki (< QUID) ve'nisti tu] 'I went out after you arrived'

Other Calabrian Central-Southern and Sicilian North-Eastern dialects exhibit a similar tripartite pattern, whereas in other varieties *prima* can be headed also by QUIA-and QUID-types. Nevertheless, *dopo* can head exclusively *chi* in these varieties too (Manzini and Savoia 2005, I: 404ff.; 650ff.).

Such pattern leads to infer some conclusions about the spread of *chi* in the QUIA-type vs MÖDO-type complementation system. Temporal clauses headed by *dopo* share with declarative and epistemic clauses the feature [+ factual], and show the feature [+ anaphoric tense] in common with the volitive clauses. The link with declarative and epistemic clauses led to separate the temporal clauses headed by *dopo* from other temporal clauses headed by the outcomes of MÖDO, by introducing a third complementizer (*chi*) in the system. In this way, the change from the irrealis domain to the realis one is encoded. A later spread has led to use *chi* in the *prima*-temporal clauses too, even if this overlapping represents presumably a generalization from the *dopo*-type contexts.

The diatopic alternate distribution of *ca* and *chi* constitutes then a later stage of development of a previous pattern, where the alternation between these two complementizers was functionally governed. In such pattern, the *chi*-type represents a sort of compromise between QUIA and MÖDO-types along a scale of decreasing factuality and of decreasing deictic time reference.

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### The semantics of the Dutch *zelf* in terms of discourse cohesion.

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The Dutch word *zelf* can occur at several positions of the sentence. This is illustrated by the following glossed Dutch examples.

- (1) De koning opent de deur zelf.  
the king opens the door self
- (2) De koning opent zelf de deur.  
the king opens self the door
- (3) De koning zelf opent de deur.  
the king self opens the door

In the examples (1) to (3), the DP “de koning” is called the associated DP of *zelf*. The associated DP shares its referent with *zelf*, this referent itself is called the associated referent.

The different instances of *zelf* in examples (1) to (3) are not homonyms but instances of one word, with one lexical representation, but with light differences in meaning. For instance in examples (1) and (2), *zelf* can mean *persoonlijk* (“personally”), but also *zonder hulp* (“without help”). In the meanwhile the meaning “without help” is not available in example (3). How does the lexical representation of the word *zelf* look, so that such a use is possible? In the literature this question has been asked with respect to Germanic cognates of *zelf*, like the German *selbst* and the English *–self*. *Self* is used here as a notation for *selbst* or *–self*. An answer has been given in terms of semantic models like the scalar model (Edmondson and Plank (1978)) and the center/periphery model (Siemund (2000)). Other scholars analyzed *self* in terms of an identity function in focus (Eckardt (2001), Hole (2002), Gast (2006)). These analyses have in common that they look for the role that the referent associated with *self* has with respect to alternative referents. This explains why it is almost impossible to get an idea of the semantics of *self*, by studying examples out of their context. The data used for this research are therefore taken from the Corpus Gesproken Nederlands (‘Corpus Spoken Dutch’, abbreviated CGN). In this corpus the word *zelf* can be studied in different contexts.

In this lecture, I propose the results of a sample study of examples with *zelf* from the CGN and I formulate the semantics of *zelf* in terms of involvement. In this approach *zelf* is analyzed as an equality predicate like BE, the referent associated to *zelf* is explicitly put equal to this same referent in a different role. Both roles are associated with each other via the information structure of the sentence containing *zelf*. I call the fact that one referent has two associated roles, involvement. This notion of involvement is a generalization of the notion involvement used by Edmondson and Plank to analyze for instance examples like (2), in case *zelf* means *persoonlijk* and has a non-delegative implication.

Compared to the center/periphery model, where the definition of what a center is, remains vague in general, the notion involvement is explicit in all cases. The use of *zelf* emphasizes the involvement of its associated referent and in this way the use of *zelf* improves the cohesion of a discourse.

### Getting a grip on sentence negation.

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#### 1. Main claim

On the basis of Klima’s (1964) question tag-test I claim that sentence negation or negative polarity (NegPol) can only arise when two conditions are fulfilled: 1) the presence of negative features on a Q-adverb or QP; 2) a local Agree relationship between these negative features and an unvalued polarity feature in the CP-domain. When one or both of these conditions remain unfulfilled, the sentence is affirmative.

#### 2. The data

I take the question tag-test to be a sound diagnostic for sentence polarity: negative question tags (Q-tags) occur with affirmative sentences (Aff-S), positive Q-tags with negative sentences (Neg-S):

- (1) John bought a book, \*did he/ didn't he?  
 (2) John did not buy a book, did he/ \*didn't he?

### 2.1. Q-adverbs (QAs):

All downward Entailing (DE) QAs, including anti-additive and anti-morphic QAs (Zwarts 1996, 1998), trigger positive Q-tags, indicating the sentence is Neg-S:

- (3) John *hardly (ever)/rarely/ seldom* goes to church, does he/ \*doesn't he?

Based on (3) I propose that all DE Q-adverbs have a [+Neg] feature.

### 2.2. QPs

Anti-additive QPs in subject position give rise to positive Q-tags and thus to Neg-S:

- (4) a. *Nothing* could refute that argument, could it/ \*couldn't it?  
 b. *No men* love her, do they/\*don't they?

The same QPs in object position usually give rise to negative Q-tags and thus to Aff-S (cf. Ladusaw 1980):

- (5) John bought *no book/ nothing*, ?\*did he/didn't he?

Regular DE QPs (=not anti-additive/anti-morphic) always take negative Q-tags in subject and object position, thus giving rise to Aff-S:

- (6) a. *Few/ zero/ at most 5 men* love her, \*do they/don't they?  
 b. He bought *few/ zero/at most 5 books*, \*did he/didn't he?

Based on (4) I propose that anti-additive QPs have [+Neg] features. Other DE QPs have [+Aff]. The subject-object asymmetry in (4) - (5) shows that the syntactic position of the QP plays a role in determining the polarity of the sentence.

### 3. Analysis

I assume the presence of an unvalued polarity feature [iPol:\_] in the CP-field (Laka 1990, McCloskey 2011) that probes for a Goal to Agree with (Zeijlstra 2004). When there is a QA or QP with [+Neg] within the search domain of [iPol:\_], as in (7), C° is valued as negative and gives rise to NegPol.

- (7) [CP [C [iPol:Neg] [TP Nobody [iPol: neg] [vP came ]

I derive the subject-object asymmetry with anti-additive QPs from the Phase Impenetrability Condition I (Chomsky 2001): the search domain of the probe is the CP-phase and the edge of vP. When there is no negative goal in the CP-phase, as in (8), NegPol cannot arise and [iPol:\_] gets a default affirmative valuation. (8) is an instance of constituent negation.

- (8) [CP [C [iPol:Aff] [TP John [vP bought no [iPol:neg] book. ]

Interestingly, the contrast in (9) follows elegantly from this analysis, assuming all upward entailing QAs have [+Aff]:

- (9) a. John doesn't often pay taxes, \*doesn't he/ does he?  
 b. John *often* doesn't pay taxes, \*does he/ doesn't he? (Payne 1985:200)

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### A parallel three-way distinction in clauses and nominals.

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This paper presents evidence in favor of a clausal/nominal parallel, arguing that there is a 3-way distinction at the CP/TP level which has an analogue at the DP/NP level. Specifically, the claim is that there are syntactic and semantic similarities between (a) non-referential CP and indefinite DPs, (b) referential CPs and definite DPs, and (c) bare TP clauses and bare nouns.

de Cuba and Ürögdi (2009) show syntactic differences between referential and non-referential CPs both internally (what syntactic operations can occur within the clause) and externally (where these clauses can appear). For example, referential CPs are weak islands for extraction while non-referential CPs allow adjunct extraction.

- (1) a. \*How<sub>i</sub> do you regret that Peter behaved *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
b. How<sub>i</sub> do you think that Peter behaved *t<sub>i</sub>*?

Fiengo and Higginbotham (1981) present parallel extraction facts in the nominal domain: extraction is freer from an indefinite than from a definite DP.

- (2) a. \*Who<sub>i</sub> did you see the picture of *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
b. Who<sub>i</sub> did you see a picture of *t<sub>i</sub>*?

Finally, non-finite TPs, which are widely analyzed as being directly selected by a verb (with no CP), pattern with bare nouns in allowing free extraction.

- (3) a. Who<sub>i</sub> do you want John to be dating *t<sub>i</sub>*?  
b. Who<sub>i</sub> did you see pictures of *t<sub>i</sub>*?

The generalization is that it is more difficult to extract from referential phrases. Given the facts in (1-3), as well as other facts to be presented, we claim (following Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010) that referentiality is a crucial component to CP/DP parallelism.

In addition, we argue that bare nouns and bare TPs pattern together semantically. Bare nouns have been argued to be "kind-referring expressions" (Carlson 1977) that do not make reference to an individual referent, as in (4).

- (4) Dogs bark.

We argue that bare TPs are similar in that they typically do not make reference to a specific event, as in (5). One can think of TP as being a "kind" of event without an individual instantiation.

- (5) It is impossible to fly to Mars.

The syntactic analysis of bare plurals is far from a settled issue (see Delfitto 2006), and neither is the universality of DP in all nominal structures (see Pereltsvaig 2006). One possibility is that bare nouns and bare TPs in English lack the syntactic structure necessary (DP and CP respectively) to house the semantic function of referring to an individual referent or event respectively. However, given cross-linguistic syntactic variation in the realization of determiners in "bare" nominal constructions (see Longobardi 1994), some languages may not have variation in structure (i.e., the presence or absence of DP can be parametric). What we argue is that what is crucial cross-linguistically is the syntactic (extraction) and semantic (individual reference) role of referentiality at both the CP/TP and DP/NP levels, in the sense

of referring to individuals or individual events respectively. This ability to be referential is not found in other categories (see Baker 2004).

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### Šauti šautuvu or iš šautuvo? About two constructions of the instrument in Lithuanian.

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The use of the instrumental or the preposition *iš* to introduce the noun of instrument of the verbs of shooting (*šauti* and others) is considered as a case of syntactic synonymy. It is true that in number of contexts, it seems that we can have one construction or the other without the slightest difference of meaning. Let us take for proof this example extracted from an advertising for a room of shooting where, from a sentence to the other, the construction changes:

(1) *Atvykstant kartu ne mažiau kaip 3 asmenims –*

10 šūvių	<b>iš</b>	<b>Glock 17 pistoleto</b>	<i>ir</i>	10 šūvių	<b>iš</b>	<b>Steyer pistoleto</b>
10 shootings	iš	Glock 17 pistol-GEN	and	10 shootings	iš	Steyer Pistol-GEN

*Jums kainuos tik 50 Lt asmeniui.*

10 šūvių	<b>pistoletu Steyer,</b>	10 šūvių	<b>pistoletu Glock 17,</b>
10 shootings	pistol-INST Steyer	10 shootings	pistol-INST Glock 17
10 šūvių	<b>galingiausiu</b>	<b>Glock 21</b>	<b>pistoletu</b>
10 shootings	powerful-SUPL-INST	Glock 21	pistol-INST

*jums kainuos – 80 Lt asmeniui.*

If you come at 3 people at least, 10 shootings **with Glock 17 pistol** and 10 shootings **with Steyer pistol** will cost you only 50 Lt per person. 10 shootings **with Steyer pistol**, 10 shootings **with Glock 17 pistol** and 10 shootings **with the most powerful Glock 21 pistol** will cost you 80 Lt per person.

J. Šukys<sup>1</sup> considers that, in this case, the value of manner of the preposition *iš* contains a “nuance of instrument with which the process is carried out” and that it is often possible to use the instrumental case, which introduces “a pure instrument (devoid of nuance of manner)”.

The notions of “manner with nuance of instrument” or of “pure value of instrument” are problematic: devoid of clear definition, they seem difficult to apply and even contra-intuitive. Furthermore, they do not report the fact that both constructions are not exchangeable in all the contexts. Indeed, a fine study of the contexts involving a shooting and a weapon, show that:

- If all the nouns of weapons are possible with *iš*, this is not the case with the instrumental :

(2) <i>šaudyti</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>pistoletu/pistoletu,</i>	<i>iš automato</i>	<i>/automatu,</i>
to shoot	<i>iš</i>	pistol-GEN/pistol-INST	<i>iš submachine gun-GEN/</i>	<i>submachine gun-INST</i>
	<i>iš</i>	<i>kulkovaizdžio/kulkovaizdžiu,</i>	<i>iš revolverio/revolveriu,</i>	
	<i>iš</i>	machine gun-GEN/machine gun-INST	<i>iš revolver-GEN/revolver-INST</i>	
	<i>iš</i>	<i>patrankos/patranka,</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>šautuvo/šautuvu,</i>

<i>iš</i>	cannon-GEN/cannon-INST	<i>iš</i>	rifle-GEN/rifle-INST
<i>iš</i>	<i>lanko/ ?lanku,</i>	<i>iš</i>	<i>Melkaškės/*Melkaške,</i>
<i>iš</i>	bow-GEN/?bow-INST	<i>iš</i>	Melkashke-GEN/*Melkashke-INST
<i>iš</i>	<i>ragatkės/*ragatke</i>		
<i>iš</i>	catapult-GEN /*catapult-INST		

To shoot with a pistol, a submachine gun, a machine gun, a revolver, a cannon, a rifle, a bow, a Melkashke, a catapult.

- The instrumental and the prepositional phrase with *iš* do not have the same acceptability according to the predicate employed:

(3) <i>Jis iš pistoleto/*pistoletu paleido kulką sau į galvą.</i>	
He <i>iš</i> pistol-GEN/*pistol-INST let go bullet himself-DAT in head-ACC	
'He shot himself in the head.'	

- The instrumental and the prepositional phrase with *iš* do not have the same acceptability according to the context:

(4) „Žvirblių patrankomis/??iš patrankų niekas nešauda“.	
sparrow-GEN;PL cannon-INST;PL /??iš cannons-GEN;PL nobody NEG-shoots	
'No one shoots sparrows with cannons.' (common saying)	

Our analysis will bring to light the fact that the two constructions are not equivalent.

They involve two different conceptions of the notion of shooting, which explain all their differences of contextualization.

We shall report these differences in the light of general hypotheses on the functioning of a case and of a preposition, and, practically, on the instrumental and the semantics of the preposition *iš*.

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<sup>1</sup> «[prielinksnio *iš* konstrukcijos] būdo reikšmė turi priemonės, su kuria atliekamas veiksmas, atspalvį» [...] «dažnai galima vartoti ir gryną priemonę (be būdo atspalvio) pabrėžiantį įnagininką» in *LK linksniai ir prielinksniai: vartosena ir normos*, p.409.

## Exaptation as a result of competition.

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Since Lass' (1990) intriguing paper, exaptation has occasionally been invoked as a descriptive label for desultory function shifts in diachronic morphosyntax. While the notion of exaptation is not without problems, neither in biology nor in linguistics (see e.g. De Cuypere 2005), it conveniently highlights the opportunistic nature of language change when it deviates from the regular pathways laid down by e.g. Kurylowicz or Mańczak (see Hock 1986, ch.10) or Heine and Kuteva (2002). What has remained a mystery in studies in exaptation, however, is the motivation behind such unpredictable changes.

In this paper, we want to argue that exaptation may be the consequence of 'competition'. In this paper we typologize possible outcomes of competition processes, yielding form-function shifts which can either be in accordance with recurrent pathways or can be of a more desultory nature. In the following classification, the A and B forms are

competing variants with competition potentially leading to form-function shifts in A, B or both. Functional domain is understood in a historical sense as the joint semasiological potential of A and B.

1. Form A encroaches on the functional domain occupied by form B, ultimately at the expense of B's position within this functional domain. In doing so, exaptation may arise in A, as it copies functions directly from B irrespective of expected extension pathways. Or exaptation may arise in B, as B specializes in an unexpected direction. An example of the former process is the development of modal verb *have got to*, copying the functions of *have to* (Krug 2000), or the English phrasal verb particle *out* copying functions of *forth* and vice versa without obvious semantic motivation (De Smet 2010), as illustrated in (1).

- (1) They shuld be all slaine forthe of hande. (1564, OED)

An example of the latter would be the specialization of former present forms to subjunctive as a result of competition with a newly grammaticalizing present form (Haspelmath 1998), or the shift in function in erstwhile negative particles when they lose ground to a new negative marker in a Jespersen cycle. In Belgian Brabant dialects, e.g., the original negative particle *en* survives in subordinate clauses, and can occur in non-negative contexts as well, suggesting it has become a marker of subordination (see Van der Auwera 2010:84 with reference to earlier literature). This is illustrated in (2).

- (2) Ze pakte eu portefeuille waar dase eu sleutel in en doet.  
she took her wallet where that.she her key in EN does  
'She took the wallet of hers in which she puts her keys'

2. The competition between form A and B does not lead to the loss of B from its functional domain, but leads to a new division of labour within the functional domain. This can cause exaptation in both A and B simultaneously. An example is the division of labour between the future auxiliaries *shall* and *will* (Wischer 2008) or the irregular preterite *burnt* and its regularized variant *burned*, which comes to be interpreted as marking aspect, in that *burnt* associates with punctual and perfective events and *burned* with durative and imperfective (Bolinger 1980: 19) – compare (3a-b).

- (3) a. whole urban areas were terrorized, looted and in some cases burnt to the ground (BNC)  
b. We lit our fire, and whilst it burned down ready to cook our meal on, we sat and talked happily. (BNC)

3. Logically a third type is possible: competition from a newly emerging form A does not immediately threaten B's particular position within a larger domain, but B's position blocks the regular expansion of A over the full domain. This may cause a deviant development in A.

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**Proto-Uralic \*-nA and PU argument case/number marking.**

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The subject of this presentation is the origin of the unexplained \*-nA element in Uralic pronouns and (to a lesser extent) nouns. As a point of departure, I will take Hartmut Katz' (1980) paper on Proto-Uralic ergativity. According to Katz, PU was a split-ergative language with erg.-absolutive marking with 3rd person subjects, and one of the pieces of evidence marshalled by Katz is the, hitherto unexplained, -n on the Finnic 3rd person pronoun *hän*, which Katz analyzed as a previous genitive-ergative marker. The origin of this suffix, however, must be argued with reference to that of the -nA on the Finnic 1st and 2nd pers. pronouns (*minä*, *sinä*) and the -n of personal pronouns in other Uralic languages (Saami *mon*, *ton*, *son* etc.). The purpose of this presentation is thus to determine the place of this suffix within the system of Proto-Uralic primary argument case/number marking in general.

I will argue that the suffix had originally a specifying and individualizing meaning. Among other things, this is indicated by its presence in PU lexical items such as \**jäse-ne* 'member' and \**kupe-na* 'fish bladder', in which it may indicate one member of a twoness or multiplicity. Also, the Finnic comitative ending \*-*inA-k*, the origin of which is semantically obscure, may be explained on this basis. The presence of the suffix within the pronominal system may have helped an originally number-neutral personal pronoun paradigm to grammaticize a singular-plural opposition. Traces of an earlier usage of the suffix in inflection is confined to Uralic pronouns; with nouns, it occurs mainly as a derivational item (and possibly the Finnic comitative). The development of number distinction with nouns in Uralic thus took a different track.

Ergative-absolutive case-marking would be expected in cases where the subject is relatively low on the agentivity hierarchy, e.g. with 3rd person subjects rather than with 1st or 2nd person subjects, as is indeed the case with many split-ergative systems. The PU pronominal \*-nA is thus an unlikely ergative marker. The question is then whether the \*-n on the Finnic 3rd pers. pron. *hän* should be seen as a reflex of pronominal \*-nA or of a genitive \*-n, as per Katz. I will argue that the former is the case.

The conclusion is thus that the unexplained \*-n and \*-nA in Uralic pronouns had to do with number, rather than case, and that it does not constitute evidence for Proto-Uralic ergativity.

**Reference**

Katz, H. 1980: Das Ururalische – Eine Ergativsprache. (Vorläufige Mitteilung aus der Werkstatt) – Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Turku 20.-27.VIII.1980 Pars VI. Turku p. 393-400.

**The grammaticalization of the present progressive in French compared to English.**

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Whereas *be* + *V-ing* is regarded as central to the verbal system of English, *être* + *en train de* + *V* occupies a merely peripheral position in the French tense and aspect system. Concretely, the French progressive is not obligatory to refer to events ongoing in the present, as opposed to its English counterpart, and it is attested in a more restricted number of contexts (it cannot be used to refer to futurate or durative situations) (De Wit and Patard forthcoming). In this presentation, we briefly describe these contemporary differences as they have been attested in corpora of spoken French and English (focusing on the present-tense paradigm), and account for them with reference to the different evolutions the respective constructions have undergone. More concretely, we will explain (i) why the French progressive is less grammaticalized than its English equivalent and (ii) why the French progressive has a preference for specific contexts, while it does not occur in others. The hypotheses we propose shed a new light on the grammaticalization and the resulting present-day semantics of the two progressive constructions.

To tackle the first question, we zoom in on the evolution of the English progressive, and identify the trigger of its notable grammaticalization. We propose that, as a consequence of the loss of the aspectual prefixsystem by the end of the Old English period, a new way of aspect marking was called for (Nuñez-Pertejo 2004: 66-67). This is when the progressive started to be used as a marker of imperfective aspect. The more the progressive got associated with imperfectivity, the more the simple form specialized into a marker of perfective present tense. Yet the combination of present tense and perfective aspect is infelicitous (cf. Malchukov 2009 on the "present perfective paradox"). This is, we hypothesize, the reason why the progressive (i.e., an imperfective) had, by the end of the late Modern period, become

obligatory with dynamic situations in the present. In French, the progressive arose much later, and acquired its progressive meaning only by the 19<sup>th</sup> century (a.o. Pusch 2003, Do-Hurinville 2007). The system has never been in need of a new way of aspect marking (cf. also, the grammaticalized opposition between perfectivity and imperfectivity in the past). The simple present has thus never become associated with perfectivity, but seems, instead, aspectually ambiguous.

Further on, we show that the French progressive is not as subjectified (Langacker 2006) as its English counterpart, which is why it cannot have a futurate meaning (which involves a highly subjectified construal). The fact that it is not normally used to express duration (except when a sense of irritation is present) is related to the incompatibility of this meaning with the original meaning of *en train de*, which is 'to be in a particular mood'. We conclude by showing that the present progressive is preferred over the simple present only in those contexts in which the speaker specifically wants to indicate that the situation is bounded.

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## **The patterning of structural stability across language families: universal, idiosyncratic and deep genealogical components.**

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Not all structural (typological) aspects of language are equally stable, a finding confirmed by several methods and conceptualizations of "typological stability" (Parkvall, 2008; Wichmann and Holman, 2009; Dediu, 2011a), and similar to what is happening in biology where there are both extremely stable genes (such as *ribosomal RNA* and *Pax6*; Woese et al., 1990; Gehring and Ikeo, 1999) and very unstable (such as those involved in immunity and male reproductive biology; Danilova, 2008; Grassa and Kulathinal, 2011).

However, an important question concerns the patterning of structural linguistic stability across language families: do the same features tend to be (un)stable across language families pointing to universals of typological stability, or does each language family has its own idiosyncratic structural stability ranking, pointing to family-specific processes affecting stability? In order to investigate these patterns of stability across language families, I used a Bayesian phylogenetic approach, and methods inspired from spatial statistics, applied to a large set of structural features (selected from the World Atlas of Language Structures, henceforth WALS; Haspelmath et al., 2005; Dryer and Haspelmath, 2011) and language families (selected from two sources: WALS and Ethnologue; Lewis. 2009).

Here, I will show that structural stability is organized on three levels (Dediu and Levinson, *under review*). First, there is a universal tendency across language families for some features to be more stable than others (Dediu, 2011a; Dediu and Cysouw, *in preparation*). Second, there is language family-specific variance in structural stability with some features being stable in certain families and unstable in others, supporting the recent findings of Dunn et al. (2011). Third, unexpectedly, the differences between language families are not random but seem to point to deep genealogical and areal relationships between families, such as the unexpected similarity within the Americas, and between the Americas and North-East Eurasia.

If confirmed, these findings would suggest that using higher-level patterns of structural change (as opposed to patterns of structural diversity) might offer a way into the deeper past than currently accessible using the comparative method. Moreover, they would uphold the view that languages evolve as coherent systems, where structural features



interact in complex networks, a view similar to the way genomes are structured into complex interactional networks (Proulx et al., 2005). In this view, some structural features are hubs in these linguistic structural networks, thus changing more slowly, exactly as hub genes do (Jain et al., 1996; Aris-Brosou, 2005). Such features can play the role of hubs due to the specific properties of particular linguistic systems and/or because they reflect extra-linguistic biases (such as genetic, cognitive, articulatory and perceptual) or universals of language use (such as higher frequency of use) influencing language change and evolution (Dediu, 2011b; Dediu and Ladd, 2007).

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## Insubordinated complement clauses in Swedish and Danish.

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This paper is a study of the functional range of complement insubordination in Swedish and Danish. The term ‘insubordination’ was introduced by Evans (2007: 367) to describe “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses”. We will use data from spoken language corpora and a corpus of Internet material to study insubordinated complement clauses like (1) and (2) below. We will argue that there are four distinct types of complement insubordination in Swedish and Danish, each with their own formal and semantic features. In addition, we will show that there are significant differences between the two languages, in both the precise semantic range and the formal marking of the constructions, which highlights the importance of conventionalization in this domain.

- (1) *att man kanske försöker att se vilka det är*  
 that one maybe tries to see which.ones it is
- som ska vara med*  
 that will be present

'Maybe someone should try to find out who will be present.' (Swedish – GSLC, Formal Meeting)

- (2) *At noget så katastrofalt kan ende så godt*  
 that something so catastrophic can end so well

'That something so catastrophic can end so well...' (Danish – Corpus of Internet material)

Although constructions like (1) and (2) are frequent in everyday language, so far they have not been described in much detail. For Swedish, some work has been done on the use of non-embedded *att*-clauses with discourse-organizing functions (e.g. Lehti-Eklund 2001, Lyngfelt 2003, Anward 2003 and Lindström and Londen 2008), and some reference has been made to exclamative uses (Delsing 2010). For Danish there is some research on insubordinated exclamative clauses (Christensen 2009, Delsing 2010), and syntactically non-embedded complement clauses are briefly touched upon in Jensen (2003) and Hansen and Heltoft (2011). However, for neither of these languages is there any analysis of the entire range of functions such constructions can fulfill.

This paper aims to fill this gap in the literature by investigating this for each language separately. We will argue that there are deontic constructions like (1), which deal with the desirability of a future action, evaluative constructions like (2), which deal with the evaluation of events, in addition to epistemic constructions, which deal with the plausibility of an interpretation, and discourse-organizing constructions, in which the speaker expands on their own or the interlocutor's previous turn. For each of these constructions, we will show that there are distinctive formal characteristics, like the modal adverb that attenuates the suggestion in (1), or the scalar particle that marks surprise in (2).

Although Danish and Swedish are closely related, we will show that there are significant typological differences between the two languages, in the productivity and the precise semantic range of each construction type, but also in formal characteristics like the use of modal and predicate-like particles preceding the complement clause. This suggests that, in spite of the role of pragmatics as a driving force in the development of insubordination, language-specific developments and conventionalization processes also play an important part.

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### The development of free adjuncts in Old and Middle English.

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This paper focuses on the development of present-participial free adjuncts in Old English (OE) and Middle English (ME). Examples from Present-day English (PDE) are in (1)-(2):

- (1) **Having** a rather decrepit engine, the truck makes funny noises. (Kortmann 1991: 28)
- (2) He ... found him in bed, **staring** at the ceiling and **moaning** in an undertone. (Kortmann 1991: 43)

Free adjuncts have notional subjects generally controlled as a rule by the matrix subject (sometimes the object, cf. (2)), they often contain complex verb phrases (i.e. their predicates take complements or modifiers), and they are detached from the matrix (signaled by an intonation break or a comma). Free adjuncts have received a good deal of attention in PDE (cf. Kortmann 1991), but their origin and development in the earlier stages of English have remained underexplored.

The present paper wishes to examine the syntactic development of present-participial free adjuncts in OE/ME – (3) is a Late(OE) example – and investigates to what extent this development has been influenced by contact with Latin (more specifically by Latin *participia coniuncta*, cf. Kroon 2007).

- (3) *þa duru **geopenigende**, ac þær næs na Ioseph inne finden.* (*Gospel of Nichodemus* 12.2.6) (LOE)  
**Opening** the door, they did not find Joseph inside.

To that effect, a genre-balanced set of (i) medieval Latin texts, (ii) their translations in OE and ME (e.g. Bede's *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*), and (iii) original OE and ME texts (e.g. *The Peterborough Chronicle*) was explored. In particular, the frequency distribution of the free adjuncts in both translated and OE/ME texts was charted; as well, it was examined how free adjuncts in the medieval Latin texts were rendered in the OE/ME translations (by an equivalent free adjunct or not).

Preliminary results show that (i) free adjuncts are practically nonexistent in E(arly)OE original texts and translations, where they are translated by coordinate or subordinate finite clauses; (ii) they remain infrequent in LOE and EME original texts, but substantially increase in frequency in LOE and EME translated texts; (iii) they pick up in frequency (both in translated and original texts) in LME (as Killie and Swan 2009 show, they increase dramatically from EModE onwards); (iv) throughout OE and ME, attributive present participles (cf. 4) as well as participles used as predicative adjuncts (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002:529) (cf. 5) do occur in the translated as well as original OE/ME texts.

- (4) *...manige... to ðæm **dwoligendum** læcedomum deofulgylda ofestton.* (Bede 4.28)  
many... hastened to the delusive remedies of their idols.
- (5) *Heo oden **wepende** and sowen ...* (*Lambeth Homilies XVII*)  
They went weeping and sowed

These results suggest that OE still shied away from the free adjunct construction, and that it entered the English language through contact with Latin. While present participles themselves were Germanic, as can be observed from their presence in OE (cf (4)-(5)), their usage in free adjuncts indeed was not (see also Killie and Swan's 2009 claims).

More generally, while this research on free adjuncts points to the external influence of Latin, internal structural factors of English cannot be overlooked. The accommodation in English (as in Dutch, until ModE) of free adjunct structures may reflect the principle of structural extension (from adjunct structures without (cf. 5) to structures with verb complementation (3); in addition, such complex participial structures were no isolated phenomenon in English (cf. the presence of absolute constructions in OE/ME).

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### Number names, computational procedure and implementation.

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We explore the properties of complex numerals in different languages, and consider the relation between language and arithmetic from a biolinguistic perspective. We raise the following questions: What is the computational procedure that derives complex numerals? How is this procedure biologically implemented?

1. We discuss recursion in complex numerals, e.g., *twenty one, one hundred and one, one thousand one hundred and twenty one*, ... and show that it cannot be equated with recursion by concatenation, as their derivation includes recursive hierarchical structures. We argue that complex numerals are derived by Merge, the dyadic operator of the language faculty (FLN, in the sense of Chomsky 2005, 2011, Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 2002). We provide evidence that a minimalist derivation of these constructs eliminates the empirical and theoretical shortcomings of less constrained derivations (Hurford 2003, Ionin and Matushansky 2006).

2. We argue that complex numerals (NUM) are related by functional projections with valued features (ADD, MULT) and unvalued features (uNUM). The elimination of unvalued features triggers Merge; while valued features are directly legible by the neuronal system that processes arithmetic expressions, even when the valued features are not pronounced. MULT is never pronounced e.g., *three hundred, trecento (It.)* 'three hundred', *quatre mille (Fr.)* 'four thousand', while ADD is pronounced by *and /e (It)/et (Fr.)* in restricted contexts, e.g., *one hundred and one, cento e uno (It.), vingt et un (Fr.)* 'twenty one'.

3. We provide evidence that numeral ADD conjunctions are distinct from phrasal AND conjunctions, notwithstanding the fact that their functional heads can be pronounced by *and/e/et*. 3.1. Some phrasal AND conjunctions are symmetrical, numeral ADD conjunctions are asymmetrical only. 3.2. Phrasal AND conjunctions cannot be interpreted as the sum of their parts, numeral ADD conjunctions must be. 3.3. Phrasal conjunctions with an unpronounced head cannot be interpreted as the product of their parts; whereas this is the case for complex numerals with an unpronounced MULT head, e.g., *les nombres deux, cent et mille (Fr.)* 'the numbers two, one hundred, and one thousand' (2, 100, 1,000), vs. *deux cent mille (Fr.)* 'two hundred thousand' ((2 x 100) x 1,000).

4. Interestingly, the brain-imaging results reported in Friedrich and Friederici (2009, work in progress), indicate that the brain interprets mathematic and syntactic expressions differently, as evidenced by differences in the strength of fronto-parietal activations. These imaging results bring support to our claim that complex numerals and syntactic expressions are derived by Merge and the recursive procedure of FLN, while their interpretation differ. This difference might be due to the way in which the neuronal network is activated.

5. This kind of exploration is possible in a framework that takes the language faculty to be a generative procedure deriving the discrete infinity of language. It supports the view that mathematics emerged with Merge and the generative procedure of FLN. It offers a rationale to the fact that Merge and recursion are observed in arithmetic as well as in language, while arithmetic and syntactic expressions are interpreted differently.

6. Complex numerals find their biological basis in the neuronal faculty that subserves grammar but goes beyond it.

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**The semantics of *crispy* and *crunchy*: a corpus-based analysis of taste-related adjectives.**

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*How do you like your waffles? Light and crispy, with a touch of fresh fruit sweetness, or rich and chocolaty?*<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of taste perceptions in everyday language use differ from the standardized definitions in scientific contexts to achieve consensus (Lehrer 2009). Strictly speaking, the sensory scientific notion of taste only includes the five basic taste terms (*bitter, salty, sour, sweet, umami*), however, from experience we know that the perception of taste and its linguistic encoding does not only involve that which we perceive via the taste buds on our tongue. There are a range of adjectives used in descriptions of food and taste<sup>2</sup>. The conceptual domain of taste is broad, involving for example multisensorial aspects and evaluations of tastes. While we communicate taste in a variety of ways, we hardly reflect on the meaning of our descriptions.

This work researches grammatical and conceptual relations in the usage of taste-related adjectives such as *crispy* and *crunchy*. The data has been collected from the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. As adjectives are semantically underspecified (Paradis 2000: 237), in order to grasp the full meaning potential of the adjectives at stake, the meaning and referential domains are made out in the context of use. The aim of this work is to semantically frame the corpus results and to categorize the activated meaning aspects: while a *crunchy salad* refers to a product's freshness, a *crunchy cookie* links to the sound effect during biting. Different associations are evoked depending on co-occurring words and the broader context. The results are analyzed both qualitatively, in that the highlighted meaning aspects are coded, and quantitatively, aiming to show whether certain highlighted aspects show a significant appearance in the conceptualization of a notion. In a further step, *crispy* and *crunchy* are contrasted with their "equivalents" in the German language. This comparison highlights culturally-bound conceptualizations and usages regarding taste and texture-related lexical items.

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<sup>1</sup>Occurrence of *crispy* (KWIC search) in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (<http://corpus2.byu.edu/coca/>). Source: Palermo, Rochelle. 2010. Wild about waffles. *Vegetarian Times*.

<sup>2</sup>The interdisciplinary project *Sensory Language and the Semantics of Taste* (<http://www.sensorysemantics.ch/>) for example pinpointed the usage and meaning of an array of German taste terms through focus group and corpus linguistic analysis.

**The German bracket structure as a construction.**

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German syntax is known both for its complexity and its discontinuity. There is a regular bracket structure that is typical for many syntactic phenomena in German. It is the most important typological feature of German syntax (Nübling 2008:91). The bracketing principle is found in phonology and morphology, as well. New High German shows a general trend towards marking borders, which is apparent, for example, in final devoicing, sentence intonation principles and bracketing inflection in the morphology of past participles (Ronneberger-Siebold 1991). In Modern German syntax, the following features are cases in point: (cf. Nübling 2008:94):

- The obligatory subject pronoun
- The article / determiner
- The main clause bracket structure, which appears with the following constructions (Drach 1937 [<sup>4</sup>1963], Eisenberg 2006, Müller 1999, 2002):
- A. Verbal brackets

- Periphrastic verbal constructions like perfect, passive, future, subjunctive, including emergent forms like the *bekommen*-passive (Diedrichsen 2008a, to appear), the *haben*-passive, and the substandard *tun*-periphrasis (Diedrichsen 2008b); cf. (1).
- Modal verb constructions, where the modal verb is finite and the full verb is in the infinitive, as in *Sie **will** heute nicht schon wieder mit ihm **tanzen*** ('She doesn't want to dance with him yet again today') [brackets in boldface]

B. Lexical brackets (Nübling 2008, Ronneberger-Siebold 1991):

- "Funktionsverbgefüge" (cf. also Ronneberger-Siebold 1991:208f.): complexes of one finite verb and more lexical material; both are lexicalized as one semantic unit, e. g. *Sie **bringt ihre Freude zum Ausdruck*** ('She expresses her joy') [brackets in boldface]
- Constructions with separable prefix verbs. Separable prefixes form a unit with the verb in its infinite forms, but in a finite use of the verb, they get separated from it and move to the end of the sentence. Verbs with separable prefixes are discontinuous forms which establish a bracket structure, cf. (2).

(1) (Brackets in boldface)

<i>Sie</i>	<b><i>hat</i></b>	<i>das</i>	<i>Spiel</i>
3FSGNOM	have.PRES3SG	DEFNSGACC	game.SG
<i>nach</i>	<i>nur 44 Minuten</i>	<b><i>gewonnen.</i></b>	
after	only 44 minute.PL	win.PSTP	

She won the game after only 44 minutes.

(2) *vorlesen*

<i>Sie</i>	<b><i>liest</i></b>	<i>ihm</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>Buch</i>	<b><i>vor.</i></b>
3FSGNOM	read.PRES3SG	3MSGDAT	DEFNSGACC	book.SG	PART

She reads the book to him.

The paper will provide a construction-based model for the description of the bracket structure in German declarative clauses. The bracket construction will be represented as a sentence structure pattern that is part of the linguistic knowledge of an individual. Its formal and functional properties will be represented in a Constructional Schema, as it is applied for constructions in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005, Diedrichsen 2010, 2011, Nolan submitted).

Both the development of periphrastic tenses and the tendency to use separable prefixes will be argued to be a consequence of the functionality of this constructional model for language production and comprehension. The bracketing within the construction is significant for computational accounts of the German language, especially for parse and generate processes, to augment modelling of comprehension and production as, for example, performed by Müller (1999, 2002) for fragments of German implemented within the Babel-System and VERBmobil.

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### Evaluation in pre-election political debates: the case of Spain in a global world.

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This paper explores the evaluation devices used by the candidates of the two major political parties in Spain in a genre that is widely used worldwide, but is fairly new to the Spanish political arena: pre-election debates, which serve as part of the campaign to induce voters to vote for or against any candidate, particularly those who are indecisive. The aim of the study is to explore the evaluative devices that each candidate used in the 2011 pre-election debate held on the Spanish television, on the one hand, to defend his own political agenda and, on the other, to attack that of his opponent. We will also pay close attention to the reactions to their interventions in the aftermath of the debate as reflected in the press, in order to check the effect of such communicative event.

Evaluation is here addressed by means of applying the methodology proposed in Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005), and it is complemented by Hunston's proposal (2000) of exploring *averral* (i.e. when the addressee speaks for him/herself) and *attribution* (i.e. when the addressee presents what another person has said) and of analyzing evaluation on two planes: the interactive and the autonomous ones. We cannot agree more when she states that "evaluation incorporates various parameters, it is often implicit and relies for its effect on intertextuality, and in many texts it is multilayered" (ibid. 2000: 177). As a means to study intertextuality, we will look for references made by the candidates participating in the debate to other texts as well as the influence exerted by other debates of the same type by politicians from countries, such as the United States, where there is a long tradition for this type of genre.

The present study seeks to answer three main research questions:

1. Which type(s) of evaluation device(s) device(s) is/are most highly used by each politician?
2. To what extent do evaluation devices used reveal the ideology of each candidate?
3. Can any similarities or differences be drawn in the use of this genre (i.e. pre-election debates) between the Spanish candidates and politicians from English-speaking countries (most specifically, recent debates such as those between Obama-McCain, when they were fighting for the presidency of the United States)?

An initial analysis of the script of the debate suggests that both politicians used high rates of judgement (i.e. evaluation of human behaviour) and appreciation (i.e. evaluation of reality and humans, but not of human behaviour), since they

both expressed more opinions than concrete facts. It is also possible to speculate that averral and attribution are used throughout the debate because the Presidency candidates refer to third parties; that is, they *attribute* propositions to another person or other persons and evaluate (*aver*) such propositions as claims, beliefs, thoughts, statements and so on. The preliminary results of this study further reveal that Appraisal Theory and the concepts of attribution and averral can be useful tools for Critical Discourse Analysis.

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### Hear no evil, touch no evil, see no evil? A corpus-based study on the function of linguistic structures shared across sensory domains for the development of concepts of seeing in the blind.

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The human capacity for acquiring and representing meaning has long puzzled philosophers, linguists, psychologists and cognitive scientists alike. Although three sources of information for concept formation are commonly acknowledged, i.e. direct sensory-motor experience, indirect sensory-motor experience gathered by witnessing others, as well as experience with language, the precise import made by each of these domains remains unknown (Bedny et al. 2009). In order to estimate the contribution made by language, researchers have turned to the way in which blind people acquire knowledge of vision terms without visual input. Two possible routes to concept formation and representation have been put forward: Landau and Gleitman (1985: 138-139) proposed the idea that linguistic experience, and in particular the sets or networks of constructions a verb is used in, may be a crucial contributing factor for blind children to get a grip on *look* and *see*. More recently, Dąbrowska (2009) analyzed quite specific, lower frequency verbs of bi-pedal motion encoding ways of locomotion such as *trudge*, *plod*, *amble*, *saunter*, *stroll* that are either hardly observable or rarely observed. Since these verbs occur predominantly in written texts and emerge late, even in sighted speakers, she concluded that collocation patterns may be another determining factor in the acquisition of lexical concepts. In other words, such verbs would be learned by generalising over typical lexico-constructural patterns, containing a wealth of information about concepts. This has been shown on the basis of extensive corpus-linguistic work for Finnish verbs of thinking (Arppe 2008 and references therein) and Russian verbs expression intention, attempt, result and phase (Divjak 2010 and references therein).

Landau and Gleitman (1985: 83) have suggested that experiential analogies with cognate sensory experiences such as *hearing* and *touching* may be needed to fully reconstruct *seeing* in the blind. For example, experience in the hearing (*listen* vs *hear*) and touching (*touch* vs *feel*) domains could shape knowledge of the active-passive divide (*look* vs *see*) in the vision domain. Yet this distinction could equally well have been picked up by registering which verbs do occur in the imperative (*look*, *listen*, *touch*) and which ones do not (*see*, *hear*, *feel*). In this presentation, I will explore to what extent Russian verbs of *seeing* share a common constructional and lexical base with *hearing* and *touching* that would facilitate drawing conceptual and experiential analogies. The research is based on a full Behavioral Profile study of the verbs involved (Divjak 2010 and references therein), i.e. a systematic corpus-linguistic analysis of the way in which the Russian equivalents of *listen* vs *hear*, *touch* vs *feel* and *look* vs *see* are used in a representative random sample extracted from the RNC. Following Arppe (2008) a regression model fit to the annotated corpus data will reveal the prototypical core of each verb and will allow determining to what extent the linguistic contexts of *listening/hearing* and *touching/feeling* are shared with *looking/seeing*. Given a large enough shared linguistic basis, analogies drawing on linguistic as well as sensory experiences involving cognate sensory domains can directly be accommodated. This would fulfil an important precondition for the blind to be able to ground verbs of *seeing* to some extent in sensory reality. This corpus study will thus yield a first accurate estimate of the potential that our experience with language has for contributing to sensory concept formation in the absence of first-hand sensory experience.

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**Clashing identity constructions? A corpus-based study of the discursive creation of a consumer identity in official tourist information websites vs. opinion forums.**

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The present paper ensues from the results obtained from a research project (*Proyecto precompetitivo Universitat de València Implementation and lexical exploitation of a multi-lingual touristic corpus of the Valencian Community, Spain. Ref: UV-AE-10-2447*) in which I studied the socio-semantic discursive construction of a consumer identity, focusing on the child as a social actor in the genre of official tourist information websites.

The study was carried out from the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis, relying on concordancing tools (Antconc3.2) applied to a corpus of over 73.800 words (204 text samples) obtained from the official tourist information web pages of London and Brighton<sup>1</sup>. This genre generates text samples that often recreate identical rhetorical patterns, which made me consider that the discursive identity construction of the child as a consumer has not been questioned, let alone contested or re-negotiated, and may largely obey to economic interests instead of expressing real consumer wishes or choices.

Both a quantitative and qualitative analysis was carried out, focusing on socio-semantic categorizations of the lexical entries *kid*, *kids*, *child* and *children*, to yield important information. To summarize, we were able to highlight ways of passivization and exclusion of the child as a consumer, forms of creation of strong bonding and complicity on the part of the writer towards the parents; ways of stereotyping of the child's preferences, as well as forms of making stereotypical parental worries and concerns salient. Children were largely projected as beneficiary agents, collectivized social actors and excluded as agentive participants.

In this paper I take as a starting point the results obtained from the previous research as described above, to compare the socio-semantic identity construction of the child in the official web pages with that corresponding to touristic forums, specifically in *The Trip Advisor* and *Lonely Planet* (often referred to as the most visited and trustworthy ones). The same methodological approach will be taken to make both studies comparable. I start from the fact that forums integrate the voices of the consumers, as opposed to web pages, which project the advertiser's voice alone. This will specifically allow us to access the voice of the parents, which will yield important information about the discursive identity construction of the child as a consumer, both within this genre and in comparison with the official web pages. Neither of the two genres includes the child consumer as a direct addressee, but I suspect that the study of the forums will cancel out certain stereotypical consumer identities around the social actor child as put forward in the web pages, while at the same time creating new ones.

This research is already in process, and is financed by a *National Research and Development Project*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>London and Brighton were not randomly chosen, but were meant to correspond to the Spanish counterparts of Madrid and Valencia (capital and coastal city respectively).

<sup>2</sup>Proyecto I+D de la Dirección General de Investigación y Gestión del Plan Nacional *Análisis léxico y discursivo de corpus paralelos y comparables (español-inglés-francés) de páginas electrónicas de promoción turística*. Ref.: FFI2011-24712. Convocatoria 2011 (length: 3 años).

**Different input types, different adaptation processes.**

Dong, Xiaoli  
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The current study argues that factors that have not received much attention but are important have to be taken into consideration in loanword studies. One of the factors is input types, including orthographic, acoustic and orthographic + acoustic input. Here, I focus on one case study, namely the adaptation of English [labial onset + e] into Mandarin Chinese (MC) in corpora and online adaptation experiment, to show the importance of this factor.

I agree with Miao (2006) and Lin (2008) who argue that the input of loanword adaptation in MC is source language orthography. I moreover argue that with the aid of orthography, MC learners of English can perceive the English input faithfully. 22 cases of English [Ce] (C is a labial onset, i.e. [b, p, f, v, w, m]) are collected in the corpus (1210 loanwords). All of them are modified to their correspondent MC labial onset followed by [ei]. The adaptation mapping pattern, [Ce] → [Ce<sub>i</sub>], can be accounted for by the MC native phonological grammar in production.

An online adaptation experiment was conducted to test what the adapted form(s) would be if the input is purely acoustic. 15 MC learners of English were asked to adapt English [Ce] to MC that were presented acoustically. I divide the target English [Ce] into two groups according to the results: English [be, pe, ve, we, me] (henceforth English [Be]) and English [fe]. In the former group, English [Be] is mainly modified to MC [Bai] and [Bei] for 76% and 18.33% of the cases, respectively. English [fe] is amended to MC [fa] and [fei] for 51.67% and 46.67% of the cases, respectively.

Comparing the mapping patterns of the corpus and the online experiment, they are very different. I argue that the difference lies in perception. Below I will use the model of Boersma and Hamann (2009) to illustrate this argument further. In the corpus, with the help of orthography, the adapter can faithfully perceive and store the English input faithfully. The faithfully stored English [Ce] will be adapted to MC /Ce<sub>i</sub>/ according to the MC native phonological grammar. In contrast, in the experiment, MC learners of English perceive e.g., English [be] as /be, bei, bai/ and English [fe] as /fe, fei, fa/. Their perception is determined by their English/MC interlanguage perception grammar. The adapters perceive /fa/ instead of /fai/ because the latter is not attested in MC and moreover their interlanguage grammar does not allow this syllable neither. The underlying forms of /be, bei, bai/, i.e. [be, bei, bai] will be adapted to MC /pei, pei, pai/ respectively, regulated by the MC native phonological grammar. Similarly, the perceived forms /fe, fei, fa/ will be eventually modified to MC /fei, fei, fa/ based on the MC native phonological grammar.

I conclude that, when input types are different, the adaptation processes (and most probably also outputs) will be different (*cf.* Paradise and LaCharité 1997; Peperkamp *et al.* 2008; Boersma and Hamann 2009 and among others).

**On the emergence of the Romanian verbal supine.**

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**Aim of the paper**

The aim of this paper is to bring into discussion new diachronic data which shed light on the controversial emergence of the Romanian verbal supine (a non-finite verb form unique in Romance, which has the same morphology as the past participle, but is always preceded by a preposition – *de* ‘of’ in most of the cases).

Our conclusions are based on the study of a large corpus of old Romanian texts.

**The current state of research**

The Romanian supine has a controversial history: some researchers consider that this form is directly inherited from Latin (Bourciez 1956, Diaconescu 1971, Lombard 1974), while others believe that it independently emerged in Romanian (Caragiu-Marioțeanu 1962, Brâncuș 2007, Vasiliu, Ionescu-Ruxăndoiu 1986), out of the past participle, as a consequence of the loss of the verbal value of the infinitive.

**(Old) Romanian data. A possible account**

The generally accepted idea is that the Romanian supine diachronically underwent the following stages:

- (1) **(a) nominal supine** (a noun + a determiner and, eventually, a genitive) → **(b) nominal-verbal supine** (a categorially ambiguous element, nominal or verbal, without a determiner) → **(c) verbal supine** (a fully verbal form, which can take a direct object) (Pană Dindelegan 2011).

- (2) a. **scrisul** (scrisorilor)  
 write.DEF letters.DEF.GEN  
 'the writing (of letters)'
- b. **pix de scris**  
 pen DE write.SUP  
 'pen to write with'
- c. **pix de scris** scrisori  
 pen DE write.SUP letters.ACC  
 'pen to write letters with'

This path of evolution resembles the one universally followed by the infinitive, including the evolution from purposive (adjunct) to complement, as in (3) (Lightfoot 1979, Haspelmath 1989, Roberts and Roussu 2003, Schulte 2007).

We claim that the verbal supine independently emerged in Romanian as opposed to being inherited from Latin, with the following arguments:

1<sup>st</sup> argument. Our corpus survey confirms the evolution suggested in (1). In the earliest Romanian texts, the nominal supine (the only supine form assumed to have been inherited from Latin) was very frequent. Only two nominal-verbal supine patterns were attested, both introduced by a preposition: the adjunct supine (3a), and the NP-internal supine modifier (3b):

- (3) a. leul gata **spre vânat** (Coresi, 1567)  
 lyon.DEF ready to hunt.SUP
- b. cărți **de iertat** (Letter, 1591)  
 letters DE forgive.SUP

In these contexts, the preposition blocked the presence of a determiner, and this triggered the ambiguity between the nominal and the nominal-verbal value of the supine. The purely verbal supine, with a direct object, is attested at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> c., and was influenced by the progressive loss of the infinitive (Jordan 2009).

2<sup>nd</sup> argument. The two most frequent supine patterns in Latin – motion verb + supine (4a) and adjective + supine (4b) – are not attested in the earliest Romanian texts; what we find instead in these contexts is the infinitive.

- (4) a. *eo venatum*  
 'I'm going hunting'
- b. *res facilis dictu*  
 'an easy to say thing'

It follows that the Romanian verbal supine is not a direct continuation of the Latin verbal supine.

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### A cartographic approach to Locative Inversion.

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In this paper we wish to propose a new analysis for locative inversion that is in line with recent minimalist and cartographic approaches (Chomsky 1995 and Rizzi 2004). The analysis rests on information structure primitives, but argues that nominal inversion with locatives is not related to new information focus.

In the PandP framework, two analyses have been proposed for locative inversion. One analysis (e.g. Hoekstra and Mulder 1990) is based on a generalization with the impersonal construction - (1a) and (1b), giving (2a). The other analysis (e.g. Coopmans 1989) is based on a generalization with Romance postverbal subjects - (1a) and (1c), giving (2b).

- |     |     |                                                                                                    |
|-----|-----|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | (a) | In de tuin speelden kinderen<br>In the garden played children                                      |
|     | (b) | Er speelden kinderen in de tuin<br>There played children in the garden                             |
|     | (c) | Où est allé Jean?<br>Where has gone John?                                                          |
| (2) | (a) | [ <sub>IP</sub> PP <sub>i</sub> ... [ <sub>VP</sub> ... [ <sub>SC</sub> NP t <sub>i</sub> ]]       |
|     | (b) | [ <sub>CP</sub> PP <sub>i</sub> ... [ <sub>IP</sub> pro ... [ <sub>VP</sub> .. NP t <sub>i</sub> ] |

Both have serious disadvantages: in the first analysis, the grammatical subject is not the subject for agreement and case. In the second analysis, the locative is outside IP, while it is not a standard operator. Since then, two things have changed. For analysis (2b), Romance postverbal subjects are now analysed via Remnant Movement (e.g. Kayne and Pollock 2001), (3a). For analysis (2a), Dutch subjects in the impersonal construction need not be in the lowest position for interpretative reasons (e.g. Diesing 1992), (3b).

- |     |     |                                                                                                                                |
|-----|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (3) | (a) | [où est allé] <sub>i</sub> [ <sub>IP</sub> Jean t <sub>i</sub><br>Where has gone John                                          |
|     | (b) | dat [ <sub>IP</sub> er [ <sub>VP</sub> kinderen [ <sub>VP</sub> boekjes gelezen hebben]<br>That there children books read have |

We explore the 'space' offered by cartographic approaches. In particular, we argue that the locative is in Top, which is not an Operator of the classical type, but is not the grammatical subject either; in fact, "in between", C < Topic < T, as in (4). We argue that the subject is in a 'low' position; this favours indefinite subjects, but does not entail object properties; in fact, they are also "in between".

- (4) [<sub>C-layer</sub>·[<sub>Topic</sub> Locative [<sub>I-layer</sub> .. [<sub>VP</sub> Indefinite Subject ... [ ... object ... ]]]]

Our analysis accounts for several facts. The postverbal subject triggers agreement, cf. French (5).

- |     |                                                                                 |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (5) | Dans le jardin *a/ ont joué des enfants<br>In the garden have/ *has played kids |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

With respect to subextraction of *en/ne*, the postverbal subject does not function as an object, cf. French (6).

- |     |                                                                                               |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (6) | * Au coin de la cheminée en dorment trois<br>At the corner of the chimney of-them sleep three |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

With respect to transitive expletive constructions, locative inversion is predicted to be possible, cf. Dutch (7).



- (7) dat op het bankje (\*er) bejaarden kranten lezen  
That on the bench there retired people journals read

The general tenet of our proposal shares properties with the analysis by Bresnan (1994). Nevertheless, the data in (5) – (7) show that the inverted nominal functions as a real subject in syntax.

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### Aspect-dependent surface obligatoriness of patients in deverbal nouns.

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**Research question.** Nouns derived from verbs preserve to a certain extent the argument structure of verbs (Chomsky 1970, Abney 1987, Grimshaw 1990, and many others). Among these nouns, names of events are the most faithful to the original valency – as opposed to names of agents, devices, or results – because they combine with both an actor as well as various internal arguments, as in the classical example:

- (1) the enemy's destruction of the city

On the other hand, the amount of syntactic structure shared by verbs and nouns is a matter of long-standing debate in linguistics. This paper contributes to this debate by arguing that certain event nouns have not only the same valency frames as corresponding verbs but also the same aspectual properties affecting the behavior of their internal arguments (see Borer (1999) or Alexiadou (2001) for a similar conclusion).

**Approach.** My approach is based on the assumption in generative grammar that a sequence of functional categories is superimposed above the lexical entry. Nominals based on verbal roots have a partially common functional sequence that is "closed-off" by a lexical-category morpheme at a certain point (Fu et al. 2001).

**Data.** I focus on one type of event nouns in Czech: nouns ending in *-ní/tí*. These nouns can be combined with the same set of aspectual affixes as verbs, namely with perfectivization prefixes and secondary imperfectivization infixes:

- |     |                  |                     |                           |
|-----|------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| (2) | dělá-ní          | do-dělá-ní          | do-dělá-vá-ní             |
|     | make.IMPF-NOM.SG | PERF-make-NOM.SG    | PERF-make-2IMPF-NOM.SG    |
|     | 'making'         | 'making completely' | 'being making completely' |

Moreover, if *-ní/tí* nouns are transitive and perfective, they have to have an overt patient, again on a par with their verbal counterparts. Imperfective nouns (and verbs) allow their patient to be implicit:

- (3) Karel minule podváděl (spoluhrač-e)/podvedl \*(spoluhrač-e).  
Charles.NOM last-time betrayed.IMPF (teammate-ACC)/betrayed.PERF (teammates-ACC)  
'Last time, Charles was betraying/betrayed (his teammates).'

- (4) Karl-ovo minulé podvádění (spoluhráč-ů)/podvedení ??(spoluhráč-ů) se mu nevyplatilo.  
Charles-POSS last betraying.IMPF (teammates-GEN)/betraying.PERF (teammates-GEN) REFL him not-paid  
'Betraying (his teammates) last time didn't pay off for Charles.'

**Methodology.** I first examine to what extent can this contrast be found with different lexico-semantic types of *-ní/tí* nouns (stemming from Levin's 1993 verb classes) and in different contexts (generic versus episodic). After that, I propose a theoretical explanation for the observed contrasts. Finally, I compare these nouns with other event nouns not derived by *-ní/tí* and I draw the implications for the syntactic structure of the latter on the basis of very limited aspectual properties they have.

**Results.** My research has shown that perfective *-ní/tí* nouns from many different semantic classes display ungrammaticality without an expressed patient, but only in episodic contexts. In generic contexts, an overt patient is optional regardless of aspect:

- (5) Každé podvádění/podvedení bolí.  
Every betraying.IMPF/betraying.PERF hurts.

Crucially, the same holds for verbs again, cf. Rizzi (1991). I suggest that the behavior of eventive *-ní/tí* nouns can be explained if these nouns share with verbs not only the verbal phrase (VP) where thematic roles are assigned, but also the quantification phrase that attaches to a VP in the case of perfective verbs (Arsenijević 2006), and potentially other aspectual phrases.

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#### New horizons of research on Polish consonant clusters.

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The description of Polish consonants and consonant clusters has been taken up in the literature, e.g., by Jassem 2003, Dunaj 1985, Dukiewicz and Sawicka 1995, Wierchowska 1971, 1980, and most extensively Bargielówna 1950. The objective of this project is the formulation of a new and exhaustive description of the consonantal reality of the Polish language and its quantitative consonantal model. The novelty aspect of this project is the introduction of several original parameters of analysis and a study of samples of natural language of unprecedented size.

The object of research is the consonant cluster viewed in terms of its morphology (derivation and inflection), size (number of component phonemes), position in a word (initial, medial, final) and the linear order of the component phonemes. The consonant reality is understood here as the set of all consonantal connections recorded in a cluster, which for Polish can vary in length from two (*st*) to six (*mpstff*). The sequences to be studied (CC, CCC, CCCC etc) were extracted from three types of corpora: 1. a list of lemmas based on a 8K dictionary of "core" Polish, 2. a list of inflectional forms generated on the basis of standard paradigms for Polish nouns, adjectives and verbs, and 3. a list of over 500,000 inflectional forms derived from a collection of newspaper texts. The result is a list of approx. 1,500 Polish consonant clusters accompanied by statistical data. The recorded clusters were grouped into position types on the basis

of their position in the word into initial (*ćwierci* /*ɕfjɛrtɕi*/), medial (*zółtkiem* /*ʒuwtɕkjem*/ and final (*pełtł* /*pewzw*/). For each consonant in a position type (initial, medial, and final) its position within the cluster was then recorded (as 1,2,3 etc) and analyzed to find correlations between consonants and their position in a cluster.

Another area studied is the statistics of morphological boundaries cutting across consonantal clusters, with a view to showing possible differences between these morphonotactic clusters and the lexical ones, i.e. those that do not feature a morphological boundary (cf. Dressler and Dziubalska-Kolaczyk 2006). For example, the clusters *mpstf*, *jstf*, *fstf*, *ɕstf* etc. all include the initial part of the suffix *-stwo* (and its inflectional variants *-stwa*, *-stwu*, *-stwom*, etc), which means that the clusters have a morphological boundary preceding the consonant *s*: *mp|stf*, *j|stf*, *f|stf*, *ɕ|stf*. Thus, those clusters are morphonotactic by default. By this analysis all clusters of Polish will be divided into those which are exclusively lexical, those which are exclusively morphonotactic and those which have either origin. It is predicted that the lexical clusters will be subject to phonological constraints to a much higher degree than the morphonotactic ones (cf. Dziubalska-Kolaczyk 2009, Zydorowicz 2009).

The paper will feature original observations and statistics on the Polish consonant clusters based on recent authentic textual sources. It is hoped that the new methodology and approach will broaden the perspectives of research on phonotactics of Polish as well as other languages.

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### Rethinking head movement.

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Head Movement (HM), in which a head *X* moves to another head position, can account for a range of syntactic phenomena and crosslinguistic variation. For example, (1) is explained if French has V-to-T movement over the adverb, while English does not (cf. Pollock 1989).

- (1) a. Jean mange probablement une pomme  
       John eats probably an apple

- b. \*John eats probably apples

Chomsky (1995) characterises this contrast as one between 'strong' features, checked overtly (French), and 'weak' ones, checked covertly (English). He also argues that HM occurs only after Spell-Out (Chomsky 2000); however, Lechner (2005; cf. Matushansky 2006; Roberts 2010) demonstrates that HM may have semantic effects, and therefore is not a PF operation.

Even accepting this conclusion, though, it is unclear how to motivate HM syntactically. As Abels (2003) notes, if a selecting head and its complement *XP* are in a mutual c-command relationship, the selecting head should not attract *X*, because it is already in a feature checking configuration with the maximal projection that bears the features of that head. In fact, a maximal projection should always be 'closer' to an attractor than its head. Roberts (2010; cf. Hornstein 2009) addresses this issue by proposing that *XP*s only attract *XP*s, while heads only target heads, so that they have different paths of movement. Matushansky (2006) posits that HM results from a head selecting for the syntactic category of the head of its complement; she also specifies a 'Transparency Condition', in which a head is inaccessible to the syntax if another starts to project, so that only when a head and maximal projection are merged will two heads be active simultaneously, allowing for HM. This condition accounts for Travis's (1984; cf. Rizzi 1990) Head Movement

Constraint, which precludes HM bypassing heads. Neither account explains, however, how a probe can identify whether a goal is a head or a maximal projection.

I will argue that not all features of a head are necessarily present in its maximal projection. In essence, some head features may not project; attraction of such features will result in HM. The difference in (1) will thus not depend on feature ‘strength’, but rather result from T checking a verbal feature that is ‘non-projecting’ in French and ‘projecting’ in English. I will also show that this analysis permits violation of the HMC without undermining the restriction of movement to the first in a series of auxiliaries (2), taken as evidence for this constraint.

- (2) a. Could he have eaten the apple?  
b. \*Have he could eaten the apple?

Moreover, obviation of the Head Movement Constraint will allow for a novel account of English particle verbs (3): if it is possible for HM to skip a head within an extended verbal projection it will not be necessary to resort to optional excorporation of the verb out of a combined verb-particle head, as seen in Johnson’s (1990) analysis.

- (3) a. He threw the apple out  
b. He threw out the apple

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### Predicting Swedish tone: the recalcitrant bisyllabic root-morphemes in *-el*.

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Traditional linguistic descriptions assume that Swedish and Norwegian possess two separate word-tones, accent 1 and accent 2, as in Sw. *stégen* ‘the steps’ vs. *stègen* ‘the ladder’ (‘ = stress plus acc. 1, ` = stress plus acc. 2). Other work (e.g., Haugen 1967) equates the melodic contour of accent 1 words to sentence intonation (‘ then = stress), leaving accent 2 — tone, for short — as the only word-level tone-unit of these languages. Whereas indubitably monosyllabic Swedish and Norwegian words never carry tone, polysyllabic words may do so, suggesting that tone might depend on the number of syllables in the word. On the other hand, tonal words tend to be polymorphemic, i.e., tone seems to have a connective function, signaling that a word consists of more than one morpheme, at least two of these containing a vowel. In both languages, most particularly in Swedish, compounds are prone to take tone. Among the non-compound words, one of the major obstacles to ‘full’ predictability is the large class of free bisyllabic root-morphemes ending in a fugitive vowel, usually schwa, followed by *l*, *r*, or *n*. This class exhibits a bewildering assortment of non-tonal and tonal items, e.g., Sw. non-tonal *ségel* ‘sail’, *séger* ‘victory’, *sócken* ‘parish’ vs. tonal *spègel* ‘mirror’, *dòtter* ‘daughter’, *mògen* ‘ripe’. As tone is a characteristic of polysyllables, many scholars treat the non-tonal morphemes in *-el/-er/-en* as monosyllabic at the derivational stage where tone is assigned (/segl/, etc.), and later reinsert the /e/ by means of an epenthesis rule (Haugen 1967, Teleman 1969, Wetterlin 2010, etc.). This proposal leads, though, to paradoxically complementary rules and rule applications: Sw. /spegel/ suffers syncope in environments, where /segl/ remains unaltered, while /segl/ undergoes epenthesis in contexts, where /spegel/ is left unchanged. Additionally, the move implies that tone in the class of morphemes ending in *-el/-er/-en* is randomly distributed. However, as Eliasson (1972)

shows, this is not the case: most Swedish morphemes in *-en* and *-er* and many morphemes in *-el* are actually predictably non-tonal. In this paper, on the basis of a corpus of Swedish data, assembled from ordinary dictionaries, pronunciation dictionaries, and other texts, we analyze tone assignment in the remaining morphemes in *-el* with regard to possible conditioning. We found that, apart from some variability and lexical exceptions, the distribution of tone in these morphemes depends on (a) lexical-semantic and (b) phonotactic factors. Consequently, the recourse to syncope-epenthesis to account for tone distribution in the *-el/-er/-en* class is an artefact of a phonological analysis placing too much weight on the argument from syllable-counting ('since monosyllables lack tone, the non-tonal bisyllables with fugitive vowels must be underlying monosyllables'). Particularly interesting, moreover, is the fact of a lexical-semantic feature co-conditioning a phonological subrule, adding a new twist to discussions of the semantics-phonetics interface (e.g., Vogel and Kenesei 1990; Büring 2007) and explaining the exceedingly rare quasi-minimal morpheme-pairs that exist in Swedish (*áxel* 'shoulder' vs. *àxel* 'axle', etc.). Historically, furthermore, the semantic conditioning in morphemes in *-el* impinges on the notion of a morphologically connective function of tone, as the conditioning turns out to have its roots in opacated Germanic derivational phonology (cf. Wilmanns 1899, 260–270).

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## Nominalizations of Spanish perception verbs: a contrastive study of *visión*, *vista*, *mirada*, *audición*, *oído* and *escucha*.

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The semantic productivity of verbs of perception and the link with their syntactic behaviour has been the topic of many recent investigations (cf. Sweetser 1990, Ibarretxe-Antuñano 1999, Enghels 2007). This rich polysemy is due to different oppositions within the field, corresponding to (1) the five perception modalities and their internal hierarchy: vision > audition > touch > taste/smell (Viberg 1984), (2) voluntary (*look*, *listen*) vs. involuntary perception (*see*, *hear*) and (3) direct (*I see him leave*) vs. indirect perception (*I see that you're right*). It has been shown that these cognitive-semantic distinctions influence the syntactic behaviour of the corresponding verbs, and especially their complementing pattern.

Moreover, it has been frequently stated that nominalizations should be considered as the reclassifications of clauses and thus that there exist a systematic link between the nominalization and its arguments on the one hand and the clauses and their verbal head on the other (Heyvaert 2003). This presentation examines to what extent the discussed oppositions are meaningful and how they are reflected within the field of their derived nominalizations (Gisborne 1993), to our knowledge not previously studied in Spanish.

Based on a large corpus – containing about 1200 examples selected from CREA – we will compare the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the following nominalizations, representing the aforementioned oppositions: *visión* ('vision'), *vista* ('sight'), *mirada* ('look'), *oído* ('hearing'), *audición* ('hearing', 'audition') and *escucha* ('listening(-in)'). More particularly, consistent with the Behavioural Profile Approach (Gries 2010), we aim to present a broad profile of these nominalizations, focusing on the following parameters:

- The number of arguments expressed, which can provide us with interesting information since the expression of noun complements is often optional (Picallo 1999).
- The syntactic form of the noun and of its arguments (affixation, number, determination, modifiers, collocations, etc.) (Grimshaw 1990, Gisborne 1993), with particular attention to the introducing prepositions, frequently indicative of the semantic nature of the arguments and therefore of the nominalization itself (Bosque 2002).



- The polysemy of the nominalizations and its relation to their syntactic form, in order to determine how they compete with each other.

It will be shown that the valence of these nouns can be related to the field of perception verbs, and that they also display semantic and syntactic variation, due to the cognitive-semantic oppositions discussed.

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## New methods for the study of grammatical variation and the Audible Corpus of Northern Basque (NORANTZ).

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This poster will present evidence accumulated by the sound project NORANTZ: *Contact de langues et variation linguistique: création d'un observatoire des nouveaux parlers basques* which has two main aims: (1) to identify some developing internal and contact (i.e. externally) induced linguistic changes in Basque —Eastern varieties (French Basque Country)—, age being the independent variable in elicited and conversational data collected from Basque speakers, and (2) to examine alternative patterns which may be indicative of change in the future.

Language variation can mark stable class differences or stable sex differences in communities, but it can also indicate instability and change. When it marks change, the primary social correlate is age (Chambers 2002), and the change reveals itself prototypically in a pattern whereby some minor variant in the speech of the oldest generation occurs with greater frequency in the middle generation and with still greater frequency in the youngest generation. If the incoming variant truly represents a linguistic change (Labov 1994, Trudgill 1974), as opposed to an ephemeral innovation as for some slang expressions or an age-graded change, it will be marked by increasing frequency down the age scale.

We will consider the applicability of these concepts to cross-dialectal data emerging from the NORANTZ research project\*, in which we focus on three age groups: youth (-30), middle-aged (40-60) and octogenarians (+70) from the three traditional provinces of the French Basque Country (the western part of the French *département des Pyrénées Atlantiques*): Labourd, Lower Navarre and Soule. The majority of the informants, approximately 60, have Basque as their mother tongue and home language, but the older ones were educated only in French and use French in formal (and often informal) situations, in oral and in written communication. The data comes from recorded individual interviews held in Basque, mainly through specific questionnaires. A sample of data is analysed in detail, in order to determine whether or not the linguistic features favouring change can be found. We focus on the way structural differences between the two languages in contact (French, Basque) shape how the latter is spoken nowadays.



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### Optimal alignments of syntactic and information structure configurations: variation in superiority effects.

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I propose to use crosslinguistic variations in superiority effects to argue that these are due to differences in the mapping of Information Structure to syntactic structure in the languages examined. This analysis requires a view of Topic and Focus assignment as part and parcel of the externalization system and argues against the cartographic approach in which allows for syntactic projections of topic and focus features. It therefore provides support for the view expressed in Berwick and Chomsky 2011 among others that the externalization system (PF) is responsible for at least microvariation. It also follows that displacement is constrained by the externalization system and not by the computational system as generally thought.

I examine and compare the superiority effects in English, German, Danish, Russian and Hebrew. Dependencies require proper alignment between syntax and information structure. Whereas English requires alignment of Subject-Topic and Predicate-Focus, Hebrew, for example, only requires that the topic precede the verb and that the focus follow it. Proper alignment is a requirement on dependencies. It follows that Hebrew does not exhibit superiority effects with V-2 word order:

- (1) ma kana mi?  
what bought who
- (2) \*ma mi kana?  
what who bought
- (3) mi kana ma?  
Who bought what

(1) requires a context in which the preverbal wh-phrase is d-linked and therefore qualifies as a topic. Such a context does not improve (2). Optimal alignment is to be found in both (1) and (3): In both the preverbal wh-phrase is aligned with the topic and the post-verbal wh-phrase is aligned with the focus. V-2 is not a requirement on Hebrew word order so in principle (2) should also be licensed. But this word order does not allow for optimal alignment and a superiority effect arises.

German and Danish are largely similar to Hebrew in this respect, but they differ from each other in that German allows scrambling (of topics) in subordinate clauses and Danish does not. It follows that the superiority effect is strong in Danish subordinate clauses but not in German.

Microvariation among these languages in multiple wh-questions thus follows from two parameters: the alignment properties of the particular language and the availability of scrambling processes and their language particular properties. Superficial crosslinguistic differences in the manifestation of superiority effects are due to language-specific encoding of information structure allowing for an explanation of the effect which applies across languages. This approach is particularly appropriate since by tying the effect to information structure it allows for the great variety in empirical findings both within and across languages.

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**Distributivity and Theme/Rheme configurations: Basque minimal correlatives.**

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Among the grammatical means to represent distributive relations, Basque has constructions such as (1) (Etxepare, 2002):

- (1) a. Nork bere ama maite du  
who-erg his/her mother love aux  
"Everyone<sub>i</sub> loves his/her<sub>i</sub> mother"
- b. Athleticeko hamaika jokalariai zelaira atera dira.  
"The eleven players of Athletic de Bilbao came out to the playground"
- Zein bere tokian jarri da.  
which-abs his/her place-loc positioned aux  
"Everyone<sub>i</sub> has taken his/her<sub>i</sub> place"

The constructions in (1) should be compared on the one hand to lexical distributive quantifiers (2a) and on the other, to interrogative clauses (2b):

- (2) a. Bakoitzak bere ama maite du  
Each-erg his/her mother love aux  
"Each one loves his/her mother"
- b. Nork maite du bere ama?  
Who love aux his/her mother  
"Who loves his/her mother?"

In (1a,b), phrases phonologically identical to wh-words (Kuroda's "indeterminate pronouns", 1964) function as key terms in a distributive quantification when they are not uttered with interrogative intonation, and do not occur in the preverbal focal position (cf. 2b). In that case, they are obligatorily followed by a constituent containing a pronoun (either silent or overt), which functions as the share of the distributive structure, and which must necessarily undergo focus displacement, and therefore immediately precedes the verb (see Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina, 2003). From this point of view, they also differ from lexical distributive quantifiers (2a) which do not need a pronoun to support distribution (3a) and do not require the share to be adjacent to the wh-word (3b), nor for that matter, to immediately precede the lexical verb (3c) (the focus slot can be occupied by something else):

- (3) a. Bakoitzak liburu bat irakurri du  
Each-erg book one read aux  
"Each one read one book"
- b. Bakoitzak Joni liburu bat eman dio  
Each-erg John-dat book one given aux  
"Each one gave a book to John"
- c. Bakoitzak liburu bat JONI eman dio  
Each-erg book one Jon-dat given aux  
"Each one gave a book to JON"

This constructional variant of distributive quantification crucially involves grammatical processes that generally accompany the identification of Themes. Concretely, the mapping between the key and the share of a distributive relation requires a local syntactic relation between the *wh*-pronoun and the nominal phrase expressing the share. The latter clearly occupies a derived focus position.

The distributive status of the constructions, the pronominal restriction, as well as the *wh*-status of the antecedent remind us of another construction that independently exists in Basque (Rebuschi, 2003, Rebuschi and Liptak, 2008): correlative constructions. The paper will show that correlative structures can also operate at a subclausal level, their domain being a DP. In this sense the Basque *wh*-constructions in (1a,b) can be described as "minimal correlatives" or correlatives whose antecedent is not a full clause, but a *wh*-word. The derived focal position of the share follows immediately as an instance of the kind of focus movement that accompanies the share of correlative constructions in many languages (Izvorski, 1996).

**Complex motion events in the history of English:  
on the emergence of the construction type *Sir Ascelin clanked into the hall*.**

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The expression of motion events across languages has been a topic of lively debate since Talmy's influential work (1975, 1985, 2000) on the classification of the world's languages into *satellite-framed*, which characteristically encode manner in the main verb and path in a satellite (Eng. *The bottle floated out of the cave*), and *verb-framed*, which characteristically express path in the verb root, and leave the expression of manner to a gerundive type constituent (Spanish *La botella salió de la cueva flotando* 'the bottle moved-out from the cave floating').

Subsequent work on motion events has led to a revision of Talmy's typology (cf. Slobin 2004, Croft et al. 2010), as also to a growing interest in the diachrony of motion event systems (cf. Kopecka 2006, Masini 2006, Iacobini and Masini 2007, etc.) and the effects of the linguistic differences between S-framed languages and V-framed languages on the shape and development of verb lexicons. This latter aspect in particular has been investigated by Slobin (2004, 2006a/b), who has put forward the hypothesis that, since S-framed languages typically have a whole series of manner-of-motion verbs in common use, over time speakers of such languages "will tend to elaborate the domain in terms of semantic specificity. Consequently, learners will construct a more elaborate conceptual space for manner, allowing each new generation to continue the cycle of attention to [it]" (Slobin 2004: 246).

Building on Slobin's hypothesis, in an earlier paper (Author, submitted) I examined developments in the encoding of motion events from Old English to Late Modern English. Though OE already had a large lexicon of manner of motion, I showed that, in accordance with Slobin's predictions regarding the diachrony of manner-of-motion salience, the English domain of manner of motion has constantly been on the increase, both in terms of the addition to it of new lexical items and the emergence of new construction types.

One such construction, namely the so-called *way*-construction, as in *The wounded soldiers limped their way across the field*, has been investigated in some detail by Israel (1996). At SLE45 I will discuss the development of another motion construction, also in frequent use today, where a verb expressing emission of a sound (such as *clank* in the title of this presentation, or *brastle* in (1) below) manifests an extended sense as verb of motion, as discussed, with reference to Contemporary English, by Levin (1993:234 ff), Levin, Song and Atkins (1997) and Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004:540 ff), among others:

(1) 1835 *Blackwood's Mag.* 38 156: A small trout or two **brastled** away to the other side... (OED *brastle* v. 2 'to rush with clattering noise')

Using data from the *MED* (Kurath et al. 1952-2001), the *OED online* and Chadwyck-Healey's databases, I will discuss the emergence in the history of English of the 'sound-emission to motion' construction, as well as its relation to: i) a much earlier construction of the V-framed type (i.e. path verb + gerundive or, in OE, gerundive + path verb), as in (2) below; ii) the *way*-construction itself; and iii) resultative constructions in general, as discussed in Broccias (2007), among others.

(2) Ælfric *Homilies* II, 39.1 293.170: .... *pæt hit brastliende sah to ðam halgan were*  
'... so that it [the tree] fell crackling towards the holy man' (DOE *brastlian* v. 3. 'to make a crashing sound')

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**Perception verbs as attention-getting devices: a typological study.**

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The aim of our paper is to explore the development of deverbal discourse markers out of imperative forms of perception predicates through a process of pragmaticalization (e.g. Eng. *Look! Listen!*, Sp. *Mira! Escuche!*, It. *Guarda! Senti!*, etc.). When these elements are recruited at the level of pragmatics, they no longer act as verbs, but typically function as *attention-getting devices*, i.e., “pragmatic mechanisms to obtain the addressee's attention” (Romero Trillo 1997: 205). ‘Look!’, for instance, undergoes a shift from the physical to the cognitive domain through the conventionalized implicature ‘look! (there is something important to see) > there is something important to note’ (Detges/Waltereit 2011) and is no longer used to call attention to something visually accessible. Moreover, while losing (part of) their lexical meaning, such elements acquire procedural and intersubjective functions (Fagard 2010), as in (1) and (2), in which the verbs do not refer to concrete perception anymore.

- 1) **Look**, you're not to say anything!
- 2) **Senti**, partiamo dalla cosa più semplice!  
‘**Listen**, we start from the easiest thing’

In the literature, several proposals have been made as to how this process of pragmaticalization is to be understood (Sweetser 1993, Waltereit 2002, Fagard 2010, Detges/Waltereit 2011) and as to what range of functions different verbs have developed in a number of languages (Dostie 1998, Pons Bordería 1998), often providing insightful comparative analyses (Romero Trillo 1997, Van Olmen 2010, Fagard 2010). However, this body of data cannot be considered as a complete cross-linguistic account, as it mostly relies on a few well-studied families such as Germanic and Romance. The first objective of our study is thus to systematically compare a wider, typologically balanced range of languages. What is more, little has been written about which sensory perception or which degree of passivity (e.g. ‘look’ vs ‘see’) best fits the pragmatic function of attention-getting. For the European languages, it has been noted that the primacy of visual perception verbs is probably due to the fact that, in contrast to other modalities, vision is the primary sense through which we experience the world and which does not really require a special effort (Sweetser 1992: 38). An exploratory study of Mandarin, Ewe, Polish and Lithuanian suggests that this explanation might be true for the languages of the world in general. It seems that, typologically, visual perception is more exploited for attention-getting purpose. Ewe in (3) and Mandarin in (4) can serve as examples here.

- 3) **kɔɔda** ɔo to nyuie  
‘**Look**, listen carefully’
- 4) **Nǐ kán**, David, zhè gè kě néng zū yào chóng xǐn tiǎo zhěng  
‘**You look**, David, perhaps this needs to be readjusted’

However, there are differences between cultures with respect to sensory perceptions. In Aboriginal Australia (Evans/Wilkins 2000), for one, eye contact and gaze patterns are considered offensive. In such languages, one might expect verbs of hearing rather than those of seeing to be recruited for pragmatic purposes. This seems to be the case for Kirundi (Van Olmen 2011). In the same vein, one might wonder whether the European reluctance to pragmaticalize olfactory and gustatory modalities – because they require more effort to be activated and are “less consciously and readily focused” (Sweetser 1993: 38) – holds for all languages. In sum, our typological research seeks to establish i) what is typologically widespread and what is exotic; ii) if – and to what extent – geographical and cultural factors can influence the pragmaticalization of perception verbs, or if, by contrast, iii) presumably universal patterns of development do hold and can be explained by means of a implicational hierarchy that acknowledges the distribution of sense modalities.

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### Language intrinsic tempo, word length, and speech rhythm.

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The question whether languages differ in their intrinsic tempo is attracting great interest. Are language inherent tempo differences a mere impression? Or is there really something in the language structure itself that makes some languages sound faster? And if so: How to measure this “basic” or “intrinsic” tempo of languages abstracting from the enormous inter-individual and situation dependent variation in speech rate, and from its variation depending on age, gender, education, etc. In [1] we applied the simple metric “number of syllables per intonation unit” in order to analyze and compare languages with respect to their intrinsic tempo, a metric that does without any measuring of durations. The results of our empirical study using a controlled set of parallel texts in 51 languages: The higher the number of syllables per intonation unit, the smaller the syllables and the higher the tempo – similar to music where in “phrases containing many notes, the notes are usually very fast” [2]. Furthermore, significant correlations were found between our metric “syllables per intonation unit” and metrics proposed by [3,4] for differentiating between languages labeled as stress-timed vs. syllable-timed. Languages traditionally classified as stress-timed tend to have a lower intrinsic tempo than languages classified as syllable-timed or mora-timed.

In the present paper we focus on possible interrelationships between language intrinsic tempo, rhythm and word length. Recently Arvaniti [5] challenges durational measurements for a differentiation of speech rhythm and argues that one important difference between languages called stress-timed or syllable timed might be that inter-stress intervals in terms of number of syllables are longer in syllable-timed languages than in stress-timed languages. We think that word length is an important factor that might influence the spacing of prominences. For instance: Monosyllabic content words are usually stressed [e.g. 6]. Thus, languages with a high proportion of monosyllabic content words should tend to shorter inter-stress intervals in terms of number of syllables. To prove this hypothesis we analyzed our sample of parallel texts with regard to the number of monosyllables and related the data to speech rhythm classifications offered in the literature.

The results: Languages traditionally classified as stress-timed (e.g. German, English, Dutch) have the highest proportion of monosyllables in our sample. Moreover, there shows a clear relationship between intrinsic tempo (number of syllables per intonation unit), syllable complexity, word length, and traditional speech rhythm assignments: Languages with a low number of monosyllables and rather long words (e.g. Indonesian) are classified as syllable timed. And languages usually classified as mora-timed, such as Japanese, Telugu and Hawaiian, exhibit the highest number of syllables per intonation unit.

The number of syllables per intonation unit or the language intrinsic tempo seems to be an important variable underlying the classification of languages as “stress-, syllable-, and mora-timed”. These findings will be discussed, more generally, within the framework of systemic typology.



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## Detachments and circular cohesion: what status in language/discourse typologies?

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The asymmetry of treatment of Initial Detachment (ID) and Final Detachment (FD) is a permanent feature of Information Structuring (IS) studies. Syntacticians have considered the «left periphery» as the sole interesting domain within the internal hierarchy of the utterance, discourse theoreticians have dedicated a number of reflections and analyses to IDs as contributing to our knowledge of discourse reference (Gundel and al. 2010) and of clause combining / linking (Laury (ed.) 2008 ; Bril (ed.) 2010). FD, found exclusively in spoken language, has been labelled as a minor phenomenon, described in the frame of conversation analysis as a repair mechanism (Geluykens 1987).

In this talk, we attempt to evaluate with a functional-typological method the role of FD as associated with ID in constructing in monological and dialogical texts an iconical figure of cohesion, not only « mechanically » but for diverse purposes (arguing, reminding, disambiguating...) : how effective is the combination of the two basic binary strategies (Theme-Rheme and Rheme-Mneme) for insuring the cohesion and thereby the coherence of an utterance or a text ? For example:

[From a corpus of South-Western French – Didn't you tell me a story of stepladder?]

– OUI ! Alors il est tombé / un jour il a voulu monter sur un escabeau (Rh) / et pis il avait pas vu que l'escabeau (ID) il avait pas la corde ! Tu sais / on met une ficelle ( – Ah !) pour pas que ça s'ouvre / l'escabeau (FD) !

«YES! You see he fell, one day he wanted to climb on a stepladder (Rh), and then he had not seen that the stepladder (ID) it did not have the rope ! You know they put a string ( – Oh!) for that it doesn't open, the stepladder (FD)!»

Furthermore, we shall argue that the comparison of this *circular cohesion* and its variants in different types of discourse and situations – narratives, bilingual exchanges, grammaticization of a previously oral language – leads up to a subsequent essential question : if we admit that discourse typology should be a preliminary concern of authentic typological descriptions (Miller and Weinert 2009, Fernandez-Vest 2011), is it still possible to draw a parallel, if not a total correlation, between the systemic divergences of languages regarding their flexibility / rigidity of word order and the respective frequency of their use of Detachment constructions ? In other words, does an explanation in terms of differently distributed structural rigidities (syntactic vs. pragmatic — see Van Valin 2005, Erteschik-Shir 2007) still hold if we take into account the association of the two Detachments in utterances and, beyond, in discourse ? On the basis of diverse text excerpts, taken from French, Finnish and Northern Sami corpora of everyday conversations, narratives and political debates, we will show the limits of such structural distributions.

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**Comprehension of German identical constituent compounds (ICCs).  
An experimental study with 6- to 10-year-olds.**

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Word formations such as *salad-salad* in (1) or *Mann-Mann* ('man-man') in (2) have been described as nonce-formations occasionally produced to serve a meta-communicative function. Hohenhaus (2005) calls them identical constituent compounds (ICCs).

- (1) I'll make the tuna salad, and you make the salad-salad. (Ghomeshi et al. 2004)
- (2) Ger. *Mann-Mann* 'a very masculine man' (Hohenhaus 1996)

According to Hohenhaus (2005: 367), nominal ICCs regularly prompt a "prototype-type interpretation": 'an XX is a proper/real X'. While this general meaning description is widely accepted, it has been pointed out more recently that "in terms of interpretation, [ICCs] are heavily context-dependent" (Huang 2009: 137). For example, a *drink-drink* can be a "proper" drink in the sense of a non-alcoholic or in the sense of an alcoholic drink, depending on the alternatives presented in the context (cf. Whitton 2006).

However, even if knowledge about the contextual embedding of an ICC clearly is relevant, it is not the only resource discourse participants can draw on when interpreting such expressions. Rather, one can assume that the interpretation potential of ICCs is limited, in the first place, by knowledge about the conceptual meanings of the constituents and about potential meaning relations of compounds in general (cf. Meyer 1993, Klos 2011).

Against this background, the goal of the paper is to closer investigate the *meaning potentiality* of ICCs. We will present the results of an experimental study on the context-free comprehension of German novel ICCs. The study was carried out with young school children and an adult control group. The acquisitional approach was chosen for two reasons: First, it was assumed that children cannot rely on pragmatic experience and knowledge about usage patterns to the same extent as adults. Therefore, their interpretations should be guided primarily by linguistic knowledge about the pattern as such. Second, it seemed to be promising to look at developmental aspects, as one can assume a change in preferences of meaning relations with increasing cognitive abilities and pragmatic competence.

194 children aged 6-11 participated in the experiment. Their task was to paraphrase the meaning of five ICCs presented out of context. The data were analyzed according to the following questions:

- Which types of meaning relations do young school children assign to German novel ICCs?
- Are there certain preferences concerning possible meanings of ICCs?
- Does the set of meaning relations assigned to ICCs differ from the one assigned to compounds with non-identical constituents (cf. Mellenius 1997)?
- How does the context-free interpretation of ICCs develop with age?

As a preliminary result, the study shows that children allow for relatively few different meaning relations. Across age groups, the meaning relations provided most frequently are the "place"- and the "double"-relation (cf. *Steinstein* 'stone-stone': (i) 'a stone located on a stone'; (ii) 'two stones'). While the prototype-type interpretation does occur in context-free comprehension, too, especially older children prefer other readings.

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### Glocalising the “age of apology” in the genre of European speculative speeches.

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The last decade has seen the global emergence of admissions of past wrongdoing. Such a global normativity carries a potential for more inclusive narratives about ‘what we are’ and differs from those communal identities which draw on glorious and heroic ‘myths’ as in, e.g., traditional nationalist (hi)stories. Authors have thus turned to the study of “politics of apology” (Cunningham 1999) and have described this development in terms of the rise of a “tragic narrative” (Alexander 2002:26-43).

However, this globalised discourse on the past is localised in specific political projects and their legitimization of communal identities. In the European Union, such a discourse on admitting past wrongdoing is particularly visible in the genre of so-called ‘speculative speeches’ which are inherently epideictic as they link both narratives of the past and visions of the future in order to articulate the values and narrative of the community (Wodak and Weiss 2004). In times of political turbulence and change, e.g. in the context of debating a constitutional treaty and the enlargement in the early 2000’s, ‘speculative speeches’ provide a social space, i.e. genre, through which such ‘thick narratives’ about Europe can be articulated.

We thus ask,

- firstly, what constitutes the EUropean narrative’s plot and main characters?
- secondly, how is this story-line - in the genre of EUropean speculative speeches - influenced by the localisation of a global discourse on admitting past wrongdoing?

Given the discursive construction of communal identities, we analyse a corpus of 62 ‘speculative speeches’, i.e. frontstage performances, by leading politicians in the European Union, first and foremost members of the European Commission, between 2001 and 2007. By looking at the genre on a micro-level, i.e. by analysing particular speeches in their particular societal context, we investigate the discursive construction of EUrope’s past, present and future in an “age of apology” (Gibney et al. 2008). With regards to methods, we, firstly, utilise corpus-linguistic (CL) tools in order to automatically downsize our corpus and identify a manageable number of speeches which contain a high number of concepts collocating with ‘Europe’. These speeches are, secondly, qualitatively analysed by drawing on various analytical concepts put forward by the discourse-historical approach in critical discourse analysis, as well as elements of Reinhart Koselleck’s (2004) conceptual history, e.g. the idea of semantic fields.

Our analysis illustrates that, firstly, a “new Europe” based on admitting failure is indeed narrated by, e.g., Romano Prodi and José Manuel Barroso. However, secondly, we show that such a self-critical narration of a “bitter past” (Eder 2006:267f) through the genre of speculative speeches can be transformed into a self-righteous attitude towards Europe’s ‘others’ exactly because of admissions of past wrongdoing. On this basis we demonstrate that the characteristics of this emerging story depend heavily on how the localisation of a global apologetic discourse in the particular EUropean political context can only function by remaining ‘strategically vague’ on certain core themes such as the nomination of relevant actors and events.

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## Grammatical relations in Hinuq.

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Nakh-Daghestanian languages are usually described as being (morphologically) ergative. Agents in transitive clauses are marked with the ergative case whereas subjects of intransitive clauses and objects of transitive clauses get the absolutive. In addition, in many Nakh-Daghestanian languages verbal affixes agree in gender and number with the absolutive-marked argument of the clause (i.e. S or P). However, a closer look at the grammatical roles reveals many instance of neutral or accusative alignment. For example, a number of Nakh-Daghestanian languages do not distinguish absolutive and ergative for some or all SAP pronouns.

In my talk, I will take a closer look at grammatical relations in Hinuq. Hinuq is the smallest of the Tsezic languages (Nakh-Daghestanian, Russia) spoken in the Caucasian mountains. I will analyze coding properties (case marking and agreement) as well as the relevant behavioral properties (relativization, reflexivization and reciprocalization, control constructions, equi deletion in clause coordination, and the availability of valency changing operations), and conditioning factors (lexical predicate class and aspect). For the analysis, I will follow the approach by Bickel (2010) who defines grammatical relations as "equivalence sets of arguments treated the same way by some construction". The analysis is based on field work data gathered during the last five years. While exploring the major grammatical roles of Hinuq I will also briefly discuss non-canonical subjects (i.e. grammatical roles that express the most prominent argument in a clause but are not canonical agents) of the language and their relation to canonical agents in transitive clauses.

By making use of the typological perspective developed in Bickel (2010), I will show that Hinuq belongs to the 'role-dominated' languages. In these languages the marking of arguments is semantically motivated (cf. Foley and van Valin, 1984: 123, Kibrik 1997). Hinuq imposes only little restrictions on the applicability of syntactic constructions such as relativization, control or equi deletion in coordination. In principle, this confirms what is already known about grammatical roles in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Comrie (2004) for Hinuq's closest relative Tsez, Ganenkov et al. (2007) for Agul and Molochieva and Witzlack-Makarevich (2008) for Chechen).

However, reflexive and reciprocal constructions in Hinuq represent a challenge for typology since in these constructions it is possible for the less prominent argument (e.g. the stimulus) to control the more prominent argument (e.g. the experiencer). This unexpected behavior of reflexive and reciprocals seems to have been attested until now only for some languages of the Caucasus. As I will show in this talk, for Hinuq, it is one of the most important means for identifying grammatical roles.

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### Constructions, pragmatics, and modality.

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It is a commonplace assumption that the meanings of certain German deverbal adjectives in *-bar* 'able' and their cognates in other languages are at least partially idiosyncratic, in that they are not wholly predictable from the meaning of the verb and the suffix (cf. Riehemann 1998; Booij 2007). This paper argues that the semantics of these adjectives are, in fact, wholly regular, and that the putatively "idiosyncratic" meanings are predictable from standard pragmatic principles, on the simple assumption that the meaning of *-bar* is modal.

In his discussion of morphological templates and semantic idiosyncrasy, Booij (2007) takes the uncontroversial view that complex words, whose meaning is non-compositional, must be listed in the lexicon, along with some means of recovering the idiosyncratic meaning of the lexical items. According to Booij, the meanings of regular German adjectives in *-bar*, derived from transitive verbs, are compositional, following the template 'can be V-ed' (Booij 2007: 62). However, there are certain such adjectives which, he argues (following Riehemann 1998), are irregular and whose meanings are not predictable from their parts.

- (1) a. *essbar* does not mean 'can be eaten' but 'may be safely eaten'
- b. *zahlbar* does not mean 'can be paid' but 'must be paid'
- c. *haltbar* does not mean 'can be kept' but 'will keep for a long time'

Riehemann (1998) proposes that properties of words be expressed by inheritance trees, with each node inheriting the properties of its parents, and any unique properties stipulated on it.

This paper shows that, in the examples in (1), these mechanisms are unnecessary, as we can derive the semantics of these adjectives from the interaction of the template "[+modal] be V-ed" with standard pragmatic principles.

For *essbar*, it is sufficient to point out that, in principle, everything is literally edible! Therefore, if *-bar* simply created an expression with the epistemic meaning 'can be eaten,' it would violate Grice's (1975) maxim of Manner, as well as more recent formulations derived from it, e.g., Ackerman and Goldberg's (1996).

*Non-Redundancy Constraint* that forbids morphological operations from expressing redundant information. In fact, the gloss 'safely edible' is redundant, as 'edible' conveys the full meaning of *essbar*. This can be seen from the fact that it would be absurd to interpret an utterance of 'this is edible' or 'this can be eaten' literally, viz., as meaning that something can be eaten (safely or otherwise), rather than as an assurance that there will be no dire consequences if that thing is eaten.

As for *zahlbar*, it is hard to see what epistemic 'can be paid' means, without the deontic modality.

Regarding *haltbar*, it is plausible that its meaning follows from the fact that anything can be literally kept in one's possession indefinitely (including rotting food), so that *haltbar* conversationally implicates that a food item (which would tend to perish) will maintain its edibility and physical integrity longer than a typical food item.

Whereas previous accounts require the postulation of complex mechanisms to derive the supposedly idiosyncratic meaning of the lexical items, this semantic/pragmatic approach greatly simplifies the analysis by assuming that adjectives in *-bar* are semantically regular and compositional.

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### On the correlation between *-age* and *-ment* and semantic distinctions in French nominalizations.

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1. Scope Since (Dubois 1962) at least, the semantic import of exponents *-age* and *-ment* in French nominalization has been a long-standing issue, which has often been cast in terms of rivalry between forms. On this view, the question amounts to determine which conditions govern the selection of *-age* instead of *-ment* and vice versa. In general, only two interpretations are taken into account, the eventive vs. non-eventive one. Even though many previous accounts have been criticised because they focus on one type of condition only (agentivity, self-realisation, etc.) (Kelling 2001; Martin 2007; Jezek 2008), their insights must be kept and integrated into more elaborated accounts. The scope of the talk is precisely to make proposals for this purpose, which are based on investigating Ns ending in *-age* and *-ment* derived from the same base-verb. Although suffix *-ion* alternates with *-age* or *-ment* in a few cases e.g. *isolat-ion* / *isole-ment*, *isol-age* 'isolation' ← *isolate* 'to isolate', it will be argued that Ns suffixed in *-ion* do not compete with Ns-*age* and Ns-*ment*, and consequently must be left aside.

2. The approach The approach adopted in the presentation has four main features.

2.1. It investigates a set of 85 pairs of duplicates beginning with letter E, each member of which shares the same verbal lexeme e.g. *ÉCRASAGE* / *ÉCRASEMENT* ← *ÉCRASER* 'to crush'. Limiting the investigation to pairs of duplicates helps us to see better how conditions come into play.

2.2. Four meanings instead of just two have been taken into account, which are basic inasmuch as they crucially depend upon the (lexical, aspectual, etc.) properties of the construction that the base-V is the head of (for result meaning cf. Bisetto and Melloni 2007). (Meanings obtained through metonymy e.g. *GOUVERNEMENT* 'people who govern' have been discarded.) These meanings are the Eventive meaning e.g. *éclatement (du pneu)* 'tyre's bursting', the State meaning e.g. *effilement (des ailes)* 'streamlined shape of wings', the Result (or Product) meaning e.g. *construction* 'construction' and the Means meaning e.g. *encrassement* 'clogging up'.

2.3. The investigation is based on attested examples collected from corpora (mainly Frantext), lexicographic and Web ressources. The duplicates have been selected from the TLF's nomenclature, where 2,280 nouns end in *-age* and 1,830 in *-ment*.

2.4. Constructions are crucial: while *ELEVER<sub>1</sub>* 'to breed (animals)' and *ELEVER<sub>2</sub>* 'to raise' constitute two distinct verbal lexemes (and constructions), they are correlated to the same morphological V, since their inflected forms are identical. The phonological properties of derived Ns depend on the properties of the morphological V, whereas their semantics and combinatorics depend on the verbal lexeme, that is the V properly heading the construction e.g. *ÉLEVAGE* vs. *ÉLEVEMENT* (Koenig 1999; Fradin and Kerleroux 2003).

### 3. Results and perspective

3.1. The fact that 20% of N-*age* and N-*ment* duplicates have the same meaning runs afoul the Blocking Principle (Aronoff 1976 : 43). An explanation of this situation will be proposed.

3.2. The 'Event' interpretation is the dominant one: 28% of matched duplicates, 67% of all duplicates, whereas only 10,58% of duplicates have a Means interpretation and 7,64% a Stative one.

3.3. There is no derived stative N-*age* without a corresponding N-*ment* with the same meaning.

3.4. These results will be tested against the 38 duplicates beginning with P. Two hypotheses about the semantics of N-*age* and N-*ment* will be formulated, the validity of which remains to be assessed on a larger sample of data.

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### Grammaticalized meaning and its consequences for syntax: an empirical approach.

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Research question (I): Why is the same function coded by different constructions in the same language? E.g. the genitive function in Mina (Chadic) has the form N[head] *tá* N[modifier] in some clauses (1-2) but has the form N[head] N[modifier], i.e. without the genitive marker *ta*, in other clauses (3):

- (1) *dúwàŋ tá mǎdìngwàrzé ábà màlá*  
back GEN donkey ASSC wound  
'The back of the donkey has a wound.'
- (2) *ká nzlà dúwàŋ tá mǎdìngwàrzé zà*  
INF cure back GEN donkey EE (end-of-event)  
'He cured the back of the donkey.'
- (3) *kà dí dúwàn mǎdìngwàrzé*  
INF put back donkey  
'He put it on the back of the donkey.' (Frajzyngier et al. 2005)

Research question (II): Why can a given construction be used with some lexical items but not with others?

- (4a) My mother cooked him an omelet. (COCA)

But:

- (4b) \*My mother burned/ruined him an omelet.

The latter construction is perfectly good in French:

- (5) *Ma mère lui a brûlé une omelette* (similar constructions are grammatical in many IE languages)

One would look in vain for the answers to questions I and II in the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995), in usage-based models (Barlow and Kemmer (eds.) 2000), in other functionalist approaches including Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006). Answering these questions requires a different approach to the connection between function and form.

The method of the investigation involves non-aprioristic analysis of forms and functions in individual languages and cross-linguistic comparison of forms and functions in related and unrelated languages.

The present study demonstrates that there exists a primary unit of language, a grammaticalized meaning herein called 'predication', for lack of better term, which may be realized by one or more constructions. The study demonstrates that the choice of the construction by which a given predication is realized depends on the interaction with other predications composing the utterance and on the lexical items chosen.

One of the findings of the present study is that a single lexical item cannot be a part of two different predications within the same sentence. Thus, the reason why the genitive particle is disallowed in (3) above is that it would render the noun *dúwàn* 'back' a part of two different predications, the locative predication '(on the) back' and

the genitive predication 'back (of the) donkey'. Without the genitive particle, *dúwàn màdirngwàrzé* 'back donkey' is construed as a single noun with respect to the locative predication.

Example (4a) represents a predication coding benefit for one of the arguments. Such a predication cannot be used with an inherently detrimental verb, such as 'ruin', hence the ungrammaticality of (4b). On the other hand, (5) is grammatical in French, and its equivalents are grammatical in many IE languages, because the construction is not benefactive but instead codes the indirect object, which may be affected positively or negatively by an event.

The main result of this study is that it allows us to explain why various constructions have the form they have, something that other approaches have been unable to do so far.

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## The reflexive diathesis alternation *vis-à-vis* the middle construction in English.

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This presentation provides a fine-grained analysis of reflexive constructions in present-day English (e.g. *A solution to the problem presented itself yesterday*). Its main purpose is to demonstrate, on the one hand, what lexical-syntactic and semantic conditions are necessary for the production of acceptable sentences as opposed to ungrammatical ones, as in *\*The ice-cream melted itself*, and to compare them, on the other hand, with middle constructions, e.g. *The new Holden Berlina handles like a junior sports sedan* (Davidse and Heyvaert 2007). The latter appear similar and interchangeable (Kazenin 2001) in many, but not all respects (e.g. *This meat cuts itself/well*, *A solution to the problem presented itself/\*well*, cf. Levin 1993). When an overlap is possible we are faced with a specific type of construction, which will be called "middle-reflexive".

In addition, another construction with features of both the reflexive and the middle construction (e.g. *Our book buys itself fast*) will be examined since it does not seem to have been studied yet. While *\*Our book buys* is incorrect and *#our book buys itself/fast* is in itself somewhat odd, the co-occurrence of a reflexive pronoun and a manner adverb seems to produce an acceptable expression (see example above). However, this is not the case with all verb classes since the insertion of an adverb does not necessarily lead to fully acceptable examples, e.g. *\*The ice-cream just melted itself easily*. This difference can be explained in terms of the semantic role played by the agent. Because the verb *buy* is divalent it cannot appear in a strictly reflexive construction in which the agent and the patient coincide. Instead, middle-reflexive constructions (*Our book buys itself/fast*) and middle-reflexive-evaluative ones (*Our book buys itself fast*) add the idea of an implicit agent and are therefore allowed. This possibility remains unavailable for verbs indicating non-intentional processes (e.g. *melt*).

Prompted by the need for a more accurate picture of lexical-constructional fusion mechanisms and in line with Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal's (2008, 2011) concept of "lexical-constructional subsumption", the present study describes the licensing and blocking factors involved in syntactic alternations within the families of reflexive and middle constructions. Whether we can use one or another constructional variant depends on internal meaning constraints. The middle construction is used when there is 'possibility-based-on-capacity', whereas the reflexive construction expresses 'capacity-based-on-possibility' or 'coming-into-existence/disappearing'. The middle-reflexive and evaluative variants add to the possibility element the idea of lack of effort and provide and assessment of the processual aspects of the implicit action, respectively. The final goal is to start bridging the gap between "lumper" and "splitter" approaches (cf. González- García, 2008). The former are large-scale analyses of meaning construction phenomena *à la* Goldberg (2006), according to which basic verbal structures can undergo lexical-syntactical coercion to produce higher-level 'constrained' patterns and uses, whereas the latter supply detailed analysis of verbal projection into syntax based on an inventory of linking rules (Boas 2008a, 2008b).

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### Valency changes between inflection and derivation.

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The syntax of valency changes has been widely investigated over the past years. The morphology of valency changes instead is still underinvestigated. Little attention has been paid, for instance, to their status in relation to lexeme formation. This issue is crucial when exploring the lexical (and lexicographical) status of verbs undergoing processes of valency changes. More specifically, it is unclear how verbal forms resulting from valency changes are to be represented in our lexical inventory, whether within the same lexical entry, or rather in a separate entry. Clearly, the latter solution implicitly or explicitly has to refer to a process of lexeme formation, i.e., of derivation from a basic lexical entry.

In this paper we intend to explore this issue, relying on the empirical evidence offered by a number of European languages. Two main problems are crucially involved: a) the domain of valency changes, i.e., whether they should be attributed to morphology or rather to syntax, b) if they are to be regarded as part of morphology, whether they fall within inflection or derivation.

In this light, Haspelmath (2002: 218) distinguishes between function-change operations like voice and event-change operations like causative formation, arguing that the former are "primarily inflectional" whereas the latter are "primary derivational". A couple of identificational criteria can be suggested: (i) the respective order of application of the single operations in as much as in general derivational operations precede (or are internal with regard to) inflectional operations and (ii) the degree of lexical restrictions undergone by the single operations provided they are related to the semantic properties of the lexical bases. Accordingly, operations severely restricted by the semantic properties of the base lexemes are likely to be assigned to derivation, because inflectional operations are usually much more general.

In the domain of derivational morphology valency changes are likely to be treated as conversions, if the latter is understood in a broad sense as a process of lexeme formation involving any change in the word properties of the lexical base in the absence of an overt marker, as suggested by Rainer (1993: 78). In this respect, one necessary property is the clear directionality in the process of lexeme formation (cf. Siller-Runggaldier 2004: 549 for Italian). Two further criteria may be suggested in order to assess the derivational status of a valency changing operation; (i) the occurrence of other derivational operations fulfilling the same function, (ii) the presence of changes in the properties of the word similar to what is normally observed in clear conversion processes.

In this paper, the above criteria are applied to a number of case-studies drawn from Italian and other European languages, in relation to the status of the intransitive form in transitive/intransitive alternations where no change in verb morphology occurs (e.g., It. *Gianni ha aperto la porta* 'Gianni has opened the door' / *Gianni ha aperto alle nove* 'Gianni has opened at nine'). Evidence will be provided for regarding at least some instantiations of such valency changes as possible examples of conversions.

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### **Metaphoric complexes revisited: from metaphonymy and metaphoric amalgams to metaphoric chains and back.**

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This presentation provides an overall picture of the various ways in which metaphor may interact with other metaphors and/or metonymy. Goossens (1990) was the first to propose different ways of interaction between metaphor and metonymy (*metaphonymy*). This work was later refined by Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002), which provides a more exhaustive taxonomy of metaphor-metonymy combinations. More recently, Ruiz de Mendoza (2008) and Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2011) have postulated the existence of metaphoric amalgams, which combine conceptual material from two or more metaphors. In this research context, we propose the existence of *metaphoric chains*, in which the target domain of a first metaphoric mapping constitutes the source of a subsequent one (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Galera, 2011). This finding arises from corpus data on phrasal verbs gathered from the BNC. Consider the sentence *His Stanford group soon broke away from the mainstream Fascist movement* (BNC\_CBB\_710). The first metaphoric process is triggered by the verb 'break', which places an object fragmented into pieces in the initial source domain (cf. *The landmass of Australia broke away from Antarctica*). This source domain maps onto a target domain where there is physical separation of some people from a group. This target becomes the source for one further mapping in which institutional separation is seen in terms of physical separation.

Our analysis of phrasal verbs has also revealed the existence of more complex cases of metaphor-metonymy interaction: metaphonymy built up within metaphoric chains and metaphonymy in combination with metaphoric amalgams. An example of the first underlies the interpretation of the sentence *Someone got fed up with her behavior and called the cops*. Two basic underlying metaphors, namely FULL IS UP in combination with the image-schema THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER, allow us to map 'to be fed up' onto 'to be filled to the top with food'. This target domain is then metonymically expanded onto a more complex situation in which a person cannot have more food or will get sick, which is in turn metaphorically mapped onto a situation in which a person cannot stand someone else's behavior. As regards the combination of metaphonymy with metaphoric amalgams, consider the sentence *He burst into tears*. The two metaphors that interact in the amalgam are EMOTIONAL DAMAGE IS PHYSICAL DAMAGE and EMOTIONAL DAMAGE IS THE DESTINATION OF MOTION (which is but a specification of the well-know metaphor A CHANGE OF STATE IS A CHANGE OF LOCATION). The process of experiencing emotional damage is thus conceptualized both in terms of suffering physical damage ('bursting') and the end of motion (moving into a given place). The pieces resulting from bursting are mapped onto the symptoms of emotional damage (tears). The EFFECT FOR CAUSE metonymy licenses the mapping of tears (effect) onto emotional damage (cause). In addition, the initial and final states (not having experienced and having experienced emotional damage) are identified with the source and destination of motion respectively. We further discuss other cases of metaphoric chain in combination with metonymy, thus showing that metaphor can be an essential part of complex cognitive modeling processes.

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**Modality of necessity: borrowing of one Russian word in three West Siberian languages.**

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The paper deals with one of the areal features of West Siberian languages which have permanent contacts with Russian language. There are several Russian words that are very “popular” for borrowing in this area.

We study three languages: Ket, Evenk and Selkup. All speakers of these languages are bilingual. So, they usually use the code mixing and code switching in their everyday speech. The contacts of West Siberian languages with Russian began more than 100 years ago. So many Russian words were borrowed. It is interesting to conduct the comparative analysis of contacts of Russian with languages of one area and similar modern history through the examining of the destiny of one word.

I focus on the analysis of Russian predicative word *nado* (‘must, need, have to’). The modern Ket, Evenk and Selkup speaker’s frequency use just this word for destination of necessity.

The structural, semantic and pragmatic aspects of use of this word are considered in the paper. In study I’ll use the structural and sociolinguistic approaches. Firstly I’ll examine differences in use of this word on both morphosyntactic and semantic levels between three languages and between different speakers of one language community. So, I want to know in what cases the Russian *nado* can be considered borrowing and when we deal with the code mixing. In addition, I’ll describe the structural constraints on use of this word in three languages. I’ll also analyze the pragmatic characteristics of bilingual production with this word.

I expect that I’ll find many structural differences of this word use in three languages as these one area’s languages have various morphosyntactic structure. But I think that structural constraints are partly similar as they depend on the property of Russian word. Also, I suppose that I’ll find the different structural criteria for distinction of borrowing and code mixing for three languages and similarity in pragmatic and sociolinguistic situations for each type of structural relations of languages in multiple language production.

I work with the texts in Ket, Evenk and Selkup collected by our scientific team in the expeditions in West Siberia in 2004-2009. This data authentically represents real bilingual speech of our consultants.

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**Pitching it right: a comparative study between  
Swedish and American students’ tonal production in Mandarin.**

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Tone languages such as Mandarin and Thai use differences in pitch and pitch contours to distinguish between monosyllabic words. ‘Pitch-accent’ languages, such as Swedish and Japanese, also utilize pitch differences, albeit in a more restricted way; Swedish for instance distinguishes certain pairs of words such as *anden* ‘the duck’ and *anden* ‘the spirit’ through the use of accent I vs. accent II (Bruce, 1977). By contrast, a language such as English displays neither of these characteristics, and is consequently neither a ‘tone’ nor ‘pitch-accent’ language.

Being a native speaker of a tone language appears to be a distinct advantage in the acquisition of a tonal system of a second or foreign language. Previous studies have shown that learners whose L1 (native language) is a tone language (e.g. Thai, Cantonese) may benefit from their L1 in identifying and producing Mandarin tones, compared with learners whose L1 is non-tonal (e.g. English) (Gandour and Harshman, 1978; Lee et al., 1996; etc). By extension, it is possible that native speakers of pitch accent languages may also have some level of advantage over those whose first language is neither a tonal nor a pitch accent language. This, then, would for instance open up the possibility that Swedes may find it easier to learn a tone language (e.g. Chinese) than speakers of languages without pitch accents (e.g. English). In fact this suggestion is not frequently forwarded by international phoneticians working on tone. While there is admittedly a clear logic behind this line of reasoning, there is as yet no published evidence for it. The current study therefore aims to assess the potential or purported advantage for Swedes in the production of Mandarin tones.



The performance of 35 students enrolled in Chinese courses at Högskolan Dalarna was studied, including 20 beginner-level students who have studied Chinese for less than 6 months, and 15 intermediate-level students who have studied Chinese for 1 to 2 years. Their pronunciation of a standardized set of monosyllabic Chinese words was analyzed, with two specific goals. The first goal was to characterize the errors made by Swedish students, and to assess the levels of difficulty posed by the four lexical tones respectively. The results are reported and analyzed on the basis of accuracy percentages, confusion matrices and error patterns. The second goal was to conduct a preliminary assessment of the influence of Swedish pitch-accents on the acquisition of Chinese lexical tones, through a comparison of the Swedish error patterns with those of American students reported in previous studies (Shen, 1989; Miracle, 1989; etc.). The results reveal a unique error pattern for Swedish students, compared with those reported for American students. Finally these results are discussed from the perspective of a potential advantage of a pitch-accent background, and implications regarding possible utilization strategies for teaching and learning methods are also discussed.

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### El proceso evolutivo de los operadores de refuerzo argumentativo.

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Los estudios de pragmática de los últimos años han centrado su atención en el mecanismo del cambio lingüístico para analizar por qué determinadas unidades léxicas se han convertido en elementos gramaticales adquiriendo distintas funciones. La teoría de la gramaticalización sugiere que, si bien para estudiar la evolución de un determinado proceso en una lengua dada es necesario realizar un estudio interno, existen esquemas evolutivos generales que permiten explicar el tipo de cambio producido.

Desde esta perspectiva, nuestro estudio se centra en la evolución de los operadores de refuerzo argumentativo *realmente, en realidad y en el fondo*, que constituyen formas con orígenes distintos, con procesos de gramaticalización desarrollados con ritmos diversos y con características específicas en su estructura, posibilidades de distribución y de combinación.

El análisis diacrónico de estas unidades lingüísticas nos permitirá explicar dos fenómenos importantes: a) dar cuenta del proceso de cambio por el que sintagmas libres, con una función determinada en la estructura oracional y con un significado composicional, se han convertido en sintagmas fijos, sin ninguna función en el marco de la oración, con un debilitamiento del significado referencial etimológico y con un refuerzo del significado pragmático; y b) determinar cómo surgen estas unidades y cómo evolucionan hasta convertirse en operadores discursivos supone descubrir el modo en el que se configuran los mecanismos para expresar la evidencialidad en su desarrollo histórico.

El trabajo se estructura del siguiente modo: realizaremos, en primer lugar, una caracterización de estos operadores discursivos; analizaremos, a continuación, el origen de estos elementos y los cambios sintácticos, semánticos y pragmáticos que han experimentado a lo largo del proceso evolutivo; finalmente, plantearemos la necesidad de revisar y ampliar el concepto tradicional de gramaticalización para dar cuenta adecuadamente de la evolución de estas unidades.

Nuestro interés se centra en la evolución sintáctica, semántica y pragmática de los operadores, pero también tendremos en cuenta otros factores importantes, como los tipos de textos en los que se documentan los ejemplos y las tradiciones literarias en las que se enmarcan. Para realizar nuestro estudio nos basamos en el Corpus de Referencia Diacrónica del Español (CORDE), editado por la Academia Española, ya que nos permite documentar un amplio número de ejemplos pertenecientes a diferentes obras, representativas de distintos periodos cronológicos, en los textos recogidos en otras bases de datos (ADMYTE) y, sobre todo, en la indagación sobre los propios textos.



**La evolución de los adverbios de foco de exclusión.**

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Una nueva teoría de diccionario histórico, concebido como obra relacional en la que resulta fundamental la aplicación de los avances llevados a cabo en el ámbito de la Lingüística (Pascual y García Pérez, 2007), no puede dejar de lado la Pragmática, especialmente cuando esta, en los últimos años, ha tomado en consideración el cambio lingüístico y ha tratado de explicar por qué determinadas unidades léxicas se convierten en elementos gramaticales y terminan adquiriendo funciones discursivas. La teoría de la gramaticalización, que ha planteado que pueden existir esquemas evolutivos generales que permiten explicar el tipo de cambio producido, es, pues, fundamental a este respecto.

Desde esta perspectiva, y con la intención de integrar este tipo de unidades en el *Nuevo diccionario histórico de la lengua española*, amparado por la Real Academia Española, este trabajo se propone analizar el proceso de creación de un grupo muy concreto de adverbios dentro de los llamados “adverbios de foco” –que se caracterizan, como sabemos, por incidir sobre determinadas expresiones, ya sea a distancia o de forma contigua–. Se trata de los adverbios de foco de exclusión (según la denominación de la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*), que son, al menos, los siguientes: *solo*, *tan solo*, *solamente*, *únicamente*, *exclusivamente*, *no más* y *nada más*. Estas unidades no han aparecido todas al mismo tiempo, a pesar de su cercanía pragmática, ni han existido desde el origen del español, sino que se han ido formando progresivamente, lo que, en muchas ocasiones, como sucede con el resto del léxico, ha provocado procesos interesantes de reajuste.

En primer lugar, se hará una caracterización de estas unidades léxicas; en segundo lugar, se dará cuenta de su origen y de los cambios sintácticos, semánticos y pragmáticos que han experimentado a lo largo de su evolución, poniendo de manifiesto, al mismo tiempo, sus relaciones con otras unidades léxicas; en tercer lugar, nos ocuparemos de señalar qué rasgos han de considerarse relevantes para realizar una definición lexicográfica adecuada de estas unidades con el objetivo de incluirlas en el *NDHE* (*Nuevo diccionario histórico de la lengua española*).

Este estudio partirá del Corpus de Referencia Diacrónica del Español (CORDE), que permite contar con un amplio número de obras, de carácter literario y no literario, de diversos ámbitos y épocas. Las tradiciones discursivas propias de los textos seleccionados han de contribuir a definir mejor los fenómenos de cambio lingüístico y determinar qué pertenece a la evolución de la lengua y qué a las modificaciones de las diferentes tradiciones discursivas.

**Wife Swap: evaluating social behaviour and acting aggressively in British reality television.**

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Over the years television along with society in general has taken a dramatic change. Sociologists and psychologists claim that the reality television phenomenon is responsible for all these significant changes in television formats (Hill, 2002; Jones, 2002 and O’Loughlin, 2004). These different television formats, which span from docusoaps to the most blatant examples of what has dubbed voyeur television (Higgins, 2009), have taken up several prime-time slots in British television. In fact, a wide range of reality television shows have replaced miniseries, sitcoms and movies in those coveted slots. These reality television programmes show the transformation of the private domain into one which can be manipulated and incorporated as an essential element in the theatricalisation of the intimate experiences of anonymous people (Holmes and Jermyn, 2004; Murray and Ouellette, 2004; Huff, 2006).

The present paper is an exercise in discourse analysis and is based on the video-tape recording and transcription of Wife Swap. Given that this TV show is characterised by impoliteness and constant verbal fights, the present study focuses on women’s assertive anger expression in British reality television. In doing so, I use both a quantitative and a qualitative approach to examine in detail the use and effects of differentiated linguistic strategies two different generations of women exploit in episodes of relational aggression. In order to attempt to properly address British female voices in docusoaps, I take an interdisciplinary approach. Whilst my primary basis is within discourse analysis, influence from a range of other disciplines is also evident, including, social and discursive psychology and sociology. This paper embraces the critical social theories of Butler (1990 and 2006) and applies them to an empirical, discourse analysis examination of female voices in order to enact power and authority in episodes of relational aggression (Culpeper, 2011). The situation created is a repository of power and authority that interactants try to keep and challenge, the site of decision-making and rule-making within an organisation such as the family is. In

particular, a primary focus falls on the exploitation of discursive strategies in which mothers and daughters perform their gendered and family role identities in order to enact power.

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### Recycling foreign morphology: exaptation beyond language boundaries.

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In linguistics exaptation is understood as the evolution of certain structure and its co-optation for a new function within one and the same language (cf. Simon 2010:52-53). This restriction implicit in the concept of exaptation is due to the fact that it was originally developed in evolutionary biology and has never been questioned so far. In this paper, I extend the notion of exaptation to cases that go beyond the boundaries of a single language, presenting and discussing cross-linguistic data on the integration of loanwords in which a morphological marker of the source language is re-interpreted and systematically re-used as an integration element in the recipient language.

For example, Arbrësht, the Albanian variety spoken near to Cosenza (Calabria, Southern Italy), uses the infinitive stem of Italian loan verbs to build the Aorist, e.g. *sopravvivir-ti* 'he survived' from the infinitive *sopravvivere* (via replacement of *-ere* with the very productive suffix *-ire*). Also German verbs like *serv-ier-en* 'to serve' from French *servir* display a French infinitive suffix exapted to a derivational marker.

In a recent survey of the morphological means that languages may borrow in order to integrate loan verbs, Wohlgemuth (2009:240) suggests the following "borrowing and grammaticalization path of loan verb markers": INFINITIVE > INFLECTION CLASS MARKER > VERBALIZER > LOAN VERB MARKER. Actually, this path is imperfect in two respects: First, the path does not describe a process of grammaticalization but rather of degrammaticalization, in the sense of 'deinflectionalization', since the affix passes from a more grammatical to less grammatical status (Norde 2009:4). Second, Wohlgemuth refers only to cases in which the loan verb marker is originally an infinitive marker. Instead, as Breu (1991a, 1991b) has shown, not only infinitives function as integration stems. For example, the integration of Greek loans into Arvanitika, a variety of Tosk Albanian spoken in Greece, occurs through the Greek conjunctive aorist stem: Given, for example, the Greek verb *agapo* 'I love' and its conjunctive aorist form *na agapíso*, the stem *agapís-*, which displays the Greek aorist stem formant *-s-*, is used to form Arvanitika *agapís* 'I love' and *agapísa* 'I loved'.

Although cross-linguistically the exaptation of foreign morphs is a well attested phenomenon in the integration of verbs (cf. Wohlgemuth 2009:239), it seems to occur rarely in the integration of nouns. One of the few cases known is found in the European dialects of Romani where originally Greek inflectional markers have been productively re-used as loan noun markers, as in the recent non-Greek loan *president-os-ke* president-LNM-DAT 'for the president' (cf. Matras 2009:173-174).

The paper adds a new dimension to the phenomenon of exaptation by surpassing the one language perspective; at the same time, it contributes to constrain the concept, by showing that 'novelty' is a constitutive criterion, whilst the criterion of junk' is less useful: in the data presented, the exapted morphemes are not junk in the source language; they rather get, in the recipient language, a function different from their original one.

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### Why war is strong and peace is weak: how data-driven methods reveal asymmetry in antonymic pairs.

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It is well known that adjectives (and to a lesser extent, other word classes) may be paired up as antonyms, based on some form of oppositeness in meaning. Many different types of oppositeness have been discussed in the literature (Lyons 1977, Cruse 1986, Jones 2002). However, this talk presents a feature of antonyms that has thus far gone unnoticed: Some pairs of antonyms exhibit asymmetry, with one word the “strong” member and the other the “weak” member. This unexpected finding derives from a study of antonyms focusing primarily on nouns and employing data-driven methods.

This study employs computational techniques to look for empirically grounded differences between supposed pairs of antonyms, using concepts from corpus linguistics. Specifically, the algorithm developed makes use of *semantic preference* information—the tendency of a word to co-occur with words from a particular semantic class (Sinclair 2004)—in the 100-million-word British National Corpus (Aston and Burnard 1998), making use of the lexical database WordNet (Fellbaum 1998). For example, the word *war* tends to co-occur with words such as *wage* and *engage*, as well as words such as *end* and *stop*. Given pairs of antonyms (e.g. *war-peace*), the algorithm examines the words’ semantic preferences and notes similarities and differences.

The similarities are taken as evidence that two words are indeed antonyms, since antonyms have been shown to occur in similar contexts (Justeson and Katz 1992). It is the differences, however, that are of interest here: It turns out that there are certain semantic fields that strongly prefer one member of a pair of antonyms over the other. I call these *contrast-marking concepts*. These concepts not only differentiate antonyms but also align with each other—contrast-marking concepts will tend to *all* prefer the *same* word in a pair. This suggests a stable asymmetry between the words, such that one may be called the *strong* member and the other the *weak* member. For example, in the pairs *war-peace*, *difficulty-ease*, and *day-night*, the strong members are *war*, *difficulty*, and *day*.

Closer investigation suggests a discourse-based explanation for this preference: Strong antonyms exhibit a marked tendency to appear with copulas, existentials, and words such as *make* and *demand*; they appear, therefore, to have greater agency and greater discourse salience. Strong antonyms frequently refer to important or problematic topics, resulting in a very different profile of usage from that of their weak counterparts. For example, the word *war* is more likely to be central to a discussion, and therefore given greater discourse prominence, than the word *peace*. This is not a simple frequency effect; these differences are far more subtle but are nevertheless pervasive.

This asymmetry is incorporated into a new model of antonymy resulting from the larger study. I believe these results are interesting not only from a semantic perspective—for the new light they shed on well-studied relations such as antonymy—but also from a methodological perspective, as they show how data-driven, empirical methods can reveal aspects of lexical semantics of which we were previously unaware.

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### Complementizers in questions in Italo-Romance.

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In current syntactic theory complementizers are considered as heads of a Complementizer Phrase (CP) with the clause as complement. Many works in the Cartographic Approach to the clause structure (a.o Rizzi 1997 and Benincà 2001) have shown that complementizers have a different position in the left periphery of the clause depending on the sentence type and the features of the verb. In this talk I will consider three cases of complementizers in questions in the Italo-Romance domain and show that their different interpretative content correspond to a distinctive syntax (that is a different position and, probably, a different categorial status).

I will consider three Italo-Romance varieties: Paduan, Florentine and central Calabrian. In Paduan, like in other northern Italian dialects, a complementizer-like element appears after the *wh* element in embedded *wh* questions:

- (1) No so cossa *che* go da fare.  
NEG know.1SG what COMP have.1SG to do.INF  
“I do not know what I have to do.”

In Florentine, like in other central and southern dialects, the complementizer *che* can optionally introduce root *yes/no* questions:

- (2) *Che* tu dormi?  
COMP SCL sleep.2SG  
“Are you sleeping?”

In central Calabrian the element *ca*, identical to the declarative complementizer, can introduce root questions (and imperatives as well):

- (3) *Ca* chini u dicia?!  
COMP who OCL say.3SG  
“Who (on earth) says that?!”

While *che* in (1) cannot be dropped, *che* and *ca* in (2) and (3) are optional and appear to encode special interpretative values (rhetorical or surprise emphasis; in particular, Calabrian *ca* introduces Special Questions as defined by Obenauer 2004).

I will use different syntactic tests in order to show that these elements have a different position in the left periphery of the clause and a different syntactic distribution. Calabrian *ca*, for instance, precedes left dislocated elements, while Florentine *che* and Paduan *che* (the last with the *wh* element) have to follow dislocations:

- (4) a. E *ca* chidù libbru, a Mariu, quandu 'ncju torni?! (Calabrian)  
and *ca* that book to Mario when DCL give-back.2SG  
“And when are you going to give back that book to Mario?!”  
b. I' libro, a Mario, *che* tu l'ha' reso? (Florentine)  
the book to Mario *che* SCL OCL have.2SG given-back  
“Have you given back the book to Mario?”  
c. \**Che* i' libro, a Mario, tu l'ha' reso?

On the other hand, Florentine *che* and Paduan *che* appear in different clause types: the first in root *yes/no* questions, the latter in embedded *wh* questions.

Adopting the fine structure of the left periphery proposed by Rizzi (1997) and subsequent works in the Cartographic Framework, I will propose that Calabrian *ca* is located in a high position, probably in the layer of projections encoding Speaker features (Giorgi 2010), and has been grammaticalized as a functional particle. Florentine *che* and Paduan *che* are located lower (possibly in Finiteness or Focus) and are true complementizers, their difference deriving from the different selectional features they encode.

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### Lexicalized synaesthesia in literature. Translation aspects.

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Although studies on synaesthesia as a rhetorical figure have been numerous, few researchers have analysed it in everyday language, in associations that lost their synaesthetic value for the speakers and that can be called *lexicalized synaesthesias* (Williams, 1976; Paissa, 1995; Legallois, 2004).

The lexicalized synaesthesia is defined as the extension of meaning of a lexeme from one semantic field of sensory perception to another, through an association easily understandable for the language users, that no longer perceive the association among sensory modalities; such examples are *sharp colours* or *crisp voice* and their lexicalized status is confirmed by the introduction of these phrases as examples in dictionaries.

Interpreting synaesthesia in a cognitive perspective based on the common element of [intensity] as a variation in the image schema based on the concept of [force] (Cienki, 1997:3-4), the present study aims to analyse the amount and the role of lexicalized synaesthesias in the entire *corpus* of synaesthesias present in Joris-Karl Huysmans' *À rebours*, in its original French version (1992[1884]) and in its translations in Italian (1992[1953]) and Romanian (1974); the novel was chosen because of its richness regarding synaesthesias and the comparison between the French version and the Italian and Romanian ones means to look for differences between these three Romance languages in the semantics of synaesthesia. The analysis is concentrated on noun-adjective synaesthesia as adjectives offer the richest material in the transition from one sensory modality to another, but also considers noun-noun and noun-verb synaesthesia and its translations. The study means to treat lexicalized synaesthesia as a prototypical use of certain adjectives for their semantic field, in the vision on prototype given by Rosch (1980).

The comparative analysis reveals differences between the three versions of the novel in the use of lexicalized synaesthesia: while the Italian translator is quite faithful to the original synaesthesias, sometimes choosing to change the order of the adjectival constituents, the Romanian translator to reinterpret literary synaesthesias through lexicalized ones, showing a vivid interest for the target language, but somewhat destroying the literary quality of the novel, that aims mostly at the surprise effect on the reader.

Moreover, the relatively low percentage of lexicalized synaesthesias in Huysmans' novel is correlated to the organization in chapters describing associated sensory perceptions, which enables to spot in these chapters the author's intent to innovate.

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### Reporting verbs as parenthetical verbs: the case of (s)he says/said and they say/said.

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The recent surge of interest in the grammaticalization of "parenthetical verbs" (Urmson 1952) has resulted in a great number of studies, focusing mainly on the development of mental state verbs such as *I think* into epistemic parentheticals (Aijmer 1997, Dehé and Wichmann 2010, Kärkkäinen 2003, Van Bogaert 2011). Several hypotheses have been proposed to account for the development of these parenthetical constructions: they may have been reanalyzed from matrix clauses via frequent *that*-deletion (Thompson and Mulac 1991), have been derived from an appended relative construction containing the phoric element *so/as* referring back to the preceding clause (Brinton 2008), or they could be related to extraction/raising structures (López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2011).

Against the backdrop of these hypotheses, the present paper examines the development of reporting verbs (such as *say*) into parenthetical verbs. Even though it has been pointed out that reporting verbs can be employed as parentheticals (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1024-1025, Quirk et al. 1985: 1114-1115), this parenthetical usage has not yet been studied in great detail with regard to English (note that it did get some attention in Dutch (Schelfhout 1998) and in French and Rumanian (Perrin 2004, Pop 2009)).

Corpus data for this study are drawn from *The Helsinki Corpus*, *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, and the *Collins Cobuild Wordbanks Online Corpus*. In particular, then, this corpus-based study focuses on the development of the forms *he/she says/said* and *they say/said* from verbs of communication into parentheticals serving as pragmatic markers. Consider in this respect Present-day English examples (1) and (2):

- (1) "Told me he never wanted to see them again. I'm not sure why I've kept them. Maybe to remind me why I agree with father when *he says* Hythria should be invaded and the Wolfblade line destroyed." (Collins Cobuild, brbooks)
- (2) Romney would be tough on China, *he says*. (Washington Post, Google.)

Whereas example (1) displays the regular use of *say* as a verb of communication, it is suggested that *he says* in (2) is semantically bleached, having acquired a function as pragmatic marker. Indeed, *he says* in (2) merely serves to mitigate the truth-value of the statement by relegating the authority to someone other than the speaker/writer who formulated it, rather than referring to an actual act of speaking. In this respect, it is also interesting to point out that *he says* can easily be replaced by *so he says*, and that the coreferentiality of *Romney* and *he* makes a rephrasal of the sentence with *say* as a matrix clause verb ungrammatical (\**He<sub>i</sub> says Romney<sub>i</sub> would be tough on China.*). Incidentally, the development of more idiomatic, non third-person expressions such as (*I*) *say*, *I daresay*, *you say* or *that is to say* is not addressed here (but see Brinton 2008).

Full recognition of English *say* as a parenthetical verb not only implies an extension of the class of parenthetical verbs; the inclusion of frequent third-person and preterite uses also complements the paradigm of parenthetical *say*-forms, which up to now has prototypically consisted of first-person present tense forms.

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### The syntax-prosody interplay: VS vs SV orders in Greek unaccusative and unergative structures.

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This paper aims at investigating the interaction between syntax and prosody and identifying the properties of intransitive structures with unaccusative and unergative verbs in Greek. More specifically, the present paper is concerned with broad focus utterances, which are typically associated with out-of-the-blue contexts and are pragmatically felicitous answers to questions as in (1):

- (1)      ti sinevi?  
          what happen-PAST-3SG  
          ‘What happened?’

In Greek, the theoretically possible answers to such a question can be as follows:

- *unaccusative VS / SV, with potentially varying stress patterns*  
(2a)      eftase o janis / o janis eftase  
          arrive-PAST-3SG the janis-NOM / the janis-NOM arrive-PAST-3SG  
          ‘John arrived.’
- *unergative VS / SV, with potentially varying stress patterns*  
(2b)      xorepse o janis / o janis xorepse  
          dance-PAST-3SG the janis-NOM / the janis-NOM dance-PAST-3SG  
          ‘John danced.’

In ‘fixed’ word order languages such as English, German and Persian, it has been observed that unaccusative structures behave differently from unergative ones with respect to prosody (see Schmerling 1976; Cinque 1993 among others). In particular, in unaccusatives the nuclear stress (NS, Chomsky and Halle 1968) falls unambiguously on the subject, while for unergatives there are differing intuitions and experimental findings, with some scholars (e.g. Kahnemuyipour 2009) claiming that the NS falls only on the verb, while others (see Zubizarreta and Vergnaud 2006; Irwin 2011) supporting the view that unergatives allow NS on either the subject or the verb.

In Italian and Spanish, on the other hand, which are ‘free’ word order languages, it has been widely accepted in the literature that the contrast between unaccusative and unergative broad focus sentences is realized with a difference in word order apart from stress. Thus, in Italian and Spanish the neutral order for an unaccusative sentence is VS and stress falls on the subject, while the neutral order for an unergative one is SV and stress is on the verb (see Contreras 1976; Suner 1982; Burzio 1986; Bonet 1990; Cinque 1993; Pinto 1994; Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995 among others).

In the present paper an elicitation task involving pictures is employed to investigate the syntactic and prosodic properties of Greek intransitive structures. In particular, a number of monolingual adult (male and female) native speakers of Greek are examined. Broad focus eliciting questions are introduced by an accompanying picture presenting a situation and participants are expected to answer this question by producing sentences with unaccusative or unergative verbs. The ultimate goal is to identify the linearization patterns (namely VS vs SV orders) of unaccusative and unergative structures in Greek along with the stress patterns involved in each case.

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## Gestures and gestures in child language development.

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The underlying question in most work on gestures is how the relation between gesture and speech should be understood. This is also the fundamental question in this presentation, where focus is on children’s gestures in relation to language development and socialization.

Gesture studies on adult interaction tend to divide gestural movements into various kinds depending on their assumed relation to spoken language. The group of gestures which have received most attention in the scientific world is the so called “co-speech gestures”, i.e. hand- and arm movements that occur simultaneously with speech and that are integrated temporally and semantically with the verbal utterance (Kendon, 1981, 2004; McNeill, 1992, 2005).

In child language studies, the term co-speech gestures is not used as frequently, although the gestures actually described tend to be within that domain, e.g. the deictic pointing gesture co-occurring with “there” (Tomasello et al., 2007; Rowe et al., 2008). Other child gestures receiving attention are the more pragmatically oriented “grab/reach gesture” or emblematic gestures like “nodding”, “waving goodbye”, etc. (e.g., Bates et al., 1975). Although humans remain children for quite some time the majority of child-gesture studies end when the children reach the vocabulary spurt (around the second birthday). A likely reason is that the questions posed relate to the transition from pre-language and language and the role played by gestural behavior in this developmental interval.

The presentation builds on a study taking the child gestures one step further by allowing the gesture definition to be wider (including in this term movements of the whole body), and the age span studied to go beyond the first two years. The material is longitudinal and consists of child-child and child-adult interaction between the ages 1 to 6. There

are 11 children in the study, belonging to five families and they were recorded in their homes regularly during 2 ½ years. The data (in all 22 h) were transcribed and annotated using the ELAN software. The annotations of gestural behavior were categorized according to age of the child, interactional partner (child/adult), setting, activity/semantic theme, and concurrent speech/ vocalizations.

In the presentation, main focus will be on two groups of gestural behavior in particular: co-speech gestures and co-activity speech. Whereas the former is an established term (see above), the latter is the term I have been using to describe speech-gesture combinations where the vocalizations seem to be redundant or at least second in priority, for example the utterances made while going through the motions of ritualized and mainly gestural play (e.g., “pat-a-cake”, “peek-a-boo”, “hide-and-seek”). The differences between these two classes of gestural behavior will be illustrated, described, and related to language development, cognitive growth, and socialization patterns. Ending the talk the fundamental question of speech-gesture relation will be addressed and a developmental path including the described gestural forms will be sketched out.

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## On *quite* as a peripheral modifier in the NP

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In Present Day English, the adverb *quite* can modify a range of sentence constituents, including verb phrases (1), prepositional phrases (2), (predicative) adjective phrases (2) and noun phrases (4).

- (1) Now sometimes," she explained, 'you will have to help me up the stairs at night.' 'I **quite** understand, ma'am," said the maid. (WB)
- (2) There was disease and bad weather to begin with, then the causes **quite** outside the farmer's control, the international price of wool ... and the market for lamb and wool. (WB)
- (3) She's **quite** good at that sort of thing (WB)
- (4) he was considered a splendid sight and **quite** a gentleman (WB)

This paper will argue that these different uses of *quite* are the synchronic witnesses of a diachronic process of syntactic-semantic change from sentence-level modifier to noun phrase (NP) modifier. Van de Velde (2010) has argued that the peripheral modifier slot in the English NP developed in Early Modern English, as original sentence-level modifiers were gradually integrated into the NP structure (see also Traugott (2006) on the shift from manner adverb to focusing modifier *even*). A similar developmental path will be reconstructed for *quite*, an item not discussed in Van de Velde (2010).

In addition, it will be argued that this specific pathway of change can account for some particular structural possibilities displayed by noun-intensifying *quite*. As noted in many standard grammars of English, intensifying *quite* can occur both before (*quite a gentleman*) and after (*a quite good line*) the determiner (complex), and it can modify both indefinite and definite (*quite the gentleman*) noun phrases. This is striking as noun-intensifiers typically always occur in indefinite NPs and have a clear preference for either predeterminer (*such an idiot*, *what a mess*) or postdeterminer position (*a complete fool*, *a raving lunatic*).

Corpora to be consulted:

Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English

Corpus of Late Modern English texts (extended version)  
WordbanksOnline corpus

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### Em Itália até preferem chamar-lhe «o coiso»: A cross-language analysis of vague expressions in Italian and Portuguese.

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This study aims at providing a cross-linguistic perspective (Italian – Portuguese) on a class of vague expressions, with maximally unspecific meaning (Jucker 2003, Andersen 2010), used as superficial place-holders to refer to an entity without knowing “exactly which name would be the best to use” (Yule 1996: 18), as is the case of Italian and Portuguese pair *cosa/o* (ex. 1) / *coisa/o* (ex. 2) “thing”.

- (1) *non è vero // te l' ho spento / il **coso** //* [Oral corpus LABLITA]  
“It is not true, I have switched it off, the thing-MASC”  
  
(2) *A gente pensa logo nas **coisas** más.* [Oral corpus Português Fundamental]  
“We always think in bad things”

Since collaboration is an essential part of reference of place-holders, being based on the common ground between speaker and hearer, their use can be motivated by a variety of reasons, which do not necessarily imply an uncertainty of the speaker (Channel 1994, Andersen 2010). Thus:

- (a) the speaker might not know the exact nature of the concept or might not be able to refer to the intended concept (ex. 3)

- (3) *Uma vez montado o **coiso**, tudo o que tem a fazer é ligá-lo à porta do «joystick» do seu computador*  
“Once you set the thing-MASC, all you have to do is connect it to the «joystick» of your computer” [CETEMPUBLICO]

- (b) the speaker might know a name but may (1) opt for an inexact rendering, (2) have problems in finding it, or (3) prefer not to use it (e.g. as a cooperative strategy to invite collaboration, as an economical strategy, or as a politeness strategy to maintain an informal atmosphere, ex. 4).

- (4) *<un arrivista / **un coso**> //* [Oral Corpus LABLITA]  
“a social climber, a thing-MASC”

Although the functions of vague nouns have been recently explored cross-linguistically for Germanic languages (Andersen 2010), a description for Romance languages is still missing. Both Italian and Portuguese have a range of vague expressions (nouns or verbs, as Portuguese *coisar* “thinging”) which are subject to sociolinguistic variation and range from formal expressions It. *questione* / Port. *assunto* “matter” to informal It. *roba* / Port. *cena(s)* “thing(s)” and It. *cazzate* / Port. *merda(s)* “crap(s)”.

Basing our investigation on empirical data analysis, collected from oral and written parallel corpora in Italian and Portuguese (C-Oral-Rom, *Corpus Repubblica*, *CETEMPUBLICO* and *Corpus TQT*), we intend to:

- (a) describe pragmatic functions of place-holders: common patterns involve the place-holder (1) in head position (ex. 1-2), (2) as approximating device (general extender, Overstreet 1999) (ex.5), or (3) as discourse marker (ex. 6)

(5) Fazem *ai* certas festas **e coisa** [Oral Corpus TQT]  
 “They throw some parties and thing”

(6) *no è che /sai cosa/ è che son trenta gradi qua*↓ [Oral Corpus LABLITA]  
 “No but, you know what, it is that there are thirty degrees here”

- (b) shed light on the degree of comparability of placeholders across the two languages and on the degree of functional equivalence of pairs like *cosa/coisa*;
- (c) analyze whether lexical variability within one language is governed by sociolinguistic rules and whether different expressions are interchangeable in each language depending on genres and text-types.

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## Empirical evaluation of ethnolinguistic vitality and language loss: the case of Southern Min in Taiwan.

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This paper presents the results of an empirical evaluation of Ehala's (2007) mathematical model of ethnolinguistic vitality. The ethnolinguistic vitality concept indicates the property which makes a group likely to behave as a distinct collective within an intergroup setting (Giles et al. 1977). We have applied Ehala's model to evaluate the vitality of Taiwan's Southern Min language in two geographical areas exhibiting significant language shift in favor of Mandarin. According to the model, the ethnolinguistic vitality ( $V$ ) depends on the perceived cultural weight of one's own community ( $M_1$ ) in relation to the weight of a relevant other community ( $M_2$ ); perceived intergroup distance between the communities ( $r$ ) and the extent of utilitarianism ( $U$ ) in the community under investigation. The overall ethnolinguistic vitality was expressed by the formula  $V = U(M_1 - M_2) / r$ . ' $V$ ' makes for an important indicator of possible language shift: the higher  $V$  is, the better the chances are for maintenance of the Southern Min language in Taiwan; the weaker  $V$  is, the more likely Southern Min will to cease to exist through assimilation to Mandarin.

To calculate  $V$  for Taiwan's Southern Min community, we followed ethnolinguistic survey methods as proposed by Bourhis et al. (1981), Landry et al. (1996), and Schwartz (2003), and implemented by Ehala (2007). The data for this evaluation came from 125 questionnaires and measured:

- a. perceived group strength (Southern Min/Mandarin);
- b. perceived inter-group distance;
- c. degree of utilitarianism/traditionalism in the Southern Min group.

By comparing the current ethnolinguistic evaluation with the results from previous surveys including 917 questionnaires and 25 ethnolinguistic interviews in Taiwan's major urban centers (Gijssen & Liu 2007), we aimed to:

- a. assess the validity and actual usefulness of Ehala's model in the Taiwan context, this in light of application problems linked with the ethnolinguistic vitality variables (Ehala 2011, McEntee-Atalianis 2011);
- b. investigate whether the application of Ehala's model brings out patterns that were not apparent from our previous written survey, thereby possibly furthering an understanding of the variables and mechanisms involved in Southern Min language loss.

As for the correlations between the vitality index and the formula's components, we found overall compatibility in the results derived across our instruments. These data are, however, in need of further qualitative research. As for the establishment of new patterns, results obtained by our study concur closely to some of our earlier findings:

- a. the heavy dependence of the Southern Min group on Mandarin;

- b. an urban language shift from Southern Min to Mandarin;
- c. a voluntary language shift in Taiwanese households.

Although the set of indicators as chosen by Ehala (2007) seem reasonable for the Taiwan context, we support the notion (McEntee-Atalianis, 2011; Ehala, 2011) to include follow-up qualitative research involving identity and motivational questions. We will therefore suggest an elaboration of the V model in Taiwan, allowing it to account for the emotional impact of the Southern Mins' newly emerging social identity on the maintenance of their language.

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## Exaptation in construction reanalysis: Demonstrative pronouns become markers of stance and tense.

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In linguistics, the term EXAPTATION has been proposed to label "the opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use." (Lass 1990). This paper addresses two problems with this theoretical definition: (i) How might one practically identify degree of "relatedness" of an origin and its later use? (ii) Is there anything unique about the processes of change that lead to such an outcome, which might independently justify the use of the term exaptation? We explore these questions by examining the details of reanalyses in three Cariban languages, in which deictic pronouns have become markers of tense and/or stance ("the methods, linguistic and other, by which interactants create and signal relationships with the propositions they utter and with the people they interact with" Jaffe 2009.30).

In Makushi (Brazil, Guyana; Abbott 1990.106; Gildea 1998.164), an action nominalization plus demonstrative (in the relationship [predicate noun] [subject]) become, respectively, a main clause verb in 'Universal' tense plus an optional marker of stance: *sîrîrî* 'PROXIMAL.INANIMATE' > 'SPEAKER.INVOLVEMENT' (e.g., "could indicate information that is known only to the speaker") and *mîrîrî* 'DISTAL.INANIMATE' > 'ADDRESSEE.INVOLVEMENT' (e.g., "questions to the addressee and background information especially directed to the addressee"). This seems like a paradigm case of exaptation: (i) There are no meaning features in common between the source third-person demonstrative pronouns and the resultant speaker- and addressee-oriented stance particles. (ii) The reanalysis of the source pronouns as the resultant stance particles is arguably independent of the larger process of renovation of tense/aspect in the language. The (nominalized verb in the) nominal predicate in the source becomes the new main clause, leaving the erstwhile "dummy" subject pronoun with no function. In the cognate construction in related languages the pronoun is simply lost in the process of reanalysis. Makushi speakers have opportunistically used the "leftover" morpheme to mark an entirely new distinction.



In Akawaio (Guyana, Venezuela; Fox 2003:113), the cognate action nominalization plus demonstrative (in the same relationship, [predicate noun] [subject]) becomes an unmarked main clause verb and a postverbal future tense particle. Both the proximal demonstrative *serõ* and the distal demonstrative *mõrõ* now mark the future tense; Fox reports no semantic difference between them, and in independent field work, the author encountered no native speaker intuitions that distinguished the two. Again, we have (i) no meaning features in common between the source demonstratives and the resultant tense particles (both the proximal and distal forms appear to mark a single temporal distinction, the future), and (ii) an opportunistic re-use of “leftover” morphology from the source construction.

In Panare (Venezuela; Gildea 1993a-b), demonstratives > copulas > tense auxiliaries. While similar in outcome, this is clearly not a case of exaptation, as (i) the spatial deixis of the demonstratives becomes reinterpreted as temporal deixis, and (ii) both steps of the reanalysis are motivated, well-attested pathways by which languages commonly create, respectively, innovative copulas and tense auxiliaries.

### The story of the job ad. A diachronic approach of a genre.

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Although the genre of the job ad occupies a prominent place in business communication, research into the genre proves to be very limited, both synchronically and diachronically. Even the normative literature on business communication focuses rather on resumés and letters of application than on the job ads themselves. Also in education the focus is on learning to write letters of applications and resumés; the same holds for genre research, that takes the perspective of the applicant, not that of the organization.

In this paper we take a diachronic perspective; we describe the evolution of job ads in a Flemish newspaper in the last sixty years (1950-2010). The genre analysis follows a text-driven procedure (Swales 2004) and combines analyses of structure, style and content in relation to an identification of the purpose(s). The structural analysis is a move analysis (Swales 2004); the stylistic analysis focuses on metadiscourse (Hyland 2005); the content analysis distinguishes the main themes (De Groot 2008). Following Bhatia's suggestion (2005), our analysis wants to go beyond description and to offer an explanation. Therefore contextual factors, political, economical, social and technological are also discussed in relation to the findings of the analysis.

This paper is, by necessity, exploratory. It combines different genre analytical approaches and limits itself to a selection of job ads published in only one newspaper. We have selected the ads from a random week in February every five years since the restart of the newspaper after World War II. We looked at the job ads on Thursday, Friday and the weekend in the first half of February; the number of ads found for every chosen year differed from twenty to hundreds. This discrepancy already testifies to the impressive growth and diversification (as will be discussed) of the job ad genre.

The analysis of the evolution of the job ad genre proves to deepen our understanding of genre. As for the move structure the evolution of the genre shows an increase both of moves and strategies/steps, revealing genre bending and mixing with other genres like direct mail and commercial advertising. The metadiscourse analysis reveals the growing importance of ethos (stance) and pathos (interaction), both testifying the marketization of the genre; in our content analysis new themes have been found, like extra legal forms of remuneration and ecological issues, immediately linked to the job seekers' interests. Finally, as for the context of the genre, the explosion of related (very often digital) genres within the genre system/network of recruitment marketing pushes the traditional printed job ad to the periphery, but there it is able to survive as a 'metagenre' (Swales 2004).

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**(Inter)subjectivity in interaction: The marking of complex epistemic perspective in Yurakaré conversations.**

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In this presentation, it is argued that meanings related to complex epistemic perspective can best be detected and investigated in conversations. This claim is supported by a study of the use of (inter)subjective marking in Yurakaré conversations. The focus of this study is the use of the subjective and the intersubjective marker in social interaction and what it can tell us about the semantics of these markers. The study is based on an analysis of around 4,5 hours of video-taped conversational data. Yurakaré is an unclassified language spoken in Central Bolivia by an estimated number of 2500 speakers. It has a set of five verbal enclitics which mainly express evidential and complex perspective meanings. This set contains a subset consisting of two markers which contrast in the dimension of (inter)subjectivity. The intersubjective marker =*ya* expresses that the speaker expects the addressee to share his or her stance on the topic of conversation. Thus, =*ya* expresses a complex epistemic perspective in that it includes an assumption of the speaker about the addressee's state of mind. In contrast, subjective =*laba* does not express any specific assumption of the speaker about the addressee's epistemic state. It is generally not easy to detect complex perspective semantics in language. Such meanings are notoriously difficult to elicit, because speakers are usually not aware of this semantic component. Given this difficulty, the question arises how we can investigate subjective and complex epistemic perspective semantics in language. I argue in this presentation that such meanings can best be studied in conversational data. The interactional distribution of the two Yurakaré (inter)subjective markers reveals important clues about their intersubjective and subjective semantics. For example, intersubjective =*ya* shows a preference for a specific type of agreeing response. This demonstrates the intersubjective nature of this marker. In contrast, subjective =*laba* does not show such a preference, which supports the view that it is not concerned with the addressee's epistemic state and thus expresses a subjective value. It will be argued that the reason why complex perspective semantics are most obvious in conversations is that only in social interaction people share and negotiate their perspectives on information and thus provide evidence for the researcher about the linguistic expression of complex epistemic perspectives.

**Imperfect Parallels between Nominal Expressions and clauses.**

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In this paper I reconsider a number of phenomena distinguishing nominal expressions from clauses against the many parallels that have been uncovered in the course of the last decades. I will call these partial parallelisms "imperfect parallels":

- a. Both nominal expressions and clauses project an argument structure BUT in nominal expressions argument structure appears "less" obligatory or even optional.
- b. Both nominal expressions and clauses have a "subject" which must respect the hierarchy of the theta grid BUT in nominal expressions the subject can be missing *tout court*.
- c. Both nominal expressions and clauses can be claimed to have three layers all of which are split according to a universal hierarchy BUT nominal expressions display a simpler structure.
- d. In both nominal expressions and clauses we find structural case BUT in sentences we typically find two (nominative and accusative) in nominals we typically find one (genitive) if any.
- e. In both nominal expressions and clauses we find discourse driven displacements BUT the left periphery of nominal expressions is much more difficult to detect.

I want to reduce these differences to a unique property that distinguishes nominal expressions from clauses, namely nominal object reference against clausal temporal reference.

I assume the structure of extended projections (among which nominal and clausal ones) to display three layers: a lexical layer in which the argument structure is projected, an inflectional layer in which the modifiers undergo concord for formal features, and a complementation layer which closes the extended projection and checks its semantic/thematic role and all the formal features related to it. All the heads of the extended projection are coindexed and share features (*à la* Grimshaw). Against this perfect parallelism the following crucial differences can be observed:

- a. Clauses typically have Force or Truth value. Noun phrases typically have (Object or individual) reference.
- b. Truth value or Force require settings for temporal reference intersected with the individual reference of the subject. Individual reference *per se* requires settings for person.
- c. Finiteness, Mood, Aspect are features related to temporal reference and are typically found in clauses. Phi-features are related to person and typically found in nominal expressions.
- d. Argument nominals typically need Case. Argument clauses typically escape Case (Stowell 1982). Case is therefore a formal property of individual reference and can only be combined with phi-features and person features.

I conclude that each layer complies with different requirements. The vP singles out a subject for Truth value or Force to be checked while the nP does not have to. The clausal intermediate layer projects Finiteness, Mood and Aspect to intersect with the person features of the subject, while the nominal intermediate layer deletes the uninterpretable phi-features of adjectival modifiers if present, and/or to licences possessors phrases if present. The clausal complementation layer closes the clausal phase and sends the semantic features of Force and Truth value to the interpretive component, while the nominal complementation layer closes the nominal phase and sends the individual reference and its semantic/thematic role to the interpretive component.

### **The semantics of aesthetics vocabulary in a contrastive perspective (English, Russian, Spanish).**

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The question of universal and culture-specific elements in aesthetic perception is of concern to different disciplines, including philosophy, aesthetics, psychology and anthropology. The range of views extends here from the idea that humans are fundamentally similar in their understanding of 'beautiful' and 'ugly' (e.g., Cunningham et al. 1995, Dutton 2009) to acknowledging considerable cultural variation and influence in the aesthetic domain (e.g., Furnham and Alibhai 1983, Howes 2007, Majid and Levinson eds. 2011).

This study addresses the question of linguistic conceptualisation of 'beautiful' and related concepts in three European languages – English, Russian and Spanish. In particular, it investigates polysemy and spheres of application of the following words: English *beautiful*, Russian *krasivyy*, Spanish *bonito/a*. These words are the most salient examples in the domain of aesthetic vocabulary in these languages. Therefore, this study contributes to the understanding of 'naïve aesthetics' and its encoding in language.

The data is taken from three online corpora: Russian National Corpus (Russian), Cobuild Wordbanks (English), Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual (Spanish). Techniques of corpus analysis allow us to investigate common collocations, frequency of occurrence and contextual use of the terms in question. The study also addresses the question of what spheres of perception can be covered by these words (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and sound) in different languages.

On the basis of the analysis the study aims to propose semantic explications of the words *beautiful*, *krasivyy*, and *bonito/a* in universal human concepts. As a means of semantic analysis it implements the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) developed by Anna Wierzbicka and colleagues (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard and Wierzbicka eds. 2002). NSM is a technique of linguistic analysis that comprises 63 empirically established semantic universals and their syntactic properties. They form a mini-language that lies at the core of any language and can be successfully used to explicate complex and culture-specific meanings. In the domain of perception NSM suggests the following universals: SEE, HEAR, FEEL, and TOUCH. These concepts appear to be central to the analysis of the aesthetics vocabulary along with primitives GOOD, SOMEONE, SOMETHING and THINK. The study proposes semantic explications of the terms in question that can successfully demonstrate similarities and differences in meaning across languages. The study demonstrates that NSM can be regarded as an effective tool in analysing meaning in the domain of sensory perceptions.

The study unravels significant similarity in the conceptualisation of 'beautiful' across the three languages. However, certain differences are also identified and a hypothesis about cultural influence is put forward.

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### **The first months of a newcomer becoming bi-plurilingual in a trilingual school.**

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The present research aims at understanding the first months of a process of becoming a member in a diverse and multilingual primary school in Luxembourg. It is a case study about one child belonging to one of the ethnic and linguistic communities most affected by school failure. 'Romanophones' or romance-language speaking students in Luxembourg are touched by low achievement rates of school success (MENFP, 1998; Noesen et al. 2008). Also newcomers find themselves in challenging situations and are also affected by this problem.

This study focuses on the everyday classroom participation involving a specific, though randomly chosen, case. By taking a look at these interactions, one can observe which resources are brought into play and made accessible for / by the child case in his everyday work at school, eventually accessing a "community of practice". The questions guiding this research, thus, involve the newcomer's process to membership and his access to participation: *How is the newcomer able to access classroom participation during the first months at school? Which resources (for access) are available and how are they used during the first months at school? How does accessing participation in a legitimate way allow the newcomer to become another member of the classroom community?*

The approach followed is an integrated one, which combines a social view on learning with an interactional and ethnographic perspective. A critical ethnographic approach (Heller, 1999; Martín Rojo, 2003) facilitates the critical understanding of the complex process of membership and everything this entails. Specifically, my interest resides in the analysis of classroom interaction from the perspective of the works of Heller & Martin-Jones (2001) and Martín Rojo (2008; 2010). These studies deal with the issue of linguistic resources and explain its role "[...] in the production and distribution of the other kinds of resources at stake at school [...]" (Heller & Martin-Jones, 2001, p. 8). The previous authors incorporate other work on interaction as, for instance, the work of the sociologist Ervin Goffman (1959; 1974; 1981), particularly when applied to the resources previously mentioned.

The main focus concerning the analytical framework is the interactional practices, which are video-recorded following a time line. Other foci, also interrelated, are discursive representations and contextual ethnographic data. By discursive representation I mainly mean semi-structured interviews with the teachers, family and peers surrounding the newcomer and, of course, the newcomer himself. The ethnographic data I collected for this study are pictures of the classroom, field notes, summaries and photocopies of work produced by the child case.

Some of the results include the description of the newcomer's initial agentivity and resistance regarding categorizations and also what could be classified as gatekeeping practices towards him. The interview data and the audio-visual recordings provide insights into the difficulties a 'romanophone' newcomer must confront as well as the fact that a community of practice is in constant construction. Some of the implications of the present research involve the rise of awareness concerning these children and the difficulties they must face in this new environment.

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***That's so a construction! Some reflections on innovative uses of so in present-day English.***

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In this paper, I examine in some detail the morphosyntactic and semantico-pragmatic properties of (informal, often slang) expressions involving the speaker's assessment of an object, person or phenomenon, as in (1)-(3) below (see Englebretson 2007 and references therein):

- (1) That's so **horrible**
- (2) That is so **last week!!** Look at her shoes!!
- (3) I just made a whole house out of toothpicks! That is so **Shia LaBeouf**

In (1) above the speaker's negative evaluation of the element referred to by the deictically-anchored pronoun "that" is overtly conveyed through a gradable adjective ("horrible"). By contrast, in (2) and (3), "so" is followed by *prima facie* non-gradable categories, such as an NP with a temporal interpretation and a celebrity name, respectively. However, in (2), the fact that the temporal reference of "last week" is prior to the 'now' leads nicely to the speaker unfavourably viewing the shoes in question as being outdated (see Wee & Ying Ying 2008). In (3), the use of "Shia LaBeouf" is intended by the speaker as a self-praise of his/her remarkable achievement and draws on the implicature that Shia LaBeouf, once a Disney star, became a successful actor overnight.

Based on a pool of data manually extracted from Google and the Urban Dictionary ([www.urbandictionary.com](http://www.urbandictionary.com)), a sub-set of 76 instances were isolated, involving a *prima facie* non-gradable category such as nouns, verbs (bare form, gerund and participle), adverbial phrases or even numbers.

A fine-grained analysis of the elements in the XPCOMP slot in configurations like (1) above underscores the existence of a family of *so*-intensifier XPCOMP constructions, of which the temporal *so*-construction *That's so last year!* (see Wee and Ying Ying 2008) is just a type. Other members in this construction family include: (i) celebrity (e.g. *Shia LaBeouf*), (ii) proper name (e.g. *Sam*), (iii) brand name (e.g. *Hunter Boots*), (iv) money (e.g. *bank*), (v) place (figurative/real) (e.g. *Loserville*, *Helsinki*), (vi) lyrics (e.g. *hubba hubba zoot zoot*), (vii) sport (e.g. *roller derby*), (viii), body part (e.g. *butt*), (ix), animal (e.g. *snakes*), (x) food (e.g. *bacon*) (xi) clothes (e.g. *pants*), (xii) number (e.g. *76*), and (xiii) miscellaneous (e.g. *that girl*, *luck*, *loser*, *news*), among others.

At least two important conclusions emerge from our study. First, that a non-monotonic, usage-based inheritance system of the type invoked in Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) can felicitously capture the



commonalities within the members of the constructional family regarding e.g. the omission of subject, negation, modification by intensifiers, etc, while also allowing for syntactically complex, completely fixed expressions (e.g. “so (not) what a man does”, “so that girl” (i.e. the type of girl who cannot accept that a relationship is over). Second, the emergence of this family of constructions and its attendant positive or negative implicatures cannot be properly understood without reference to the present-day socio-cultural context in a fast-paced, increasingly materialistic, technologically-oriented and globalized world.

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### Three-place predicates in RRG: a computational approach.

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This talk presents a computational linguistics analysis of Role and Reference Grammar [RRG] (Van Valin 2005). The research questions asked are: (1) Is RRG formulated as a pseudo-code program computable on a Random Access Machine [RAM]? (2) Is RRG computable in the sense of the Church-Turing thesis, stating that everything which is computable on a machine is intuitively computable and vice versa?

Based on these questions an RRG analysis of English three-place predicates is introduced. A computational linguistics analysis of the semantics to syntax linking algorithm as pseudo-code-program executed on a RAM is developed with constructional schemas based on Nolan (2011). An account for the storage of thematic relations in the mental lexicon is developed showing that RRG’s macroroles are epiphenomenal.

This analysis of variable undergoer linking from semantics to syntax in English three-place predicates shows that RRG is not executable on a RAM since a computer cannot decide which argument is undergoer and which argument is non-macrorole. It is shown that RRG is not computationally adequate based on the Church-Turing thesis. An example is given in (1):

- (1)
- a. Abby gave McGee the gun.
  - b. Abby gave the gun to McGee.
  - c. [do'(x, <)] CAUSE [PROC & INRG have'(y, z)]

In the ditransitive construction in (1a) the undergoer is ‘McGee’ while the non-macrorole is ‘the gun’. In the dative-shift construction in (1b) the undergoer is ‘the gun’ while the non-macrorole is ‘McGee’. The Actor-Undergoer-Hierarchy [AUH] (Van Valin 2005: 61) assigns macroroles and, in which, the leftmost argument in the logical structure is actor and the rightmost argument is undergoer. As Haspelmath (2008) explains, Van Valin (2007) assumes the situation (1b) is the unmarked situation which is in accordance with the AUH. However Erteschik-Shir (1979) shows that the unmarked situation in English is (1b). Van Valin’s (2007) analysis is not in accordance with native speaker intuitions and following Haspelmath (2008) this is also a relic from generative syntax contradicting RRG’s monostratal architecture.

Nolan’s (2011) constructional schemas are used for an analysis of English three-place predicates by not assuming basic constructions. An algorithm in pseudo-code using constructional schemas is developed including intelligent software agents and discourse representation theory [DRT] which is underestimated in RRG. Based on Nolan (2011) it is argued that constructions are ‘grammatical objects’ with their own workspace. A construction is like a method in programming languages used when the linking algorithm cannot apply.

The semantics to syntax linking algorithm (cf. Van Valin 2005: 136) is revised and the lexicon, information structure and constructional schemas are used rather than the AUH to develop a new computable version of RRG.



Further, an inheritance network of thematic relations is developed and typed feature structures based on Davis (2001) extend the present version of the lexicon in RRG (cf. Gottschalk 2010a) showing that a finite number of thematic relations operating as attributes of feature values in a verb's lexical entry can account for the three-place predicates rather than macroroles suggested in Van Valin (2007).

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### Discourse (in)subordination: free-standing declarative *que*-clauses in spoken Spanish.

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This paper accounts for the interactive value of the particle *que* in initial position in free-standing declarative sentences in Spanish. In particular, we discuss how speakers subordinate their statements to preceding discourse and we analyse the kind of interactional activities they are engaged in while doing so.

The form *que*, as its English equivalent *that*, is usually defined as a subordinating element, either as a relative pronoun (1a) or as a conjunction (1b). However, the use of *que* at the beginning of a clause which is not subject to any previous constituent is also very frequent in spoken Spanish (Demonte and Fernández Soriano, 2009; Etxepare, 2008, Garrido, 1998; Gras, 2011; Pons, 2003; Porroche, 2000, among others), as the example in (2) illustrates. This behaviour is consistent with the phenomenon of insubordination (Evans, 2007), i.e., the use of typical resources of subordination in independent clauses.

- (1) a. Este es el libro **que** te recomendé. / This is the book (**that**) I recommended you.  
b. Me dijo **que** vendría hoy. / He told me (**that**) he would come today.
- (2) - Tienes que llamar al banco. / You have to call the bank.  
- **Que** ya he llamado. / I have already called.\*

As regards subjunctive clauses, the literature has tended to identify a deontic modal value, ranging from the expression of obligation to desire. In contrast, the value of declarative clauses in indicative mood is more uncertain. Some authors have suggested that it is an expletive use (Alarcos, 1997), others have proposed an evidential value (Rodríguez Ramalle, 2008a, 2008b), while still others, a quotative one (Etxepare, 2008). Furthermore, analyses of these structures are usually based on subjective data from introspection and tend to focus only on the clause introduced by *que*, regardless of its discourse context. This study aims at filling these gaps in the existing literature.

Our hypothesis is that the value of initial *que* in declarative clauses is primarily interactive: It marks the connection between interventions or between utterances within the same intervention (Gras, 2011, in press). To determine the interactive value of initial *que* in declarative free-standing clauses, we analyse occurrences from the COLA corpus (Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente), containing spontaneous interactions among adolescents from Madrid (Spain), Buenos Aires (Argentina) and Santiago (Chile). Each occurrence is analysed taking into account different interactional factors: initial vs. mid position in the intervention, initiative vs. reactive intervention, preferred vs. dispreferred response.

As a result, we help define the modal values observed (evidential and quotative) more precisely, while also

providing better insight into the interactional motivations for speakers to mark the evidence of a statement or to ascribe a statement to a previous utterance situation. In this paper, we show how one linguistic element that can be considered expletive from a sentence perspective is actually an element with a clear functional value at the discourse level.

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## Tonal melody assignment in Arabic loans into Bambara: Prominence vs. tonal markedness.

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Longstanding influence of Islam in Mali has yielded many Arabic loanwords in the Bambara lexicon. Differences between the phonotactics of these languages, however, necessitate adaptations on both the segmental and tonal levels to accommodate incompatible components of the lending language within the structural constraints of Bambara's phonology. This paper explores tonal melody assignment to Arabic loanwords into Bambara, focusing on trisyllabic words. This subset of the lexicon is particularly interesting because, for native Bambara words, the manifestation of a surface tonal melody is largely dependent on the segmental and metrical structure of a word (Leben 2003; Green 2010). Bambara's phonology is such that trisyllabic words provide a unique context within which to view the outcome of processes that rely upon and are constrained by the language's disyllabic foot structure.

For example, while most monomorphemic Bambara words manifest a High or Rising tonal melody (báló 'life', mùsó 'woman'), trisyllabic words can exhibit a HHH (kábilá 'tribute', LHH (bìsígí 'image'), or LLH (dùlúkí 'pants') surface melody. The LLH melody is argued to arise via L tone spreading across a 'weak' consonant (i.e. sonorants (Dumestre 1987) and velar stops (Green 2010)) within a prosodic foot. Thus, LHH and LLH melodies are not contrastive. While this outcome is the norm in Bambara, Arabic loans present interesting complications where a) L tone spreading sometimes fails to occur across 'weak' consonants, and b) LLH melodies can occur in non-'weak' contexts by some means.

In Arabic loanword adaptation, Bambara faces several competing pressures. The language must adapt Arabic sounds to its more restricted sound inventory, resolve prominences manifested as stress (a characteristic not attested in Bambara), and address other incompatible non-native components (e.g. phonemic long vowels and geminates). Concerning tone, melodies associated with borrowed words typically behave like native words and are subject to regular tonal processes; however deviations arise as a result of the above-mentioned incongruities between the two languages. It is proposed in this paper that the exceptional tonal melodies associated with Arabic loans are influenced by both segmental and prosodic characteristics of Arabic and appear to function in preserving faithfulness to perceived

prosodic and segmental prominences at the expense of tonal markedness. This can be seen in representative trisyllabic Arabic borrowings that deviate from Bambara's standard tonal schema (e.g. *tùbàbù* 'European', *Arabic* *tabīb*; *gètèrè* 'thief', *Arabic* *qatīs*; *kùránè* 'Koran', *Arabic* *qur'ān*). In these and other instances, melodic deviations correspond with the presence of non-native prominences that appear to have been maintained by speakers via the incorporation of marked tonal schemes. Certain other 'minor' tonal melodies discussed in the literature can be attributed to similar ends.

This paper illustrates the choice that Bambara makes to maintain non-native prominences at the cost of increased tonal markedness. Because the deviant tonal melody differs only minimally and non-contrastively, the contradiction can be accommodated. This differs from other languages wherein tone patterns are assigned via native mechanisms at the expense of maintaining input prominence (Kang 2010).

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## Referent tracking in Evenki discourse.

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This paper examines referent tracking and information structure in the Tungusic languages, focusing on Evenki discourse, but with reference to other Tungusic languages, where information structure has been more thoroughly studied (see, for example, Gorelova 2002, 2006 for Manchu; Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001 for Udihe). Evenki has a number of linguistic means for introducing and tracking referents. Despite relatively comprehensive descriptions of Evenki (e.g. Bulatova 1987; Bulatova & Grenoble 1999; Konstantinova 1964; Nedjalkov 1997), referent tracking and information structure have been largely ignored.

The present paper shows that in Evenki, a referent tends to be first introduced (or activated, following Chafe 1994) with a full lexical noun: a noun, including a proper name, a nominalized verbal form or participle, or a modifier plus noun. It can then be referred to by use of a noun, a pronoun or a zero anaphor. A number of different pronominal categories are available for referent tracking in Evenki: personal pronouns, deictic pronouns and zero anaphora (with explicit person marking of subject on the verb). Unlike some Tungusic languages such as Oroch and Udihe, the use of personal pronouns is not restricted to human and anthropomorphized referents. There is a two-way deictic distinction, proximal and distal. As is characteristic of other Tungusic languages, the proximal *ər* 'this' is rarely used anaphorically and is excluded from the present analysis.

In the present paper I focus on the distribution of the third person pronouns with regard to information packaging in narrative, both historically collected folklore texts and my own field recordings. In third-person narration the distribution of anaphoric devices is not straightforward. Continuing topic can be signaled by anaphoric zero, but often is not. Full lexical NPs sometimes occur in adjacent clauses, often with a disambiguating function, i.e. in those situations where there are two possible referents. Elsewhere, the second NP is used for emphasis of some kind (and perhaps for metrical reasons in oral folklore). The third personal (*nun̄an*, *nun̄artyn*) and deictic pronouns (*tar*, *taril*) are of particular interest. They occur with near equal frequency in some texts; their distribution is best accounted for in terms of topicalization and focus.

Finally, I demonstrate the interrelationship between referent tracking and clause structure. Nichols (1979) argues that the Tungusic languages as a whole are characterized by having only "one pragmatic peak, as the focus of pragmatic, discourse, and/or referential phenomena is called, per sentence" and that this peak is "manifested in the main clause" (p. 420). The data show relatively recent differences in referent tracking under Russian influence, based on a contrastive analysis of the system found in folklore texts which were collected in the 1950s-1960s when the language was robustly spoken (such as those found in Romanova & Myreeva 1971) and my own field recordings, made in 2008-2011. The latter are comprised of both elicited narratives and more open-ended life stories. These more recent field recordings show Russian influence on word order, information structure and referent tracking.

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## Russian Freeride: language hybridization and the construction of a glocal youth identity.

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Recent sociolinguistic studies of globalization have given increased attention to the linguistic construction of local identities against the global background. The paper deals with the process of glocalization in the form of appropriation of the global freeride bicycle culture in Russia. Theoretically the study is based on the concept of indexical order, ideology of linguistic variation, style as a way constructing the social identity (the result of interpreting the social world and positioning oneself with respect to that world), and discourse approach to the issues of language and globalization. Drawing on ethnographically collected narratives of freeride among Nizhny Novgorod youths practicing freeride and the contents of Internet forums on the topic, the authors examine the evolvement of a new ethnic freeride style 'streetets' and the linguistic ideology maintaining its Russianness. Other methods include content- and discourse analyses of Internet forums. The study demonstrates that while practicing a global hobby Russian youths emphasize their ethnicity by employing linguistic resources from both local (Russian) and global (English) sources to construct a new youth identity. The indexical field of ideological associations characterizing this subculture centers around the general meaning of 'Russianness', e.g. breadth (wide space), strength, boldness, free range, (Orthodox) faith, patriotism and heterosexuality as a marker of 'strong masculinity'.

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## Variation at its best: phonological and phonetic characteristics of schwa in Moroccan learner French and native French.

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Languages that have schwa in their inventory usually display a high amount of variation. Departing from a comparison between French and Moroccan Arabic, this talk focuses on the phonological and phonetic characteristics of the unstable vowel. The point of interest lies in the differences between schwa in Moroccan learner speech and in native French.

A first distinction between French and Moroccan has to be drawn concerning the distribution of schwa. In French, the vowel occurs in open syllables which are never accented. In Moroccan, schwa syllables are never open and can carry accents. Complex consonant clusters and vowelless syllables are another characteristic of this language.

Whereas the prosody of the utterance is the main influence on Moroccan schwa, the number of preceding consonants and the position of schwa in the word play an important role in French. On the phonetic level, French schwa is close to the front rounded vowels [œ] and [ø]. Due to strong coarticulation effects, the quality of Moroccan schwa is more variable. However, a vowel is analysed as schwa when it alternates with zero (French *semaine* 'week' [səmen] vs. [smen]; Moroccan *ktb* 'he wrote' [ktəb] vs. [ktb]).

In light of these differences, the talk pursues the following research questions: What happens when the two phonological systems clash? To what extent do learners transfer Moroccan structures to French? Expectations include a lower stability of schwa due to the phonotactic tolerance and a greater acoustic variability. An experiment was conducted with ten illiterate Moroccan speakers and a control group of ten native French speakers. The two basic tasks were a repetition exercise and the description of a map. Thus, a corpus with around 800 possible schwa contexts was established.

The data were analysed with respect to three dependent variables: the presence of schwa, the place of articulation (F2) and the duration. With a statistical analysis in the *mixed-effect models* framework (Baayen 2008), factors like the position of schwa, the syllable structure, the place of articulation of the surrounding consonants and the native language itself were tested.

In native French, the presence of schwa was confirmed to depend on syllable structure and position. Acoustically, schwa undergoes coarticulation effects and has an average duration of 50 ms. The learner results indicate that the vowel primarily distinguishes itself on the phonetic level. It stands out by a higher F2 dispersion and a significantly longer duration (70 ms). Concerning the phonological level, it displays a lower stability in final position, but is not less present in other contexts. These observations open up the question if schwa is rather treated as a full vowel in the interlanguage system.

The main results were modeled within the *Stochastic OT* approach (Boersma/Hayes 2001). Overlapping markedness constraints account for the varying preferences for schwa depending on the phonological context. The phonetic characteristics are represented in terms of cue constraints (Boersma 2009), which incorporate the relation between a phonological category and its acoustic values. Two different rankings finally represent the group-specific priorities on the two linguistic levels.

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## The distribution of grammaticalized and lexicalized meaning of ontological postulates in FunGramKB.

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Within the framework of FunGramKB (Functional Grammar knowledge Base; Perrián and Arcas 2007, 2010; Perrián and Mairal, 2010), the non-linguistic conceptual knowledge stored in the pivotal level of the knowledge base, the Ontology, has proved to have an impact beyond the cognitive module itself, reaching the lexical and the grammatical levels – where idiosyncratic linguistic knowledge is stored. The Ontology is a hierarchical system of semantic representation of concepts designed to be universally shared. This means that the conceptual information which is introduced in order to describe a concept, for example +WALK\_00, +RUN\_00 or +WANDER\_00, i.e. their thematic frame and meaning postulates, contain features which are common to the various languages comprising the knowledge base; in the case of +WALK\_00 for example, the universally shared conceptual information is encoded in its five conceptual participants (i.e. agent, theme, location, origin and goal), the presence of the selectional preferences "human or animal" for the entity that changes its location (that is, the theme), and the fact that the movement is achieved through the usage of legs.



We postulate that this conceptual information may be a good source to predict the possibilities of lexicalization and grammaticalization of a concept. Thus, for example, we can expect some lexical unit(s) linked to +WALK\_00 to have a causative *Aktionsart* since in the conceptual base an agent is present for its possible lexical realization.

Likewise, we can foresee that the verbal predicate *jog* can be incorporated into a resultative construction while *go* or *ir* (in Spanish) cannot, the reason lying in the Ontology: the meaning postulate of *go* and *ir* includes a predication to describe the path of motion, more specifically the goal within the path, whereas the meaning postulates of *trot* and *jog* contain a satellite describing the manner of motion, which turns out to be a crucial piece of information in those cases. In accordance with Talmy's lexicalization patterns, *jog* lexicalizes the event of motion together with the manner in which it takes place. Thus it is hardly surprising that the resultative construction (following Goldberg's terminology, 1995), as in *They jogged the pavement thin*, is later on accepted as a possible grammaticalization of the verb in the Grammaticon, since it adds information (the result of the motion of event) that is not lexicalized in the verb.

At the same time, it is also interesting to study the cognitive backgrounds of result and manner verbs within the domain of motion. *Walk* and *caminar* are an example of how differently English and Spanish lexicalize and grammaticalize the semantic knowledge (*Fue al parque andando* vs. *They walked to the park*). Building upon Talmy's study, I will analyze how verb-framed (like Spanish) and satellite-framed languages (like English) draw different information from the same conceptual base.

The aim of this presentation will be to trace a group of verbs of movement (in English and Spanish)- such as *go*, *ir*, *walk*, *caminar*, *andar*, *trudge*, *plod*, *stumble*, *run*, *correr*, *trot*, *trotar* or *jog* - from top to bottom and viceversa in FunGramKB knowledge base, that is, from the Ontology to the Grammaticon passing through the Lexicon, in order to ascertain how the conceptual non-linguistic knowledge and the linguistic knowledge interact.

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## Borrowing of grammatical pattern in Mecayapan Nahuatl

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Are the grammatical patterns of a language highly resistant to borrowing? Heine & Kuteva (2005) have claimed that under intense contact situation a language can not only replicate linguistic structure but also grammatical patterns. This is the case of Mecayapan Nahuatl. Speakers of this language have been in contact for several centuries with Sierra Popoluca speakers. This second language has morphological devices for the distinction between inclusive/exclusive first person plural pronouns. So, under the influence of Sierra Popoluca, Mecayapan Nahuatl borrowed the inclusive/exclusive pattern using its own linguistics device to develop it as is show in examples (1) and (2).

- |     |                                 |                  |
|-----|---------------------------------|------------------|
| (1) | <i>too-meen</i><br>1PL:INCL-two | ‘we two (incl.)’ |
| (2) | <i>noo-meen</i><br>1PL:EXCL-two | ‘we two (excl.)’ |



The prefixes *too-* and *noo-* are the morphological device that Mecayapan Nahuatl currently uses for the distinction between inclusive/exclusive first person plural pronoun. These markers cannot be related with any other Nahuatl language. However, there is a very similar pattern in Sierra Popoluca as in examples (3) and (4).

- (3) *tang-kuwistik* 'we two (incl.)'  
1PL:INCL-two
- (4) *ang-kuwistik* 'we two (excl.)'  
1PL:EXCL-two

Sierra Popoluca uses the prefix *tang-* and *ang-* for the inclusive/exclusive distinction. Actually, this morphological distinction is very common in the mixe-zoquean languages. Therefore, there is no doubt that the inclusive/exclusive distinction in Mecayapan Nahuatl was motivated by Sierra Popoluca. Obviously, the processes involve for the transfer of this feature are very complex and they will be explained in the talk. In a nutshell, this talk try to demonstrate that under intense and longstanding contact situation, speakers tend to develop mechanisms to build pattern, concepts and similar categories.

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### Reversal of linguistic rules acquisition in rural Syrian child and adolescent language.

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This study examines the variation and change in the use of the rural vowel variables (o), (o:), (e), and (e:) in the vernacular Arabic of rural, non-migrant children and adolescents in the village of Oyoun A-Wadi in Syria. These variables are realized as [o]/[a], [o:]/[a:], [e]/[a], and [e:]/[a:] respectively. The second vowel in each set is the urban counterpart. The village's variants are determined mainly by two phonological rules: (1) short and long round vowels occur in word-final closed syllables in the environment of [r] or emphatic sounds, and (2) short and long mid front vowels occur in other word-final closed syllables. Despite the respective correlation between the use of the urban and rural vowels with the use of the urban and rural consonants whose variable use is mainly determined by social factors such as age, gender, area of residence, social meanings, and identity construction, the variable use of the vowels is slightly influenced by social factors. The acquisition and loss of certain linguistic rules (i.e. urban and rural rules) is observed to be the main force behind these vowel changes and variation.

The data set consists of 11207 tokens taken from the naturally occurring speech of 50 speakers ages 6-18. The participants are equally divided into four age groups: 6-8, 9-11, 12-14, and 15-18. Groups are equally divided into girls and boys. In addition to age and gender, mother's origin and residential area are considered.

Quantitative analyses show wide spread of the urban vowels among all age groups. Significant gender effect emerges regarding the round vowels: boys use more round vowels than girls. The restrictiveness of the linguistic environment of Rule (1) makes the round vowels a more distinctive feature of the village's variety, and thus the village's identity to which boys are highly loyal. The youngest age group shows the lowest use of the rural vowels. The higher use of the urban vowels among the youngest age group indicates that children initially acquire their urban mothers' forms. Later on, they start acquiring the village's rules. While children can acquire rules that are different from those of their caregivers at a later age, the complexity of the linguistic situation with which the participants in this study are surrounded lead to fluctuation in their application of the newly acquired rules and morphological patterns.

Previous studies examined variation in second dialect acquisition in migrant children and adolescents and showed that the age of arrival is a determinant factor of the acquisition of the linguistic rules of the new area

(Chambers 1992; Kerswill 1996; Straw & Patrick 2007; Tagliamonte & Molfenter 2007). This study deals with variation in the speech of non-migrant rural kids who are in contact with urban features through various sources such as out-of-town mothers, relatives and friends who live in urban centers, and television shows broadcasted with urban forms. This observed vowel variation is the result of the acquisition of two different sets of rules. Initially, kids acquire their mother's urban forms and the associated phonological rules. Subsequently, they acquire the rules of the vowel indicators of their home village as they become more exposed to them. Thus, there is a kind of reversal in the acquisition of rules, which leads to the observed variation. This indicates that kids are capable of recognizing and acquiring the various linguistic rules in their environment at later stages in their life than the age of eight (Payne 1980). Although this leads to variability in their speech, it highlights the development of the sociolinguistic competence of kids throughout their life span, as they acquire the various sociolinguistic patterns present in their environment.

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## The Functional Generative Description as a functionally motivated formal model of language.

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1. The functional motivation of Functional Generative Description (FGD) stems from the understanding of the basic function of language as a means of communication, and from the standpoint that the best way how to formally describe language is to view it from the perspective of the function – form relation (Sgall-Hajičová-Panevová 1986).

2. This approach to language description is reflected in the following properties of the FGD model:

(i) The function – form relation is articulated into a hierarchy of levels, establishing an "is-composed-of" relation between the elementary units within a single level (e.g. a sentence is "composed-of" its parts) and an "is-represented-by" relation between units of two adjacent levels (e.g. the subject is represented by a certain form of a noun, or an infinitive of a verb etc.). In principal, there is no one-to-one correspondence between units of two adjacent levels (e.g. the subject is represented by a certain form of a noun, or an infinitive of a verb, and in its turn, an infinitive of a verb may function as the subject, or as an object etc.).

(ii) The representation of the sentence on the underlying syntactic level (tectogrammatical, as opposed to phenogrammatical (in the sense of Curry 1961), is conceived of as a dependency tree, with nodes labeled by lexical labels representing autonomous words, and edges representing the underlying syntactic functions (corresponding to the valency relations). Auxiliary words are not represented as nodes of their own but are reflected in the complex labels of nodes (indicating modal and temporal categories, subcategories of valency etc.).

(iii) The communicative function of the sentence is reflected in the representation of the information structure of the sentence, its topic-focus articulation (TFA). TFA is understood as an "aboutness" relation: the Focus of the sentence brings information about its Topic. It is argued that TFA is a semantically relevant phenomenon because sentences differing only in their TFA may have different truth conditions (Hajičová-Partee-Sgall 1998).

From the computational point of view, the description has a form of a generative procedure that generates the underlying (tectogrammatical) syntactic representations of sentences in forms of dependency tree structures, which are then "translated" via transductive components to the representations corresponding to the outer (surface) shapes of sentences (Sgall 1967). This means that synonymous sentences are derived from a single tectogrammatical representation and ambiguous sentences correspond to more than one tectogrammatical representation.

3. A good test for any linguistic theory is its application to a consistent system of corpus annotation (Hovy 2012). The above language model has been used as a basis for a complex annotation of a large corpus of Czech (The Prague Dependency Treebank, Hajič 1998; PDT 2.0 ) and partly applied also for a parallel Czech-English corpus on three layers (the layer of morphemics, of the surface shape of sentences and of tectogramantics). The corpus consists of about 50000 sentences tagged on all the three layers, incl. the information structure of sentences, and serves for both theoretical research and for the build-up of some computational applications (Johnson 2011).

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### Regional and minority languages and Historical Linguistics.

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This paper aims at showing how dominant historical linguistic views influenced and still influence the difference in status between national or standard languages and minority and regional languages.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century language played an important role in the process of nation formation. The results of the modern historical linguistics of that time played a significant role in this process. It was the educated national language that counted, a language resulting from a long historical process and emerging from different sources and varieties, often after a long struggle. The ideological identification of nation with central power and one official language became more or less automatic in Western Europe till the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Evidently this policy implied an inferior position for non-national languages, such as dialects and regional and minority languages and thus endangered the position and sometimes even the existence of these languages.

This situation lasted for almost two centuries. It was only in 1992 that a European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages was adopted. This new approach, in which certain rights are given to non-standard national and supranational languages, cannot be dissociated from new interests in minorities in politics and sociolinguistics. (See e.g. Council of Europe 2010, Hamans 2009, Nic Shuibne 2002, Woehrling 2005.) This interest is a consequence of a change in the dominant ideological paradigm: from a centralistic, nationalistic ideology aiming at homogeneous societies to a view in which societies are seen as heterogeneous and as a patchwork of different groups. This ideological change started after the Second World War and speeded up in the sixties of the last century. Within linguistics it led to the prevalence of sociolinguistics over traditional historical linguistics.

However this ideological change never became complete and in recent years a tendency towards a more nationalistic policy can be seen again. This has effects on the implementation of the Charter which is different from country to country. In this paper the situation in Spain is compared to that of France. Also some attention is paid to the different treatment of Frisian and Limburger in the Netherlands. The last example demonstrates how influential traditional historical linguistic thinking still is.

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### An Algorithm for Isogloss-compatible historical reconstruction.

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Assume we are given a set of languages and characters, as well as a probability of change  $P(C)$  for each character, e.g.

	$L_1$	$L_2$	$L_3$	$L_4$	
Character1	A	A	B	A	$P(C_1)=0.1$
Character2	C	C	B	C	$P(C_2)=0.2$
Character3	A	B	C	D	$P(C_3)=0.4$

Assuming that the languages evolved in the tree model, where shared innovations define a subgroup, we may now ask, what is the most likely tree give the languages, characters and probabilities? Every subgrouping choice has the possibility of “cheaply” explaining a number of isoglosses, while at the same time, isoglosses that do not coincide with a certain subgrouping must be “expensively” explained in terms of parallel development or posterior innovations. Intuitively, in the example above, subgrouping  $L_1$ ,  $L_2$  and  $L_4$  by the innovations in Characters 1 and 2 is more probable than explaining them as individual innovations, but had there been cross-cutting isoglosses or other probability values the best explanation may have been no subgrouping at all.

We propose a straightforward algorithm by recursively finding the most recent subgrouping. Given a subgrouping proposal, its probability can be calculated for one character, and, assuming independence, multiplied to achieved an overall probability. With the assumption that the most recent subgrouping is mirrored in at least one isogloss, the search space is shrunk from exponential to  $O(|C| \cdot |L|)$ .

The advantages over current alternative methods (cf. Felsenstein 2004; Ronquist et al. 2011) that search for trees through Gibbs sampling are a) the search heuristic and operation is readily interpretable to linguists, b) integration of non-tree like forms of evolution, e.g., borrowing, linkages, are easily integrateable and c) no undue preference for binary branchings is leveraged due to the constraint of explaining isoglosses.

The approach will be tested on the Chibcha-sphere dataset developed and published by Constenla Umaña (1991, 88-120, 179-185).

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**Going Left. A Comparative Study of Left Displacement  
in Avatime, Lakhota, Tundra Yukaghir and Whitesands.**

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Left displaced elements seem to be extremely frequent, if not universal, phenomena across languages. Despite their surface similarity, however, they tend to display strikingly different features, both structurally and functionally (Prince 1998, Lambrecht 2001, papers in Shaer et al. 2009, Gundel et al. 2010, etc.). Our purpose is to investigate (a) the correlation of the structural variability of left-detachment constructions and the overall linguistic type of the language (head- vs. dependent-marking, head-final vs. head-initial, pronominal vs. zero anaphor, etc.), and (b) the range of discourse-pragmatic functions these constructions can perform from the point of view of information structure and discourse organisation.

The study is based on a fine-grained analysis of naturally occurring instances of left dislocation in four geographically and genealogically distinct languages, Avatime (Kwa, West Africa), Lakhota (Siouan, northern USA), Tundra Yukaghir (isolate, north-eastern Siberia), and Whitesands (Oceanic, Vanuatu). The formal parameters of variation investigated include prosodic features of pitch assignment and phrasing, the frequency and type of resumption within the clause, integration within the clause via case/cross-referencing on the verb, recursivity, connectivity effects such as binding by quantifiers and island sensitivity, etc. The variation in the functional load of left detached elements is explored on the basis of their anaphoric and cataphoric relevance, the degree and type of activation and their semantic and information-structural relations to the clause. It is shown that the types of left detachment represented in the languages under investigation vary depending on the argument structure marking strategies employed in the language and the types of anaphora resolution employed. Furthermore, the functional variability is shown to be at least in part a function of the linguistic type, the relevant features being the presence of dedicated topic/focus positions in the clause architecture and the pronominal inventory.

We provide an RRG-based account of these empirical findings, which both captures the universal features of left detachment and takes the cross-linguistic variability into account.

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**Appraisal and intersubjective positioning in a political discourse:  
appraisal in Bush and Obama's discourses to the Islamic and Arabic worlds.**

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Despite the fact that a close look at the content of Obama's speech in Cairo 2009 shows that it has nearly the same content as Bush's speech in Abu Dhabi in 2008, Obama received an instant positive reaction from his addressees interrupting him more than one time, shouting "we love you Obama", something which had not happened through Bush's speech. This fact creates inevitable questions: such as, how could Obama manipulate his addressees to make them believe that his policy will be different from Bush's? In other words, how did Obama engage them? On the other hand, why did Bush's speech fail to engage his addressees as much as Obama did? How did Bush and Obama position themselves linguistically in these speeches, as presidents of the USA, with respect to the Islamic and Arabic world?

Considering these two speeches as a very interesting source to answer such questions, just linguistically, this paper, following Martin and White(2005) Biber et al.1999,Chilton(2004)and Hunston & Thompson(1999),is concerned with the linguistic resources of appraisal and intersubjective positioning. It deals with the role the dialogistic effects play in meaning making processes by which the two presidents negotiate relationships of alignment /disalignment with their addressees. It explores how each one of the two presidents invites his addressees to endorse and to share with

him the feelings, tastes or normative assessments he is announcing. In other words, it explores the ways in which both presidents, Bush and Obama, “write the reader into the text”. (Martin and White 2005). This means to explore how each one of them takes it for granted that the addressee shares with him a particular viewpoint. And how the relationship of solidarity has been created. Thus, expecting to find higher frequency of appraisal categories in president Obama’s speech this paper approaches the concept of appraisal in a broad sense comparing the following features in the two discourses:

- 1- Engagement with its two main sub-categories: A- Dialogic Contraction and its sub- categories: a-Proclaim: Concur, Pronounce, Endorse. b-Disclaim: deny, Counter, B- Dialogic Expansion and its sub-category: a-Entertain, b-Attribute.
- 2- Attitude with its three sub-categories: Affect, Judgment, and appreciation with the sub-categories of each one. As graduation is a distinguished property of attitude and at the same time a feature of engagement this paper gives a good space to it and its sub- categories in order to give a complete analysis to the two discourses.
- 3- Graduation: A- Focus. B-Force with its sub-categories a- quantification: number, mass, extent. b- intensification: quality and process.

The methodology followed in this paper consists of a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis. A manual analysis of the selected items has been carried out, followed by a computer assisted analysis in order to be sure of the identification. The contextual features of the uses of the explored linguistic sources have been taken in account during the manual analysis. Results show, first, that president Obama’s speech presents a significantly higher frequency of appraisal categories represented in the various sub-categories of engagements, attitudes and graduation than president Bush’s speech which will be dealt with in details during the congress.

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## Constructing epistemic continuity in Kathmandu Newar.

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Once thought to be solely a property of the inflectional morphology, egophoric marking in Kathmandu Newar is now shown to appear in two distinct morphological domains: past tense /-ā/, which contrasts with perfective and imperfective forms, and a simple form of the auxiliary verb /*dhun*-/ ‘finish,’ which contrasts with the causative form (Bendix 1973; Hale 1980; Hargreaves 2005; 2012). Underlying these egophoric distributions is a template with two essential properties: first, a constraint on privileged access to, and the attribution of, certain inner states; second, the allocation of this epistemic privilege across turns at talk, e.g., 2nd interrogative > 1st declarative. Egophoricity in Newar is thus a type of complex perspective marking in discourse whereby a current speaker assesses and formally indexes epistemic asymmetries between self and addressee, relative to specific inner state predicates.

More significantly, one common intuition about egophoric distributions, explicitly stated for Newar in Bendix (1991), is that when a speaker uses the 2nd interrogative egophoric form, it anticipates the kind of evidence the speaker expects the addressee “will base [the] answer on” (1992:229). In this account, the formal similarity of 2nd/1st egophoric marking reflects the fact that the interrogative form anticipates the continuity of a preferred response on the part of the addressee, who then, as next speaker, sanctions the epistemic stance by maintaining the same formal marking in the context of 1st person declarative. Thus, unlike canonical 2nd/1st person agreement marking, or overt pronouns, which index a deictic shift via their formal discontinuity across interrogative/declarative turns at talk, egophoric marking constructs a kind of “epistemic continuity” across 2nd interrogative/1st declarative adjacency pairs. Egophoric marking thus represents a specific parameter in a typology of “complex perspective” in the sense that it *maintains* the formal indexing of epistemic privilege even as the deictic center (and pronominal form) shifts from one speech act participant to another.



In this paper then, using data from conversational texts, as well as dialog in oral narratives and written narratives, including two Late Classical Newar texts (*Batīsaputrikākathā* and *Vicitrakarṇikāvadānoddhṛta*), I examine Newar egophoric forms in interaction, specifically comparing their appearance in first/second pair parts with their appearance in first person monologic narrative sequences. By examining egophoric continuity and discontinuity in narratives and across turns at talk, I explore the extent to which the formal unity of 2nd interrogative/1st declarative in Newar egophoricity may be said to be a function of a dialogically constructed intersubjectivity. In the context of a typology of complex perspective taking, this account of egophoric marking raises an important question about the distinction between (a) formal marking of complex epistemic perspective as a type of “recipient design” in single clauses/single speaker utterances, in contrast with (b) the formal construction of complex epistemic continuity marking across clauses/utterances in interaction, a distinction which speaks to the very heart of the concept of intersubjectivity (cf. Evans 2007; Fitzmaurice 2004; Schegloff 2006).

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## Coding causal-noncausal verb alternations: a form-frequency correspondence explanation.

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We propose, and provide corpus-based support for, a usage-based explanation for cross-linguistic trends in the coding of causal-noncausal verb pairs, such as *raise/rise*, *melt (tr.)/melt (intr.)*, *break (tr.)/break (intr.)*. While English mostly uses the same verb both for the causal and the noncausal sense (i.e. labile expression), most languages have extra coding for the causal verb (i.e. causative coding) or for the noncausal verb (i.e. anticausative coding). Thus, Maltese has *dar* ‘turn (intr.)’ vs. *dawwar* ‘turn (tr.)’, and Romanian has *usca* ‘dry (tr.)’ vs. *se usca* ‘dry (intr.)’. Causative and anticausative coding is not randomly distributed (Haspelmath 1993): Some verbs such as ‘freeze’, ‘dry’ and ‘melt’ tend to be expressed as causatives, while others such as ‘break’, ‘open’ and ‘split’ tend to be expressed as anticausatives. Languages like Japanese and Swahili (shown in 1b and 1c) are typical; causative-prominent languages like Swahili and anticausative-prominent languages like Arabic (in 1a, 1d) are neutral and do not provide evidence either way. What is not found is languages where ‘freeze’-type words have anticausative coding and ‘break’-type verbs have causative coding.

(1)		a. Indonesian	b. Japanese	c. Swahili	d. Standard Arabic
'freeze'	(intr.)	<i>mem-beku</i>	<i>kooru</i>	<i>ganda</i>	<i>ta-jammada</i>
	(tr.)	<i>mem-beku-kan</i>	<i>koor-aseru</i>	<i>gand-isha</i>	<i>jammada</i>
'break'	(intr.)	<i>patah</i>	<i>war-eru</i>	<i>vunj-ika</i>	<i>in-kasara</i>
	(tr.)	<i>me-matah-kan</i>	<i>waru</i>	<i>vunja</i>	<i>kasara</i>

In much previous work (e.g. Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Koontz-Garboden 2009), it was assumed that formal coding reflects the verbal semantics, and that anticausative coding is used only with verbs expressing externally caused events, while causative coding is used only with verbs expressing internally caused events.

Our proposal, by contrast, does not assume a particular semantic analysis of the verb pairs but instead proposes an explanation in terms of usage frequency. Frequency often determines linguistic coding (with very high frequency leading to suppletion, and lower frequency leading to greater coding length), for well-understood reasons of coding efficiency. Our basic observation is that coding type is significantly correlated with cross-linguistic usage frequency: Verb pairs for which the noncausal member is more frequent tend to be expressed as anticausatives, while verbs pairs where the causal member is more frequent tend to be expressed as causatives. This is demonstrated using corpus data from eight languages from three different continents.

Usage frequency is only one of the factors that determines coding, and it does so over very long periods of time, so its effects are not easy to see. Only our unique methodology of considering both coding asymmetries and frequency asymmetries in a range of diverse languages allowed us to discover this pattern and its explanation.

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### "Le mal semble plus profond qu'il n'y paraît".

#### Evidentiality and modality of the French verbs *sembler* and *paraître*.

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The two French verbs *sembler* and *paraître* are often considered as quasi-synonyms, communicating a judgement of appearance, epistemic modality, or evidentiality. Admittedly, they share roughly the same syntax and the same semantic area, but the degree of semantic and pragmatic convergence of the two verbs depends on the syntactic construction involved. Thus, the impersonal constructions *il semble que* and *il paraît que* trigger distinctly different interpretations, the former conveying an evidential value of hearsay or rumour - *il paraît que Marie est malade* - while the latter can express an evidential judgement of inference - *il semble que Marie soit malade*. On the other hand, followed by an infinitive, the two verbs are generally considered interchangeable without significant change of meaning: *Marie semble/paraît comprendre*. As for the attributive construction, it is supposed to convey with our two verbs a judgement of appearance, typically based on immediate perception: *Marie semble/paraît malade*, with nevertheless a more pronounced nuance of direct sensory impression with *paraître*. Finally, the parenthetical use of the two verbs is seen either as a simple variant of the impersonal construction, or as an attenuator similar to utterance adverbs by its syntactic independence: *Marie est malade, semble t-il/paraît-il*. In addition, with all the constructions, the speaker has the possibility to state an overt experiencer as the source of the epistemic-evidential judgement, usually – but not exclusively – in the form of a personal dative pronoun: *il me semble que Marie est malade*; *Marie me semble/paraît comprendre*; *Marie me semble/paraît malade*; *Marie est malade, me semble-t-il*.

How could we explain that these two verbs of originally quite distinct semantic values have come to function as apparently very close epistemic-evidential markers? What role should be attributed, on the one hand, to the semantics of the verb, on the other hand, to the syntactic construction in which it enters? Inspired by a number of examples from a corpus of journalistic prose, we propose to study some aspects of *sembler* and *paraître*, in the light of evidential parameters such as type of source of information, access mode and intersubjectivity. We will thus be able to show a certain number of interesting synergisms from the interaction of grammatical construction and the lexical semantics of our two verbs.

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**Spontaneity, relative frequency and the encoding of anticausatives:  
a contrastive analysis of French and Spanish.**

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1) Goals: In both French and Spanish, anticausatives can be encoded by two types of verbs: unmarked anticausative verbs and reflexive anticausative verbs (e.g. French *X augmente* 'X increases' (=UAC) vs. *X se brise* 'X breaks' (=RAC)). The goal of my contribution is to test the following hypothesis on the encoding of the anticausative alternant (cf. also Haspelmath 1993, 2008): The encoding of a verb's anticausative alternant depends on the verb's spontaneity in a way that non-spontaneous verbs tend to formally mark the anticausative (and thus use RAC) while spontaneous verbs tend to form unmarked anticausatives.

The contrastive perspective is important because the two types of anticausatives have different statuses in the two languages: RAC (as opposed to UAC) is much more frequent in Spanish than in French (cf. amongst others Rothemberg 1974, Sánchez Lopez 2002).

2) Method: The methodological challenges are: (i) the spontaneity of a verb is not directly measurable and (ii) the spontaneity may not be deduced from the encoding of the anticausative if one wants to verify whether the encoding depends on spontaneity. I assume that a verb's spontaneity is reflected by the relative frequency of causative and anticausative use (cf. Haspelmath 2008, Heidinger (accepted)). In a corpus study I have investigated 16 alternating verbs in each of the two languages. In order to test the above hypothesis I have put in relation (i) the spontaneity of the verbs (= the relative frequency of causative and anticausative) and (ii) how the verbs encode the anticausative alternant.

3) Results: French spontaneous verbs, i.e. verbs where the anticausative is more frequent than the causative tend to encode the anticausative alternant with UAC. French non-spontaneous verbs, i.e. verbs where the causative is more frequent than the anticausative tend to encode the anticausative alternant with RAC. The results strongly support the hypothesis for the French data, where spontaneity is a good predictor of the encoding of the anticausative.

Spanish spontaneous verbs fall into two groups: verbs encoding the anticausative alternant with UAC vs. verbs encoding it with RAC. Spanish non-spontaneous verbs use RAC for the anticausative alternant. As a consequence, spontaneity can only predict the encoding of the anticausative alternant of non-spontaneous verbs, but not of spontaneous verbs.

From a contrastive perspective two interrelated differences are important: a) spontaneity is a good predictor of the encoding of the anticausative in French, but not in Spanish, b) RACs are much more frequently used to encode the anticausative of spontaneous verbs in Spanish than in French.

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### Imperatives and their functional synonyms in the German standard and in the military language.

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Imperatives in German are often described as expressing a wide range of directive meanings. They have a prototypical interpretation (order/request), but can as well represent other speech acts in different contexts, such as interdiction, wish, advice, permission and many more (Kaufmann 2011). In languages with a defective morphological imperative pattern, such as in German, where only the 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular and plural exist, several functional synonyms with a similar range of meanings can be found that fill the gaps or double the forms of the paradigm (Heinold t.a. 2012, Birjulin/Xrakovskij 2001). Infinitives, past participles and indicative sentences with special intonation are frequent and used with many different verbs not only in the standard, but also in a special subset of German, where orders and commands play a major role - the military language.

Literature on the topic, such as Aikhenvald (2010), Birjulin/Xrakovskij (2001) or Brown/Levinson (1978), often attributes a different illocutionary force to the mentioned functional synonyms of the imperative and claims that they are restricted to certain contexts. Thus the past participle is exclusively associated with military commands and estimated as impolite and maximally face-threatening (*Aufgesessen!* 'Sit up!', *Stillgestanden!* 'Stand still!'). Infinitives are said to come up mainly in the context of interdictions or prescriptions addressed to a general public (*Einsteigen!* 'Get in!', *Ziehen!* 'Pull!', *Drücken!* 'Push!'), whereas the indicative is considered to be more face-threatening than the prototypical imperative as it (has to) mention the addressee explicitly and therefore leaves no room to ignore the order (*Peter steht jetzt sofort auf!* 'Peter will get up immediately!') (Brown/Levinson 1978). For the military language, where imperatives play an important role, there is not much genuinely linguistic literature investigating this phenomenon. In Schweinitz (1992) the morphological imperative is attributed the strongest illocutionary force and one unambiguous meaning – order – whereas new, formally different variations of commandos (like participle and infinitive) are considered as weaker and less personal.

In this talk I will present corpus data which shows that all of the three mentioned functional synonyms come up in the standard language and cover different illocutionary forces, depending on the context.

(1)

- a. Participle: *Hereinspaziert!* 'Come in!', *HSV-Fans, Aufgepasst!* 'Pay attention, HSV supporters!'
- b. Infinitive: *Zurückbleiben bitte!* 'Stay back please!', *Lieber ehrlich sein!* 'Better be honest!'
- c. Indicative: *Du packst jetzt bitte deine Sachen!* 'Please pack your things!'

With many verbs all of the mentioned forms can be exchanged for one another, although the participles seem to underly morphological restrictions (*Steh auf!*, *Aufstehen!*, *Aufgestanden!*, *Du stehst jetzt auf!* 'Get up!') (Heinold t.a. 2012). Also military commandos can be uttered in all of the mentioned forms. Based on Brown/Levinson's (1978) parameters for the weightiness of face-threatening acts as well as context analyses of corpus data, I will show in how far there exist different prerequisites for the usage and the interpretation of German imperatives and their functional synonyms in the standard as well as in the military language.

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**Detached NPs with relative clauses in Finnish conversations.**

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This paper is part of a larger project concerning the structure and use of relative clauses in Finnish conversation (Helasvuo & Laury 2009) based on over 11 hours of multi-party conversations and telephone calls containing 342 relative clauses. In this paper, we consider NPs with relative clauses which are not part of any clause; that is, free NPs (Tao 1996, Helasvuo 2001) which include a clause. This group of NPs includes both so-called right and left dislocations and other types of detachments. The theoretical framework used is Interactional Linguistics, an approach which combines insights from discourse-functional linguistics, anthropological linguistics and conversation analysis (e.g. Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001). In this study, we view grammar as emergent from actual use in interaction, and not as a pre-existing system (Hopper 1988). This means that grammar and grammatical constructions are responsive to local contingencies and reflecting in their form the uses to which they are put in their conversational contexts (cf. Pekarek Doehler 2010).

In our relative clause corpus, the percentage of free NPs among the heads of relative clauses (RCs) is relatively high (63/342 or 18 %) and much higher compared to their frequency in conversational discourse (cf. Helasvuo 2001: 90). The detachments in our Finnish data do not organize the information structure in the way described by Lambrecht (1981, 1994) for French. Neither do they seem to serve a topicalizing function similar to the one described by Geluykens (1992) for English. Instead, they appear to function in formulation and negotiation of reference in a variety of ways. Detachments do not seem nearly as grammaticized in Finnish as they are, for example, in French, as described by e.g. Pekarek Doehler (2001, 2010). Instead, they are an emergent category whose varying lexicosyntactic forms reflect and shape the uses to which they are put.

We find three major types of constructions consisting of a detached NP and a relative clause in our database: (1) forward linking, (2) backward linking, and (3) DNP + RC constructions with no clear link to either preceding or following talk. We will discuss their morphosyntactic form, referential properties, and discourse functions. We will further explore their syntactic linking and the kinds of action they project in their sequential environments. We will show that their lexicosyntactic forms and interactional functions are closely related and guide the participants in formulating upcoming actions.

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**Ayer he hecho vs. Ayer yo hice.****On the increasing use of the (Peninsular) Spanish present perfect to describe completed actions.**

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In reference grammars of Spanish the use of the Present Perfect [PP] in connection with the temporal adverb *ayer* 'yesterday' is (still) described as a "misuse" and sentences like *lo/le he visto ayer* are asterisked to indicate incorrectness (cf. Butt/Benjamin 2004: 226).

However, Schwenter (1994) illustrates that in Peninsular Spanish the PP may be used to refer to completed actions if they are regarded as relevant at the moment of speaking. As the PP is increasingly used to refer to past (completed) actions, it is described as being involved in "an active grammaticalization process" (Schwenter/Torres

2008: 2). The use of the PP is usually distinguished from the Preterit in that the former relates a past action to the time of utterance, while the latter refers to a past event lacking any reference to the present (Butt/Benjamin 2004: 209, 227). In a recent study Holmes/Balukas (2011: 82) show that the “PP and the Preterit are compatible with references to perfective events occurring in a ‘yesterday’ range”. According to Schwenter/Torres the use of the PP is more subjective and speaker-based, which leads to the assumption that the PP is more used with first person than with, for instance, third person.

The paper contributes to the study of the use of the (Peninsular) Spanish PP from a diachronic as well as synchronic perspective working with the corpus programmes CREA and CORDE, in which it is searched for

<b>ayer he</b>	‘yesterday I have [...]’
<b>[followed by a past participle form]</b>	
<b>ayer ha</b>	‘yesterday he/she/it has [...]’

and

<b>[preceding noun like <i>año</i> ‘year’; <i>mes</i> ‘month’ etc.]</b>	<b><i>pasado he</i></b> ‘last [...] I have [...]’
	<b><i>pasado ha</i></b> ‘last [...] he/she/it has [...]’

like in the following examples from CREA:

[...] y **ayer he comprado** un aire acondicionado y me da calor en vez de frío.

[...] and **yesterday I have bought** an air conditioner and it gives off heat instead of cooling down.

(ORAL, 15/07/91)

[...] ya que “el **año pasado he visto** poco al equipo. [...]”

[...] because “**last year I have seen** the team sparsely. [...]”

(PRENSA, 26/10/2002)

Certain uses of the PP which are considered ‘perfectly normal’ as in the following example – because the PP is used in connection with *desde* ‘since’ – are excluded from the qualitative analysis:

[...] que Santa Fe desde el **año pasado ha estado** en contacto con [...]

[...] that Santa Fe **has been** in contact with [...] since **last year**.

(PRENSA, 11/07/1997)

The approach is context-sensitive in order to determine the influencing factors that favour the verb to be used in PP (instead of in Preterit). For the description of the diachronic development of the use of the PP to refer to completed actions the study has a qualitative as well as a quantitative side. It is expected that the use of the PP to refer to completed actions has increased over time.

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## Corpora

REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CORDE) [online]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>> [04/12/2011].

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**La evaluación positiva y negativa del enunciado**  
**(por suerte, por fortuna, por desgracia, afortunadamente, desafortunadamente, desgraciadamente).**

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El adverbio es una categoría particularmente compleja y heterogénea. Frente a los adverbios tradicionales, la lingüística textual y la pragmática llamaron la atención sobre aquellos que no indican una circunstancia del verbo, sino que afectan al hecho mismo del acto de comunicación (enunciación, foco, enunciado...) y que forman una amplia nómina de elementos periféricos respecto de la predicación. Hay, afortunadamente, algunos trabajos sobre estos adverbios oracionales: recordemos que ya Alarcos -1970-, al hablar de la frase "Desgraciadamente, nunca lo comprendió", comenzó a interesarse por ellos o que Alcina-Blecua -1975- los denominaron *comentarios oracionales*. Pero, lamentablemente, escasean los estudios diacrónicos. Parece razonable pensar que, si conocemos cómo surgen y cómo se desarrollan estas unidades comprenderemos mejor su funcionamiento actual. En el caso de estos adverbios, es importante conocer cuándo y cómo adquieren su valor "oracional" y qué relación tienen con las perífrasis de las que proceden o con las que alternan en el uso (*Es una suerte que...*, *Es una desgracia que...*) o de perífrasis sinónimas (*Gracias a Dios...*). También tiene relevancia el estudio de su posición en la oración.

Además, ahora que se está planteando la elaboración de un diccionario histórico de nueva planta (que se está elaborando bajo la dirección del profesor Pascual Rodríguez), no está de más reflexionar sobre cómo pueden aparecer ordenados los diferentes sentidos de estos adverbios y qué relaciones se establecen entre los diferentes elementos del paradigma concreto: ver en este ámbito, en definitiva, cómo se materializan en los textos las diferentes direcciones del cambio lingüístico.

De los adverbios evaluativos, vamos a centrarnos en seis: *por suerte, por fortuna, por desgracia, afortunadamente, desafortunadamente, desgraciadamente*, que forman un subgrupo homogéneo que va constituyéndose tardíamente (en el siglo XVIII parece que se consolida su uso). Presuponen la verdad del enunciado al que se refieren, (por tanto no se combinan con proposiciones en imperativo o subjuntivo); solo inciden sobre una aseveración ("Afortunadamente, conoceremos Suecia"), aunque ésta puede tener la forma de una exclamación o una interrogación ("Afortunadamente, ¡qué poco queda ya para el Congreso!").

Seguiremos su aparición y evolución (en muchos casos, desde adverbios de modo a adverbios externos) en los textos (Corde y Crea) y su aparición y definición en los diccionarios (*Nuevo Tesoro Lexicográfico* de la Real Academia). Naturalmente, estudiaremos en qué tipo de textos comienzan a utilizarse y estableceremos una relación (si la hubiera) entre tipo de texto o registro y cada uno de los elementos del paradigma, puesto que sabemos que nunca los elementos son homogéneos.

Este trabajo se enmarca en el proyecto de investigación titulado *Diccionario histórico. Adverbios y locuciones adverbiales* (FFI2010-15154), financiado por el Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación.

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### **The influence of the regional elite of kyiv upon the language situation in the city.**

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The question over the influence of elites upon the language situation in Ukraine was raised by Masenko [3; 4] and her colleagues [2] in their articles [5; 6] and books [1] in the spheres of sociolinguistics and sociology of language. Masenko and colleagues explain such influence intuitively or based upon the principle of "being apparent." Thus, Masenko asserts that *"The analysis of the conflict level in the relationship of the two different language communities of Ukraine testifies that its high level characterises first and foremost the relationship of the regional language elites. Contrary to that there is in fact no confrontation among the population of Ukraine in general as far as its Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking communities are concerned."* [5: 111-112] Masenko's conclusion is based upon the results of sociological research conducted with the representatives of the society at large.

The drawback of the above-mentioned research approach is that it is based on the opinion polls of all groups of population without controlling it through such factors as age, education, financial, or social status, etc. Thus, there is almost no research of linguistic behaviour and language attitudes of separate social groups in Ukraine. Thus, Masenko and her school conduct research into the influence of the elites upon the language situation in Ukraine and practically pay no attention to the "elites" themselves. It is research into the societal group named "elites", which shall answer the yet unanswered issues empirically.

This report at the 45<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the SLE shall cover the influence of regional elites on the language situation in Kyiv. My entire dissertation project, however, includes similar research in the cities of Donetsk, L'viv and Mykolayiv. This research shall include analysis of two groups: elites and the general population.

"Regional elites" shall be understood here as groups of business and political actors whose influence is considerable at the local (city and provincial) level. Such influence (by means of illustration only) may be exerted by means of voting in city or regional councils, or owning businesses active in the regional markets.

Data collection for the project took place by means of face-to-face interviews conducted in L'viv, Kyiv, Mykolayiv, and in Donetsk with one questionnaire for all the groups under analysis.

The research is performed largely on the basis of analysis of language attitudes. This is preconditioned by the idea that having understood the language attitudes dominant with a certain group in a certain place and time one can foresee the future actions of the actors influencing the language situation. The major methodological instruments of analysis used in this research project are the matched-guise test and the semantic differential test. These two methods are reliable instruments, which have proved themselves in numerous cultural and language contexts.

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### **Historical linguistics under siege? Recent attacks on historical-comparative methodology.**

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The discovery of the relationship of Sanskrit to the other Indo-European languages had a variety of consequences for nationalist and indigenist ideologies, especially after late 19<sup>th</sup>-century scholarship postulated an (Indo-)Aryan migration

or invasion into India. Best known is what Poliakov (1971) has called the “Aryan Myth”, which fueled Nazi ideology. Less well known, but continuing into the present, are Indian nationalist and Hindu-extremist reactions.

While the Nazis embraced the “Aryan” invasion theory as supporting their ideology of “Nordic” superiority, Indian nationalists objected (e.g. Vivekananda 1897), and since Golwalkar (1939) the Hindu-extremist movement “Hindutva” asserts that Aryans/Hindus are indigenous to India and thus the only true Indians — adherents of Islam and Christianity are of foreign origin, not truly Indian, and hence may be suppressed or worse. (The March 2002 anti-Muslim pogrom in Gujarat is terrifying testimony to this ideology.)

To support their ideology, nationalists and extremists employ two strategies. One is to deny the validity of Indo-European linguistics, drawing on publications that question historical- comparative methodology, such as Berlant (2008) and Marcantonio (2010, In Press); see Kalyanaraman 2009, Kelkar 2009. The other strategy attempts to explain the spread of Indo-European languages in terms of migration out of India; see Talageri 2008.

I demonstrate that neither of these strategies stands up under close scrutiny. This finding, in turn, deprives the indigenist agenda of its “scholarly” foundations.

Berlant’s argument starts with the claim that the regularity hypothesis wrongly rejects “obvious” relationships such as Lat. *caput* : Germ. *Kopf* ‘head’. I show that Berlant’s approach is incompatible with the historical record (OHG *kopf* means ‘cup, pot’; the meaning ‘head’ begins to appear in MHG) and ignores the semantic parallel of Lat. *testa* ‘pot’ > Ital. *testa*, Fr. *tête* ‘head’ and its interesting implications regarding medieval contacts. Among other things, Marcantonio objects to the large number of sound changes required to derive attested forms from reconstructed PIE; but this ignores that similar large numbers of changes are needed to account for changes from, say, Latin to Spanish.

Talageri’s approach is partly similar to Berlant’s, such as claiming that the Vedic tribal name *Druhyu* is identical to Celtic *Druid*, and that this shows that the Celts migrated out of India. Under the regularity hypothesis, the equation won’t stand — *Druhyu* equates to OIr. *druig*\* or the like, and *druid*- corresponds to (virtual) Skt. *druvid*-. In part, however, Talageri’s approach appears to be more sophisticated, proposing a complex scenario of Out-of-India migrations and linguistic realignments. However, his data are secondary, taken from Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1995), who postulated an Indo-European homeland near the Caucasus, and Talageri fails to show how the same data establish Indian origin instead. Moreover, to account for Indo-European dialectology, Talageri postulates a set of six hypothetical stages of migrations and reconfigurations, a violation of Occam’s Razor, especially compared to Hock’s (1999) simple dialectological scenario of Indo-European dispersal from a homeland in the steppes of southeastern Europe and Central Asia.

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**Causes and consequences of linguistic phylogenetic reticulation.**

Holman, Eric; Wichmann, Søren and Walker, Robert

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Phylogenetic networks (Huson et al. 2010) are increasingly used as tools for representing historical relationships among languages. Pioneering papers in this area include Forster et al. (1998) and Bryant et al. (2005). Networks have enjoyed a more recent widespread use, as illustrated in papers on a variety of topics, such as the status of creoles (Bakker et al. 2011), the use of structural features to assess historical relationships (Dunn et al. 2005, Wichmann and Saunders 2007) or the classification of individual language groups such as Quechuan/Aymaran (McMahon et al. 2005), Karnic (Bowerman 2010), and varieties of English (McMahon et al. 2007), to name a few. This recent popularity is in no small measure due to the ready availability of software to produce such networks, primarily Splitstree (Huson and Bryant 2006).

Networks reveal contradictory phylogenetic signals. But beyond the extreme and obvious situations networks can pose difficulties for pure, visual interpretation because of the large amount of information they contain. Thus, a non-visual, quantitative way of expressing reticulation associated with languages or groups of languages is necessary. Two different reticulation metrics suitable for distance-based data have been proposed in the literature:  $\delta$  (Holland et al. 2002) and q-residuals (Gray et al. 2010). Having implemented and tested these for their adequacy we have found  $\delta$  to be superior. This metric facilitates larger, comparative studies which disclose origins of phylogenetic conflicts and help us to answer questions such as the following:

- Do recently diverged dialect chains contain more reticulation?
- Does language extinction enhance treelikeness over time (Garrett 2006)?
- Does age or size of a language group influence reticulation?
- How do more vs. less reticulate networks produced through a single, consistent method of classification compare with the views of experts working within traditional historical linguistic frameworks?

In this paper we address all these questions, but for reasons of time the oral presentation will focus in particular on the last one. We show that there is a correlation between  $\delta$ -scores for phylogenies established through the application of modified Levenshtein distance (Wichmann et al. 2010a) to the 40-item word lists of the ASJP project (Wichmann et al. 2011) and the degree to which ASJP phylogenies accord with the classification in *Ethnologue* (Paul 2009) according to Pompei et al. (2010). We then test whether lack of accord is due to something inherent in the behavior of different language families. A linguistic behavioral hypothesis finds support from a correlation between  $\delta$ -scores for individual languages and the density of languages in their surroundings, more precisely each language's harmonic mean distance to all other languages in *Ethnologue* ( $\rho = -.40$ ,  $p = .001$ ). Thus, languages more in potential contact with linguistic neighbors tend to be harder to classify unambiguously using a Stammbaum-based method.

**Baltic as a key area of typological research:****The domain of epistemic, evidential and interpretive marking**

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The paper highlights a domain in which the evidence of Baltic has proved fruitful in typologically oriented research over the last decades: that of the rendering and (modal) qualification of propositional content. It consists of three subdomains: epistemic modality, evidentiality and interpretive use marking. The first two have already received ample coverage in the literature. Interpretive use (a notion that goes back to Sperber & Wilson 1986) is the use of linguistic utterances to refer to other utterances rather than to states of affairs. The notion that languages may develop markers of interpretive use was advanced by Blass (1990) and Blakemore (1999); these authors, however, tend to identify evidentiality as interpretive use marking, which is hardly adequate and has not met with response from investigators of evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004 et al.). Interpretive use marking is defined as a *sui generis* type of linguistic marking (distinct from evidentiality) by Holvoet (2004), Holvoet & Konickaja (2011), Holvoet (2011); this proposal crucially involves Baltic evidence. In the domain of evidentiality and evidential strategies Baltic has provided important evidence for discussion, cf. Lavine (2006, 2010), Holvoet (2007) and others; we should add Nau's (2006) discussion of logophoricity in a Baltic areal context and Nau's (2008) account of Letgalian evidentials as a narrative device.

The topic specifically addressed in the talk is the relation between epistemic, evidential and interpretive use marking, illustrated from Baltic and neighbouring languages. It is argued that interpretive use marking, though distinct from evidential marking, is related to and shows frequent instances of overlap with epistemic and evidential marking.

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### Uralic language diversification: shape, timing, and connections with cultural and climatic factors.

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The Uralic languages have traditionally been studied non-quantitatively using comparative linguistic methods. Despite the recent interest in studying languages with quantitative methods used in biology (e.g. Gray & Atkinson 2003, Lee & Hasegawa 2011), the Uralic languages have so far attracted little attention in this field. In our study, which is presented as part of the “Beyond Phylogenies” workshop, we collected basic vocabulary data of 100 items (“Ura100”) from 17 Uralic languages. The Ura100 list was compiled from the meanings included in the Swadesh 100 (Swadesh 1955), the Swadesh 200 (Swadesh 1952) and the Leipzig-Jakarta (Tadmor 2009) lists and it only includes meanings with no reported loanwords in any of the 17 Uralic languages. With this data we inferred a phylogeny of the Uralic languages and estimated the timings of divergences with quantitative Bayesian phylogenetic methods. Both our phylogram and our divergence time estimates were largely comparable to previous views of the Uralic language tree. Our results also highlighted the ambiguity of the branching order in the intermediate divergences, and suggested, for example, a more ancient divergence of Proto-Uralic and a more recent one for the Baltic-Finnic languages than previously estimated.

We further studied whether our divergence time estimates would correspond to changes in climatic (abiotic) and cultural (“biotic”) factors in the studied area. In biology, the factors driving macroevolutionary processes, such as speciation (analogous to language divergence), have been found to be mainly biotic (the Red Queen model) (Van Valen 1973), mainly abiotic (the Court Jester model) (Barnosky 2001) or a combination of both, depending on the temporal and spatial scale observed: Biotic factors, such as species interactions, act in short time spans and small geographical areas, while abiotic factors, such as climatic fluctuation, act on longer time intervals and wider geographical areas. There are earlier studies on the influence of climatic changes on human population dynamics: raising temperature (an abiotic factor) led to an increase in population density whereas decreasing temperature led to population decline in hunter-gatherer societies (Tallavaara & Seppä 2011). Also, the influence of cultural changes (“biotic” processes) on language divergences has been attested (Anttila 1989, Dixon 1997). However, to our knowledge, this was the first time when the effect of changes in climate and culture were studied jointly throughout a language family. We reflected our divergence time estimates with climatic, historical and archaeological information (e.g. establishments of nations, arrival of religions, agriculture) and found that the divergences co-occurred with climatic fluctuation, cultural interaction and migrations of populations. Thus, we propose that language evolution could be studied using the



macroevolutionary framework provided by the Red Queen and the Court Jester models as both cultural alterations and climatic fluctuation seem to contribute to the macroevolution of languages either directly or indirectly.

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### Type Matching Constraint on Modification and Empty Modifiees in Chinese Nominals

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Following a long tradition of viewing modification possibly as intersection (Reichenbach, 1947; Bolinger, 1967; Bach, 1968; Lakoff, 1970; Siegel 1976; Bierwisch, 1989; Larson, 1998; and Heim and Kratzer 1998), Huang (2006) proposes that in a nominal modification structure the modifier and the modifiee must be of the same semantic type. Crucially, Huang assumes that (a) bare nouns in Chinese denote kinds and therefore are type e (Krifka 1995; Chierchia 1998), (b) bare adjectives are also type e because they can be used in argument positions, and (c) *de* is a type shifter on the modifier if it is type <e,t>, as illustrated in (1) below:

(1) [[XP type <e,t>] *de* [YP type e]], where XP is the modifier and YP the modifiee

The type matching account of modification may help shed light on elliptical YPs. In a series of articles, Li (2005, 2008a, 2008b) argues for the existence of true empty categories (TEC). For our purpose, conditions on TECs boil down to the following:

- (2) An empty element must be subcategorized.
- (3) An empty nominal element must be Case-marked.
- (4) English, not Chinese, requires Case to be realized on a lexical item.

With these rules, Le predicts that Chinese should allow for elliptical YPs because (a) YPs are subcategorized by *de* (Li 2008a, Zhang 2009), and (b) YP position is case-marked. This prediction is born out:

(5) wo yao Ming mai na tiao hongse de qunzi, keshi ta yao mai na tiao lanse de (qunzi).  
I want Ming buy that CL red-color DE dress, but she want buy that CL blue-colored DE (dress)

Li recognizes that (6) constitutes a counterexample:

(6) wo hen ganxie jiaolian de bangzhu, ye hen ganxie laoshi de \*(bangzhu).  
I very grateful coach DE help, also very grateful teacher DE (help)

She explains it away by offering two possible accounts: either *bangzhu* belongs to process nominals which still retain their theta role assigning capacities, or (b) *bangzhu* is still a two-place predicate, which retains its argument structure. In either case it cannot be missing. The difference between the two accounts is slight and both follow Fu's (1994)



insight that process nominals have a V as a head inside the nominal structure. However, we have evidence that suggests that it is the predicative nature rather than theta assignment of the process nominals or relational nouns that prevents them from being elliptical:

- (7) *wo gei Xiaoming mai le hen xianyan de yi tiao qunzi, keshi ta pianpian*  
 I for Xiaoming buy ASP very colorful DE one CL dress, but she stubbornly  
*chuan shang hen laoqi de \*(yi tiao qunzi).*  
 put on very dull DE (one CL dress)

YP in (7) is not a theta role assigner. The only thing this YP, which is an indefinite, has in common with that in (6) is that both are predicative.

#### (8) Descriptive Generalization:

In the [XP+de+YP] modification structure, YP cannot be empty if it is predicative.

#### (9) Our Proposed Account:

*De* is a type shifter on both XP and YP. In order for type shifting to take place, the shiftees must be lexically present.

In addition to accounting for both (6) and (7), (9) allows elliptical YPs when they are type *e*, as seen in (5). This semantic versatility lends support to Huang (2006:347) and Li (2012), where it is claimed that *de* is a fusion of Zhu's *de*<sub>2</sub>, which is a predicate marker, and *de*<sub>3</sub>, which is a nominalizer. It has implications on (a) relational nouns as YP (Xu 2003), (b) the proper analysis of light verb constructions where process nominals frequently appear (Lin T.-H. 2001), (c) analysis of comparative constructions where ellipsis abounds (Lin J.-W. 2009), and (d) the proper analysis of modification structures in Thai, another classifier language (Jenks & Huang 2012).

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### The locative alternation in Finnish in a contrastive perspective.

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It is well known that locative verbs show alternation in their argument structure; consider familiar spray/load alternation in English where the original goal is promoted to the direct object position, e.g. “The man loaded apples to the cart” vs. “The man loaded the cart with apples” (cf. Levin 1993). The locative alternation has also been studied in some other Germanic languages, such as German, which codes the same alternation on the verb itself by using prefixes, e.g. *laden-beladen* (cf. Brinkmann 1997). Less research has been conducted on locative alternation in Finnish, although impressive data can be found in studies of verb valency such as Itälä (1984), Kolehmainen (2006), and Pajunen (2001).

From the contrastive point of view, it is first of all important to mention that compared to English and German, Finnish uses oblique cases for the goal in the locative variant as well as for the instrument in the alternate construction, see examples (1) and (2) below.

- |    |                                         |                |                |                   |
|----|-----------------------------------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| 1) | <i>Mies</i>                             | <i>lastasi</i> | <i>omena-t</i> | <i>vaunu-un</i>   |
|    | Man                                     | load. 3sg.pst  | apple-acc.pl   | cart-all          |
|    | ‘The man loaded the apples on the cart’ |                |                |                   |
|    |                                         |                |                |                   |
| 2) | <i>Mies</i>                             | <i>lastasi</i> | <i>vaunu-n</i> | <i>omenoi-lla</i> |
|    | Man                                     | load. 3sg.pst  | cart-acc       | apple.pl-ade      |
|    | ‘The man loaded the cart with apples’   |                |                |                   |

Aside from the differences in coding the argument structure, there is also certain variation across languages with respect to the range of the verbs, which may undergo the locative alternation. For example, while in English both *load* and *pile* can take part in the *spray/load alternation* (cf. Levin 1993), in Finnish the translational equivalent of *pile* (*kasata*) does not admit the instrumental (adessive) construction. Then again, while in English the verbs *bandage*, *bind* and *fill* appear only in the alternate instrumental with-construction, the Finnish translational equivalents of bind and fill (*sitoa* and *täyttää*) may appear in both constructions.

I will discuss the locative alternation from a contrastive perspective in order to determine lexical constraints in Finnish in comparison with English and German. Taking Levin’s work (1993) as a starting point, I hope to find out which verbs (transitive/intransitive; semantic verb classes) may undergo the alternation. More specifically, I will look at three types of object alternation: *Spray/Load Alternation*, *Transitive Clear Alternation* and the *Wipe Alternation*. Since corpus based studies have become increasingly popular in linguistics, my research also draws on the electronic translation corpus *Europarl* (accessible in <http://www.statmt.org/europarl/>).

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### Epistemic Perspective in Kurtöp.

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Recent research, such as Evans (2007), seeks to bring such categories as evidentiality (‘source of knowledge’ e.g. Aikhenvald 2004), mirativity (‘expectations of knowledge’ e.g. DeLancey 1997) and information status (San Roque 2008) together under the concept of epistemic perspective. In Kurtöp, a Tibeto-Burman language of Bhutan, evidentiality,

mirativity, and epistemic modality are obligatorily encoded in nearly every finite clause. In this talk, I present aspects of the Kurtöp finite verbal system as a case study in epistemic perspective.

Kurtöp makes a five-way contrast in perfective aspect. The form *-shang* is used when the speaker has first-hand knowledge of the event while *-pala* is used when the speaker expects someone else to have first-hand knowledge of the event. The form *-para* is used when the speaker presumes that a given event took place while *-mu* codes indirect evidence of an event. These four forms contrast paradigmatically with *-na*, which marks that the speaker had not anticipated the event. In other words, the contrast made between the first two forms could be considered a sub-type of evidentiality; the contrast made by the third form (*-para*) is a type of epistemic modality; the use of *-mu* is straightforward evidentiality; and *-na* would be categorized as mirativity.

In imperfective aspect, new information is contrasted with old, intrinsic knowledge. For example, upon discovering that water from a tap is cold, a Kurtöp speaker would utter *khwe khik-ta*, but to relay that information to someone else once the knowledge was assimilated, the speaker would say *khwe khik-taki*. In future tense, speakers chose between *-male*, which encodes speaker certainty, and *-ø*, which encodes speaker uncertainty. The imperfective contrast could be said to be one of mirativity, while the contrast made in future tense is one of epistemic modality.

Finally, Kurtöp also has particles which encode information about speakers' epistemic perspective. Information questions must have a particle at the end of the clause; *yo* is used when the speaker expects the hearer to know the answer while *shu* is used when the speaker does not expect the hearer to have the answer. A hearsay particle *=ri* may be cliticized to any phrase to mark that the speaker heard the information s/he is relaying. The clitic would fit into the category of evidentiality while the question particles are more difficult to categorize.

A traditional analysis would categorize the Kurtöp verbal system into the disparate categories of evidentiality, mirativity, and epistemic modality. From the point of view of epistemic perspective, however, the Kurtöp system is more easily handled. We see that the language encodes whether or not the speaker expects the hearer to have the knowledge (*-shang*, *-pala*, *yo*, *shu*), whether or not the hearer expected the event, and/or how the speaker is related to knowledge, all part of epistemic perspective.

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## Symmetric and asymmetric alternations in direct object encoding.

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This paper examines two different strategies found in direct object (DO) encoding on the basis of a sample of 159 languages. In particular, this paper deals with the differences between symmetric (i.e. the alternation between two or more overt markers) and asymmetric (i.e. the alternation between a zero and one of more overt markers) alternations (de Hoop and Malchukov 2008). An example of asymmetric alternation comes from Persian, which exhibits Differential Object Marking (DOM), i.e. the phenomenon whereby only a subset of DOs (usually animate, definite and topical ones) receive overt coding, while the others stay uncoded (Comrie 1989). This is exemplified by (1) and (2), where only the definite DO in (1) gets overt coding:

- (1) *Hasan ketab-râ did*  
 Hasan book-DOM see:3SG.PST  
 "Hasan saw the book"
- (2) *Hasan ketab did*  
 Hasan book see:3SG.PST  
 "Hasan saw a book" (Comrie 1989: 132)

A case of symmetric alternation between two (or more) overt markers is found in Finnish, where DOs can be either in the accusative (3) or in the partitive case (4). The use of a different case signals a difference in the quantity of the DO referent affected by the verbal action. In (3) the accusative case implies that all the available milk is gone, while the partitive case suggests that only some of the available milk was consumed:

(3) *hän jo-i maido-n*  
s/he drink-PST.3SG milk-ACC  
“S/he drank (all) the milk”

(4) *hän jo-i maido-a*  
s/he drink-PST.3SG milk-PART  
“S/he drank (some of the) the milk” (Kittilä 2002: 114)

The investigation is aimed at determining whether there are any evident cross-linguistic regularities with respect to the factors involved in these two kinds of alternation. I argue that the difference in the formal realisation of direct object encoding is related to the distinct functions that these two structures perform cross-linguistically. While symmetric alternations are always governed by parameters related to verbal semantics, such as affectedness and boundedness, polarity, and quantification, asymmetric alternations are generally regulated by referential properties of the direct object referent, such as animacy, topicality, and definiteness (i.e. identifiability/referentiality) as in the Persian examples in (1) and (2).

However, a few instances are found in which an asymmetric alternation is regulated by parameters like affectedness, as in the conative alternation found e.g. in English (Levin 1993) and Warlpiri (Hale 1978). Interestingly, such alternations are restricted to some particular verb classes, e.g. verbs of hitting. This restriction sets them apart from asymmetric alternations like DOM, where the alternation is not tied to particular verb classes, but governed by referential parameters only.

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## OVS Word Order and Split Focus with Absolute Questions in Spanish.

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The goal: I analyze the information structure and syntax of a focus + question construction of Spanish (specially frequent in the Spanish spoken in the Basque Country) that, as far as I know, has not been studied in the literature so far.

The phenomenon: This is an absolute (YES/NO) question characterized by having obligatorily an OV(S) word order (cf. (1)-(2)) in a typically SVO and focus-last language like Spanish (cf. *i.a.*, Zubizarreta (1998)). Example (3) illustrates the need of using these structures with directive speech acts (hence, the impossibility of having a 3<sup>rd</sup> person subject), and example (4b) shows the impossibility of having an OSV word order (cf. (4a)):

(1) Un bolígrafo(,) no tendrás?  
one pen neg have  
“Do you have a pen?”

(2) Una sidra(,) me pones?

one cider      cl put  
 “Will you serve me a cider?”

(3) \*Una sidra(,) me pone Juan?  
 one cider      cl put Juan  
 “Will Juan serve me a cider?”

(4) a. Una sidra(,) me pone usted?  
 one cider      cl put you (formal)  
 “Will you(formal) serve me a cider?”

b. \*Una sidra(,) usted me pone?  
 one cider      you (formal) cl put  
 “Will you (formal) serve me a cider?”

Furthermore, in these constructions the object seems to share some of the properties of both topics and foci. It is topic-like in the sense that it is left-dislocated (though not “clitic left-dislocated”), it is accompanied by a rising pitch, and it is optionally followed by an intonational break. However, it also shares a core property of foci: it is a new element in the discourse (*i.e.*, not given), and it is the focus of the inquiry in the absolute question. Furthermore, the same content of (2) (for instance) can be expressed by only pronouncing the left-dislocated element, the rest being silent, just like in sluicing constructions (*cf.* Merchant (2004)):

(5) Una sidra?  
 one cider  
 “Will you serve me a cider?” (or “Would you like a cider?”, etc.)

The analysis: My proposal is based in the 'split focus' analysis of partial answers of Irurtzun (2007) and Elordieta and Irurtzun (2010). These authors argue that in instances of *partial answers*, we have split foci with two different elements bearing focus features, the XP that answers the *Question Under Discussion* (6a) (akin to the 'contrastive topic' of Büring (2003)), and the polarity of the clause. The actual focus would be the pair <XP, Polarity>:

(6) a. Who finished the homework?  
 b. If didF (but I cannot commit myself to saying that only I and nobody else finished it).

I will argue that in these structures we have a very similar situation; the left-dislocated element is really focal but that it stands in a split focus construction with the polarity of the absolute question, as represented in (6):

(7) [O]F [V [Pol]F S]Absolute Question

In these constructions we wouldn't have an assertion complementing the left-dislocated element as in (6) but an absolute question, which brings about the directive speech act characteristic of these structures as a conversational implicature.

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**Exaptation and Adaptation: Two Historical Routes to Final Particles.**

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This paper makes a syntactic and morphological description of the development of Japanese conjunctions into final particles on their synchronic and diachronic data and then demonstrates that the development from coordinate conjunctions and subordinate conjunctions can be accounted for in terms of “exaptation” and “adaptation,” respectively. Japanese is rich in sentence-final particles, most of which seem to have developed later in the history of the language. A number of the particles have emerged from subordinate conjunctions (SC) (Matsumura 1969) through the process of TRUNCATION, in which the main clauses are cut off in complex sentences like [[SUBORDINATE CLAUSE]-[SC], [MAIN CLAUSE]]. However, some final particles have developed from coordinate conjunctions (CC) (Fujiwara 1986) by the process of BACKSHIFT, where they are shifted from the initial to final position as in [...[CC] [MAIN CLAUSE].] > [...[MAIN CLAUSE], [CC]].

While the final particle development based on truncation is analyzable as an instance of adaptation, the development triggered by backshift is not solely ascribable to it. The latter is best characterized in terms of exaptation in that it parallels what Gould and Vrba (1982) describe as “a sequential mixture of adaptations, primary exaptations and secondary adaptations” (p.12). The design of birds’ feathers is “an adaptation for thermoregulation and, later, an exaptation for catching insects,” followed by the development of large contour feathers “as adaptations for insect catching” and “exaptations for flight,” and finally wings “arose as an adaptation for flight” (p.8). Likewise, coordinate conjunctions, which arose as a previous adaptation for the textual function in the initial position, are shifted to the final position. They are thus “taken out of sentence grammar and deployed for use as units of discourse organization” (Heine 2010), hence an exaptation for, or “conceptual novelty or invention” (Lass 1990: 80) of, new discourse-pragmatic functions. Such coordinate conjunctions undergo a further adaptation for emphatic or emotive meanings in the final position, as do final particles derived from subordinate conjunctions.

Although previous linguistic studies tend to employ the notion “exaptation” in isolation, it really bears a theoretical significance when contrasted with its pair “adaptation” as in evolutionary biology. Contrasts like ‘by selection’ vs. ‘fortuitous’ and ‘gradual’ vs. ‘discontinuous’ help to differentiate the two developmental pathways. With all disciplinary difference, we are entirely in line with Gould and Vrba (*ibid.*: 7): “We cannot be indifferent to the fact that similar results can arise by different historical routes.”

Exaptation tends to be used in major linguistic literature to refer to conceptual renovation of linguistic material that serves no purpose (Lass 1990) or to the emergence of a new grammatical function at what could be the end of a grammaticalization cline (Traugott 2004). Nevertheless, like its original usage in evolutionary biology, the notion presupposes neither such uselessness nor termination of the relevant feature; it rather explains opportunistic and innovative processes in functional change. In linguistic terms, it provides an exact description of backshifted Japanese coordinate conjunctions developing into final particles. Likewise, its pair notion, adaptation, characterizes the development of similar particles from subordinate conjunctions.

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**Modeling lexical knowledge in loan phonology.**

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Besides perception and production, knowledge of lexical forms can also play a determining role in the adaptation of loan words. A clear case is provided by Kim (2010). English word-final coronal [t] is adapted in Korean as either /t<sup>h</sup> ɛ/ or, without vowel insertion as /s/, as in robot adapted as /lo.po. t<sup>h</sup> ɛ/ or /lo.pos/. Adaptation as /s/ is explained by the fact that Korean words in the lexical representations are likely to end with /s/ rather than with the other coronal plosives /t, t<sup>h</sup>, t'/. No Korean word ends in /t'/ and that there are but a few words ending in /t/ or /t<sup>h</sup>/.

Boersma and Hamann (2010) propose to model the former adaptation by assuming a positional faithfulness constraint IDENT (stri(.)), which requires that, in coda position, the underlying and surface values of stridency should be identical. This constraint is split up into two faithfulness constraints:

\*|+stri/-stri(.)/      underlying +stri should not correspond to surface -stri

\*|-stri/+stri(.)/      underlying -stri should not correspond to surface +stri

and two anti-faithfulness constraints:

\*|+stri/+stri(.)/      underlying +stri should not correspond to surface +stri

\*|-stri/-stri(.)/      underlying -stri should not correspond to surface -stri

The constraints become active if a surface form is recognized without meaning attached to it, necessarily so, because surface /pat/ 'field' is stored in the lexicon as |pat<sup>h</sup>|. Lexical constraints of the type \*<field>|pas| (the morpheme <field> does not link to underlying |pas|) are used. With the latter constraint dominating the anti-faithfulness constraint \*|-stri|/-stri(.)/, the faithfulness constraint \*|+stri|/-stri(.)/ and the lexical constraint \*<field>|pat<sup>h</sup>|, perceived surface /pat/ is correctly stored in the lexicon as |pat<sup>h</sup>|, as illustrated in tableau (1).

(1) /.pat./	*< >	*<field>  pas	* -stri  /-stri(.)/	* +stri  /-stri(.)/	*<field>  pat <sup>h</sup>
pas  < >	*!			*	
☞  pat <sup>h</sup>   <field>			*		*
pas  <field>		*!		*	

On the assumption that loanwords are not yet in the lexicon, lexical constraints do not play a role there. This implies that surface /sjat/ enters the lexicon or is recognized without meaning attached to it. On that assumption perceived surface /sjat/ is correctly stored as |sjas|, as illustrated in (2).

(2) /.sjat./	*< >	*<field>  pas	* -stri  /-stri(.)/	* +stri  /-stri(.)/	*<field>  pat <sup>h</sup>
☞  sjas  < >	*			*	
sjat <sup>h</sup>   < >	*		*!		
sjat  < >	*		*!		

Something similar happens in the native phonology where next to locative /.pa.t<sup>h</sup>ɛ./ there are forms such as /.pa.sɪn./.

This paper critically reviews Boersma and Hamann's proposal and points out a number of drawbacks, one of which is that the restructuring in native paradigms cannot be modeled in the same way as the loan adaptations. Instead of lexical constraints and anti-faithfulness constraints, we propose to model frequency and knowledge of likely inputs as input-output chain positions (McCarthy 2007) placed in a language-specific markedness hierarchy. We will argue that this allows the same markedness hierarchy to account for both loanword adaptation of final coronal plosives as /s/ and for the analogical pressure in L1.

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### **Estimating languages similarities using weighted sequence alignment and force-directed graph layout.**

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The Automated Similarity Judgment Project (see <http://email.eva.mpg.de/~wichmann/ASJPHomePage.htm>) collected a data base comprising a 40 items Swadesh list for more than 5,000 languages. This allows to do apply a version of mass lexical comparison on a grand scale, using statistical techniques from machine learning and bio-informatics.

A first attempt to extract language similarity information from these data used the aggregate Levenshtein distance between all 40 translation pairs between L1 and L2 to assess the similarity between L1 and L2. However, this approach is sensitive to phoneme inventory size, overestimating the similarities between languages with small phoneme inventories.

As a second attempt, we compared the Levenshtein distances between translation pairs to those of randomly picked word pairs. Using a two-sample statistical test, the estimated similarity between two languages is the higher the more the two distribution of edit distances differ.

Applying a force-directed graph layout algorithm, we found that this approach reliably recovers the known language families but does not provide information about deeper genetic relationships.

Hock and Joseph (1996) challenge the viability of statistical approaches to recovering language similarities. They claim that even the relatedness of English and Hindi cannot be demonstrated without extensive knowledge about the entire Indo-European language family. We took up this challenge and used the pair English-Hindi as litmus test for our approach.

According to the method described above, 22% of all language pairs are at least as similar to each other than English and Hindi. This clearly demonstrates that this approach falls short of traditional philological methods.

To improve our method, we used the relative frequencies of sound correspondences under the Levenshtein algorithm as estimates of the probabilities of real sound correspondences between cognates. The results are articulatorily plausible. For instance, hierarchical clustering identifies the vowels, the velar/uvular consonants, the labials and the dentals as clusters.

Drawing on experiences from sequence alignment in bio-informatics, we applied the Needleman-Wunsch algorithm of weighted sequence alignment instead of plain edit distance to estimate language similarities. The result again recovers known genetic relationships.

Now only 8% of all language pairs come out as more similar to each other than English and Hindi. In other words, the similarity between English and Hindi is statistically significant.

Additionally, it provides robust evidence for deeper relationships. For instance, the similarities between Indo-European and Uralic languages have a p-value of  $10^{-20}$ , i.e. the relationship between these two language families is highly significant. Likewise, the similarities between Tai-Kadai and Austronesian languages are highly significant. Also, the Australian and the Trans-New-Guinea macro-families are recovered.

On the negative side, the results do not provide evidence for hypothesized macro-families like Amerindian or Dene-Caucasian.

In a next step, we will use gap-weighted string kernels to estimate string similarity based on n-grams of sounds, which will likely yield a similarity measure between languages that is yet more sensitive for deep genetic signals.

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**Participant reference in original and translated text,  
examples from English, Swedish, Persian and Balochi**

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The present study is based on the method of participant tracking presented in Dooley and Levinsohn (2001) and applied to Persian by Roberts (2009) and to Balochi by Barjasteh Delforooz (2010). It aims to investigate and compare discourse strategies for participant reference in English, Swedish, Persian and Balochi, all Indo-European languages, two from the Germanic branch and two from the Iranian branch.

Swedish and English have two main strategies for person reference, noun (noun phrase) or pronoun, but Ø (pro-drop) is also possible under certain conditions. In addition to these three strategies, Persian and Balochi can also use enclitic pronouns. A hypothesis is that Persian and Balochi demand less encoding than Swedish and English.

After investigating person reference in 4 stories in each language, selected portions of the Gospel of John will be studied in all four languages, in order to find out whether the findings in non-translated text are found also in translation text. A comparison with person reference in the Greek original text will also be made.

The default encoding values for activated subjects\* is established by encoding them as S1 (subject was also the subject of the preceeding clause or sentence), S2 (subject was the addressee of a reported speech in the previous sentence or earlier in the same sentence), S3 (subject was involved in the previous sentence or earlier in the same sentence in a role other than S1 or S2) and S4 (other changes of subject than those covered by S2 and S3) as suggested by Levinsohn (2011: 123).

A pilot study of one English folktale\*\* gives at hand that for S1 pronoun is the default encoding, unless two or more clauses are closely linked together in coordination, in which case Ø is default. The few occurrences of S2 in this text are all a noun. The default encoding for S3 is here a pronoun and for S4 it is a noun.

Examples:

S1

Pronoun: The dragon was enchanted and protected by a magic spell. **It** said:...

Ø: ...he secretly longed to become a knight and Ø win the hand of the Princess.

S2

Noun: The King said (to the little blacksmith): "You are no match for this dragon. ..." **The little blacksmith** squared his shoulders.

S3

Pronoun: It was shortly after that he found the dragon or rather **it** found him.

S4:

Noun: The bee did just that. **The littlest knight** couldn't believe his good fortune...

There are, of course, also marked encodings. However, a full discussion of marked encodings will be outside the scope of this paper, the main aim of which is to investigate to what degree the language specific default encodings also are the default encodings in a translation text.

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\* Agents in the ergative construction in Balochi will also be investigated.

\*\*The Littlest Knight, available online at: <http://www.magickeys.com/books/lk/lkp1.htm> (retrieved 11 Jan. 2012)

### Causative and Passive isomorphism in Xibe: synchrony and diachrony.

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Many researchers have puzzled over a single construction that serves both passive and causative functions. A few of the works that refer to such a construction are Yap and Iwasaki (2003) on Manchu, Mandarin and others, Sohn (1999) and Song and Choe (2007) on Korean, Washio (1993) on Japanese, Robbeets (2007) on Turkish, and several others. This construction is anomalous from the point of view of much work in linguistic typology (see, e.g., Payne 1997:169-222, Dixon and Aikhenwald 2000:1-29) in that a passive is normally described as a "valence decreasing" construction (AGENT suppression), while causative is considered a "valence increasing" construction (addition of a causal AGENT).

In modern spoken Xibe, a Tungusic language of China, a single derivational suffix, *-ve*, is both a passive and a causative marker. The two functions may be distinguished by case marking on one core NP – only causative constructions have an accusative argument; passives, being intransitive, do not. However, accusative case marking is "optional" in Xibe. When it is omitted, there is ambiguity between accusative and nominative (zero marked) case. Furthermore, subjects are often omitted in discourse. These facts converge to produce causative/passive isomorphism, as discussed briefly below.

In a *-ve* causative, when the caused situation is transitive, the CAUSEE may appear in the dative or accusative case. The accusative case implies direct causation, whereas the dative case implies permission. Example 1 illustrates the lexically transitive verb *oemim* 'drink' in a permissive causative construction:

- (1)    Tukume    da    yeqin    muduri    eni-de-ni                      er    muku-ve    oemi-ve-he-i.  
           therefore PRT   black   dragon   mother-DAT-DEF    this   water-ACC   drink-CAUS-PERF-T  
           'Therefore Black Dragon let (his) mother drink the water.'

Note that the CAUSEE (*eni*) appears in the dative case. When the accusative case marker is omitted, the PATIENT (*er muku*) may be interpreted as being in the nominative case. Then, when the subject (*yeqin muduri*) is also omitted, the PATIENT may be interpreted as the grammatical subject. Thus the following is completely grammatical, and ambiguous between causative and passive, though in this configuration causative is still the more likely interpretation:

- (2)    Eni-de-ni                      er    muku    oemi-ve-he-i.  
           mother-DAT-DEF    this   water   drink-CAUS/PASS-PERF-T  
           a. (He) let (his) mother drink this water.                      CAUSATIVE  
           b. By (his) mother, this water was drunk.                      PASSIVE

The causative interpretation is eliminated if the uncase-marked PATIENT appears first, and the dative argument is preverbal. In the present paper we offer examples of various uses of causative and passive constructions in modern spoken Xibe, and demonstrate the clear diachronic path from an original analytic causative construction involving the matrix verb *bu*, 'give', to a morphological permissive causative (as in 1), and finally to a prototypical passive construction.

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### **From perception to emotion: a diachronic study of the Spanish verb *sentir*.**

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Research questions and Goals. Verbs of perception are known to foster metaphorical mappings from concrete or physical meanings onto more abstract, mental domains. In the Indo-Germanic languages for example, there are some systematic connections between visual perception and the field of cognition (cf. *veo lo que quieres decir*) and between auditory perception and the notion of obedience (cf. *A child that won't listen*) (Sweetser 1990, Ibarretxe 1999). Although the number of studies on the polysemy of this verbal category has increased considerably during the last years, up to now, one interesting perception verb has hardly been discussed in Romance languages: *sentir*.

However, this verb also displays a rich profile both semantically – extending from meanings of direct physical perception (including various modalities of perception), through cognitive perception, to more subjective and emotional values – and syntactically – taking different kinds of complements. Moreover, in comparison with its French and Italian counterparts, the Spanish *sentir* is most frequently used in the field of emotion, including the sense of 'regret', crystallized nowadays into the fixed expression 'lo siento' ('I'm sorry'). As a consequence, a fundamental question to ask is how these meanings and grammatical features develop historically and how the particular emotive meaning of the verb has arisen. The aim of the present paper is to map out accurately the diachronic development of the verb *sentir* in Spanish by means of an empirical diachronic investigation.

Data and Method. To this end, an extensive diachronic corpus was compiled, going from the 13<sup>th</sup> century up till now, from which we retrieved at random 200 occurrences of *sentir* per century. These instances were analysed for their precise meaning and for a large set of morphosyntactic parameters (such as a) grammatical person, b) tense, c) position in the sentence, d) preceding and following speech act, d) collocations etc.).

Results. The diachronic evolution of *sentir* turns out to match the general tendency of polysemy extending from more concrete meanings towards more abstract meanings. As such, it has evolved from a true physical perception verb (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> c.) towards a verb with a clearly dominant emotion meaning in contemporary Spanish. Moreover, I will show that the particular semantic development of the Spanish verb *sentir* as an expression of 'regret' can be associated with some specific morphosyntactic patterns in the historical corpus, which at the same time might justify a possible evolution towards increased (inter)subjectivity.

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### **On the Lithuanian impersonal verbs *reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten': the rise of modal meanings.**

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The paper is devoted to the two Lithuanian modal verbs expressing the notion of necessity: *reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten'. The verbs appear in impersonal constructions where the grammatical subject is encoded in the dative and the verbs are followed by the infinitive, e.g.:

- |                          |                      |                  |
|--------------------------|----------------------|------------------|
| (1) <i>Tau</i>           | <b><i>reikia</i></b> | <i>pailsėti.</i> |
| you:DAT                  | need:PRS3            | rest:INF         |
| 'You should take a rest' |                      |                  |
| (2) <i>Jiems</i>         | <b><i>teko</i></b>   | <i>paklusti.</i> |
| they:DAT                 | be.gotten.PST3       | obey:INF         |
| 'They had to obey'       |                      |                  |

Impersonal modal constructions are widespread in the Circum-Baltic languages (see Holvoet 2007; Nau, to appear). Typically, they are restricted to non-epistemic modality (cf. Besters-Dilger, Drobniaković and Hansen 2009: 189). The purpose of the paper is to establish to what extent the impersonal *reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten' have developed modal meanings. Since there has been little corpus-based research into the Lithuanian modal system, the paper aims at filling this gap and providing a thorough synchronic as well as diachronic account of the semantics and use of the two modals. The paper will consider the following issues:

- examine and compare the frequencies and distributions of non-modal and modal senses of the affirmative as well as the negated forms of *reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten' in contemporary Lithuanian and in available Old Lithuanian writings;
- reveal the range of modal meanings within the framework of modality proposed by van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). The results of the analysis support cross-linguistic observations that impersonal modals are less polyfunctional than personal modals and they do not develop epistemic values. *Reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten' have developed participant-external necessity to the greatest extent. In order to account for differences of the distribution of modal meanings between the two verbs, their source semantics as well as interaction between semantics and syntax of the verbs will be taken into consideration;
- elaborate on a semantic as well as pragmatic development towards a more subjective, i.e. deontic meaning. In contrast to *tekti* 'be gotten', *reik(ė)ti* 'need' has got greater potential to convey deonticity, viz. a subjective deontic meaning. On the one hand, this may be due to the fact that the verb *reik(ė)ti* 'need' often appears in dialogical situations where modality emanates from the speaker and deontic interpretation arises through conversational implicatures. On the other hand, *reik(ė)ti* 'need', or rather its source construction with the copular *būti* 'be' and the noun *reik(i)a* 'necessity', was relatively extensively used to convey modality in Old Lithuanian. As a result, *reik(ė)ti* 'need' may be somehow further on a grammaticalisation cline than *tekti* 'be gotten'. The major semantic changes that *reik(ė)ti* 'need' and *tekti* 'be gotten' have undergone will be sketched out in the paper.

The data have been collected from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>). The concordances of the Old Lithuanian texts have been extracted from the Database of Old Writings set up by the Institute of the Lithuanian Language (<http://www.iki.lt/seniejirastai/>).

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## Grammatical relations in Mon - syntactic tests in an isolating language.

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Mon is an Austroasiatic language spoken by about 800.000 people mainly in southern Myanmar and a few communities in central Thailand.

As a largely isolating language, Mon does not have any overt markers expressing grammatical relations; there are neither case markers nor verb agreement. On the syntactic level, the notion of Subject competes with Topic and (less prominently) Agent as pivot in a number of constructions. The basic word order can be described as SV and AVO/AVGT, though fronting of topical (or focal) O/T is frequent, as are unexpressed arguments. In AOV word order, with fronted O and A, A and/or O usually carry an overt topic marker and A appears in what Van Valin and LaPolla



(1997:36).

The present study looks at ways to establish grammatical relations by means of syntactic tests and describes the constructions that are potentially sensitive to the notions S, A and O (plus T and G with ditransitive predicates). These constructions include, among others, relative expressions, conjunction reduction, causatives, raising and control verbs. The main questions to be answered in this study are whether S, A, O, T, and G are to be postulated in an adequate description of Mon and in which constructions, if any, these notions are needed. It will be seen that equi-deletion works in some types of conjoined clauses, but not others, i. e. the S/A can be omitted if it is identical to the S/A (but not O) of the preceding clause. Control verbs require omission of the S/A of the dependent verb if it is identical to the main verb S/A. In desiderative expressions with different S/A, the dependent verb is introduced by a 'dummy causative' marker *ko* 'give' (cf. Enfield 2009:811) and the dependent S/A may be overtly expressed between *ko* and the dependent verb. 'Dummy causatives' are also used with some non-agentive predicates in desiderative and imperative/prohibitive expressions. Raising constructions and relative expressions appear to be available to S/A as well as O (and probably T and G), while long-distance reflexives require a (potentially covert) higher-level discourse S/A ('cognizer') as antecedent.

Based on original texts, both spoken and written, as well as elicited data, this study constitutes the first attempt to establish grammatical relations in Mon. As basic typological theoretical background of the study serve publications by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997), Croft (2001), Bickel (2011), among others.

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### From case marker to marker of subjective evaluation, the development of –ER in Danish.

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In Danish we find a fine example of exaptation in the development of the nominal suffix –ER.

In certain varieties of 20th century Danish, it was not unusual to come by subjective evaluations such as *en grimmer mand* ('an uglyER man'), *en slemmer karl* ('a badER guy') etc. in colloquial speech. Contrary to what is found in Swedish (cf. Norde 2001) the adjective does not change into a noun by the adding of the suffix –ER, but remains an adjective.

The suffix -ER on the adjective is a relic dating back to the time when Danish was a language of morphological case in nouns, adjectives and pronouns (NADG). As in other Germanic languages, the -(E)R denoted the nom. masc. in the sing. in the strong declensions of adjectives and nouns.

The morphological case system of Old Danish, however, was by and large dismantled by the 16th century, so how could this old nominative suffix survive for another 500 years? And how could a case suffix become a subjective evaluation marker? We find the answers to these questions in certain developments in Early Middle Danish. In manuscripts from the 14th century, an interesting distributional pattern concerning the nominative and the accusative can be observed, whereby the nominative has an added textual function signalling foreground information, whereas the accusative is the case to be used by default (Jensen 2003, 2011). Far from being morphological junk the nominative is still a proper case at this stage. But once the new function has been added it gives rise to several further developments, leaving the old case function behind, eventually resulting in the subjective evaluation marker mentioned above. In this paper, I'll give an outline of these developments.

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### What's in a Name? Historical Linguistics and the Macedonia name issue.

Joseph, Brian  
(Ohio State University)

The “name-question” concerning the use of the toponym *Macedonia* (and related ethnica) by both Greeks in Greece and by Slavs in the Republic of Macedonia has been the focus of a long-standing and still unresolved international dispute. As multifaceted as the issue is, with political, historical, economic, cultural, and ideological dimensions, it is interesting that yet another dimension involves misconstrual of the methodology of traditional historical linguistics.

The historical dimension to this issue is inescapable, given that the term *Macedonia* itself has a long history, being tied historically to a tribe of the central Balkans from ancient times now known largely from the reign of Philip II of Macedon (mid-4th century BC) and the later exploits of his son, Alexander the Great. While it is clear that under Philip's reign, Greek was adopted as the language of the Macedonian court, the nature of the language it replaced, an Indo-European language known now as “Ancient Macedonian”, is hotly debated, with the terms of the debate muddled by the relative scantiness of data on Ancient Macedonian. The modern naming issue has devolved into the question of who has the “right” to use the term *Macedonia* (and derivatives) and to lay claim to Alexander, with both sides looking to the ancient evidence, and especially the dialectal affiliation within Indo-European of Ancient Macedonian, for support. At this point, historical linguistics enters the dispute.

Even with limited data, strict application of essential tools of historical linguistic research -- the Comparative Method, dialectological principles (e.g. subgrouping via shared innovations), and Occam's Razor -- yields a result that neither side can be happy with, in particular that the only connection between Ancient Macedonian and the modern Slavic Macedonian is that they are both Indo-European languages, and nothing more, and that yet moreover, on the Greek side, the claim that Ancient Macedonian is a dialect of Greek subverts the notion of “dialect” as commonly understood by historical linguists. Nonetheless both sides persist in “interpreting” the results in an ideologically tinged way, thus leading to what can only be characterized as a perversion of historical linguistics, its results, and its methods.

In this presentation, the issues, the relevant data, the specific methodologies, and the results pertaining to the use of the term *Macedonia* are all surveyed and critically assessed, by way of presenting a clear case in which solid historical linguistic methodology has taken a back seat to nationalist ideology.

### Polyfunctionality and syntactic distribution of reflexive verbs in Latvian.

Kalnaca, Andra and Lokmane, Ilze  
(University of Latvia)

The aim of the current paper is to analyze Latvian reflexive verbs from the point of their polyfunctionality. Latvian allows for certain constructions where one and the same reflexive verb depending on the context represents different semantic roles (agent (A), patient (P), experiencer (E)) and consequently appears in different syntactic distribution. The following examples illustrate such cases:

- (1) MAZGĀTIES ‘to wash’  
**subject reflexive verb**, where the patient is co-referential with the agent or a part of the body of the agent, the agent is the syntactic subject of the sentence; the relations between semantic roles and syntactic arguments can be represented as follows:

A=P
S

- a.      *Es*                      *mazgājos*                      *dušā.*  
         I.NOM                  wash. PRS.1SG.REFL          shower.LOC  
         ‘I take a shower’

**object reflexive verb**, where the patient takes the role of the subject and there is no agent in the semantic structure, the relationship between the semantic and syntactic structure is as follows:

P
S

- b. *Audums labi mazgājas.*  
 material.NOM well wash. PRS.3.REFL  
 'Laundry gets washed well'

(2) ŠŪPOTIES 'to sway'

**subject reflexive verb**

- a. *Es šūpojos šūpolēs.*  
 I.NOM swing.PRS.1SG.REFL swing.LOC.PL  
 'I am swinging'

**impersonal reflexive verb**, where the agent is relegated to the role of experiencer and acquires the syntactic function of object. The relations between semantic roles and syntactic arguments are the following:

E
O

- b. *Lai jums labi šūpojas Lieldienās!*  
 PART you[PL].DAT well swing.PRS.3.REFL Easter.LOC.PL  
 'May you swing well!' (a traditional Latvian Easter greeting)

Geniušiene has pointed out on polysemy and overlapping of semantic classes of reflexives, these specific features are discussed in Kemmer 1993 in connection with emotion and some other reflexive verbs (see Geniušiene 1987, 137-141; Kemmer 1993). However, polyfunctionality of Latvian reflexive verbs is described chiefly in dictionaries of Latvian, but never in connection with syntactic distribution. Traditionally different cases of reflexive verbs used in Colloquial Latvian are not reflected in dictionaries in spite of the fact that they are widespread (e. g., passive and impersonal reflexives). Latvian grammar-books alike observe neither polyfunctionality nor colloquial usage of reflexive verbs.

So the current paper is an attempt to analyze the polysemy of reflexive verbs in connection of their semantic and syntactic functions.

The theoretical framework and classification of reflexive verbs is mainly based on Geniušienē 1987, Kemmer 1993, Wierzbicka 1996, Enger and Nessel 1999, Plungian 2000, Holvoet 2001, Haspelmath 2002, Knjazev 2007.

The data are taken from the following sub-corpora that are included in the Corpus of Latvian (*Latviešu valodas tekstu korpus*): *miljons-1.0*, *miljons-2.0*, *miljons-2.0m*, *timeklis-1.0* ([www.korpuss.lv](http://www.korpuss.lv)). Materials from different explanatory dictionaries of Latvian are used as well.

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**Nonlocal consequences of local sound change: a loanword connection.**

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Introduction: Korean has three-way laryngeal contrasts of lenis, fortis, and aspirated stops. In English loanwords, voiceless stops are consistently adapted as aspirated stops (E. *card* → K. *kʰatʰi*), whereas voiced stops vary between lenis and fortis stops (E. *golf* → K. *kolpʰi* ~ *kʰolpʰi*). Fortis adaptation for voiced stops was dominant in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Kim 2003, Han 2007, Kang 2008). However, in present-day Korean, fortis adaptation is limited to less than 20% of relevant words.

Proposal: The current paper proposes that the diachronic change in adaptation is due to sound change internal to Seoul Korean and the accompanying change in perception patterns by Seoul Korean speakers. It has been proposed that the merger of VOT distinction in aspirated vs. lenis categories in younger Seoul Korean speakers elevated the pitch of the following vowel (f0) to a contrastive status and f0 became a contrastive feature in laryngeal contrast of stops in a type of "tonogenesis" process (cf. Silva 2006). As a result, younger Seoul listeners perceive English voiced stops (low f0 and short vot) as lenis (low f0 and long vot) rather than as fortis (high f0 and short vot). It is notable that this change happened even though the English voiced stops and the lenis and fortis stops of Seoul Korean themselves have not changed substantially. In other words, this is a case where a local change in sound inventory leads to the restructuring of a larger system producing non-local consequences.

Study: The support for this view comes from the result of a perception study of Seoul (58), Pyeongan (24), and Hamkyung (21) Korean speakers. Seoul speakers were further divided into younger (26) and older (32) groups. The three dialects share the same three-way stop contrast but they differ in their phonetic realization. Pyeongan dialect, similar to older Seoul Korean, does not show the merger of VOT and tonogenesis and Hamkyung dialect is a pitch accent dialect, for which the use of f0 for consonantal contrast is limited. In the study, listeners heard nonsense English words with initial voiced stop [g] and were asked to choose one of three Korean consonants [k], [k'] and [kʰ] that best match the heard stimulus. As predicted, younger Seoul Korean speakers heard English [g] as fortis [k'] of Korean only at 15.1% of the time while other groups heard the same stimuli as fortis [k'] at a much higher rate (P: 41.9%, H: 48.5%, SO: 36.0%). And the logistic mixed effects modeling shows that younger Seoul group was the only group that used F0 cue significantly in their perception.

Implications: The results demonstrate the plasticity of loanwords in mirroring an on-going sound change and provide yet another illustration of how loanwords can amplify and make visible aspects of native sound structure. Alternative explanations for this diachronic change will be considered and the challenge of distinguishing patterns due to linguistic vs. extra-linguistic factors in loanword research will be discussed.

**Typology of copular clauses and copular markers in modern Turkish.**

Karakoç, Birsal  
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The present talk will be concerned with the non-past copular markers in different types of copular clauses in modern Turkish. The talk will address the following questions: (1) Is there any systematic correspondence between the semantic types of copular clauses and copular markers? (2) Which notions (aspectual, modal etc.) are inherently denoted by the respective copular markers? (3) What is the relationship between the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of subject and predicate nouns and the types of copular clauses?

With respect to question (1), in the history of Turkic, several non-past copular markers for the third person are found already in East Old Turkic. They are used in a seemingly similar way. A recent study (Karakoç, to appear) has revealed that the distribution of the formal copular strategies corresponds to the distribution of copular clauses in a rather systematic way. It has been in particular shown that characterizational and specificational copular clauses employ different types of copular markers in the third person. This kind of variation found in Turkic varieties of older period interestingly disappeared to a certain extent in the subsequent languages. But, alongside the disappearance of some of the older markers, new copular verbs have been grammaticalized.

In modern Turkish there are subject markers for the first and second persons and several copular elements for the third person: -Ø, -*Dir*, *olur* / *oluyor*. Yet, characterizational and specificational copular clauses seem not to be distinguished by means of these forms. Based on the analysis and the theoretical framework provided in Karakoç (to appear), the talk will present a set of criteria to describe the morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of copular

clauses in modern Turkish, in particular the role of non-past copular markers. It will be shown that specificational copular clauses including first or second person subject markers differ from the characterizational clauses with regard to their special agreement pattern. A further result is related to the different realization of topic-focus structures in the respective clauses.

The analysis is based on data gathered from various written sources as well as on corpora of spoken Turkish in Rehbein, Herkenrath and Karakoç 2009.

The talk represents part of a research project that investigates the development and variation of subject markers and copular markers from a contrastive perspective in Turkic languages. Thus, it aims to compare the results obtained for modern Turkish with those found for other Turkic languages.

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## Handshape assimilation in ASL fingerspelling.

Keane, Jonathan, Brentari, Diane and Riggle, Jason  
(University of Chicago)

Fingerspelling provides a unique opportunity to investigate the phonology of fingerspelling and ASL generally because the articulators execute rapid handshape changes sequentially, which produces a large amount of coarticulation. We propose that coarticulatory pressures can condition handshape variation during fingerspelling. Further, evidence from the distribution, as well as the handshapes of targets with increased ulnar digit flexion suggests that selected fingers can assimilate from one target to another, while the target retains other features of handshape (including joint specifications). Thus, finger selection and joint configuration must be specified separately in the phonology.

Fingerspelling is a part of the ASL lexicon, and is used as one method of borrowing words from English (Brentari and Padden, 2001). Every letter used in English is given a unique combination of handshape, orientation, and in a few cases path movement (here, called targets, Wilcox (1992); Padden (1998); Cormier et al. (2008) among others).

Data – We found variation in handshape with respect increased ulnar digit flexion (aka baby handshapes; henceforth +u-flex) in the targets for -C-, -D-, -E-, and -O- (examples: figure 1). Targets for -E- and -O- showed the most variation, with around 18% of coded targets identified as baby variants (targets for -C- had very few +u-flex variants and targets for -D- were almost all +u-flex variants). Using a multilevel logistic regression we have found that targets, that have surrounding targets with one, two, or three fingers selected, have an increased the probability of surfacing as a +u-flex a variant (along with an interaction of handshape and transition time).

For example, compare (1g and 1h). In (1h) the -O- is surrounded by an -H- and -P-, and the +u-flex variant is observed. Both -H- and -P- have the index and middle finger selected, and it is exactly those fingers that are in the canonical configuration for -O- in (1h), while the pinky and ring fingers (unselected in -H- and -P-) are more flexed. Using the Prosodic Model (Brentari, 1998) the phonological specification of (1g and 1h) only differ in the quantity node under selected fingers, all other features (joints, thumb, and point of reference) remain the same. Furthermore, in the Prosodic Model the quantity [all] for selected fingers is assumed to be underspecified and assigned by a redundancy rule, which suggests that handshapes with [all] fingers selected will be more susceptible to assimilation (cf place assimilation in alveolar stops).

Implications – Many theories of handshape configuration separate fingers into selected and unselected (Mandel, 1981; Liddell and Johnson, 1989; van der Hulst, 1995; Sandler, 1996; Brentari, 1998; Eccarius, 2002; Sandler and Lillo-Martin, 2006). Referencing selected fingers has been argued to explain a number of phenomenon in signed languages: minimal pairs lexically (ASL: APPLE versus NERVE) and in classifiers, that only a subset of fingers are able to move in handshape contours, as well as handshape assimilation in compound signs. The variation in ASL fingerspelling discussed here contributes to this as yet another phenomenon that supports the existence of selected fingers. In addition to identifying selected fingers as a phonological feature, this data shows that assimilation of selected fingers can operate independently from other features of handshape (specifically, joint configuration).



[-D- [-flex]] [-D- [+flex]] [-C- [-flex]] [-C- [+flex]] [-E- [-flex]] [-E- [+flex]] [-O- [-flex]] [-O- [+flex]]

Figure 1: Targets from (a) D-I-N-O-S-A-U-R, (b) D-O-N, (c) C-A-D-I-L-L-A-C, (d) C-H-W-I-L-K-E, (e) F-E-L-E-S-E-G, (f) K-A-H-D-E-K-S-A-N, (g) M-O-S-C-O-W, and (h) B-L-A-H-O-P-R-E-J-I

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## Plurals in Mano: from nominal number to counter-expectation meaning.

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In my presentation I will discuss specific usages of nominal plurals in Mano (South Mande < Niger Congo) which include intensificative plural (Corbett 2000: 235) and, more interestingly, some clause-level usages including counter-expectation.

Number in the Mano language is a weakly grammaticalized category. Mano has two plural markers: the common plural marker *vò* and the marker *ni* which is used for kinship terms. Noun phrases denoting human beings are the only to distinguish singular and plural, while others distinguish general and plural:

*Ñ Kòó lìí / lìí nì gè* 'I saw Ko's brother (exactly one) / brothers (more than one)';

*Ñ gbá / gbá vò gè* 'I saw dog (one ore more) / dogs (more than one)'.

Plural noun phrases may have a 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular referent in the direct or indirect object position:

Gó	vò	lé	ē	À	lò	ḡ	Ñ	À	dùò.
cola nut	PL	REL	3SG.PST	3SG.NSBJ	buy	TOP	3SG.PST	3SG.NSBJ	throw

I threw away the cola nuts that you had bought.

Predicative markers are in formal agreement with the subject in person and number:

Gó	āà	vú.
Colanut	3SG.PRF	Rot

'Cola nut(s) has(ve) rotted'; \*Gó wāà vú.



Gó vò wāà vú.  
Cola nut PL 3PL.PRF rot  
'Cola nuts have rotted'; \*Gó vò āā vú.

In most cases plural markers have standard usages such as plurality proper and associative. They may have specific usages such as intensificative, note the absence of agreement and the usage of the kinship plural:

Kélé Nì lé āà dà bē kélé bē bāá là kē!  
Shed PL REL 3SG.PRF Fall DEM shed DEM 2SG.NEG>3SG on take  
'Even the shed that has fallen down, you do not repair its roof!'

More interestingly, plural markers may mark the plurality of events additionally to the intensificative meaning. This is the case when the activity affects other participants besides those which are mentioned in the proposition:

nū nónó nì ká.  
N̄N̄

1SG.IPFV come:IPFV oil PL With

(The speaker enumerates the objects he is bringing to the feast) 'I'm bringing also/even the oil'.

This example seems to contradict the quantification universal which states that any noun phrase constituent has a scope not larger than the noun phrase itself (Barwise, Cooper 1981: 460).

Furthermore, plural markers in Mano have developed another clause-level usage: they mark situations which are believed to be abnormal or counter to speaker's expectation, that is, the admirative. In these cases plural markers are placed outside the noun phrase and function similarly to an adverb.

lí gbéé Píé kè vò?  
2SG.IPFV quarter In do:IPFV PL

'(How come,) you are taking a stroll? (I thought you always stay at home)'.

To my knowledge, markers of nominal number having developed adverbial functioning are not attested in any other language.

The explanation proposed here is that these markers first developed the intensificative usage and later underwent a scope shift. The latter may be compared to some Russian adverbials with focus meaning which used to have NP-internal scope and have developed a clause-level functioning:

Imenno eto ya hotel skazat' 'It is exactly what I wanted to say' → Ona imenno chto pribejala 'Running in she did'.

#### Abbreviations

1 – 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2 – 2nd person, 3 – 3<sup>rd</sup> person, DEM – demonstrative, IPFV – imperfective, NSBJ – non-subject pronoun, PL – plural, PRF – perfect, PST – past, REL – relative clause marker, SG – singular, TOP – topic marker.

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#### Left and right dislocation in Nakh-Daghestanian.

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(Russian Academy of Sciences and University of Bamberg)

Nakh-Daghestanian languages are mostly described as having SOV as their basic word order, but at the same time as making heavily use of word order variation for information structure purposes. In these languages main clauses with transitive predicates and two arguments allow for all six logically possible word orders, but SOV is normally the most frequently attested word order. In natural texts from these languages one can find all different kinds of word orders, e.g. OSV (1) or SVO (2). It is also possible to find resumptive pronouns placed at the edge of the main clause that take up again main clause referents (3), or full NPs directly following the clause whose function is to further identify activated main clause referents (4).

- (1) Icari Dargwa (Testelec 1998)  
**tupang**      *milic'aba-l*      *bergg-ib*  
 gun          police-ERG      take-AOR  
 'As for the gun, the police took it.'
- (2) Tsakhur (Testelec 1999: 295)  
*malhammad-i-k'le*      *Gaže*      **mašin**  
 Muhammad-OBL-AFF      4.see-PF car.4  
 'Muhammad saw the car'
- (3) Hinuq  
*haw*      *c'udduk'a*      *gulu-no*      **hago**      *uži-n,*      *xan-i*  
 that      red      horse-and      that      boy(I)-and      khan-ERG  
  
*Ø-ašir-no*      **hago?**  
 I-catch-UWPST      he  
 'What happened, the red horse and the boy, did the khan catch him?'
- (4) Hinuq  
*debez*      *b-eti*      **di**      **mus**      *b-et'er-no,*      **hes mus-no**  
 you.SG.DAT      III-want      I.GEN1      hair(III)      III-tear-CVB      one hair-and  
  
**di-žo**      **λ'oq'wa-s**  
 I.OBL-GEN2      forehead.OBL-GEN1  
 'You want a hair from me, one hair from my forehead.'

In the case of examples such as (3) and (4) it seems natural to analyze the constructions as left dislocation (3) or right dislocation (4). However, for (1) and (2) such an analysis is at least questionable. Similar English examples (e.g. *Mary, I never saw*) have been claimed to represent 'left detachment' or 'Y-movement' (Givón 1990), but this presupposes a hierarchical sentence structure. In contrast, following the proposal in Kazenin and Testelec (1999: 328) for Tsakhur, most Nakh-Daghestanian languages can be analyzed as non-configurational (Hale 1982; Austin and Bresnan 1996). This means that there is no structural difference between SOV and OSV clauses (and possibly SVO, too); all the clausal arguments are sisters to each other and the verb and daughters to an S node. The clause has a flat structure and there is no VP containing the verb and the direct object.

In our talk, we will investigate the different types of apparent and real left and right dislocation in a number of Nakh-Daghestanian languages (e.g. Tsezic and Dargi languages). We will analyze the pragmatic function of these constructions and their frequency in texts from various genres. We will argue that for most of the languages in our sample, genuine dislocation constructions, where there is an asymmetry between the dislocated argument and other arguments of the clause (3)–(4), can be reliably separated from those constructions where there is no such asymmetry (1). These constructions have different information structure functions.

In contrast to previous studies such as Testelec (1998), which were primarily based on elicitation, this study will mainly be based on natural discourse from field work corpora.

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**Modal passives in Western new Indo-Aryan languages (Gujarati, Punjabi, Rajasthani).**

Khokhlova, Liudmila  
(Moscow State University)

The historical development and present state of NIA passive, especially the ramified system of its modal meanings may be interesting not only for the analysis of Indian languages, but for typological studies as well, that is why an attempt has been made to put NIA modal passive into general typological frame. For that purpose modality's semantic map of Auwera and Plungian (1998:79-124) was applied to the Western NIA languages. The conceptual framework adopted here is that of Functional Grammar.

The data analysed here were obtained from prose texts written by Jain authors in Old Rajasthani and Old Gujarati (14-18 centuries) and earliest prose texts in Punjabi (17-18 centuries). Syntactic processes in modern Gujarati, Rajasthani and Punjabi were analyzed on the basis of prose texts and the data obtained from native speakers.

Passive construction developed modal meanings in late Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan languages. The main meanings typical for modal passive in Apabhramsha were those of participant-internal possibility (ability) and participant- external necessity. Modal passives with overt Agents usually had abilitative meaning. The meanings denoted by A-demotional passives could be vague between possibility and necessity on the one hand and participant-internal or participant-external modality on the other. As distinct from 'neutral', modal passives often had some semantic element in a sentence that made the whole utterance a non-positive assertion: negation, question etc. These markers are used also in Modern NIA. Already in Apabhramsha deontic meaning developed in two more typical passive meanings: cohortative: '*it should be done*' - '*let us do it*' and polite imperative: '*it should be done*' - '*please do it*'. Meanings typical for passive constructions in Modern Western NIA languages are partially inherited from Old and Middle Indo-Aryan, partially developed in NIA. They are either distributed between two passive constructions: inherited synthetic and innovative analytic or shared by both of them. In Gujarati modal passive is always synthetic. Used with possibility reading it usually has overt Agent and its meaning may be vague between participant-internal and external possibility. In Rajasthani 'participant-internal' possibility may be denoted both by synthetic and analytic passives, while necessity passive is usually synthetic and very rarely - mostly in Eastern dialects - analytic. Rajasthani 'necessity passive' may have the second meaning of demand (desire). In Punjabi synthetic passive can be only demotional. It is used with possibility meaning mostly in Western dialects, while its main domain in standard Panjabi is deontic modality. In all described languages modal passives with negation are prevailing, though 'instructions' expressed by positive construction are also quite possible. Agent in passive construction is marked by Instr/Abl postposition in Rajasthani, Ablative (different from Instr.) in Gujarati. Punjabi has different Ablative postpositions for modal (ability) and neutral passive Agents. In all described languages analytic passive is not used in case of Agentless verbs like 'to be/exist', 'to be filled', 'to become available' etc. Morphological passives with Agentless verbs denote only participant external possibility - the fact predictable from their semantics.

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### Datives in Polish. Construction- specific variants of subjects and objects, or a distinct grammatical relation?

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Dative-marked arguments appear in a notoriously wide range of constructions in Polish. Apart from basic ditransitives, anticausatives containing an expression of an unwillful causer, and derived dative possessor clauses (compare the non-dative: *Włosy.NOM Ewy.GEN sięgają do pasa* lit. 'Eva's hair reaches till waist', with the dative: *Włosy.NOM sięgają Ewie.DAT do pasa* lit. 'The hair reaches for-Eva till waist'), the dative is found in a very productive nominative-dative alternation where the basic variant is personal and the inverted variant is reflexive impersonal, as in the following pair of clauses:

- (1) a. *Dobrze dzisiaj spałam.*  
well today slept.1F  
b. *Dobrze mi się dzisiaj spało.*  
well me.DAT REFL today slept.3N  
'I slept well today.' (Dziwirek 1994: 57, ex. (1))

Interestingly, the inversion also applies to transitive clauses, where the direct object retains its function in both variants:

- (2) a. *Tę książkę Janek czytał z przyjemnością.*  
this.ACC book.ACC John.NOM read.3M with pleasure  
b. *Tę książkę czytało się Jankowi z przyjemnością.*  
this.ACC book.ACC read.3N REFL John.DAT with pleasure  
'John read this book with pleasure.' (Dziwirek 1994: 58, ex. (5))

Additionally, the dative occurs with a range of non-alternating predicates in Polish (both reflexive and non-reflexive) in structures similar to (1b) and (2b).

These datives, occurring in both the non-alternating and the alternating predicates, are often analysed as dative subjects, non-canonical subjects, or quasi-subjects (e.g. Holvoet 2010). They appear to behave 'simultaneously like a subject and like an indirect object' (Dziwirek 1994: 65), and are therefore a good candidate for the re-examination of the concept of grammatical relation.

I will revisit the tests that have been used to establish what grammatical function is performed by the dative argument in Polish, and demonstrate that some of the tests are not as robust as has been assumed so far. I will argue that while the behaviour of particular arguments in Polish constructions could be viewed as construction-specific, there is a benefit to retaining grammatical functions as they allow us to formulate generalisations across the varied constructions that are not otherwise easily captured. I argue that the best analysis for Polish is to identify the dative in all constructions as a 'uniform' third grammatical function: a 'dative', or 'secondary object' (distinct from both subject and 'direct' or 'primary' object), canonically corresponding to Primus's (1999) Proto-Recipient argument role.

This conception of the grammatical function of the 'secondary object' is compatible with models of argument structure which have so far proven the most successful in accounting for the typological range of valency-changing operations. These models posit several distinct but inter-connected levels of representation including: the level of

referents; semantic/thematic roles (instantiated roles e.g. giver, and generic roles e.g. agent); dependents of the predicate (i.e. lexical transitivity/subcategorisation); and grammatical relations (which map onto syntactic categories).

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### Origins of the Russian referential system: alternative scenarios.

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By 'referential system' I mean the system of reduced referential devices and the principles of their discourse use in a certain language. Compared to other European languages of the Indo-European language family, East Slavic, and in particular Russian, have a very different referential system, especially as concerns subject reference. In Russian, a subject pronoun is most commonly used, but in about one third of instances a pronoun is missing and subject reference is performed by the inflection on the verb that is equivalent to bound pronouns. Furthermore, verbal inflection differs depending on tense. The Russian system has departed strongly from the original Slavic (and Indo-European) type, still largely preserved in West and South Slavic and many Romance languages, but has not quite reached the situation in Germanic where verb inflection has lost the capacity for independent reference and subject pronouns became obligatory in most contexts. The East Slavic referential system is among the typologically most convoluted ones and a number of various scenarios may have led to its formation. In this talk I am going to describe the details of the East Slavic system and inquire into the possible sources of its development. These sources fall into two main groups.

The first one is related to the internal factors. It appears that the East Slavic development is related to the restructuring of the past tenses in Old Russian: synthetic past tenses with personal inflection were replaced by the analytic past tense in *-l*, and after the loss of the person-marked copulae subject personal pronouns were drafted in a new function. There is corpus evidence that even in modern Russian discourse subject pronouns are more often used in the past tense than in the present tense that preserves person inflection. So it is likely that this scenario could have led to the formation of the modern Russian system.

However, what is unlikely is that two similar (not identical) systems, Germanic and East Slavic, emerged completely independently in two geographically close areas. This is unlikely because the Germanic system is typologically exceptional; it is observed only in a few languages of the world outside of Europe (Siewierska 2004). Structurally, one can suspect Germanic influence upon East Slavic, but it is not easy to come up with a specific historical-geographical scenario. The possibility and potential timing of such influence is discussed in the paper. Alternative external influences around the 15<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the modern Russian system was formed, are discussed, including Turkic and Finno-Ugric. A survey of these languages families suggests that, at the time of their possible influence upon Russian, they were among the typological majority (cf. Dryer 2011) that uses bound person inflection for subject reference. So, Germanic seems the only possible external factor that could have contributed to the rather unusual Russian referential system.

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# Rising intonation and question use as unmarked features of English tagged utterances: it's a myth, isn't it!

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The received description (e.g. Quirk et al 1985) of English tagged utterances (henceforth TUs) runs as follows. The interrogative form of the tag indicates reduced certainty on the part of the speaker and typically requests confirmation from the hearer (Biber et al 1999). The function in dialogue of a TU is question-like in that it requests a response from the hearer. In the unmarked case, the tag has a rising pitch contour.

We will investigate these assumptions in the prosodically transcribed spontaneous dialogues of the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English (LLC) and the Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT). Their annotation is based on the same understanding of the tones of English, and did not refer to syntax. Trawling of LLC yielded 624 TUs and of COLT, 360 TUs.

Investigation of the tones on the tags in these datasets contradicts the prediction that rising tone is the unmarked option. In the COLT dataset, rising tone is found in only 10%, 80% have a fall, and 10% no separate nucleus (cf. Ladd 1981). One could think that this is related to other non-standard and shibboleth features of teenage talk (such as reported speech), but the LLC dataset featuring educated adults confirm the predominant use of falling tone: 24% rise, 64% fall, 4% either fall-rise or rise-fall, 8% no nucleus. Presumably in correlation with this, the TUs do not function as clear questions in the majority of cases. In our data, 96.5% of TUs are concerned with exchanging or assessing *information* (the rest being *directives*, which demand compliance from the hearer). A large half of them *open* the adjacency pair, as the literature predicts. However, they often *neutralize* the distinction between statements, which are *acknowledged*, and questions, which are *answered*:

- (1) A: *brother, brother J\ack#*  
B: *yeah I kn\ow# but*  
C: *yeah but it's Fr= Fr\ench# \isn't it#*  
B: *yeah I know so it should be fr\ere#* (COLT)

A sizeable portion are *embedded in turns* by one speaker and do not expect a response:

- (2) A: *but he's not two f\aced#, if he doesn't \like you he t\ells you it# d\oesn't he# m\ind you# I don't know#* (COLT)

Commonly, TU's are *evaluative* statements that do not expect confirmation, but create common ground with either preceding or following utterances.

- (3) A: *^th\ey# [?. @] ^criti'cized my l:t\alian# the ^whole dam((ned))!t\ime#*  
B: *^that's not 'very n\ice# ^\is it#*  
A: *+((([@m])) [w] ^whereas+ (LLC)*

TUs are also found as clear *responses* to questions.

- (4) A: *what's wr\ong with it#*  
B: *it's dead \innit#* (COLT)

For the last three not response-eliciting subtypes, we will propose alternative communicative functions such as stance-alignment, common ground creation, hedging, confronting, structuring of the discourse and the interaction (Mithun forthc).

Further refining the general lines set out above, we will present a systematic qualitative and quantitative analysis of the datasets. We will also develop a descriptive theory which elucidates how TUs express these varied dialogic functions by their different host clause types, polarity patterns and prosodies.

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### Structure of Russian verb: a view from prefixation.

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Overview. Russian is a languages with multiple prefixation, (1). In this paper, we propose a novel theory accounting for what is a possible Russian verb stem. We argue that the whole range of multiple prefixation patterns can be explained by reducing them to two fundamental constraints, a structural constraint determining the relative position of a prefix with respect to the so called secondary imperfective morpheme, and a selectional constraint determining formal aspectual properties of the complement of a prefix.

Proposal. It has been recently proposed (Babko-Malaya 1999, Ramchand 2004, Svenonius 2004a,b, DiSciullo, Slabakova 2005, Romanova 2004, 2006) that prefixes in Russian and other Slavic languages fall into two groups, lexical (internal) and superlexical (external). The former are VP-internal, the latter are VP-external, (2). We argue that superlexicals fall into two distinct classes that differ as to how their distribution is constrained. One of those classes contains prefixes that show a selectional restriction (SR) on co-occurrence with a complement XP: the latter cannot be headed by the grammatically perfective stem, (3a). SR-prefixes are cumulative *na-*, delimitative *po-*, inchoative *za-*, and distributive *pere-*. Another class of prefixes exhibit a positional restriction (PR): in the hierarchical structure of the verbal domain, the prefix cannot be located outside the projection of the secondary imperfective morpheme *-iva-*, (3b). Examples of PR-prefixes are repetitive *pere-*, completive *do-*, and attenuative *pod-*.

Evidence and discussion. Evidence supporting the proposal comes from multiple prefixation and secondary imperfectivization facts.

First, SR-prefixes can merge with simplex imperfective stems (*na-varit* 'cook a quantity of sth.', *po-citat* 'read for a while', *za-begat* 'start running', *pere-streljat* 'shoot one by one') and secondary imperfective stems, (4). They are systematically ungrammatical if combined with perfective stems, either simplex, (5), or derived by prefixation, cf. (4) and (6). PR-prefixes do not exhibit selectional restrictions and readily combine with simplex imperfective stems in (7), simplex perfective stems in (8), and prefixed perfective stems in (9).

Secondly, in hierarchical terms, PR-prefixes cannot merge with an XP if that XP contains *ivaP*, the projection of the secondary imperfective morpheme *-iva-*. If a PR-prefix co-occurs with *-iva-*, the overall stem is obligatorily imperfective, hence imperfectivization by *-iva-* must happen after prefixation. This is shown in (10a-c) for verbs where the starting point of derivation is a simplex imperfective stem. In (11a-c), prefixed perfective stems undergo the same derivation. Alternative (ungrammatical) derivations where prefixation and secondary imperfectivization occur in the reverse order are demonstrated in (11a'-c'). SR-prefixes are not subject to this restriction, (4a-d).

The above generalizations make correct predictions about a possible verb stem in Russian. Due to space limitations we only provide two illustrations. If an SR-prefix attaches on top of a PR-prefix, then, hierarchically, they cannot merge as adjacent heads: the secondary imperfective morpheme must merge in between, (12). In contrast, if an PR-prefix attaches on top of a SR-prefix, they must merge as adjacent heads, (13a-b), and the secondary imperfective morpheme occurs outside both of them, (13a'-b').

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**John got a book, but was it given to him? Concerning the semantic differences between *antaa* (‘give’) and *saada* (‘receive, get’) in Finnish.**

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The verbs *antaa* ‘give’ and *saada* ‘receive, get’ can both be used to describe basic transfer scenes, as in (1) and (2):

- (1) *opettaja*      *anto-i*      *kirja-n*      *opiskelija-lle*  
teacher      give-PST.3SG      book-ACC      student-ALL  
‘A/the teacher gave a/the book to a/the student.’
- (2) *opiskelija*      *sa-i*      *kirja-n*      *opettaja-lta*  
student      get-PST.3SG      book-ACC      teacher-ABL  
‘A/the student got a/the book from a/the teacher.’

Examples above express similar meanings; both can be used to describe an event where a teacher transfers a book to a student. However, the verbs used in the constructions are asymmetric and describe the given event from different perspectives. In (1), the subject *opettaja* refers to the source of transfer, while in (2), the subject *opiskelija* refers to the participant who receives the transferred entity. The recipient of transfer surfaces as an allative oblique in (1), while in (2), the source of transfer is an ablative oblique. The linking of participants to arguments is thus different. In (1), unlike in (2), the linking may be said to be iconic, because the transfer proceeds from the subject referent to the oblique referent. In other words, in (1), more “starting points” (Langacker 1991: 293; for Finnish Helasvuo and Huomo 2010: 172–175) co-align: the subject refers to, e.g., the energy source, the initial participant of the event, and the clausal trajector. These facts have consequences for the use of the two verbs examined.

In our paper, we will discuss the conceptualization of basic transfer events and the related asymmetry from a cognitive-functional perspective. Our hypothesis is that the following reasons favor the use of *saada* instead of *antaa* (discourse-related reasons are not considered):

- A. The source is unknown or the speaker does not want to mention it explicitly.
- B. The source is inanimate and the speaker wants to mention it explicitly.
- C. The nature of transfer is unknown or the speaker does not want to specify it.
- D. The speaker stresses the recipient’s own contribution to acquiring the transferred entity, i.e., the recipient is agentive.

A and B underline the passive-like nature of the variation: *saada* is chosen whenever it is important to downplay the identity of the source. B also stresses the fact that subjects are typically animate: *saada* is chosen because it allows an inanimate source to be mentioned explicitly. C is related to verbal semantics. Finnish, among many other languages, can specify the nature of transfer proceeding from the subject referent to the allative oblique referent lexically (with verbs such as *lähettää* ‘send’ and *lahjoittaa* ‘donate’), while these differences are neutralized if the recipient of the transfer surfaces as subject; *saada* can replace all of the semantically specific transfer verbs. D stresses the agency associated with the subject referent; *saada* is chosen when the recipient’s own activity is highlighted. This also downplays the agency related to the source of transfer that functions as an optional oblique.

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## Specific valency behaviour of Czech deverbal nouns.

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The present contribution aims to give a description of valency properties of Czech deverbal nouns that are in some way ambiguous in that it is difficult to decide whether they denote an action, a result of an action or something between them, cf. Engl. *writing*. Such nouns, situated somewhere on the boundary between syntactic and lexical derivation, have specific semantic and syntactic behaviour that we propose to examine in detail. Our demonstration is developed within the theoretical framework of Functional Generative Description and verified (or regulated) on the basis of a representative sample of corpus material (it exploits the Czech National Corpus and the Prague Dependency Treebank). For the analysis, syntactically and semantically compact groups of nouns (approx. 140 lemmas) have been selected. The results of our research consist of the description of both (A) kinds of manifestation of their valency and (B) factors influencing them.

(A) In comparison with the nouns that (in one of their meanings) merely denote an action, our “ambiguous” deverbal nouns present changes in the meaning (often hardly identifiable or not clear) and sometimes also a specific valency behaviour. Three phenomena relevant to valency complementations can be distinguished:

- (a) The number of slots in the valency frame of the noun can be reduced;
- (b) The character of a valency slot may change from an inner participant to a free modification;
- (c) The forms of valency complementations need not correspond to typical shifts, e.g. NOM → INS or ACC → GEN, cf. (1):

(1) *Petr píše dopis* Petr-NOM.SG write-PRS.SG letter-ACC.SG  
 → *psaní dopisu Petrem*  
 → writing-NOM.SG letter-GEN.SG Petr-INS.SG  
 ‘Petr writes the letter → writing of the letter by Petr’

There are deverbal nouns presenting specific shifts, in particular:

- (c)(i) Specific shifts of complementations having a nominal character (its primary form is a noun), e.g. ACC → DAT, cf. (2):

(2) *Řidič upozornil cestující*  
 driver-NOM.SG warn-PST.SG passenger-ACC.PL  
 → *upozornění řidiče cestujícím*  
 → warning-NOM.SG driver-GEN.SG passenger-DAT.PL  
 ‘The driver warned passengers → warning of the driver to passengers’;

- (c)(ii) Specific shifts of complementations having a propositional character (PPC; its primary form is an embedded objective clause), e.g. PPC → PPC(a prepositional group), cf. (3):

(3) *nabídl mu, aby spolupracoval / spolupracovat / spolupráci* (he-NOM.SG) offer-PST.SG he-DAT.SG that can.cooperate-PST.SG / cooperate-INF / cooperation-ACC.SG  
 → *nabídka, spolupráce / ke spolupráci*  
 → offer-NOM.SG cooperation-GEN.SG/to cooperation-DAT.SG  
 ‘(he) offered him that he could cooperate / to cooperate / a cooperation → an offer ... of a cooperation / to a cooperation’

B) These specific shifts are influenced by various factors that can be classified as follows: (a) semantic properties of the noun, e.g. its semantic group, (b) properties of the valency complementation, e.g. (semantic) animateness vs. inanimateness, (c) properties of the source verb, e.g. perfective vs. imperfective aspect, (d) use of the noun within support verb constructions, e.g. an influence of valency of the verbal component, (e) psychological aspects of communication, e.g. the tendency to avoid syntactic homonymy or a syntactic “overload” of a nominal construction, and finally (f) some other factors, e.g. various types of analogy.

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**'Irrealis' markers on main verbs, non-final verbs, and focus clitics in Karbi (Tibeto-Burman).**

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The label 'irrealis' has entered many language descriptions, but there is still no consensus on the nature of this widely varying cover term. The different views on the topic disagree on the usefulness of an 'irrealis' label (see Mauri and Sansò in press). There is an increase of skepticism towards the general and abstract 'irrealis' label, along with a call for language-specific diachronic explanations as prominently expressed by Bybee (1998). Cristofaro (in press) argues similarly while claiming that there actually are recurrent patterns in the distribution of irrealis subcategories, the two strongest correlations being a) states of affairs that are not realized but may be in the future, and b) states of affairs that failed to be realized.

This case study of Karbi, based on a corpus of naturally occurring data, discusses realis-irrealis distinctions in three different domains: main clause verbs, non-final verb markers, and focus clitics. The irrealis non-final and focus markers indicate typical categories such as imperative, prohibitive, exhortative, negative, whereas this is not the case for main clause verbs. This is a system that is different from what has been described for other Tibeto-Burman languages (e.g. Sun (2007) for rGyalrong, Bendix (1998) for Newari).

In main clauses, verbs may be a) unmarked for the distinction, b) marked realis, or c) take one of two irrealis suffixes, *-po* or *-ji*. The two irrealis markers have previously been described as future markers (Grüßner 1978). However, *-po* and *-ji* are not limited to future contexts. *-po* also occurs in past habitual contexts and marks the predicates of procedural texts, whereas *-ji* also occurs frequently on complement and adverbial clause verbs. Interestingly, although *-ji* often occurs in constructions of the future-associated (a) pattern of Cristofaro (in press; see above), there also is a construction expressing failed realization (as in the (b) pattern) that makes use of *-ji*. Furthermore, certain stative verbs – most frequently *nang* 'need' and *thek* 'know' – seem to only occur with either *-ji* or *-po*. However, verbs marked by the imperative, prohibitive, exhortative, or negated verbs cannot take *-ji* or *-po*.

Non-final verbs are indicated by the unmarked *-si* or the irrealis *-ra*. The irrealis *-ra* obligatorily occurs if the final verb is an imperative, prohibitive, or exhortative. There are also contexts where a negated final verb calls for *-ra* on the non-final verb, though other times *-si* occurs in that context.

Finally, there are two focus clitics, realis *=si* and irrealis *=le*. *=le* typically occurs on the noun phrase in focus if the verb is marked imperative, prohibitive, or exhortative, is negated, or if it is a conditional clause.

The Karbi data show that irrealis marking in the three domains includes different though overlapping types of states of affairs suggesting that construction-specific grammaticalization processes would have more explanatory power than a general irrealis concept. Especially telling is the status of negation, which always requires *=le*, only sometimes *-ra*, and cannot occur with *-ji* or *-po*.

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### Parallels and Differences among Verbal and Nominal Clauses and Nominal Phrases in Turkish.

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Along with Hungarian, Turkish possessives are prime examples of phrases with similarities to clauses—at least with *nominalized* embedded clauses, whose subjects are genitive (not nominative) [1], as are possessors, and whose agreement markers are “nominal” rather than “verbal”, coming from a dedicated “possessive paradigm”, just like the markers on the heads of possessive nominal phrases. These similarities lead to Kornfilt’s (1984) proposal for an identical functional projection for clauses and possessive phrases, i.e. Agr[+N]-P(hrase), along with analyzing possessors and subjects as specifiers that agree with the Agr[+N]-head, thus having their genitive case licensed in identical ways.

There are also parallels between nominalized and verbal clauses in Turkish; both are propositional and can express their predicates’ argument structure fully; both need overt agreement on their predicates to license overt subjects. While agreement is [+V] for verbal clauses and [+N] for nominal clauses, and while the morphological subject case is different, too (nominative in verbal and genitive in nominal clauses), the correlations between overt subject and overt agreement morphology are the same, motivating abstract syntactic Subject Case for both clause types, licensed in the same way.

Clauses also exhibit differences: Overt subjects of gerundive adjunct clauses without agreement are licensed via *default* (and not *licensed*) Case [2], unavailable in gerundive *argument* clause. I extend this to gerundive adjunct clauses *with* agreement: there, too, Subject Case = default Case, independent from agreement [3]. Adjunct clauses *with* agreement exhibit a dichotomy: when there is an (abstract) A’-operator, e.g. in comparatives [4] and relative clauses, the agreement does get “activated”, and the subject is assigned genitive, rather than the default (nominative) case: the operator turns adjunct clauses into “referential” ones (Rizzi 1994), where the agreement head is always “active”, thus yielding another parallelism.

#### Selected data

- [1] Ali [biz-**im** kitab -ı oku-duğ -**umuz**] -u bil -iyor  
Ali we-**GEN** book -ACC read-Ger. -**1.pl[+N]**-ACC know-PRES.PROG.  
‘Ali knows that we read the book’
- [2] [Ali iş -e gid -erken ] biz uyu -yor -du -k  
Ali[**def.Case**] work -DAT go -while we sleep -prog -pst -1.pl  
‘While Ali was going to work, we were sleeping.’
- [3] Ali sevin-di [[Oya/ \*Oya-**nın** yarış -ı kazan-**dığı**-ı] için]  
Ali rejoice-PST Oya[**def.Case**]/ \*Oya-**GEN** race -ACC win-**Ger.**-3.sg[+N] because  
‘Ali was happy because Oya won the race’
- [4] Ali [ [\*Oya /Oya -**nın** ye -**diği** -in -den] fazla] balık ye -di  
Ali Oya[**def.Case**]/Oya -**GEN** eat -**Ger-3.sg[+N]**-ABL more fish eat - PST  
‘Ali ate more fish than Oya did’

#### Research questions

Why is there an argument—adjunct asymmetry with respect to subject Case in gerundive, categorially hybrid, clauses? Categorially consistent, fully verbal or fully nominal clauses don’t exhibit such asymmetry—why?

#### Results

Explaining the relation between categorial features and thematic ones, and between subject Case and Case-licensing heads (i.e. *TAM*-heads versus *Agr*-heads; the latter need activation via licensing by either external thematic marking or by a local operator, when the *TAM*-head is categorially hybrid).

Approach, method

Generative syntactic theory, functional projections, Case theory; data: native speakers' intuitions.

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## Functional pitch movements and affective speech in Greek.

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During the last decades the vocal expression of emotions has attracted much interest among researchers of different disciplines, mainly as a result of the progress in speech science (especially speech technology). For a review of the research conducted on vocal expression of emotions cf. Frick (1985) and Scherer (1986). Nevertheless, despite the wide range of surveys focusing on emotions in speech, the difficulty in defining emotions and, most importantly, the different methodological approaches adopted by the researchers have not permitted a complete elucidation of the way they are reflected in speech and the properties of the mechanism for their being perceived by the listener still remains an unresolved issue.

As far as the Greek language is concerned, to my knowledge there has been no research entirely dedicated to the prosodic parameters that trigger emotional expression. Greek has been investigated only as a part of cross-linguistic research such as Burkhardt's et al. (2006) who manipulated sentences of four different languages (Greek included) with regard to pitch range, duration and jitter in order to investigate whether these parameters have the same effect to the expression of emotion irrespective of language.

This paper's main objective is therefore to explore the effect of affective speech on the prosodic structure of Greek utterances and particularly on the functional pitch movements. To this end, a quantitative analysis of (controlled-) speech material conveying different emotional states is performed.

More specifically, the same utterances are pronounced by two professional male actors in such a way that different emotional states are portrayed. The emotional states to be examined refer to two basic emotions: sadness and joy as well as to the emotion dimension of intensity. I intend thereby to investigate to which extent the qualitative (joy versus sadness) and quantitative (e.g. weak joy versus strong joy) variation of emotion is reflected to speech. In order to be able to make safe comparisons I use "neutral" speech (speech that does not express any particular emotion) as the baseline.

Unlike much of the previous research that mainly focused on global measurements (such as total duration, F0-mean and F0-range), I attempt to combine measurements regarding the overall contour of the utterances with measurements referring to local changes associated with particular pitch movements.

In both cases, measurements will be performed on the basis of syllable-sized units in the utterance. The segmentation into these units will be conducted automatically by Prosogram (Mertens, 2004) and then manually verified. The parameters that will be examined are pitch contour, duration and voice quality.

The results are expected to shed some light on the extent these parameters differ when the emotional state changes and more interestingly, to which extent functional, local pitch movements are modified, with the ambition that the findings will be usable in speech synthesis.

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### **Ethnic adjectives as a mixed category in BCS.**

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*Ethnic adjectives* (EAs) are adjectives expressing nationality, ethnicity or provenance/origin (Alexiadou and Stavrou 2005). The example is *American*, as in *the American invasion of Vietnam*. The category of EAs belongs to so-called pseudo-adjectives. They are morphologically related to nouns, and they show some characteristics of nouns (in the first place a potential argument), but they are still adjectives. This hybrid nature of the category gives it the status of a mixed category: a category between noun and adjective.

The paper discusses behavior of ethnic adjectives in the contemporary BCS (Bosnian, Croatian and Serbian). The data shows that ethnic adjectives in BCS in general behave like ethnic adjectives in English and Greek, i.e. they behave as asserted in the literature (Postal 1969, Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou and Stavrou 2005, Markantonatou and Oersnes 1999). They are a mixed category between adjective and noun, with some adjectival, and nominal characteristics.

However, although ethnic adjectives in BCS have reduced referential capacity, this capacity is less reduced than that in English and Greek. Ethnic adjectives in BCS can provide an antecedent for a pronoun, and implicit argument control is allowed. They have stronger anaphoric character than those in English and Greek. The fact that implicit argument control is allowed also means that ethnic adjectives in BCS have stronger argumental character. In terms of Grimshaw (1990) they are more like 'real' arguments, not only 'argument adjuncts'. What these pieces of evidence suggest is that ethnic adjectives in BCS are closer to nouns than ethnic adjectives in English and Greek.

Concerning some theoretical implications, the behavior of ethnic adjectives in BCS supports the way that this category is treated in the contemporary grammatical theory. More nominal nature of the category makes a stronger support for the current opinion (Postal 1969, Alexiadou 2001, Alexiadou and Stavrou 2005) that ethnic adjectives are syntactically derived from nouns, using some transformations. They have defective anaphoric and argumental character because at the surface structure they appear as adjectives, not as 'real' nouns from which they are derived.

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### **Conceptual structure and linguistic encoding of emotional movement in German.**

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Speaking about emotional experiences like being moved or touched involves special vocabulary, psychological predicates, which primarily express a specific relation between the stimulus and the experiencer of particular emotional and mental states (Jackendoff 2007). Verbs expressing emotional movement such as 'move', 'touch', 'stir' or 'shake' are classified as stimulus-experiences predicates exhibiting a specific syntactic behaviour. These prototypically polysemous verbs necessitate an inanimate stimulus in the subject position and lose their emotional meaning, if used transitively with agent-subjects, as for instance in the first person (1-2).

- 1) The film touched the girl.
- 2) I touched the girl.
- 3) I feared the girl.

This semantic classification of predicates denoting emotional movement highlights the externality of the stimulus eliciting the experienced emotional state. The verbs expressing emotional movement are thus set apart not only from action verbs but also from verbs expressing basic emotions such as fear, hate or mourn which imply no constraints on the transitive use (3).

To explore how stimulus and experiencer related meanings intertwine in the conceptual structure of psychological predicates denoting emotional movement in German, we used the differentiation in the grammatical function of past and present participles. Present participles such as 'moving' or 'touching' are predominantly used as adjectives describing properties of the underlying stimulus – a moving speech, a touching care, up-lifting melodies, or stirring protests. Past participles such as 'moved', 'touched' or 'shaken' combine actional and resultative meanings, and therefore express properties of the experienced emotional state.

A representative sample of 610 German native speakers completed a free association task which targeted one of 8 semantically related verbs presented as present or past participles. The elicited associations were classified according to their interpretation as different types of stimuli or as features of the emotional state.

Analyses of variance based on the relative frequencies of responses depicting different types of stimuli and properties of experienced emotional states yielded support for the theoretically derived primacy of stimulus-related meanings in the conceptual structure of verbs encoding emotional movement in German. The results provide empirical support for the theoretically motivated assumption that present and past participles depict different perspectives on the mental representation of moving or stirring situations and on the resulting mental state of the experiencer, thus providing a feasible access to the conceptual structure of the investigated complex emotions (Scherer 2009). Independent ratings of the associated items (Vö et al. 2009) and an MDS analysis based on the overlap-coefficients between the investigated concepts revealed regularities in the internal differentiation of the semantic field with respect to psychologically pertinent factors such as valence (evaluation of experienced emotions in terms of their inherent (un)pleasantness) and arousal.

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## Adaptation of English word-final plosives into Korean: effects of English experience.

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This study investigated how experience with the source language for loanwords can alter perception of the sounds of that language, and thus the pattern of loanword adaptation. The focus is variable adaptation of English word-final plosives into Korean. I argue that one important factor that conditions this variation is Korean speakers' experience with English.

When English word-final plosives are borrowed into Korean, they are adapted by variably inserting epenthetic /i/ after the plosive. This variation is phonologically conditioned: /i/-epenthesis is more frequent when (a) the preceding vowel is tense (*beat*→/pi.t<sup>h</sup>i/, but *bit*→/pit/), (b) the final stop is voiced (*kid*→/k<sup>h</sup>i.ti/, but *kit*→/k<sup>h</sup>it/), and (c) the stop is coronal (*mat*→/mæ.t<sup>h</sup>i/, but *map*→/mæp/) (Kang, 2003). Kang linked the tenseness effect to perception of stop release and argued that vowel epenthesis is a good perceptual approximation for both stop release and coda voicing.

The present study examines previously identified influences on variable epenthesis, and extends the investigation to Korean listeners' variable experiences with English. Listeners' L1 influences their perception of L2 sounds, although learners' perception becomes increasingly native-like with increased L2 experience (Best and Tyler, 2007). Consequently, Korean speakers' experience with English is predicted to mediate variable vowel insertion after English word-final plosives, likely via their altered perception of stop release and the properties in (a)-(c). In Korean,

codas are not audibly released, and vowel tenseness and coda voicing are not phonemic.

In a laboratory adaptation study, Korean monolinguals, Korean-English late-bilinguals, and Korean-English early-bilinguals were presented with CVC non-words pronounced by an English native speaker, in which V is one of /i/ε/υ/ and coda C is /ptkbg/. Each CVC was manipulated to have two coda C realizations, one released and the other unreleased. A between-subject design prevented the same participant from hearing the same CVC twice, once with release and once without. The task was to add a case-marker to the non-word; of interest was whether /i/ was inserted during the task.

Results and interpretation: (i) Although released stimuli triggered vowel insertion for all three groups, the difference between released-unreleased stimuli was the largest for the monolinguals, decreasing with more English experience (Fig.1). This result accords with the phonological adaptation of proficient bilinguals (LaCharité and Paradis, 2005). Arguably, more proficient bilinguals "know" that English stop release is not contrastive and thus ignore stop release when adapting English words. (ii) As expected, the late- and early-bilingual participants attended to voicing in their responses (i.e., the voiced-voiceless difference was significant), but voicing was not significant for the near monolingual participants (Fig.2). (iii) The effects of pre-coda vowel and coda place of articulation had a similar pattern in all three groups (Fig.3 and 4), although these effects were mediated by English experience, that is, these effects decreased with more experience with English. The findings across all stimulus manipulations systematically indicate that experience with the source language influences the pattern of loanword adaptation via the altered perception of source language sounds.

Fig.1

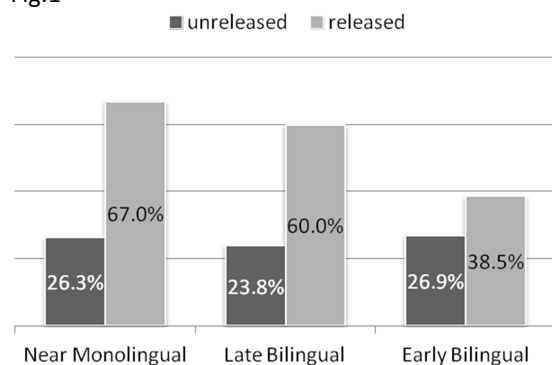


Fig.2

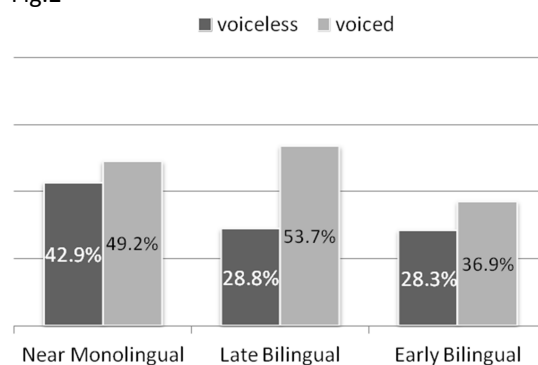


Fig.3

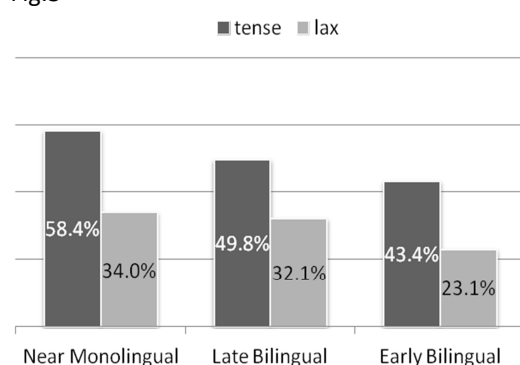
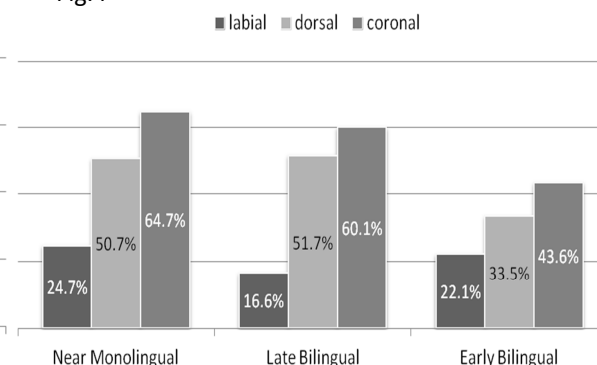


Fig.4



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**Multiple valency frames: towards a density-based network model.**

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This study focuses on the Russian Reflexive Marker (-*sja*), one of the fundamental morphological categories of Russian. Although, numerous studies have been dedicated to accounting for the patterns associated with the reflexive verbs, the potentiality of a verb to conjoin with multiple valency frames is a topic that has been ignored in previous accounts, (although cf. Geniušienė 1987 and Gerritsen 1990) and generally in studies on verb alternations (cf. Levin and Malka Rappaport 2005). This raises a serious question about the selection process of the potential frames; a question that bears both theoretical and typological importance. This study focuses on the question of the potentiality of a verb to display multiple frames. A density-based network model is proposed to model the frames.

The data are based on 1438 verbs randomly sampled from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) consisting of 719 reflexive and 719 neighbor verbs. All the included verbs share the same phonological form excluding the Reflexive Marker regardless of the semantic connection between them, for example *vit* 'cause to curl' and *vit'sja* 'curl', and *okazat* 'render' and *okazat'sja* 'seem, appear'. At the moment, FrameNet or an extensive WordNet is not available for Russian. Thus, a dictionary-based perspective was adapted and the frames were extracted from Kuznetsov (2009 [1998]). An estimation of lexical density of a verb can be established through phonological connectivity as has been proposed, for example, in Bybee (1985), i.e. a neighborhood density. The density was estimated and operationalized as a rhyme space (cf. Pastizzo and Feldman 2009); for example the neighborhood ( $n=106$ ) of the verb *bazirovat'sja* contains such verbs as *avizirovat'sja*, *aktivizirovat'sja* and *ammonizirovat'sja*. The rhymes were extracted from the online Russian Rhyme dictionary (Rhymes 2011) and in total contains over 378 thousand verb forms. In addition, the average neighborhood distance was calculated for the verbs (Yarkoni and Balota 2008). Furthermore, the model contains such variables as the estimated frequency based on Ljashevskaja and Sharo (2009), aspect, and causation (based on the RNC) and transitivity for the neighbor verbs. Finally, the semantic connectivity between the reflexive and the neighbor verbs was evaluated by two native linguist raters.

The first part of the talk covers the process of establishing the variables and situates the proposed model in a larger body of usage-based models. The second part concentrates on the distributional properties. In terms of lexical connectivity, the data show that the density between the reflexive and the neighbor verbs is not statistically significant, Wilcoxon rank-sum test ( $W = 271236$ ,  $p$ -value = 0.1052). In contrast, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of average distance, Wilcoxon rank-sum test ( $W = 9251.5$ ,  $p$ -value <  $2.2e-16$ ). This suggests that the reflexive verbs are located in sparse neighborhoods bearing consequences for the formation of categories. In general, the results suggest that frequency, neighborhood density and average distance, for example, are correlated with the number of frames. Thus, a density-based network model using variables from computational psycholinguistics is proposed to better understand the structure of verbs with multiple valency frames.

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**Interpretations and misinterpretations of Finno-Ugric language relatedness.**

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Although historical-comparative Finno-Ugric/Uralic linguistics has a tradition comparable to that of the Indo-European studies, “alternative” theories keep resurfacing that contest either the Uralic relatedness as such or the established methods of historical linguistics (e.g. Marcantonio 2002), sometimes purporting to replace them with alternative methods both inspired by and compatible with the results of genetics or archaeology (e.g. Wiik 2002). As pointed out by numerous critics (see e.g. Aikio 2003, Palviainen 2003, Lindstedt 2004, Bakró-Nagy 2005), these works are characterised by fundamental misunderstandings, argumentation errors and even violations of good scientific practice. However, some of them are being successfully marketed to wider lay or sometimes even linguist audiences.

Some alternative theories concentrate on one single Uralic language, most notably, the “quasi-isolate” Hungarian which has been the subject of numerous, clearly politically motivated theories, some of which explicitly portray academic Uralic studies as a political conspiracy against the Hungarian nation. (A recent publication is Marác 2009.) A further problem is posed by theories which, although not necessarily ideologically motivated, easily lend themselves to political misuse. This is supported by the existing tradition of instrumentalising language relatedness for political purposes: linguistic labels have been used in naming and motivating nationalistic projects such as Pan-Slavism, Scandinavism – or the Finno-Ugric “kindred peoples’ movement” which seems to form a part even of today’s Estonian nationalism. This, in turn, implies a fatal over-extension of the concept of “relatedness” and contributes to the general understanding of historical linguistics as merely the little helper of national history-writing and identity-building.

After presenting some examples of “alternative” theories, I will focus on their importance for the linguistic community. Why are there even professional linguists who misunderstand the basics of historical linguistics? Why does the idea of reticulation (languages “melting together” or “becoming related”) keep resurfacing in purported critiques of the family tree model, despite the complete lack of evidence? What is the role of interdisciplinarity for historical linguistics and why is it so often misunderstood? Are some areas of historical linguistics more vulnerable to misuse than others, and why? Has historical linguistics failed in communicating its major findings and principles, and what should be done to prevent further misunderstandings?

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**Creole professional slang: linguistic practices of Russian professionals in multinational companies.**

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One of the most significant current discussions in professional discourse is language practices in multilingual contexts. The paper focuses on professional discourses in Russian offices of two international companies: Intel and KPMG. The purpose of the study is to describe language practices in formal and informal professional settings with reference to the organizational policy and to identify language ideologies underlying workplace practices not defined by organizational policy. The data collected by recording employees’ informal conversations in the workplace was further discussed with the respondents. While drawing on the language contact research on the status of languages and studies of language in the workplace from sociolinguistics and discourse studies, the analysis reveals the formally declared equality of the Russian and English languages and the undeclared superiority and prestige of the English language. One of the most salient characteristics of workplace conversations is the evolvment of the creole professional slang with English as a lexifier-language and Russian as a recipient language that provides phonology, morphology and syntactic foundation. The hybrid language produced does not correspond to either English or Russian standard or colloquial language,

moreover it is unintelligible to outsiders and serves as a distinct marker of the Russian professional identity in the English lingua franca workplace. Though all employees are bilingual and capable of easily switching languages, a set of psychological and sociolinguistic reasons motivate extensive use of English in informal settings. Thus, corporate-level documentation and reporting is done in English which determines a closer connection of the English lexeme and the mental image of the object/ phenomenon defined by this lexeme. Moreover, the common pro-Western orientation of the Russian society endows the English language with greater prestige and aesthetic value. The ability to speak English is a means of constructing progressive/ professional identity.

### Denominal causative-inchoative verbs in Spanish

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In the category of denominal causative verbs in Spanish it is possible to differentiate several semantic subgroups with a common meaning of causation (Lavale 2007). In this paper, I will focus on the conflation of causative and inchoative meanings.

On the one hand, causativity is conceived as a basic and universal semantic content (Fillmore 1976; Demonte 1994) that is completely and perfectly explained if it is included in the Force Dynamics system (Talmy 2000). According to this system, causation involves the transfer of force or energy from one entity to another, and the subsequent change of state in the entity that receives the energy. In Spanish this meaning can be found in different linguistic forms, although the verbal domain is one of the most widely used for its expression (syntactic, lexical and morphological causative predicates). On the other hand, inchoativity is also a semantic content that implies the transformation of an entity to a different state, in the sense that the entity ceases to be in a particular state and turns into another. From these premises, the category of denominal verbs with causative-inchoative meaning has been isolated from a corpus of denominal verbs extracted from the DRAE (2001). In a first phase, their nominal origin has been verified in the etymological dictionary by Corominas & Pascual (DCECH 1980); then, several examples of these verbs' actual use have been analyzed in the corpus CREA.

A representative example of these verbs is *carbonizar* ['to carbonize'], which comes from the noun *carbón* ['coal'], defined as 'solid, light and black matter and very combustible'. As it is shown in a sentence like *El fuego carbonizó la madera* ['The fire carbonized the wood'], an entity carries out the transfer of energy to the object, which leaves the properties of wood and turns into coal.

The analysis of this group of denominal causative verbs shows that not all of them behave in the same way. Some of them involve the complete transformation or conversion of the noun incorporated in the verb, as is observed in *carbonizar* ['to carbonize'] –'to reduce an organic body to coal'– or in *fragmentar* ['to fragment'] –'to reduce something to fragments'–. Other verbs just imply a partial transformation to a new state, since they do not change the entire object, but only one of its features, as happens in *asedar* ['to silk'] –'to put something smooth as silk'– or *enrollar* ['to roll up' or 'to coil'] –'to give something the form of a roll'–.

This contribution further analyzes the argument structure of these verbs, their syntactic and semantic features, and the syntactic structures in which they may appear. Finally, this paper leads us to establish several subgroups in this category and to outline their defining characteristics.

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### Transitivity Requirement (TR) parameters in the history of English.

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This study investigates the contrast between the changes in the (un)availability of (a) null and cognate objects and (b) null and cognate subjects in the history of English. We adopt the Transitivity Requirement (TR) Hypothesis (the direct object counterpart to the EPP hypothesis; "an Obj position is always included in VP, independently of lexical choice of V"; Roberge 2002, Basilico 1998, Bowers 2002, Pirvulescu and Roberge 1999, Tsimpli and Papadopoulou 2006), and we argue that the differences between the diachrony of objects and subjects in English (with regard to null and cognate objects and subjects) can be explained as a reflection of the differences between EPP (for subjects) and TR (for objects) characteristics and parameters (for changing EPP parameters, see Biberauer and Roberts 2005). TR applies in the thematic layer and involves semantic recoverability conditions while EPP applies in the functional layer and involves morphological recoverability conditions (Roberge 2002). TR dictates the representation of a TransP (Basilico 1998, Bowers 2002); SpecTrans is the EPP position for direct objects (Bowers 2002).

In the history of English, we observe loss of the referential null objects (referential null objects are attested in Old English (OE), but are ungrammatical in Modern English (ModE); ex. 1a, b) and emergence of the (unattested in OE) activity/event noun cognate objects (ex. 2).

- (1) a. gesæt þæt lond ond gedælde. [Old English]  
(Anglo-Saxon Chronicle A [Plummer] 880; van der Wurff 1997: 346)  
b. \*he occupied the land and divided [Modern English]
- (2) Ere the Bat hath flowne His Cloyster'd flight [Early Modern English]  
'Before the bat flies through the castle' (Shakesp., Macb. III, ii, 40; Visser 1963-1973: 417)

On the other hand, non-referential (Hulk and van Kemenade 1995) and referential null subjects (van Gelderen 2000) are attested in OE, while ModE does not allow null subjects. Furthermore, cognate subjects seem to be non-existent while (some types of) cognate objects are present (and increase) in all periods of English.

The hypothesis that the subcategorization part of the presence of an object is TR, while the subcategorization part of the presence of a subject is EPP (Roberge 2002) can help us account for the different diachronic changes (or stability) in cognate and null objects in contrast to cognate and null subjects. Changes in the semantic (with regard to objects) and morphological (with regard to subjects) recoverability conditions (that is, changes in Viewpoint Aspect and Tense, respectively) in different periods of English will be shown to be responsible for the relevant changes in cognate and null objects and subjects.

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**Uralic lexical evolution in basic and less basic vocabulary: trees and networks compared.**

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In lexical studies of language divergence, the main focus has been on “basic vocabulary”, which signifies words that persist in the history of languages and resist borrowing the most. Basic vocabulary, collected with meaning lists, have been consequently seen as maximally useful for detecting the processes of language diversification without the effect of language contact, as borrowings have been mostly considered as a problem for creating phylogenies. Further, the traditional model for illustrating language divergence has been the family tree, but this has been challenged because it neither shows the secondary connections between languages (e.g. borrowings) nor ambiguity in the branching order (e.g. Heggarty et al. 2010). Consequently, network models have been utilized in the study of language history for the detection of secondary connections (e.g. Nelson-Sathi et al. 2011).

In this study, which is part of the “Beyond Phylogenies” workshop, we examined a) the effect of meanings more easily subject to borrowing on language history and b) how networks, when compared with trees, help in detecting ambiguities that lie behind simplistic tree models. The study was conducted with Uralic languages, which present a good opportunity for investigating their history with computational methods, as they have been extensively studied using traditional methods.

We collected basic vocabulary from 18 Uralic languages according to so-called Swadesh lists (Swadesh 1952, 1955) and the recent Leipzig-Jakarta (LJ) list (Tadmor 2009: 68–74). Altogether our data consisted of words for 226 meanings, wherefrom we separated sublists such as Ura100 (100 meanings resistant to borrowing in the languages included). Secondly, we compiled a set of 100 „less basic vocabulary” meanings (LBV) using the same information from the Loanword Typology Project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009) from which LJ was produced. This consisted of meanings further down the basic vocabulary scale (meanings ranked 401 to 500, while LJ includes meanings ranked 1–100). The data was encoded in a binary format and analyzed using both tree-building methods (Bayesian phylogenetic MCMC methods such as MrBayes) and those that produce phylogenetic networks (NeighborNet).

The well-established groupings, such as Finno-Ugric (beside Samoyedic), Ugric, and Finno-Saamic were produced reliably by all of the lists mentioned above. For instance, Swadesh100 and Leipzig-Jakarta lists classified the languages similarly, even though they shared only 62 meanings. These lists included a lot of loanwords, but produced results similar to the Ura100 list despite again only a part of the meanings being shared. The full basic vocabulary data (226 meaning items) tolerated borrowings better than the smaller 100 item lists. Networks produced with the LBV list also discerned the most clearly defined subgroups, but did not improve the model when added to the full dataset. The networks found most of the same subgroups as the trees, but failed to show some groupings as clearly (for instance, Finno-Volgaic and Finno-Mordvinic), reflecting secondary connections that are not made explicit by tree models. Such secondary connections were also visible e.g. between Saamic and Baltic-Finnic and within the Baltic-Finnic subgroup, in both cases reflecting contact influence.

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<sup>1</sup>«By complementation, we mean the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate» [Noonan 1985].

### Transparency in language.

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Natural languages relate meaning to form. A language is transparent if this relation is consistently one-to-one. Presumably, there is no language in the world that maintains transparency throughout its grammar – violations are found in all languages. However, languages differ in their degree of transparency: some language are more transparent than others.

Crucially, research from different branches of linguistics indicates that languages are relatively transparent in their early stages. Firstly, languages arising from contact (creoles and other types of contact languages) are relatively transparent compared to their parent languages (Seuren and Wekker 1986; Leufkens forthcoming). Secondly, children typically acquire transparent features first, while non-transparent features are acquired later (Slobin 1977). For instance, the highly opaque Dutch grammatical gender system is only fully mastered at 8 years old (Blom et al. 2008). There is hence evidence that in language development, transparency is prior to opacity. Language contact presumably leads to language change in the opposite direction (Leufkens forthcoming).

To be able to measure the degree of transparency of a language, Hengeveld (2011) made a list of linguistic phenomena violating a one-to-one relation between meaning and form. A language is considered more opaque the more of these mismatch features it exhibits. The list features three categories of opacity:

- Redundancy phenomena, where one meaning unit corresponds to two or more forms, e.g. negative concord (one semantic negation, two negating forms), cf. 0.

Khalilova (2009: 483): Khwarshi

uža            hoččun    l-ez=bi<sup>1</sup>

boy(I).OBL.ERG    nothing(IV)IV-buy=NEG

‘The boy bought nothing.’ (Impossible reading: ‘The boy bought something.’)

- Violations of domain integrity, e.g. fusion, or extraposition (one semantic group, split in two units in its morphosyntactic realization) as in 0.

Lachlan Mackenzie, personal communication: European Portuguese

vi    [aquele    gajo]    ontem,            [que    vestia        um    manto    roxo]  
see.PSTthat    guy    yesterday,    who    wear.PST    a    cloak    purple  
‘I saw that guy yesterday, who was wearing a purple cloak.’

- Formal rules or units that cannot be explained by semantic or pragmatic considerations, e.g. nominal classification on the basis of an abstract (i.e. non-semantic) gender feature. These phenomena involve 0:1-relations between meaning and form.

Early case studies (cf. Hengeveld (ed.) 2011) and preliminary results indicate that all languages show opaque phenomena of the first two categories, while phenomena from the third category (e.g. dummy subjects, sequence-of-tenses and grammatical gender) are rare. These findings indicate that the emergence of opaque features in a language is not random, but follows a fixed order. The main aim of my research is to establish the order in which non-transparent features enter a language. The result will be an implicational hierarchy of transparency. To obtain this hierarchy, I compare 25 typologically diverse languages on their degrees of transparency.

In my talk, I will present preliminary results from the transparency analyses I have executed so far.

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<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations used in this document: i, ii, iii, iv: semantic classes, erg = ergative, neg = negation, obl = oblique, pst = past tense.

### The linguistic identity of the Greater Hindu Kush, a transit zone between South and Central Asia.

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Regardless of the particular view one takes on areality, there are a number of reasons for trying to characterize the accumulation of languages in the highland region between, or simultaneously belonging to, South Asia (or the Indian subcontinent) and Central Asia. This region is, to borrow the words of one of the foremost experts on South Asian linguistics, "where conflicting areal patterns meet and interact, and many peculiar languages ('Dardic', Burushaski [a language isolate], the Pamir group of Eastern Iranian), at once archaic and innovating, find their home" (Masica 2001:225). To the aforementioned mix should be added Tibeto-Burman Balti, spoken in the eastern part of this region, and the Nuristani languages in the border region between northern Pakistan and Afghanistan, the latter now considered a third branch of Indo-Iranian (on par with Indo-Aryan and Iranian). Historically we will have to assume several layers of settlement and highly complex patterns of language contact in this extremely mountainous region, and there are strong indications that several ancient substrata (the proto-language of Burushaski most likely one of them) have made important contributions to the resulting typologies (Tikkanen 1988:304).

In the present study a substantial number of features (phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical) are taken into account in order to arrive at a non-speculative typological profile of the region. The author draws from his own fieldwork in the region, collaborating with several native-speaker consultants, as well as from language-specific studies carried out by other researchers. In an initial stage, an intragenealogical typology of the Indo-Aryan cluster, native to and linguistically dominant in the region (often, although controversially, referred to as 'Dardic', see Bashir 2003:822; Strand 2001:258; Zoller 2005:10-11), is established, by investigating a sample representing each of the tentatively classified subgroups of 'Dardic'. This is meant to shed further light on the still ongoing but very challenging classification work. This is projected to be followed up by a more extensive cross-genera comparison of the same features.

A number of convergence features that are of particular relevance to this region have been identified (many of them confirming suggestions made by Bashir (Bashir 2003:821-823) and Tikkanen (1999; 2008)). Some of those are macroareal features that either characterize South Asia at large (or the larger part of it), such as the presence of retroflex stops and non-nominative experiencers, or large parts of Central Asia, such as a contrast between velar and uvular stops and the presence of a vigesimal numeral system. Other features are better described as subareal, some covering a substantial part of the region, such as the presence of retroflex affricates as well as fricatives, contrasting with corresponding dental and palatal sounds, and the optionality of copula verbs in nominal and adjectival predication, other features characterizing more limited subsets of (often geographically adjacent) languages, such as grammaticalization of evidentiality and animacy distinctions, multi-differentiating deictic systems, a preferred order subordinate clause followed by main clause, the development of tonal/accental systems, the use of co-lexicalized intensifiers, and a great variety in alignment patterns and in the display and degree of ergativity.

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### **Why Is possession intrinsic and polysemous in English and Korean? Cognition, translation, and interdisciplinarity for the corporeal semantics.**

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This paper aims to investigate the relation(s) of possession in English and Korean and provide an account that can not only empirically describe but also adequately explain the conceptually intrinsic relationship and the linguistically polysemous property (e.g. action, location, companion, genitive, goal, source, topic, and equation in Heine 1997) salient in the expressions of possession.

Setting the explanatory adequacy as a landmark for possession-related investigation (Taylor 1996: 7), this study poses the basic yet critical questions: "why is possession perceived in such ways?" and "why do we take the polysemy of possession for granted (i.e. to be semantically varied yet universal)?" In order to effectively tackle the questions, the study, then, proposes to take an interdisciplinary approach to possession, particularly, from a cognitive perspective and, also, with translational motivation.

In terms of the cognitive aspects of possession, the study pays attention to the notion of embodiment—especially in relation to experiential gestalt (Taylor 1996: 339-340, Lakoff and Johnson 1980)—and the (possible) prototype(s) associated with the possession-involving experiential gestalt. Subsequently, focusing on the translations of possession, it presents two translational clues: (a) the English predicative possession realized by 'have' gets rendered to the existential verb '-iss' in Korean (See Park 2004 and Kim 2010, for example); (b) the English attributive possession represented by 'of' or the 's morpheme gets translated to categorially and semantically various expressions in Korean (Lim 2008)—rather than settle down with the conventional correspondents (e.g. the verb 'kaji-' meaning 'to own/ have' and the genitive '-ui' similar to 'of'). Through the translationally motivated analysis, the implicit semantic interrelatedness between possession and other basic concepts (existence, location, control, concomitant, etc.) gets revealed, providing further (extra) linguistic clues.

Drawing on the conceptual grounds of the polysemy and the feasibility of an anthroposemiotically universal experiential gestalt (obtained in corporeally and cognitively intrinsic yet definite ways, viz., prototypically, for which various linguistic/cultural translations can be bound up under the label 'possession'), this study abductively proposes that it should be the experiential gestalt(s) of the infant at its prenatal and postnatal phases that would form the generic concept of possession and imprint the semantic primitives (e.g. existence, location, control, intrinsic relations, manual possession, etc.) in the infant's cognition and body fundamentally and ultimately (cf. semantic extension via metaphor/metonymy). And, considering the salience of the conceptual-corporeal predominance at that developmental stage, it argues that the linguistic variations should be understood as a wide spectrum (not categorial or conceptual chasm) and that follow-up research require interdisciplinarity (e.g. non-verbal/corporeal semiotics, neurolinguistics, cognitive science, developmental psychology, etc.).

In conclusion, this multidimensional research is argued to be conducive to a better understanding of the complex relationships between the human language, mind, and body in discussing possession.



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## Modelling Chinese Dialect Evolution: Network and Alignment Approaches.

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Ever since August Schleicher first proposed the idea that the assumptions about the development of languages are best visualized by 'dem Bilde eines sich verästelnden Baumes' (Schleicher 1853: 787), this view was controversially discussed in the linguistic world, leading to various opposing theories, ranging from wave-like evolutionary scenarios (Schmidt 1872) to early network proposals (Bonfante 1931). The reluctance of many scholars to accept the tree as the natural metaphor for language evolution was mainly due to the problem of conflicting signals in linguistic data: Many documented resemblances between languages would simply not point to a unique family tree for the respective language family. Despite these early and common observations made by various linguists, so far, the majority of automatic approaches applied to language data has been based on the tree model (Swadesh 1955, Embleton 1986, Starostin 1989, Holm 2000, Gray and Atkinson 2003, Atkinson and Gray 2006), while network approaches have been rarely applied (Hamed 2005, Hamed and Wang 2006, Nelson-Sathi et al. 2011).

Due to the specific sociolinguistic situation in China where very divergent linguistic varieties for a long time have been "roofed" by a common culture and a common writing system, the development of the Chinese dialects reflects a 'complex and intertwined evolutionary history' (Hamed and Wang 2006: 31). Chinese dialects are therefore a good test case for methods which no longer take the family tree as their primary evolutionary model. In this talk, we shall introduce and discuss the implications of network approaches by applying them to a recently compiled dataset covering translations of 180 concepts for 40 different diatopic varieties of Chinese (Hóu 2004). Apart from the fact that cognacy information can be extracted from the data, this dataset has the great advantage of giving full phonetic records of all dialect words. This makes it possible to apply methods which work on cognate sets (Nelson-Sathi et al. 2011) as well as methods for computational sequence comparison (List 2010).

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### **Towards a typology of concessive constructions: a contribution based on Portuguese data.**

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In the recent literature (Crevels 2000, Prandi 2004, Latos 2009, a.o.), concessive constructions are analysed on different levels of discourse, in accordance with the commonly accepted distinction between ideational and interpersonal functions of language. Three main types of concessive constructions are usually considered: content, epistemic and illocutionary concessives.

This paper discusses this classification of concessive constructions and attempts to deepen and extend it, in order to build a more robust and fine-grained typology. Our ultimate aim is to contribute to the cross-linguistic research on concessive constructions.

Based on empirical data from European contemporary Portuguese, taken from CETEMPúblico, an on-line written press corpus, our approach is functionally and cognitively orientated.

The main results of the research are the following: (i) Portuguese concessive constructions validate the distinction between content, epistemic and illocutionary concessive clauses; (ii) it is possible to elaborate on previous characterizations of epistemic concessives, highlighting the equivalence between their semantics and the external negation of a justification discourse relation; (iii) illocutionary concessives involve two main sub-types: the prototypical ones, which function as speech act modifiers, expliciting the circumstances that should normally prevent the speaker from performing the main clause speech act (cf. (1): "Embora eu seja uma medíocre espectadora de cinema, venho por este modo louvar a coragem e a frontalidade destes realizadores." [Although I am not a frequent cinema goer, I wish to praise the courage and directness of these producers]) and the ones that express the speaker's comments on the content of the main clause (cf. (2): "O mesmo responsável indicou que todos os expatriados estão bem, embora eu não saiba exactamente o que isso significa." [The same authority stated that all the expatriates are well, although/even if I do not know exactly what that means.]

### **Global democratization of English? Standard vs. emergent varieties of Englishes.**

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This paper is concerned with linguistic democratization, i.e. "the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people" (Fairclough 1992: 201; see also Farrelly and Seoane forthcoming), a phenomenon which is affecting Standard English at different levels, one of which involves the replacement of modals of strong obligation such as *must* with semi-modals such as *have to*, *need (to)* and *want to*. This

replacement has been proved to take place both in British and American English (cf. Krug 2000, Leech 2003, Smith 2003, Nokkonen 2006, Aarts 2011 among many others), and the most widely accepted hypothesis states that its cause is related to ongoing social changes in the Western World. It is not yet proved, however, whether parallel changes have also taken place in varieties of English spoken in other areas.

Preliminary studies on emergent varieties of English show that a similar replacement may be taking place. For example, Biewer (2009: 50) comments on the fact that in Fiji and Samoa English *must* followed by an active infinitive is indeed a construction to be avoided by speakers because of its strong deontic tone; instead, they resort to a construction involving *must* and a passive infinitive. Other studies concentrate on the frequency of modals and semi-modals and show, for instance, how SE Asian Englishes (Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong and India) are leading the trend, among new Englishes, to favour semi-modals against core modals (cf. Collins 2009), and that *need to* is actually replacing *need* in all contexts in the same varieties (cf. van der Auwera et al. forthcoming). Nevertheless, none of these studies concentrate on the semantic values of each of the (semi-)modals, so it is actually difficult to determine whether an actual replacement is taking place and whether it follows the same mechanisms as the changes in Standard English.

The pervasive generalization of Western rules and tendencies may lead on occasions to wrong conclusions regarding universal features, as Narrog (2010) has shown as for the evolution of modal meanings. Departing from his idea that “the specific vocabulary and structure of languages are the diachronic product of the activities of their users in specific cultures and societies” (Narrog 2010: 408), this paper hypothesizes that the degree of democratization of emergent varieties of English may differ from that of varieties spoken in the Western World. With the aim of assessing, in what way the core modals of obligation are being replaced by semi-modals in New Englishes, this paper will start by exploring the actual meaning and uses of *must*, *need (to)* and *want to* in Hong Kong and Indian English, analysing the examples in the *International Corpus of English* and comparing them to the parallel corpus ICE-GB. The results will show whether or not the semi-modals are used in contexts in which core modals were expected as a way of removing social asymmetries as a consequence of an ongoing democratization.

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**Verbal valency and classes of verbs in Ancient Greek.**

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The paper tackles the issue of valency patterns in Ancient Greek, presenting preliminary results of a corpus based research concerning argument structure through time. The project comprises data from a syntactically annotated corpus (391,195 tokens), chronologically organized (Homeric poems, prior to 8th century BCE; Herodotus' *Histories*, 6th-5th century BCE; various Attic writers, 5th-4th century BCE; *New Testament*, 1st century CE), which is presently being developed. We start by discussing issues connected with Treebanks, levels of annotation (Bamman, Mambri, Crane 2009; Pajas, Štěpánek 2008), portability of differently annotated Treebanks (Lee, Haug 2010), and tools for querying argument structure (Pajas, Štěpánek 2009, McGillivray 2010). We then focus on argument realization with bivalent verbs. Among these verbs, some allow for case variation while other always take the same case for the second argument. The occurrence of a case other than the accusative is usually explained through the independent meaning of cases, as partly detectable in adverbial NPs (Schwyzer, Debrunner 1950: 90-170). Although there appears to be a certain semantic consistency among verbs that take the same case, focusing on such consistency disguises the fact that many other verbs with similar meanings only take the accusative. Groups of verbs that take cases different from the accusative and display particular valency patterns (e.g. do/do not passivize, allow/do not allow for case variation, etc. Kühner, Gerth 1898: 124-125) have been the matter of detailed studies, but the much more numerous group of verbs that take the accusative has never been the topic of exhaustive research. However, there are reasons to believe that the latter verbs belong to different classes, as shown by the fact that some of them apparently cannot passivize (Conti 1998). On the other hand, various verbs that take cases different from the accusative display a tendency to acquire transitive syntax, with increasing possibility of passivization (Luraghi 2010). In our paper, we classify verbs based on their argument structure and on their syntactic behavior (e.g. passivization); we then measure semantic distance among verbs with the same argument structure and among those with different argument structure but similar syntactic behavior, using the Word Space Model (Sahlgren 2006, Lenci 2008). In this way, we try to group verbs based on their semantics, especially focusing on events' features (e.g. whether verbs do or do not indicate a change-of-state), and participants' features (e.g. whether the subject is or is not volitional). We survey the distribution of argument structures among groups of verbs, showing that certain argument structures cluster around specific meaning groups, whereby verbs with accusative objects are evenly distributed among all meaning groups whereas verbs with other cases are not. We then address the issue of the extent to which events' as opposed to participants' features have a bearing on determining the syntactic behavior of specific verb classes (e.g. whether low transitivity verbs with accusative objects share the syntactic behavior of verbs with dative or genitive objects; whether specific non-agent subjects display different preferences for accusative objects, etc.).

**Markedness reversals in applicative formation.**

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As is well known, while some languages feature applicatives with a specific function (such as benefactive, instrumental and locative to name a few; see Peterson 2007 for a recent overview), in other languages applicative markers perform a broader function of a 'general applicative'. One interesting aspect which is often overlooked in the literature is that interpretation of the applicative varies with the semantic class of the verb. Thus, for Olutec (Zavala 2002), it has been reported that the general applicative is interpreted as a benefactive applicative with verbs of creation, as a malefactive applicative with verbs of dispossession, and as a goal applicative with caused motion verbs (see, also Gerdts and Kiyosawa 2005, Bugaeva 2010 for discussion of similar polysemies). Still more interesting are cases when the meaning of a general applicative interacts with the alignment type of the verb. Thus, in Indonesian (Sneddon 1996), the same suffix *-kan* can perform a benefactive function with verbs of creation (Beneficiary is promoted to the main object), but instrumental applicative function with verbs of impact (Instrument is promoted, while Patient/Goal is demoted). In *Tukang Besi* (Donohue 1999) the benefactive applicative, which is used to promote Beneficiary with monotransitive verbs, serves to promote Theme of ditransitives. Also in Eskimo (Fortescue 1984), the applicative that performs a benefactive function with monotransitives is used to demote Recipient to an adjunct with basic ditransitives ("antidative" function in terms of Dryer 1986). Thus, in some languages the same applicative marker that is used to

promote the 'dative' (benefactive) argument with monotransitives performs a seemingly opposite 'antidative' function with basic ditransitives.

One relevant factor, which explains this apparent function reversal, is arguably ditransitive alignment: in a language where Recipients are primary objects in a ditransitive construction ('secundative alignment', in terms of Haspelmath 2005), they can be demoted but not promoted by an applicative. While the notion of functional usefulness (and vacuous application) can go a long way in explaining such markedness reversal phenomena, establishing a direct relation between availability of a particular applicative type (benefactive vs. instrumental applicatives) to ditransitive typology (in the sense of Haspelmath 2005, and Malchukov, Haspelmath, Comrie 2010) is more problematic given that applicatives are more commonly used to promote adjuncts rather than object arguments (that is benefactive and instrumental adjuncts rather than Recipients and Themes of typical ditransitives).

In the last part of the paper, a general outlook on markedness effects in valency change will be provided. While certain cases of markedness reversals have been discussed in typological literature dealing with issues of ambitransitivity (e.g., Kazenin 1994), voice ambiguities (e.g., passive-causative, and causative-applicative; e.g., Shibatani 2001), and (aspectual) polysemy of voice markers (cf., e.g., Tschekhoff 1985 on antipassives, and Nedjalkov 1988 on passives /resultatives), the general picture of this domain is still missing.

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### Decausatives in Polish: a non-reflexive analysis.

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The Problem: One of the key operations in valency rearrangement is the formation of mono-argumental predicates from phonologically corresponding/identical bi-argumental predicates. It has been most recently revisited by Junghanns, Fermann and Lenertová (2011), who analyze decausatives in Slavic languages as cases of reflexivization of verbs with non-agentive causers, in the spirit of Koontz-Gaboden (2009).

We review these formation in Polish and find out that an analysis which is set against a more extensive data gives no ground for the reflexive analysis.

Arguments against the reflexive analysis

I. We find part of the data in favor of decausatives showing the presence of the external argument through the appearance of the subject 'by itself' anaphor misjudged as to the grammaticality. We give examples from the Polish language corpora to support our claim, contending against Jabłońska's (2007) analysis. Jabłońska claims that decausatives and other unaccusatives are set apart in Polish because unaccusatives do not tolerate 'by itself' subject anaphor, contrary to what the data shows, e.g.:

*ponieważ choroba z czasem sama wygaśnie* 'as the illness will with time recede by itself' (IPI PAN corpus)



*Chce abym ja sam zginął!* 'He wants me to get killed' (IPI PAN)

Consequently, a significant part of argumentation for a different status and possibly reflexive source of decausatives falls through.

II. The overall picture of the morphological system and language behavior speak against setting apart decausatives with reflexive marking from other unaccusatives: In Polish semantically unaccusative verbs can be implicit (e.g. *wygasnąć* 'get extinguished'), may have reflexive-like marking (*zielenić się* 'grow green') or show stem modification with respect to transitive counterparts (*bieleć* 'grow white'- *bielić* 'make white'), so decausatives do not exhaust unaccusative formation, which in other cases even in form is non-reflexive.

All unaccusatives, behave in a uniform way in structures described for Russian by Romanowa (2004) and (Potsdam 2011:349). We show similar effects for Polish:

III. The genitive case, which shows affinity to the direct object position in Polish, accompanies all unaccusatives in specific structures:

*Nastąpiło ludzi w kościele* 'Grew faint.NEUT people. GEN in church'

IV. The scope of negation with unaccusatives of all types is of the kind that scopes over the internal role: neg>all:

*Całe mięso nie rozkłada się* 'The whole meat does not rot'

V. Scrambling shows that in all types of unaccusatives we have the internal argument of the verb, not reflexivized external one.

VI. If any obligatorily agentive verbs derive unaccusatives, these are precisely the reflexive looking type, which should be impossible in JFL's (2011) system, e.g. *nawracać* 'convert sb. to a denomination', *nawracać się* convert to a denomination'.

Expected solution: We disregard the reflexive analysis and adopt the anticausative solution, where the formation of decausatives is not seen as identification of arguments. We see it as a subtraction of VoiceP. This solution assumes one of the structures for decausatives from Alexiadou (2010), although not the one she would have expected for Polish. The operation is seen as lexical, not syntactic and in defiance of Koontz-Gaboden's Monotonicity Hypothesis. On the other hand we adopt his claim about preservation in decausatives of the causative element, which gives us an opportunity to account for the regular occurrence of non-agentive causers with decausative verbs.

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## Metaphor and tuning devices in spoken discourse.

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The aim of the paper is to present preliminary findings and a corpus research proposal concerning the use of *tuning devices* around metaphor in spoken discourse. *Tuning devices*, as defined by Cameron and Deignan (2003), are expressions which appear usually in front of linguistic metaphors and include, among other examples, items such as *really*, *kind of*, *sort of*, *in a way* or *actually*. The primary role of tuning devices in spoken discourse is to signal metaphor use and suggest to the interlocutor how to interpret a metaphor: some tuning devices are used to direct the listeners to a particular metaphorical interpretation or adjust the strength of the metaphor to the ongoing discourse; other tuning



devices alert the interlocutors to an unexpected metaphorical meaning and tone down any semantic incongruity between topic and vehicle domains (Cameron and Deignan 2003).

The analysis of tuning devices is inextricably linked to the analysis of metaphor and its role in natural discourse environment. Therefore, the research combines cognitive and discourse approaches to metaphor and exploits a relatively recent theoretical framework for the study of metaphor in real language use, namely the Discourse Dynamics Framework (DDF) as described and applied by Lynne Cameron and others (Cameron 2003, 2007, 2010, 2011, Gibbs and Cameron 2008). The DDF takes into account the influence of social, cultural, emotional and cognitive factors on the shape of metaphor and discourse event in general. Within the framework, metaphor is treated not only as a multidimensional socio-cognitive activity but, first and foremost, as an important discourse phenomenon. Similarly, tuning devices which occur around metaphor are analysed as discourse phenomena conditioned by linguistic, interactional and cognitive factors.

Due to the fact that the DDF focuses on contextualized, ordinary language use, the material studied comes from several BBC Radio 4 *Woman's Hour* programmes. A detailed analysis of multiple tuning devices gathered across different discourse events provides answers to the following questions: How frequently are tuning devices used? What kinds of tuning devices appear in discourse? What is the position of tuning devices in relation to linguistic metaphors? What kinds of linguistic metaphors are preceded/followed by tuning devices? The preliminary findings confirm also that apart from signalling the use of metaphor, tuning devices fulfil many important functions in the discourse dynamics and are involved in many socio-cognitive processes that affect discourse participants. In addition, a thorough study of tuning devices poses multiple questions about the nature of metaphor in spoken interaction and suggests some further directions in metaphor research. A larger corpus study of tuning devices, the proposal for which is presented in the paper, will attempt to answer some of these questions.

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## Late Medieval Greek in the Middle East: the Rasulid Hexaglot and the development of the Greek future.

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The late medieval eastern Mediterranean and Middle East was a multilingual world, where speakers of Turkish, Arabic, Greek, Romance and various other languages intermixed to a lesser or greater extent through many sociolinguistic channels. With regard to late medieval Greek in particular, very little is known and/or has been said about its eastern fringes, i.e. about areas where Greek was a relatively minor language in contact with many other languages such as Turkish, Arabic and Armenian, to name the most prominent ones.

This paper aims to shed new light on this issue by presenting the late medieval Greek material found in the *Rasulid Hexaglot*, a 14<sup>th</sup> century glossary written for the sultan of Yemen. This fascinating document, whose publication (Golden, 2000) has passed completely unobserved by all those working on the history of Greek, is a rather small dictionary with parallel entries from six different languages (Arabic, Turkic, Persian, Mongol, Greek, Armenian) and was compiled for al-Malik al-Afdal, a Sultan of Yemen. It is of paramount importance for the study of Medieval Greek, as it is clearly based on the contemporary vernacular variety, unique for its kind among our sources of the period. The Greek material of the Hexaglot has already been commented upon (Golden, 1985), but since that time the study of Medieval Greek has progressed considerably, new sources are available and, as a consequence, much more can be said about it from a linguistic point of view. Perhaps more importantly, what has received no systematic analysis is the 'paradigm' of the verb "poio" (= do) included in the Hexaglot, which can provide novel insights into the grammar of Medieval Greek.

To prove this, the paper will focus on a specific entry of the paradigm, the one expressing future reference, since the development of the Greek future-referring periphrastic form based on the verb 'thelo' (= want) is a prototypical example of grammaticalization (cf. e.g. Heine, 2003), and it has attracted the interest of many scholars working on the history of Greek, often with conflicting views on the subject (cf. e.g. Joseph and Pappas, 2002, Markopoulos, 2008, Horrocks, 2010). The future-referring entry in the Hexaglot reads:

(1) *tado pise* (or *tana pise*, the original entry is in Arabic characters and a transliteration in Latin characters is provided in the edition of the text)

The paper discusses the significance of this entry for the chronology of the development of the periphrastic construction, the phonological reduction observed in the 'auxiliary' in relation to its meaning and many other related issues.

The example of the future-referring expression shows in a most convincing way how the *Rasulid* Hexaglot can shape our knowledge and understanding of Medieval Greek. Other interesting issues strengthening this conclusion (such as the variation in the use of the negative particles) will also be briefly discussed. In general, the material of this medieval dictionary can lead to a better understanding not only of the development of Greek and its dialects, but also of the complex language contact situation of the Middle East that dictated its compiling.

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### Variation in Bantu subject inversion constructions.

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Bantu languages show basic SVO word-order, which is, however, quite flexible and NPs may be arranged according to their pragmatic and discourse functions (see e.g. Bearth 2003). A specific group of constructions where pragmatic function and word-order interact are subject inversion constructions, where the subject follows the verb, and the object may be placed either before or after the verb-subject sequence (i.e. VSO or OVS) (e.g. Marten 2011, Yoneda 2011). Bantu Inversion constructions are typically used to express focus on the subject, either as a newly introduced referent, or as being contrasted with some other referent. However, despite overall typological similarity, there is a considerable degree of micro-variation between different Bantu languages with respect to subject inversion constructions. For example, there is different interaction in different languages between inversion constructions and verbal agreement properties. In some languages, the verb shows agreement with the postposed subject (1), while in others this is not possible, and the verb shows (historic) locative agreement (2). Yet in others, the verb may agree with the preposed object (3).

Ḑa-jĩmbire	Ḑa-mǎti	li-dĩna	[Dciriku]
SM2-sing.PERF	2-boys	5-song	
'The boys had sung a song' (Möhlrig 1967)			

mara	ile	pa-li-kuj-a	ndege	[Swahili]
Instant	that	SM16-PAST-come-FV	9.bird	
'At that instance, a bird came ...' (Marten 2010)				

ici-ya	ci-tula	imw-ana	[Luguru]
7-pot	SM7-broke	1-child	

'The child broke the pot' (lit. the pot broke the child) (Mkude 1974)

This paper discusses different types of Bantu inversion constructions and analyses the specific interaction between word-order, morphosyntactic coding and discourse function they illustrate from a comparative-typological perspective. Questions addressed include the detailed description of subject-inversion constructions in Bantu, taking into account their prosodic aspects, the interaction with lexical-aspectual properties of the predicates involved in the construction, the relation to the wider properties of the agreement system of the relevant languages, and their context of use. The construction type identified in this way is compared and contrasted with related construction types such as passives and left-dislocated (afterthought) topic constructions, and typical characteristics of subject inversion constructions are established. Based on empirical evidence mainly from Herero (Namibia), Swahili (Tanzania), and Zulu (South Africa), the paper shows how variation in inversion constructions reflects the interaction between discourse-related, pragmatically motivated word-order and specific morphosyntactic constraints imposed by the slightly different grammatical systems of the languages involved. The results of the paper are empirically interesting for the study of micro-variation, and will be presented within a micro-parametric perspective (Bickel 2010, Guardiano and Longobardi 2005).

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### Discourse functions of comparative adverbials in Ancient Greek. The role of analogical connectors as inference-projecting devices.

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Comparative adverbials, like other semantic adverbial classes, such as causal adverbials (Shiffrin 1987 ap. Fraser 1999:934), may express similarity as a relation holding between objects or events at a semantic domain. They may, as well, operate at the speech act domain, conveying an explanation or justification of the speech act being performed. And, finally, they may, in the epistemic domain, build up an argument by analogy whereby one piece of information is presented as inferential support of the following information unit.

In general works on Discourse Markers, the discourse functions of comparative adverbials are either neglected (Martín zorraquino and Pitolés 1999) or grouped together with contrastive connectors (Fraser 1999:947) as well as with additive connectors (Fraser 1999:948). Comparative adverbials are thus classified with reference to the orientation of the connected segments along an argument line. Co-oriented and counter-oriented pairs have been traditionally assumed to define two major groups of connectors. But, besides tradition, the only reason for grouping comparatives together with adversatives and additives is that some of their uses do overlap with those connectors. Their core function would still define a group of its own.

Connectors have a procedural meaning that relates the explicit interpretation of the segment they introduce with some aspect associated with the preceding segment (Fraser 1999). Such procedural meaning has been defined in terms of the guiding of inferences (Zorraquino and Portolés 1999). The main thesis of this paper is that, as inference-guiding devices, 'comparative' connectors are distinct from other argumentative connectors. While additives involve the matching of inferences and adversatives the restriction or cancelling of inferences, comparatives are used to project inferences from one unit to another. This view is consistent with the description of analogy in Philosophy (Juthe 2005)

and Cognitive Science (Gentner 1983, 1999) as a mapping process by which people understand one situation in terms of another, involving the projection of inferences.

The case study presented here as a test of the theory focuses on Ancient Greek comparative adverbs used as conjuncts. In particular, comparative modal adverbs as οὕτως ‘thus’, ὁμοίως, ὡσαύτως, ὁμῶς ‘in a like manner’ and correlative constructions such as ὥσπερ ‘just as’... οὕτως ‘thus’.

The core function is identified in those cases where these forms express an argument by analogy. A second use of analogical reasoning results in the hedging and justification of impressive speech acts (Smyth 1920).

Secondary discourse functions of comparative conjunctive adverbs show overlapping with other connecting functions. Close to the additive function is the use of comparative structures to express emphatic addition and focusing (Revuelta 2006, 2007). Similarly, the combination of comparative adverb and additive particle (ὁμοίως καί, ‘and as well’). Comparative adverbs (mainly ὁμῶς) are also used as adversative connectors. The use of the adverb to introduce an ‘epimythium’ approaches consecutive connection (Ruiz 2011). And, finally, exemplifying uses of both comparative conjunctions (ὥσπερ ‘as, for instance’) and adverbs (οὕτως ‘thus, for instance’) share some properties of reformulating markers.

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## Inter-judge agreement in transcribing dialectal data: a study of a corpus of dialectal Portuguese.

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Phonetic transcription of “non-canonical” speech (e. g., child or impaired productions) presents specific difficulties. Articulations for which IPA did not develop any specific symbols are among such difficulties. To cope with this kind of oddities, some notational solutions, such as special symbols and diacritics, have been proposed (IACLP 1991a, 1991b).

Moreover, an additional difficulty has to be taken into account: being highly idiosyncratic and very often quite ill-defined, many sounds found in non-canonical speech lack a steady definition capable of rendering their phonetic transcription reliable.

Special procedures have been developed to enhance the reliability of phonetic transcription of “non-canonical” productions. In addition to acoustic analysis (Tyler et al. 1990; Scobbie et al. 1997), measuring transcribers’ agreement has been one of the main methodological steps in use among researchers to attain the maximum degree of reliability of such transcriptions. These measurements usually compare different transcriptions either by the same transcriber in different moments (“intra-judge agreement”) or by different transcribers in different moments as well (“inter-judge agreement”). The higher the level of coincidence among transcriptions, the more reliable such transcriptions are accepted to be. Established protocols for measuring this kind of agreement – hence to assess transcription reliability – have been developed since the work of Shriberg and Lof (1991) (see also, a. o., Ramsdell et al. 2007).

In this paper, we will discuss how these ways of measuring transcription reliability can also be applied to the study of dialect variation data. Our proposal will be that controlling intra- and inter-judge agreement enhances the accuracy and reliability of transcription of dialectal speech samples too.

Our research will focus on the data belonging to a specific corpus of different dialects of European Portuguese (EP) (ca. 120 samples of about 90 seconds each).

The entire corpus was already subject to a narrow phonetic transcription, to be reassessed in the present study.

First, the researchers who carried out the first transcriptions will select a set of cases whose articulatory realizations seem particularly unclear, as far as the following phenomena are concerned:

- schwa-deletion;
- rhotics realization;
- intervocalic frication of voiced stops;
- final devoicing.

Afterwards, an experiment will be carried out in order to measure inter-judge agreement in the transcription of these data.

From the aforementioned set of “unclear articulatory realizations”, six samples for each of these phenomena will be chosen at random and then transcribed by 5 different transcribers; therefore, the inter-judge agreement will be measured and the original transcriptions reassessed (and, when appropriate, corrected). At a broader level, we will also discuss the implications of our results for the establishment of a more systematic routine regarding the validation of phonetic transcriptions in dialectal studies.

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## The role of lists and list markers in the coding of vagueness: a cross-linguistic analysis.

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The aim of this paper is to investigate the role of lists and list markers in the coding of vagueness from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Lists can be defined as junctions of two or more elements occupying the same structural position in a dependency structure (Blanche-Benveniste *et al.* 1990, Gerdes and Kahane 2009). Some types of lists have been claimed to be specifically employed to convey a vague categorization, namely collective (1) and approximative (2) lists (cf. Bonvino *et al.* 2009 for an analysis based on Italian data; examples (1)-(2) are taken from the British National Corpus):

- (1) [...] *their parents had already helped them more than enough with **furniture and carpets and the like** when they had first moved in [...]*.
- (2) [...] *her mum always cooks a meal in the evening so I, I do something like **toasted cheese sandwiches or beans on toast or something like that** at lunch time [...]*

Both lists are built by putting together members of the category conveyed by the whole list, but the former list is conjunctive while the latter is disjunctive, resulting in a different semantics. In (1) the speaker enumerates possible

members of a category ‘everything you need when you first move in’ in order to refer to the whole category (which therefore acts as a hypernym) and possibly to each of its members (including those not explicitly named in the list). In (2) the speaker enumerates possible (not necessarily prototypical) members of a category ‘light meal’ (if beans can ever be categorized as ‘light’...) in order to evoke the category itself and to refer to any of its members, namely to one of (many) possible alternatives, without committing to any. Both strategies result in the online creation of a “vague” category/reference.

Lists co-occur with different kinds of “list markers”, e.g. connectives (e.g. *and*, *or*) and general extenders (e.g. *and the like*, *or something like that*). When present, list markers overtly contribute to the construal of the category and the referent and apparently specialize for certain types of lists (e.g. *and the like* could not be used in lists like (2), and *or something like that* could not be used in lists like (1), even if we changed the connectives *and/or*).

This paper aims at giving a closer look at list markers cross-linguistically, in order to: i) unveil recurrent associations between certain list markers and certain ways of construing a vague category/reference (thus refining our classification of “vague” lists); ii) single out those contextual factors (e.g. (in)definiteness, mood and modality, tense, etc.) influencing/constraining the occurrence of certain list markers (if any); iii) understand whether there are recurrent diachronic paths underlying the development of list markers. We will integrate the exam of a typological sample with corpus data from a restricted set of European languages, thus adopting a joint methodology in which typological and corpus analysis are constantly compared to each other.

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## Proper names of foreign origin in Brazilian Portuguese.

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This paper aims to discuss the way Brazilian Portuguese (BP) native speakers pronounce foreign words, especially proper names, mainly from English, from a phonological approach, with special reference to prosody. The data is composed by names used in Brazil that were randomly collected from different media and from all over the country (TV, newspaper, magazine, school registers, personal information, etc.). This investigation shows that common nouns of English origin are sensitive to the application of BP phonological processes when pronounced in Portuguese contexts. For example, the word *outdoor* is pronounced [aʊtʃi'dɔʊ], even with the remaining original spelling. This pronunciation results from the application of a few phonological processes which transform the foreign word into a Brazilian one, such as resyllabification, palatisation and stress repositioning (Massini-Cagliari, 2011). In contrast with common nouns, proper nouns, i.e., first names given to children by their parents, do not always fit the prosodic patterns of BP. Contrarily to what happens to foreign common nouns in BP, imported or recently created first names (following a pattern BP speakers believe to be foreign) do not always fit the phonological prosodic pattern of the target language, especially in what concerns stress positioning. Occasionally BP native speakers bring to their own native language traces of the original pronunciation of foreign names, transferring characteristics from the original language to their own, chiefly at prosodic levels. Although the BP default stress pattern generates paroxytones ended by light syllables (e.g. *cása* ‘house’; *amígo* ‘friend’) or oxytones ended by heavy syllables (*amór* ‘love’; *jornál* ‘newspaper’), foreign first names can maintain the original stress positioning, generating *Wellington* (pronounced [ˈʁelĩtõ] or [ˈʁelĩtɔ]), *Thifanny* [ˈtʃifeni] and *Anderson* [ˈẽdẽrsõ], proparoxytones ended by light or heavy syllables, and *Kleber* [ˈklebeʃ] /ˈklebeR/, *Allan* [ˈalẽ] /ˈalaN/ and *Helen* [ˈelẽ] /ˈeleN/, paroxytones ended by heavy closed syllables. Considering the foreign prosody as an ideal, BP speakers not only adopt names of English origin, but create new names to sound like foreign proper nouns (such as *Richarlyson* [ˈhiʃaʁlisõ], *Keirison* [ˈkeʁhisõ], *Ender* [ˈẽdeɐ], *Silgleison* [ˈsiɣˈgleisõ], *Onibson* [oˈnibisõ], *Hérvickton* [ˈẽrviktõ] ou [ˈẽrvitõ], etc.). It is important to observe that names of this kind are characterised mainly by the presence of unstressed endings such as *-son*, *-ton* and *-er*. From the prosodic point of view, the feeling of



strangeness concerning foreign names rests mainly in the adoption of an exceptional stress pattern (proparoxytone or paroxytone ended by a heavy syllable) and in the presence of a closed final syllable which contains a rhotic or a nasal consonant in coda position. In this way, we conclude that the adoption of foreign names by BP speakers reaffirms the canonical patterns of BP prosody, in the sense that BP native speakers show a clear perception of their native language stress patterns, operating with them in an inverse way, when they consciously choose a foreign or foreign-like name to their children, wanting to avoid the prosodic patterns of their own language.

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## The alternation improper interrogatives/headed relatives and the nominal properties of CP.

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1. In some languages (Spanish, Portuguese, English, a.o) improper indirect wh-interrogatives (Suñer 1999) present adequate paraphrases in DP-headed relatives (Keenan and Hull 1973):

- (1) a. *Juan sabe qué ruta tomará el barco.* (Moreno 2002) (Spanish)  
'Juan knows which route the boat will take.'
- b. *Juan sabe la ruta que tomará el barco.*  
'Juan knows the route that the boat will take.'
- (2) a. *Nós sabemos que dificuldades temos de enfrentar.* (Portuguese)  
'We know which kind of troubles we have to face.'
- b. *Nós sabemos as dificuldades que temos de enfrentar*  
'We know the troubles we have to face.'

We take this alternation as an evidence for the existence of nominal properties in argument wh-CP in (1a)-(2a): both the argument wh-CP and the relativized-DP have referential potential and share the presupposition of the existence of a specific entity denoted by the wh-expression. The parallelism breaks up wrt the information supplied by the speaker to identify that entity.

2. We assume that the referential and presuppositional status of these CP and DP rely on the nature of the predicates that select them and on the nominal properties of the wh\_CP and DP involved in this alternation.

2.1. In Portuguese the predicates that allow this alternation include, a.o, verbs like *descobrir* 'find out', *desconhecer* 'not to know', *esquecer-se (de)* 'forget', *ignorar* 'ignore', *informar (de)* 'inform', *lembrar-se (de)* 'remember', *prever* 'to predict', *revelar* 'to reveal', *saber* 'to know', *ver* 'to see'.

Some of the English correlates of these predicates have been classified in Hooper and Thompson's (1973: 480) as *semi-factives*, (*discover*, *know*, *recognize*), while other have been ranged in other classes (e.g. *prever* 'predict'), or have not been considered (e.g. *desconhecer* 'not to know'). Assuming this typology it is impossible to input this alternation to a homogeneous class of predicates. Yet recent proposals take factivity as a property that may be explained in terms of referentiality (de Cuba and Ürögdi 2009, Haegeman and Ürögdi 2010, Hinzen and Sheehan 2011). Hinzen and Sheehan derive the classes of CP selecting predicates on the basis of the features: *assertive/non-assertive*, *communication/cognitive/other*, *definite/indefinite* and assume that the referential potential within the CP Phase finds correlates within the DP domain.

Accepting Hinzen and Sheehan (2011), we propose that the verbs that enter in the alternation wh-CPs/DP-headed relatives exhibit the same feature combination: <assertive>, <cognitive>, <definite>, and fall into the uniform predicate class of the *weakly assertive cognitive definite* predicates. These predicates select full phase complements, CPs or DPs, exhibiting referential value and cognitive import.

2.2. The CP and DP in this alternation exhibit nominal features that determine their referentiality: the former is a D-linked wh-CP and the latter a relativized DP, headed by a definite D, as attested by the contrasts in acceptability in (4):

- (3) *Nós adivinhámos que opções o capitão ia tomar.*  
'We guessed which options the captain would take'

- (4) *Nós adivinhámos {as /\*umas} opções que o capitão ia tomar.*  
 'We guessed {the/some} options that the captain would take'

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### Scalar connective operators: a focus on Italian "pur di".

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The aim of this paper is to examine a particular type of scalar operators, which has not received attention in the literature, namely what we will call *scalar connective operators*. Following Gast and van der Auwera (2011, focusing on scalar *additive* operators, see also König 1991), we will define as scalar *connective* operators those elements characterized by the following two properties: (i) the operator is an interclausal connective establishing a given interclausal relation, (ii) the connective triggers the pragmatic presupposition that the state of affairs of the main clause is pragmatically stronger than all contextually inferred alternatives (see Gast and van der Auwera 2011: 8-11 for a detailed discussion of 'pragmatic strength'). In particular, we will focus on an Italian scalar connective operator encoding a purposive relation, namely *pur di*, which will be analyzed both in a synchronic and diachronic perspective. Let us see two examples:

<b>Pur di</b>	[pagare	meno il	biglietto], <sub>p</sub>	[viaggiano	in	piedi] <sub>q</sub>
<i>Pur di</i>	pay	less DEF	ticket	travel:3PL	in	foot

'In order to get a cheaper rate, they (are ready to accept to) travel standing'

<b>Pur di</b>	[scuotere	la	noia	mortale che	gli	tarlava	l' anima] <sub>p</sub> ,
<i>Pur di</i>	shake	DEF	boredom	mortal that	CLIT	eat:PST.3SG	DEF soul

[egli	desiderava	<b>perfin</b>	la	tempesta] <sub>q</sub>
he	desire:PST.3SG	even	DEF	storm

'In order to shake the mortal boredom that was eating his soul, he desired even a storm.'

(E.De Amicis, *Sull'Oceano*, 1889)

The structure of (1) and (2) is [**pur di p, q**], whereby *pur di* introduces **p**, a purposive subordinate clause, and further encodes the fact that **q** is to be interpreted as located at the bottom of a scale of ease/desiderability, i.e. **q** is the least pleasant/desirable from a set of (unexpressed) alternative propositions. In (2) the scalar value is reinforced by *perfino* 'even', which may however be omitted without any semantic consequence. In Gast and van der Auwera's terms (2011: 9-10), the construction [**pur di p, q**] encodes that **q** is 'pragmatically stronger' than all its contextually inferred alternatives: in (1) 'standing' is pragmatically stronger than other less uncomfortable possibilities, e.g. travelling without

luggage, travelling in a smaller sit, etc.; in (2) 'storm' is pragmatically stronger than other less dangerous events, e.g. spotting a whale swimming near the boat, meeting an unpredictable person, etc.

In the literature (Mazzoleni 1991, Visconti 2000), *pur di* is analyzed as a variant of the conditional connective *purché* 'provided that', the former being followed by the infinitive and the latter by a finite verb form. We will argue, based on a synchronic and diachronic sample,<sup>1</sup> that the two connectives differ as to their semantic and syntactic properties and their historical developments (cf. also Ricca 2010), maintaining that *pur di* encodes not a conditional but a scalar purposive value. We will further compare *pur di* with other connectives that may convey a scalar reading, such as *piuttosto che* 'rather than', arguing in favor of the identification of scalar connective operators as a particular category of scalar operators.

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<sup>1</sup>The diachronic corpus used in this paper consists of the following subcorpora:

OVI corpus (13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century Italian);

*Letteratura Italiana Zanichelli* (13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century Italian);

*La Repubblica* corpus + *Primo Tesoro della Lingua Letteraria Italiana del Novecento* (20<sup>th</sup> century written Italian);

*LIP (Lessico dell'Italiano Parlato)* corpus + *Lablita* corpus (present-day spoken Italian).

## Language and landscape: a survey of ecological morphemes in P'urhepecha.

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Over the last few years, increasing attention has been paid to a relatively neglected area of linguistic research, namely the linguistic conceptualization of landscape features (Burenhult and Levinson, 2008) and what they might tell us about the categorization of the physical environment from a crosslinguistic perspective. Languages surveyed include Jahai, Lowland Chontal, and Tzeltal. One crucial finding of this research is the realization that landscape features are subject to a great deal of crosslinguistic and cultural variation, so that no universality can be claimed for concepts such as mountain, cliff, or river. These studies, however, have focused mainly on the study of full lexical items rather than morphemes. In order to help fill this void, this paper presents an exploration of a certain subset of morphemes in P'urhepecha—a Mesoamerican language isolate from Central Western Mexico—which designate aspects of the landscape and features of the terrain (mountain side, inside of a cave, ...). They can be termed "ecological" suffixes. These suffixes are used extensively in P'urhepecha. They include *ma* 'water, liquid', *tse* 'earth, soil', and *jpa* 'hearth, place where there's fire', as well as different body part terms, such as *parha* 'back', *ndu* 'foot', etc.

P'urhepecha, also known as Tarascan, constitutes one of the approximately 60 indigenous languages that still remain in present day Mexico. It is an agglutinative type of language with a rich derivational morphology, which involves morphological expression of areas of the grammar that in other languages would be handled by, for example, the use of prepositions or lexical means. Such areas include causation, passivization, volition, deixis, location, etc. Within this system, in combination with verbs (or nouns), the ecological suffixes provide an economical way to incorporate features of the environment into the verbal (or nominal) complex to talk not only about location but also different actions and activities that involve those features. These suffixes have variants that are used according to, for instance, verb transitivity. For example, *ma/me* designates 'water/liquid', where *ma* occurs with transitive verbs and *me* with intransitive ones, as in: *p'imani* 'to take out of water/liquid' and *inchameni* 'to enter water/liquid'. Interestingly, body parts may be used instead in the case of particular roots. Thus, *narhi* 'face' can also designate water or liquid, as in: *Itsi ambonarhisti* 'The water is clean'.

In conclusion, based on extensive field notes, this descriptive study provides an analysis of the grammatical means employed by P'urhepecha in the expression of landscape features and an ample exemplification of such means. A study such as the present should contribute to the growing body of work devoted to the relationship between

language and space and advance our current crosslinguistic understanding of how languages handle the expression of landscape and other ecological information in their grammar, thus helping us in the comparison of similar features in other Mesoamerican languages or in languages from other typological areas of the world.

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### Word order as a marker of fluid intransitivity in Finnic.

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Nichols' typological study (2008) on split intransitivity which was based on split-prone verbs placed Finnish close to the lowest end the ergative-accusative languages continuum: it suggested that Finnish has only very few ergative features. However, if we include the word order effects of Finnic existential verbs and clauses to the analysis the position of Finnish (and other Finnic languages) rises on the ergativity-accusativity scale.

In comparison with head and dependent marking, word order is less frequently cited as a determiner of alignment. Yet it has been typologically attested that word order can code both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive alignment, as well as semantic alignment (Donohue 2008: 27-28). This talk demonstrates that the Finnic languages have another alignment type primarily coded by word order: fluid intransitivity (i.e. when argument coding does not depend on particular lexical predicates but reflects constructional or conceptual properties: each intransitive verb has the possibility of two kinds of marking for its core NPs; Witzlack-Makarevich 2010: 131, 136; Dixon 1994: 78).

In Finnic languages, a large part of the intransitive verbs follow both the accusative and the ergative pattern in their subject marking. Fluid intransitivity is revealed in that the Finnic intransitive subjects occur both pre- and postverbally, primarily depending on the use of the same verb. If the use of the verb is event-focused (cf. Kiparsky 2001), the intransitive subject ( $S_A$ ) is preverbal and morphosyntactically similar to the subject of the transitive clause. If the verb use is presentational (denoting static, existential situations; *ibid.*), the intransitive subject ( $S_O$ ) is usually postverbal and its morphosyntactic properties are rather object-like (see also Koptjevskaja-Tamm and Wälchli 2001). The following examples are from Estonian.

- (1) Klient tule-b pank.       
client.NOM come-3SG bank.ILL  
'The client is coming to the bank.' ( $S_A$ , event-focused verb use)

- (2) Selle-l kase-l tule-b juba lehti.  
this-ADE birch-ADE come-3SG already leaf.PRTV.PL  
'There are leaves appearing on this birch already.' Lit. 'On this birch comes some leaves already.' ( $S_O$ , presentational verb use).

Argument realization, including word order, typologically depends on referential, lexical predicate-related and clausal factors (Dixon 1994; Witzlack-Makarevich 2010). The talk shows that all the three factor types condition and co-occur with the word order split in 5 Finnic languages: Finnish, Estonian, Livonian, Votic and Veps. The paper also simplifies the complex system of Finnic differential subject marking and shows that only the following phenomena determine the  $S_O$  marking: polarity; divisibility and other subject noun's properties; inclusivity marking on the NP (in the sense of Lyons 1999; both obligatory reading and facultative pragmatic implicature; cf. Haspelmath 2006); constructions, lexical predicates and presupposition (cf. Metslang, forthcoming; Nemvalts 1996).

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### Where do polar question markers come from? The case of Estonian.

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In Estonian, as is common in Circum-Baltic languages, polar questions are typically formed by means of particles. The presentation will focus on grammaticalization processes of Estonian question particles in the previous centuries and nowadays; some examples from other languages of the region will be discussed as well. Our analysis of Estonian is based on the corpora of the University of Tartu. We assume that there could be some source types of question particles that are known at least in the Circum-Baltic area.

The main markers of Estonian polar questions have undergone grammaticalization or are in the process of grammaticalization from particles and conjunctions with a coordinative meaning. These particles can be divided into conjunctive and disjunctive ones by their origin.

The source structure of the **conjunctive** particle can be schematically depicted using the following formulas:

**AND P**: it entails the context of the question and originates from the connective conjunction or particle. This type is represented by the particle *kas*, which comes from the meaning 'also'. The particle emerged in the 17th–18th c. and is the basic question marker in contemporary Estonian. Also, the Lithuanian question particle *ar* has the source meaning 'also'.

**AND not-P**. This type is represented by the particle *ega* (<'also not') that developed in the 18th–19th c.

The source structure of the **disjunctive** particle can be depicted by means of the formula *P OR not-P*. The element with the meaning 'or' or the element with the meaning 'not' can be grammaticalized into an interrogative particle.

The 'or' case is represented by the Estonian sentence-final particle *või~vä*, which is now spreading in the spoken language. The source meaning 'or' can be found in question markers in Livonian (*voi*), Latvian (*vai*), Russian (*li*), German (*oder*), but also, for example, in Thai and Vietnamese.

The 'not' case is represented by the question particle *es* (<*ei-ko-s* NEG-Q-CONF) in 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c. South-Estonian texts.

In addition to these polar question markers with a broad sphere of use, Estonian reveals a limited interrogative use of some conjunctive conjunctions: *ja* 'and'; adversative *aga* 'but', *kuid* 'but'. The emergence of coordinative interrogative particles could be explained by interplay of linking clauses in texts and presuppositions of polar questions.

Also, sentences with a modality marker (*ehk* 'perhaps', *võib-olla* 'maybe') may function as a polar question marker.

The use of coordination and modality markers as polar question markers is based on reanalysis of a part of the presupposition of a potential question to the question itself.

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## Coding vs. inferring grammatical relations in Kabyle (Berber).

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This study presents an account of grammatical relations in Kabyle (Berber), based on spontaneous spoken field data, and addresses various claims that have recently been made about Berber, concerning its case marking ('marked nominative', König 2005, 2009), and the underlying traces of ergativity in the system (Aikhenvald 1995).

The main purpose of the study is to provide transparent language---internal criteria for the delimitation of grammatical roles in Kabyle in view of cross---linguistic comparison. While the bound pronominal forms below can be considered as marking construction--- specific grammatical roles, nominal inflections may not be considered at all as grammatical role markers, as they are not unambiguously associated with one role in the utterance. However, the noun that bears them can be computed as referring to an argument in the clause. The present study proposes to clarify the contexts when a form codes a grammatical role in Kabyle, and those when the grammatical role can be inferred, but is not transparently coded. It shows that postulating construction---specific grammatical roles does not solve all the challenges of grammatical role delimitation.

The study provides evidence for the following claims:

a) The subject role is coded by specialized obligatory bound pronominal paradigms;

a. The subject role is coded differently depending on predicate type :

i. verbal predicates, show an S=A vs. O alignment

(1) tə---wwət=it	(1') tə---lha
3SG.F-kick.PFV=3SG.M	3SG.F-be_nice.PFV
'She kicked it.'	'She is nice'

ii. non---verbal predicates show an S=O alignment

(2) ulaʃ=it  
 EXNEG=3.SG.M  
 'He is not there.'

b. Among the verbal predicates, choice of the subject pronominal paradigm depends on:

i. syntactic context (subject---relativization vs. other contexts)

ii. whether the verb semantically belongs to some adjectival semantic types (Dixon 2004) or not,

(3) məʃtuħ-t  
 be\_small.PFV-3SG.F  
 'She is small.'

iii. within adjectival verbs, on whether the aspect---mood of the verb is perfective or not.



b) Morphological inflection on nouns (the annexed vs. absolute state distinction, sometimes referred to as ‘marked nominative vs. accusative case distinction’) is not a marker of grammatical relations, as the same form can be interpreted as subject (4), object (5), or expansion of a possessor pronoun (4), among others:

(4) tə---mmut      təmṭṭut---is,      wəmyar=nni  
 3SG.F-die.PFV      woman[ANN]---POSS3SG      old\_man[ANN]=ANAPH  
 ‘His wife died, that man.’

(5) i-zədy=it,      wəxxam-nni  
 3SG.M-inhabit.PFV= 3SG.M      house[ANN]=ANAPH  
 ‘He inhabited that house.’

c) Although grammatical relations are not coded on nouns, the grammatical role of nouns can be inferred from an interplay of two or more coding means involving : the state of the noun (absolute vs. annexed), the linear ordering of constituents, and the domains defined by prosodic cues (core vs. periphery of the clause).

The study thus addresses several questions mentioned in the call for papers : it presents construction---specific contexts for grammatical relations coding, it brings into consideration prosody, as a coding means that has not previously been taken into account for the determination of grammatical relations, and it addresses the interaction between ‘agreement’ (treated here as pronominal argument marking), syntactic evidence (linear ordering), and ‘case’ (in the broad sense of inflectional marking on nouns).

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Abbreviations; M : masculine; F : feminine ; SG : singular; PL : plural; ABS : absolute state (‘accusative’); ANN : annexed state (‘marked nominative’); POSS : possessive pronoun; ANAPH : anaphoric marker; PFV : perfective; EXNEG : existential negation.

## Micro-variation in exaptation: multiple functions of the -(E/I)SC- morpheme in Romance.

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### 1. Aim of the talk

We will adduce empirical evidence in favor of the use of ‘exaptation’ as a broad concept (as in Booij’s 2010:211 “re-use of morphological markers”), based on the observation that the “new” functions that a specific morpheme displays can vary rather effortlessly in a specific geo-linguistic area. Our analysis rests on an in-depth cross-linguistic and dialectological examination of the fate of the Latin verbal morpheme -(E/I)SC- in the Romance languages. It is our purpose to sketch an areal typology of the various ‘exaptations’ that characterize this morpheme in Romance.

### 2. General setting

A general feature of Romance verbal morphology is the survival of the Latin ‘residue’ -(E/I)SC-, which goes back to the Proto-Indo-European present-stem formant \*-ske/o-. In Latin, -(E/I)SC- was mainly involved in the creation of ‘inchoative’ verbs out of stative verbs (e.g., RUBĒRE ‘to be red’ RUB-ESC-ĒRE ‘to turn red’) (cf. Keller 1992, Haverling 2000). However, on its way to Romance, -(E/I)SC- lost its productivity as a derivational morpheme and instead etched out, in most Romance varieties, an inflectional subclass, usually within the scope of the fourth conjugation (theme vowel /i/). In (standard) Italian, for instance, the reflexes of Latin -ISC- mark the singular and third plural of the present tense: e.g., finire ‘to finish’, pres.ind. 1. fin-isc-o, 2. fin-isc-i, 3. fin-isc-e, 4. finiamo, 5. finite, 6. fin-isc-ono. Following Giacalone Ramat (1998:110-111), we can identify here two consecutive ‘exaptations’: the first one from present-stem

formant to inchoative marker (PIE > Latin), and the second one from inchoative marker to a person marker that “allows to fix the stress for the whole paradigm after the stem, which remains unstressed” (Latin > Italian).

### 3. Results

While we agree with the analysis of the evolution of this morpheme as an instance of ‘exaptation’ (cf. *supra*), we challenge the idea that there is a one-to-one relation between form and (new) function: using dialectological and sociolinguistic data, we will show that this “junk” morpheme (cf. Lass 1990) covers a spectrum of functionality that is far more extensive than stress-alignment alone (as claimed by Giacalone Ramat 1998). More in particular, according to the Romance variety in which it is used, it will be shown that the Romance reflexes of *-(E/I)SC-* can be coupled with multiple functions (or at least: ‘assets’), notably:

- (1) the morpho-phonological generalization of the verb root;
- (2) the ‘streamlining’ of the identity of the fourth conjugation with respect to other conjugation classes; (3) the ‘imitation’ of popular Romance conjugation patterns;
- (4) the demarcation of sub-paradigms, e.g., the infix as a marker of the subjunctive mood in some Gallo-Romance varieties;
- (5) the superimposed semantic-aspectual exploitation of the infix in some Gallo- and Italo-Romance varieties.

### 4. Central claim

On the basis of our data, we will argue that ‘exaptation’ is a valuable concept in historical and variational linguistics, as it allows us to distinguish between the unidirectional and irreversible patterns of grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 20022) and the unpredictable ways in which language varieties try to make sense of the specific morphemes that they end up with. The cross-linguistic ‘multitasking’ of *-(E/I)SC-* in Romance (cf. *supra*, § 3, (1)-(5)) cannot simply be subsumed under the traditional notion of “grammaticalization” as it shows clear signs of “innovations” (again - Lehmann 20022:17-19).

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### The encoding of weather: existence vs. movement.

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Weather expressions constitute an extremely fertile ground for the examination of linguistic variation, both within and across languages. In French and English alone, one can find impersonal verbs (*Il pleut, It is raining*), meteorological nouns combined with a neuter, often movement related, verb (*La neige tombe, It is pouring rain*) or with an existential construction (*Il y a du brouillard, There was a storm*). At a cross-linguistic level, Erikson *et al.* (2010) have proposed a rather descriptive typology of languages based on the type of constructions used to encode exclusively precipitation and temperature. However, as has been previously shown, atmospheric phenomena cannot be limited to the above-mentioned types, as they include other events, substances and states.

Our study aims at a cross-linguistic typological study of weather expressions inside Talmy’s (2000) frame-work. Our hypothesis is that the behavior of meteorological constructions can be explained using the distinction between ground-orientated (verb-framed) languages, like French and Spanish, and figure-orientated (satellite-framed) languages, like English, Dutch and Russian. We will thus examine the rich palette of linguistic means used in these five languages to express the entire repertoire of atmospheric phenomena.

If we consider, for instance, the encoding of fog as an event (1), or a state (2), we find an important variation even across the closely related languages.

- |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) | English: <i>There was fog rolling in</i><br>Dutch: <i>De mist komt opzetten</i> (The fog is settling in)<br>French: <i>Le brouillard se lève</i> (Fog rises)<br>Spanish: <i>La niebla ha caído</i> (The fog has fallen)<br>Russian: <i>Stelilsja tuman</i> (The fog was drifting) | (2) | English: <i>It is foggy</i><br>Dutch: <i>Het mist</i> (It fogs)<br>French: <i>Il fait / Il y a du brouillard</i> (It makes/There is fog)<br>Spanish: <i>Hay niebla</i> (There is fog)<br>Russian: <i>Bylo тумanno</i> (It was foggy) |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

To express the fog phenomenon as an event, English and Dutch tend to express the manner of motion inside the verbal root (*roll, zetten*), while path is encoded by a satellite particle (*in, op*). French, Spanish, and surprisingly Russian, tend to involve a motion verb expressing the path in the verbal root (*se lever, caer, stelit'sja*). However, to express fog as a state, French and Spanish display an existential construction, while English and Russian rather use a copular one with an adjectival form. Dutch employs an impersonal verb *misten*, incorporating the figure into the verb, while the use of impersonal predicates in other languages under study is mostly reserved to events, and especially to precipitations.

Thus, on a very general level, the formal encoding of weather may typologically be explained by Talmy's model. The verb-framed languages, like French and Spanish, tend to use existential constructions, putting the emphasis on the expression of the ground, while satellite-framed languages develop specific impersonal predicates, incorporating the figure into the verbal root. However, when examined more closely, languages can change classes. For example, English behaves rather as a satellite-framed language when expressing weather-events, but as a verb-framed language when encoding weather-states.

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## Tense, case and clausal vs. nominal arguments in Polish.

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I discuss Polish data in view of Pesetsky and Torrego's (2001, 2004, 2007) proposals concerning the role of T-features in syntactic derivations. Their approach views structural case as a reflex of T-checking (Nom = uT on D) and provides a unified account of such English phenomena as *that/for*-trace effect, *that/for*-omission asymmetry in subject/object clauses, and T-to-C asymmetry in questions. It also successfully predicts complementation of lexical categories in English (Table 1).

...as a complement to:	A	V	N
PP	✓	×	✓
DP	×	✓	×
CP with null C/realis infinitive	✓	✓	×
<i>that/for</i> -clause/irrealis infinitive	✓	✓	✓
Explanation: Tns <sub>0</sub> ...	×	seeking uT	seeking iT

Table 1 A/V/N complementation (English)

Such versatility undoubtedly makes it a desirable approach to employ. Polish data, however, suggest that the issues are more complex than in English. Extending the analysis to Polish requires modifications shedding light on the entire proposal. **The to-omission asymmetry** (1) shows that an overt complementizer (iT) is not enough for a clause to become a subject. Obligatorily a pronoun *to* 'this' is introduced (argued to be an instance of D with uT) which projects into a DP on top of CP (cf. Citko 2004).

- (1) a. [**\*(To)**, [<sub>CP</sub> **że** Maria się spóźniła]] zaskoczyło Piotra.  
           [ this.NOM that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.F.PAST] surprised.3.SG.N Peter.ACC  
           'That Mary was late surprised Peter.'
- b. Piotr wiedział [(**to**), [<sub>CP</sub> **że** Maria się spóźni]].  
      Peter.NOM knew.3.SG.M (this.ACC) that Mary.NOM self late.3.SG.FUT  
      'Peter knew that Mary is going to be late.'

Lack of that-t effect (2) is explained with reference to Bošković's (1998, 2002) proposal on *wh*-question formation which shows that Polish *wh*-words do not move to CP; *wh*-subjects thus cannot check C's T-feature, which makes the appearance of *że* (iT) the only option to satisfy C's T (English *wh*-subjects move through SpecCP making *that* redundant). (2) (with *\*to*) exhibits something akin to *that*-t effect. It shows that subject extraction is banned from *to*-clauses. If these are DPs, then the ungrammaticality follows from a general ban on extractions from DPs.

- (2) Kto<sub>i</sub> podejrzewałeś, (**\*to**) [<sub>CP</sub> **że** t<sub>i</sub> okradnie Marię]?  
      who.NOM suspected.2.SG.M (this) that rob.3.SG.FUT Mary.ACC  
      'Who did you suspect would rob Mary?'

The clausal arguments' distribution and complementation strategies of lexical categories show that PandT's proposal is tuned exclusively to structural case, and the predictions collapse in lexical case environments. I show lexical case to be inheritable (unlike structural case) and shared by related lexical items.

	DP	PP	<i>to</i> -cl.	<i>że</i> -cl.	Explanation: Tns <sub>0</sub> ...
A1 (underived): <i>głupi</i> 'stupid'	x	✓	x	✓	x
A2 (derived): <i>przerażony</i> 'horrified/pewny' 'sure'	✓	✓	✓	✓	Inherited case
N1 (underived): <i>książka</i> 'book'	x/✓ <sub>POSS</sub>	x	x	x	x
N2 (derived): <i>wiedza</i> 'knowledge'	x/✓ <sub>POSS</sub>	✓	x	✓	...seeks iT
N3 (derived): <i>dowód</i> 'proof'	✓/✓ <sub>POSS</sub>	✓	✓	✓	...seeks iT + Inherited case

Table 2 A/N Complementation (Polish)

Additionally, Polish and English are argued to employ divergent strategies in identifying subjects: English based on T-features, Polish on  $\phi$ -features; also, contrary to PandT's recent proposals,  $\phi$ -features are argued to play a significant role in Agree relations.

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**Coding epistemic perspective in polar interrogatives: A typological perspective.**

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This paper will look at the encoding of epistemic perspective in polar interrogatives from a typological perspective. The Barbacoan language Awa Pit, spoken in Colombia and Ecuador, provides an interesting example of a grammaticalized interaction between interrogation and epistemic perspective. The language codes epistemic perspective in a system where verbs with first person subjects are marked with Locutor suffixes and verbs with subjects in other persons are marked with Non-Locutor suffixes. The Locutor suffixes indicate that the speaker has epistemic authority over the content of the proposition and the Non-Locutor suffixes indicate that someone else (a 'non-locutor') has that epistemic authority. Interestingly, interrogatives exhibit a mirror image of the marking of epistemic authority: Locutor suffixes are now used with second-person subjects and Non-Locutor suffixes with first and third person subjects. Example (1) illustrates the change of perspective marking with second person subjects.

(1) Awa pit (Curnow 1997: 190, 324)

- |    |                             |                        |                 |
|----|-----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| a. | <i>(nu=na)</i>              | <i>pala</i>            | <i>ku-mtu-y</i> |
|    | (2SG=TOP)                   | plantain eat-IMPF-NLCT |                 |
|    | 'You are eating plantains.' |                        |                 |
| b. | <i>tɪlawɑ</i>               | <i>a-n</i>             | <i>ki-s?</i>    |
|    | tomorrow                    | come-INF               | Q-LCT           |
|    | 'Are you coming tomorrow?'  |                        |                 |

The functional motivation of this pattern is obvious, as epistemic authority shifts from the speaker to the addressee in interrogatives. In addition to Barbacoan languages and some of their neighbours, similar systems of epistemic perspective marking have been found in the Tibetan area as well as in the Caucasus. This paper will discuss the interaction between interrogation and grammaticalized marking of epistemic perspective in the context of the typology of polar interrogatives.

The typology of polar interrogatives is approached from a holistic constructional perspective, looking not only at the marking of interrogation itself, but also at other structural differences between interrogatives and declaratives. Interrogatives that do not differ structurally from declaratives except for the presence of interrogative markers are called symmetric interrogatives, and those that do show structural differences vis-à-vis their declarative counterparts are called asymmetric interrogatives. Different types of asymmetry between interrogatives and declaratives can be observed. The changes in epistemic perspective marking observed in polar interrogatives are one way in which interrogatives can be asymmetric vis-à-vis declaratives.

The survey of the interaction between interrogation and epistemic perspective marking is based on an extensive world-wide typological sample, with a special focus on the families and areas where the marking of epistemic perspective is known to be grammaticalized. The different ways in which the marking of epistemic perspective can interact with interrogation in the world's languages is examined in detail and discussed in the context of other types of asymmetry found in interrogatives. The paper will provide a typological synthesis of the relationship between these two domains.

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### A semantic map of approximators.

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Speakers often explicitly flag vagueness of lexical meaning or quantified expressions by employing special markers such as *a kind of*, *approximately* or *about*. Following Prince et al.'s (1982) classification I will call lexical approximators "adaptors" and quantificational approximators "rounders". Some of these markers emerge as a consequence of semantic and morphosyntactic changes that share many characteristics with grammaticalization processes and which I consider cases of pragmaticalization. It is by now a well-established fact that many grammaticalization processes are universal or at least very generalized cross-linguistically. Such paths of grammaticalization offer valuable insights into cognitive and communicative needs of the speakers and they also show which semantic and functional domains are closely related, since grammaticalization is usually based on small steps of functional changes which arise from common implicatures. Frequent paths, but also, from a synchronic perspective, polysemy patterns, may be represented as semantic maps (see Haspelmath 2003) which show relations between neighbouring functions or concepts. The aim of this paper is to present and explain such a map of pragmaticalization processes and, from a synchronic point of view, polysemy, in the domain of approximation markers in several Romance (see Mihatsch 2010) and Germanic languages based on synchronic and diachronic corpus analyses in order to shed light on approximation as a discursive and cognitive category. I will first discuss the variety of sources that can become approximation markers, such as expressions indicating naming alternatives as in *or so*, metadiscursive expressions signalling naming problems as in the case of *I think* or *say*, markers establishing similarity relations such as *like* or *kind of* and spatial metaphors as in the case of *around* or *about*. I will try and explain which properties predispose these sources to approximator uses and discuss restrictions and language-particular as well as more general tendencies in the languages analysed. The approximation markers will be classified according to their source type, which will serve as a basis for a further investigation as to subsequent functional changes, in particular transitions between adaptors and rounders as in the case of Spanish *como* or French *genre*, as well as transitions between approximation markers and markers signalling attenuation on the illocutionary level as in the case of French *genre* or the Portuguese *tipo*. There seems to be a unidirectional path from adaptors to rounders, and a bidirectional diachronic relationship between approximation and attenuation, which I will explain on the basis of the respective communicative functions of the discussed types of markers. I will further give an overview over the main syntactic and semantic changes accompanying these processes.

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### The development of Latin (DE/AD) MANU(M) AD/IN MANUM "(from) hand to hand" in some Italian varieties: when temporality and vagueness go hand in hand.

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This paper concerns the development of the Latin construction (DE/AD) MANU(M) AD/IN MANUM, which features a body-part element and originally had a concrete value:

- (1) *hominem tibi ita trado, de manu in manum*  
'I hand him over to you, **from my hand to yours**' (Cicero, *Fam.* 7.5.3)

Subsequently, this construction underwent a process of grammaticalization, paving the way for the rise of adverbs denoting manner (*man mano* 'little by little') and time:

- (2) *quasi a mano a man cominciò una grandissima infermeria*



'almost **immediately** a great epidemic broke out' (Old Tuscan; Boccaccio, *Dec.* X.9.49)

In modern (dialectal) Italian varieties these elements acquired the status of connectives conveying a range of irrealis meanings, including hypothetical (ex. 3) and avertive (ex. 4):

- (3) *Manaman costa dco / S' aviseis d' di ch' dno*  
'if **by ill chance** also this one decided to say 'no' (Piedmontese; Tana, *'L Cont Piolet*, 17<sup>th</sup> century)
- (4) *togli il bicchiere di lì, maniman cade*  
'take the glass away from there, **lest** it falls down' (Ligurian Regional Italian = LRI)

Interestingly, these elements can also occur in clause-final position with no clear connective function: they point instead to a non-specific set of potential (negative) consequences, thus functioning as markers of vagueness and leaving the floor to the interlocutor, so that s/he can virtually draw a plausible inference, which the speaker purposely left unexpressed (cf. Giacalone and Mauri 2011 on a similar function of *piuttosto che*):

- (5) *Compralo tu, (che) maniman*  
'Buy it yourself, **otherwise**' [entails a compatible range of virtual consequences] (LRI)
- (6) *Si portano sempre appresso un ombrello i genovesi, maniman*  
'They always bring along an umbrella, the Genoese, **just in case**' (LRI; Maggiani, *Mi sono perso a Genova*, 2007)

In ex. (5-6) the employment of *maniman* is motivated by the need of expressing vagueness: any determined continuation constrained by *a single conclusion* would reduce the pragmatic import of the sentence, whereas the absence of continuation leaves open a window of alternatives which are all possible *precisely because unexpressed* (cf. Lombardi Vallauri 2003, 2006).

Summing up, we claim that the functions exemplified from (1) to (6) can be interpreted as occupying different points along the following grammaticalization path: body part > manner/temporal adverb > connective > marker of vagueness.

More specifically, our data show that along such a path *maniman* and cognates progressively underwent a functional shift: starting from a concrete meaning (ex. 1), they acquired an event-related semantics (ex. 2) and subsequently broadened their scope to the level of discourse (ex. 3-4), whence they developed an intersubjective pragmatic function (ex. 5-6), along the following lines: *gradually* > *from time to time* > *sometimes* > *maybe, by chance* > *if (by ill chance)*, eventually developing the status of markers of vagueness (*otherwise, just in case* [+ set of alternatives]). We explore in detail the range of meanings that such elements typically acquire when recruited to express non-factual meanings and arrange them in a semantic map, highlighting possible relations holding between the semantics of (temporal) indefiniteness, irrealis and vagueness.

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## An interactional approach to Persian cleft constructions.

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This paper intends to embark on the study of Persian cleft constructions within the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) framework. Since the extrapositional and expletive approaches to the cleft construction (Hedberg 1990) fail to account for the non-isomorphic nature of clefts, it will be attempted to use a constructional-based analysis for the interaction of

syntax, semantics and discourse-pragmatics in Persian cleft constructions. The first step in the exploration of Persian clefts is determine the type of nexus-juncture relation (Van Valin 2005) leading to the constituent projection of the clefts. Working through the analysis proposed by Pavey (2004), this relation is considered to be an ad-core subordination, which is largely motivated by adjoining the subordinate cleft clause to the matrix core through the clause linkage mark *ke* 'that'. It is noteworthy that the clefted constituent plays the role of pragmatic predicate as Lambrecht (2001) contends that the presence of the cleft pronoun and copula does not make any contribution to the semantic appraisal of the sentence, instead their presence has to do with the focus marking role of the cleft constructions affecting only the information structure of the sentence. In other words, the clefted constituent undergoes a two-level analysis whereby it receives its pragmatic role from the matrix core predicator and its semantic role from the embedded predicator. This conceptual distinction is captured in the constituent projection by placing the clefted constituent under the NUC node anchoring a PRED node. The key point regarding the RRG projection of the so-called cleft pronoun *in* 'this' is that since the privileged agreement controller of the copula is the clefted constituent and not the clause-initial *in*, it must be the case *in* is not the direct core argument (DCA) of the matrix core because DCAs trigger verb agreement (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997). Thus, *in* is projected in the periphery of the clefted constituent obtaining an emphatic function than a deictic one. It has been argued in the letter that the cleft construction is a typical instance of the specificational sentences (Declerck 1988) in which the clefted constituent and the cleft clause respectively represent the value and variable. This is associated with the exhaustiveness implicature (Halvorsen 1978) of the cleft construction as it implies that the clefted constituent is characterized as the only value satisfying the variable. The final step encompasses the investigation of the focus structure in Persian clefts. Persian clefts are functionally narrow focus constructions in which the clefted constituent rests in the pre-copular actual focus domain to enable the addressee to interpret exhaustively the value element as specific referent holding a focus relation to the pragmatically presupposed proposition in the cleft clause. Noteworthy is that focus of proposition is acknowledged not as a referential property of a denotatum in the discourse model, instead as a "relation" established between the denotatum and the proposition. This means that clefted constituent is always relationally new regardless of its cognitive status.

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## Local stories and global discourse strategies on the net: the genre of multimodal storytelling.

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The present paper focuses on the multimodal characterization of a relatively new genre, that of digital storytelling. Digital stories are multimodal narratives that involve the recounting and shaping of events by combining words, images, and sounds and which are uploaded onto the Internet. Typically these stories involve personal accounts and are emotionally charged, but are addressed to a wide audience of strangers, which might give way to cultural clashes or misunderstandings. However, this is not the case and the actual result is that the stories become paradigms of similar problems in different parts of the world and it is easy for readers to take the point of view of the narrators and understand their stories.

In order to illustrate this, we have compiled a corpus of 30 digital narratives with highly emotional contents hosted by educational, community and cultural web pages in North America, Europe and Australasia. It is our main objective here to describe the interaction between digital storytellers and their audiences by analyzing the multimodal representation of the social actors and issues involved, as well as the cognitive and cultural frames activated in the

stories and then to identify the discourse strategies that storytellers use to match the values, beliefs and experiences that are common to their audiences.

For the construction of meaning through image-text interaction we will follow Unsworth and Cl  irigh's model (2009) and Kress and Van Leeuwen's scholar work for the analysis of images and other issues related to multimodal representation (see references below). A multimodal approach helps better understand self-representation in this new genre of multimedia storytelling. On the cognitive side, we will make use of some notions of the Mental Spaces and Conceptual Integration theory as applied for narratives (Fauconnier and Turner 2002, Dancygier 2008, Turner, 2008, Semino 2009, Porto and Romano *forthcoming*) in order to explain how the different modes can be regarded separate narrative input spaces that interact both one another and with the social knowledge shared by the participants in the discourse event and are finally integrated to construct the meaning of the narrative.

Results evidence that, in spite of local differences, there are global discourse strategies that enable understanding other people's experiences and find common schemes underlying cultural differences.

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## Source and status of information in Chechen

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This paper explores in detail the encoding of status and source of information in Chechen (Nakh-Daghestanian, Caucasus). Status of information is a concept found in Chechen that has not attracted much attention in the previous discussion of epistemic categories. While evidentiality traditionally refers to the source of speaker's knowledge only, the concept of status described in this paper concerns the marking of the addressee's knowledge (and also the addressee's interest in particular information). In Chechen, both systems: evidentiality (source of information) and status of information exist side by side.

Evidentiality is fused with the tense and aspect system, and marks a two-way distinction of direct vs. indirect evidence, which refers to the speaker's knowledge in statements and to the addressee's knowledge in questions.

The morpho-syntactic means by which the status of information is encoded is a special set of dative pronouns (addressee-dative pronouns), a cross-linguistically unusual strategy for marking epistemic categories. Information status marking is restricted to second person and first person inclusive addressees. The markers are reduced forms of the ordinary dative pronouns, e.g. *h  uuna* is reduced to *h  uun*, or further reduced to *h  an* in some highland dialects. These forms can occur only postverbally, whereas the ordinary pronouns are in their regular argument positions in the clause. Information status marking is used if the speaker knows that the addressee ought to have some information on the situation and the speaker wants to confirm the addressee's knowledge (1-2). The relevant factor of the use of the addressee-dative pronouns is that the information is relevant to the addressee; the speaker knows that the addressee

is interested in this information. The information status forms are frequently used in everyday speech, dialogues, conversations, etc. but quite rarely in narration. The frequency of the marking of the shared knowledge between the speaker and the addressee depends on the interpersonal relationship of the speakers. Closely acquainted speakers are able to presuppose and assume more about each other's knowledge and therefore use addressee-dative pronouns more frequently, in particular in highland dialects.

The Chechen status system encodes a kind of complex perspective, as it attends to not only the speaker's epistemic vantage point, but also to the speaker's construal of addressee knowledge. The Chechen data add to our knowledge of the variety of formal expressions that may be associated with the expression of complex epistemic perspective, and allow us to further examine how the use of such expressions is sensitive to the interpersonal relationships of speech act participants.

#### Examples

1. *Muusa*                      *hwa-v-e'a-na*                      *shun*  
Musa.ABS(V)      into-V-come-CVBant      2PL.ADD  
'Musa has come.' (I knew that you expected him; I know you are interested in this information.)
  
2. *as*                      *hwuuna*                      *koch*                      *ec-na*                      *hwuun*  
1SG.ERG              2SG.DAT                      dress.ABS                      buy-PRF                      2SG.ADD  
'I bought a dress for you.' (You already knew that I was going to buy something for you.)

#### Evidentiality and the verbs of visual and auditory perception in South Slavic Languages.

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The study of evidentiality, or how speakers encode their source of information linguistically, has been gaining more and more interest in the last ten years (Aikhenvald 2003, 2004, De Haan 2003a, b, 2005, Palmer 1986, 2001, Rooryck 2001a,b and Whitt 2008, 2009). Although the most of the research done in the field of evidentiality has focused on how evidentiality is encoded in the grammar, and on its morphological markers, there has been some work done on lexical markers of evidentiality as well, though mainly on modal verbs, and on speech-act verbs (Chafe 1986, Traugott 1997, Smirnova 2006). The exception is the work of R. Whitt (2008, 2009) which deals with evidentiality and perception verbs in English and German.

As there is no study examining the evidential use of perception verbs in South Slavic languages, the main aim of this presentation would be to explore how evidentiality is represented in various constructions with the verbs of visual and auditory perception in contemporary Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (SCB) and Slovenian.

Data from both languages and various contemporary language corpora have been collected and compared. The various types of constructions with subject-oriented agentive perception verbs (SCB: *gledati*, Slov.: *gledati*, Engl.: *look*; SCB: *slušati*, Slov.: *poslušati*, Engl.: *listen*), subject-oriented perception experiencer verbs (SCB: *videti*, Slov.: *videti*, Engl.: *see*; SCB: *čuti*, Slov.: *slišati*, Engl.: *hear*), and object-oriented perception verbs (SCB: *izgledati*, Slov.: *izgledati*, Engl.: *look*; SCB: *zvučati*, Slov.: *zveneti*, Engl.: *sound*), as well as their different complementation patterns have been analysed and discussed. The specific construction types in which these verbs of visual and auditory perception may be used evidentially have been examined, and the evidential meanings which can be bound only to particular construction types have been specified.

At the end, findings for both languages and the classes of perception verbs have been summarized, and some directions for future research suggested.

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### Non-canonical valency patterns in Basque, variation and evolution.

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In Basque, participants represented by noun phrases in the absolutive, ergative and dative case are obligatorily cross-referenced on the verb, and the general rule is that the valency patterns of Basque verbs include an argument represented by a noun phrase in the absolutive case and indexed in the verb form by an agreement marker of the absolutive series. This argument is typically the only argument of monovalent verbs and the most patient-like argument of bivalent verbs. Deviations from this canonical pattern include:<sup>1</sup>

- monovalent verbs with their unique argument in the ergative case and cross-referenced by agreement markers of the ergative series (for example *irakin* 'boil');
- bivalent verbs with valency patterns including no absolutive argument, either as their only possible valency pattern, or in variation with the regular <ERG, ABS> pattern: <ERG, DAT> (*esetsi* 'attack'), <ERG, INSTR> (*ikasi* 'learn'), <ERG, LOC> (*sinetsi* 'believe'), <DAT, LOC> (*ahaztu* 'forget')
- bivalent or trivalent verbs whose valency pattern includes two absolutive arguments (e.g. *hautatu* 'elect')

The situation is however not identical in all dialects (for example, the unique argument of *bazkaldu* is represented by an ergative NP in some dialects, and by an absolutive NP in some others), and historical changes can be observed. In particular, the number of monovalent verbs with their unique argument in the ergative case has been considerably increased via borrowing from Spanish or French, and it has been observed that the choice of the non-canonical frame <ERG> for monovalent verbs borrowed from Spanish or French is conditioned by the agentivity of the unique participant (Alberdi 2003).

Conversely, some non-canonical patterns are less common in present-day Basque than in the 15th-16th centuries. For example, *bilatu* 'look for' and *eskatu* 'ask' have now fully canonical valency patterns but are found in constructions with two absolutive arguments in ancient texts.

Aiming verbs (i.e., verbs referring to two participant events in which one of the participants exerts a volitional activity directed toward the other participant without however triggering a change of state affecting the second participant: *help, follow, beg, attack*, etc.) are another case in point. In the most ancient texts (15th-16th century) such verbs are typically found with the valency frame <ABS, DAT>, but no modern dialect has maintained this situation. In all dialects, the aimer tends to show the same ergative coding as the agent of typical transitive verbs, but variations can be observed in the treatment of the second participant: Western dialects have maintained the ancient dative coding, resulting in a non-canonical pattern <ERG, DAT>, whereas in Eastern dialects, the original <ABS, DAT> pattern has been replaced by the canonical pattern <ERG, ABS>.

More generally, in our talk, we would like to discuss the evolutions involving either the emergence or the regularization of non-canonical valency patterns that have resulted in the present situation of Basque.

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<sup>1</sup>We do not include in this enumeration of non-canonical valency patterns the differential patient marking pattern <ERG, ABS~DAT> found in some Basque varieties, since in the varieties in question, this is the canonical pattern for typical transitive verbs.

## Imperative wh-interrogatives: experimental evidence from German.

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This talk is concerned with the interaction of verbal mood and interrogative sentence mood in German. Data as in (1) to (4) (taken from Lohnstein (2000:179f.)) have been referred to in the literature in order to argue that only indicative (cf. (1)) and past subjunctive (cf. (2)) verbal mood are compatible with interrogative sentence mood, whereas imperative (cf. (3)) and present subjunctive (cf. (4)) verbal mood are supposed to be excluded from this linguistic context.

- |                                                                               |                                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (1) Wer <u>hat</u> die Zigarren geraucht?<br><i>who has the cigars smoked</i> | (2) Wer <u>hätte</u> die Zigarren geraucht?<br><i>who had the cigars smoked</i> |
| (3) *Was <u>roll</u> ' zusammen?<br><i>what coil together</i>                 | (4) *Was <u>sei</u> eine Primzahl?<br><i>what be a prime number</i>             |

Lohnstein (2000) offers a semantic account of such (putative) restrictions: Showing that only propositions in the indicative and past subjunctive verbal mood are open for truth value assignment, he argues that *partitioning* (cf. Groenendijk/Stokhof (1984) on such an approach to the semantics of questions) – which involves the decision on positive and negative instantiations of an issue – is only possible for propositions which are open for truth value assignment.

Looking at the illocutionary acts that can be performed with imperatives (cf. Searle (1979)), this talk presents an alternative analysis which traces (un)acceptable cases of imperative interrogatives back to an incompatibility on the level of the illocutions being simultaneously performed: Combining this particular verbal mood with *erthetic* illocutionary force leads to a conflict between contradictory speech act theoretic conditions (cf. Searle (1969)). It will be shown that there are also instances of ill-formed indicative wh-interrogatives, namely indicatives used as directives. The generalisation regarding acceptable verbal moods in interrogatives is modelled by referring to the two *directions of fit*: Only verbal moods are allowed which display the *word-to-world*-direction of fit.

A prediction of this pragmatic account is that dissolving this conflict on the speech act level should lead to the construction's improvement. One possibility to solve the conflict is to change the *erthetic* illocutionary force from *information seeking questions* to questions which are uttered under different contextual conditions (such as rhetorical questions, questions which the speaker addresses at himself etc.).

To test for this prediction, two controlled experiments (cf. Cowart (1997)) have been conducted applying the method of *paired comparisons*. This method is better known and more commonly applied in disciplines such as business psychology and empirical social research. The studies (N = 33 each) reveal results which confirm the prediction made by the analysis presented in this talk.

Not only does this talk offer a new approach for the theoretical modelling of the interaction of interrogative sentence mood and verbal mood, but also does this study reveal how methodology used in different areas of empirical study might be put to use when it comes to semantic/pragmatic questions.



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## **Towards an Irish Sign Language computational framework.**

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Irish Sign Language (ISL), like all other sign languages, is a visual gestural language without any aural or written form. It is the indigenous language of the Irish Deaf Community and is the first language of Deaf people in Ireland. ISL is a visual, spatial language, with its own distinct grammar. Virtual reality human modeling and animation has the potential to alleviate the communication barrier for sign language users. To date research in this area has reached the point where it is possible to construct a human avatar that is articulate and responsive enough to perform Sign Language. It is possible for Sign language users to view onscreen animations and successfully interpret the movements of an avatar to understand its meaning. However, to date, there is no standard computational linguistic framework available to link the divide between the linguistic and the animation interface. At a minimum, this linguistic component or framework should be capable of communicating to the animated avatar what actions to carry out in order to convert from the first language (in this case English) to the target language (in this case ISL). The aim of this paper is discuss research work in progress in the development of a linguistically motivated avatar for ISL. For the purpose of this research it is intended to use RRG, which is a theory of grammar that is concerned with the interaction of syntax, semantics and pragmatics across grammatical systems. RRG takes language to be a system of communicative social action, and accordingly, analysing the communicative functions of grammatical structures plays a vital role in grammatical description and theory from this perspective. RRG will be used in this research in the development of an RRG parser/generator, which will later be used as a component in the development of a computational framework for an embodied conversational agent for ISL. This poses significant technical and theoretical difficulties within both RRG and for software. As ISL is a visual gestural language without any aural or written form, like all other sign languages, the challenge is to extend the RRG view of the lexicon and the layered structure of the word, indeed the model itself, to accommodate sign languages. In particular, the morphology of sign languages is concerned with manual and non-manual features, handshapes across the dominant and non-dominant hand in simultaneous signed constructions, head, eyebrows and mouth shape. These are the morphemes and lexemes of sign language. This work directly seeks to improve the communicative experience for those members of the Deaf Community through the innovative use of conversational avatar technology. Potentially, this will enrich the experience of these language users within society.

## **The interaction of markedness and experience in phonotactic judgments.**

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How do phonological markedness constraints shape grammar? In the standard (Optimality-Theoretic) view, the grammar of a language is itself composed of innate universal constraints. Experience affects learning only in that it provides evidence about which constraints happen to be violated in the target language (Tesar and Smolensky 1998). This view thus sees markedness and experience as trading off: the more marked an item, the more informative it is about which constraints should be demoted during learning.

However, an alternative view is that markedness does not reside in grammar itself, but in the learning algorithm. For example, Hayes and Wilson (2008) argue that grammatical constraints are not innate, but the construction and testing of them against experience are mediated by an innate representational architecture. This view

sees markedness as enhancing experience rather than trading off with it: the more unmarked an item, the more readily the algorithm can learn to construct appropriate constraints for it.

These competing views about markedness/experience interactions make distinct predictions for mature phonological grammars. To test them, we analyzed a set of experimentally collected phonotactic judgments in Southern Min (Taiwanese). This language provides a good testing ground for phonotactic research both because of its phonological simplicity (morphemes are virtually always monosyllabic and the syllabary is very small) and because it is not written, so that phonotactic judgments cannot be biased by orthography.

Adult native speakers were given auditory nonlexical syllables and asked to make quick binary judgments of them as being like vs. unlike Southern Min. Segmental bigrams in the items (e.g. [t<sup>h</sup>a], [am] in [t<sup>h</sup>am]) were quantified on parameters indexing either experience or markedness. Following Frisch and Zawaydeh (2001), lexical experience was quantified as the ratio of bigram frequency observed in the Southern Min syllabary (O) to the frequency expected from free combination (E); bigrams with higher O/E ratios are phonotactically favored. Markedness was coded in terms of the number of feature differences within bigrams (e.g. [ou] has only one feature difference: [high]; /pa/ has many: [voiced, labial, low, ...]). In an auditory task, feature differences should increase perceptual distinctiveness, making items with more distinctive bigrams less marked. Sample materials are shown in (1).

Statistical analysis (mixed-effects logistic regression) showed that acceptability was improved both by bigram O/E ratio (experience) and by bigram feature differences (unmarkedness). Crucially, the two factors enhanced each other, rather than trading off: the greater the number of feature differences, the greater the influence of O/E ratio on improving acceptability. This is shown in (2), which gives the standardized coefficients for the O/E ratio factor as a function of feature differences (below or above the median). This kind of interaction is expected if (un)markedness assists the learning of language-specific lexical phonotactics, rather than representing default grammatical content as in the standard view.

		Feature differences	
		Low	High
O/E ratio	Low	biem1*	sot4
	High	guon7	piok8

(1)

		O/E effect
Feature differences	Low	0.46
	High	1.06

(2)

\*Digits represent tone categories.

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## A correlation between the establishment of negative contractions and the development of their related idioms: with special reference to \_can't help V-ing\_ and its variants.

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In X (2011), I tried to elucidate, amongst others, the points in the second paragraph, based upon 5,774 examples collected from 129 volumes of primarily private diaries and personal correspondence. These were written primarily between 1600 and 1900 and not intended for public eyes or official use.

Evidence showed that negative contractions became established and diffused in the following order (where '17-2', for example, represents the second half of the seventeenth century, and 'D'/'Q'/'Imp', declarative/interrogative/imperative): <17-2> D *don't*, *can't*, *won't*; <18-1> D *shan't*, Imp/Q *don't*; <18-2> Q *won't*; <19-1> D/Q *doesn't*, *didn't*, Q *can't*; <19-2> D/Q *couldn't*, D *wouldn't*, *shouldn't*, *mustn't*, *needn't*. Although the first written occurrences of the preterite tense group *didn't*, *couldn't*, *wouldn't*, and *shouldn't* were 1674, 1694, 1674 and 1628 respectively, their establishment was prolonged until around the mid nineteenth century, when *doesn't* was also regulated. This tendency was also confirmed with 7,754 negative contractions in the *OED*'s quotations. More than a century's time lag between the establishment of the negative contractions with three consecutive consonants /-dnt/, -znt, -snt/ such as the preterite tense group, *doesn't* and *mustn't* and those simply with /-nt/ such as the present tense

group *don't*, *can't*, *won't* and *shan't* was most likely due to a phonological reason, i.e. cacophony.

The present paper demonstrates how the establishment of *can't* in the second half of the seventeenth century and that of *couldn't* in the mid nineteenth century correlates with the development of their related idiomatic constructions. In this paper, *can't help V-ing* and its variants are exclusively considered. The constructions in question are *can't / couldn't plus help V-ing / help to V / forbear V-ing / avoid V-ing / but V / help but V*.

The earliest example of *can't help V-ing* came into existence as early as 1693 Congreve (Visser 1969: 1881). The earliest one I discovered also comes from this year. As far as the 129 texts examined above are concerned, the following table is representative of my results:

Period	<i>can't help V-ing</i>	<i>couldn't help V-ing</i>	<i>can't help to V</i>	<i>can't forbear V-ing</i>	<i>can't avoid V-ing</i>	<i>can(')t but V</i>	<i>can't help but V</i>
-1700	1			4		13	
1701-1725	4			4	1	8	
1726-1750	36			2	1	21	
1751-1775	2			1		1	
1776-1800	1						
1801-1825						1	
1826-1850	1						
1851-1875	18	2					
1876-1900	21	3				1	

This table indicates that the usage of *can't help V-ing* increased before the mid 18th century, and competed with the *can't but V* construction, which was already in frequent use. The latter usage came to be considered as formal and, consequently, fell out of use in colloquial and informal English as represented in private diaries and personal letters. Almost the same distribution of the variants are observed regarding the *OED's* citations.

Showing evidence from the analyses of not only the texts examined above but also the *OED*<sup>2</sup> on CD-ROM and several other electronic corpora, and based upon 25 years' worth of statistics, a historical rivalry between these syntactic variants will be elucidated.

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## Translation: Inter-lingual construction of gendered indexicality.

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This paper demonstrates that translation is one of the crucial sites where indexicality, associations between specific linguistic features and the identity of a group, is constructed, reproduced, and transformed, refuting the argument that indexicality is constructed through the repeated use by the actual linguistic practice of the group. Following Inoue's (2003) proposal to examine the "inter-indexicality," I will show that the inter-lingual space between the original and translating discourses emerging in the process of translation plays a leading role in constructing and reproducing the gendered indexicality of the translating language by analyzing the Japanese translations of the speech of non-Japanese women in novels, newspapers, and films.

First, women's speech in the translated literary works, especially white heroines' speech, has been translated into women's language too stereotypical to be observed in actual interactions of Japanese women (Nakamura 2007). The translated women's speech from *Gone with the Wind* to *Harry Potter Series* has played an important role in preserving traditional women's language. I argue that the separation of the voice and the body of a speaker in a translated text compensates for their unnatural Japanese.

Second, as the Japanese indexical system has shifted its function as a linguistic resource from the expression of hierarchical relationships to that of intimate-distant relationships in the post-modern era, speech of non-Japanese women in translation has effectively reproduced the shift by the new distinctive usages of standard Japanese and women's language (Nakamura 2011). The analysis of speech by Hillary Clinton and Michelle Obama in Japanese newspapers shows that their speech concerning politics is translated into standard Japanese, while their speech about fashion is translated into women's language, creating intimate relationships with female readers. The new function of Japanese indexical system to express intimate-distant relationships is reinforced by the distinctive translation of non-Japanese women's speech.

Third, while Japanese women's language has traditionally been used to express politeness, indirectness, and softness of the speaker, Japanese women's language uttered from modern, Western female bodies in films has enhanced the emergence of its new usages, that is, provisional use of women's language in getting angry, being arrogant, and expressing evil intention (Chinami 2010, Shibamoto-Smith 2005, Takahashi 2009) in 1980'. The analysis of Hollywood films in 1970' and 1980' demonstrates that the speech of independent, assertive heroines has been translated into typical Japanese women's language. The Japanese women's language uttered from the bodies of Western heroines has been one of the crucial factors which enhanced the new association between some female linguistic features with assertive, arrogant, and evil femininity.

The perspective of inter-lingual indexicality demonstrates that translation reproduces the stereotypical indexicality, reinforces a shift occurred to the indexical system of the translating language, and instigates the change of the indexicality of the translating language. Paradoxically, it is the translated speech of non-Japanese women rather than the actual speech of Japanese women that has both preserved and reformulated indexical relationships between specific linguistic features and femininity.

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## Locational and directional relations, and their extension to tense and aspect in South Siberian Turkic.

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South Siberian Turkic is a bundle of genetically and geographically closely related languages; most of them are endangered: Tofan, Khakas, Altay Turkic, Shor, Tuvan, etc. Their verbal systems are characterized by the following features:

1. Quite a number of biverbal constructions consisting of verbs of existence/location (*to be*), posture (*to stand*, *to lie*, *to sit*) and movement (*to walk*, *to go*, etc.) in combination with various participle, converb and infinitive markers added to preceding notional verbs have grammaticalized as *Aktionsart*, aspect-temporal forms, and forms of deontic, dynamic or epistemic modality.
2. The same verb can function both as a fully lexical one and as an auxiliary one in biverbal actional and modal constructions, as well as a component of aspect-temporal markers. Its original locational or directional semantics predetermines its grammatical semantics to a certain extent.

3. *Aktionsart* forms can be further grammaticalized to aspect-temporal verb forms, e.g. practically all modern present tense forms, imperfective past participles (also used in the finite function), imperfective and perfective indirective past tense forms as well as a vast periphery of near future (prospective) forms in these languages are former biverbal actional constructions, e.g. the Shor present tense form *-(p)čā* goes back to the *Aktionsart* form *-(p)čāt-* (*čāt-* 'to lie, to live') with the aorist marker *-(V)r*: *par-čā < par-ip čād-ir* 's/he goes, s/he is going'. Having started as a highly focal intraterminal present tense form (Johanson 1971), it has lost its focality and expresses both the actual present tense and the general present tense.

4. The focal presence has been renewed in Shor dialects through ongoing grammaticalization of further actional biverbal constructions formed by auxiliary verbs of location / existence / posture / motion (Nevskaya and Šalamaj 2009); e.g. the upper-Mras sub-dialect form with the marker *-čū* which, in its turn, goes back to the *Aktionsart* construction *-(X)p čör-* with the aorist marker *-(V)r* (*čör-* 'to wander, to live'): *men par-čū-m* 'I am going'. This form is opposed to *men par-čā-m* 'I go' which has narrowed its functions to the general presence in this sub-dialect.

5. The same auxiliary verb can participate in various *Aktionsart* and aspect-temporal forms depending on the infinite form that the lexical verb takes and the degree of phonological and morphological reduction and semantic generalization of the biverbal construction; e.g. the Shor near future (prospective) form *-(A)rGAča* goes back to the prospective form consisting of the infinitive *-(A)rgA* of the notional verb and the auxiliary verb *čāt-*: *men par-argāča-m* 'I am about to go'.

In our lecture, we describe South Siberian aspect-temporal forms that go back to biverbal constructions with verbs of existence / location, posture and motion.

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## Shifting the domain of vagueness: a setting for supervaluation in the structure of quantification.

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Following a cross-linguistically common pattern (Haspelmath 1997), Vietnamese employs a system in which wh-indeterminate phrases can achieve different quantificational forces depending on the presence of operators licensing them. Among the wh-indeterminate morphemes are two referential particles, *nào* and *gì*, that appear within a noun phrase. Though traditionally glossed as 'which' and 'what' respectively (as in Nguyễn 1997), they do not contribute a partitivity distinction but rather different senses of epistemic certainty with respect to the description expressed in the NP, with *gì* being marked and requiring certainty.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(1) <i>Có</i> cuốn sách <i>nào/gì</i> bị cháy.<br/>         have CLF book NÀO/GÌ PASS burn<br/>         'Some book got burnt.'</p> <p>(2) <i>Cuốn</i> sách <i>nào/gì</i> <b>cũng</b> bị cháy.<br/>         CLF book NÀO/GÌ also PASS burn<br/>         'Every book got burnt.'</p> | <p>(3) <i>Không</i> cuốn sách <i>nào/gì</i> bị cháy.<br/>         NEG CLF book NÀO/GÌ PASS burn<br/>         'No book got burnt.'</p> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

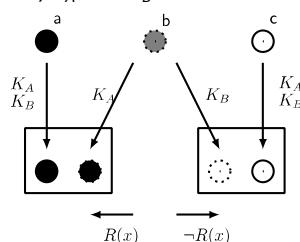
In each of (1)–(3), the difference between the particles is illuminated by situations involving epistemic vagueness, such as one in which an object was burnt, but the truth value of the sentence differs depending on whether the object is a book; the speaker's certainty as to whether it is a book may vary. With *nào*, each sentence becomes progressively more felicitous along with the speaker's certainty, but with, any amount of doubt makes the sentence infelicitous. Notably, the correlation is to the level of certainty, not to the logical content: the speaker must be absolutely certain that any object burnt is not a book in (3). Furthermore, for the universal in (2), anything that could possibly be a book must be considered to satisfy the restriction.

For these readings to obtain, it is necessary for the contribution of *gì* to take scope over quantification and negation, a property that straightforward composition cannot account for because *gì* and *nào* are syntactically confined to the noun phrase, presenting difficulty for adapting Shimoyama's (2001) analysis of wh-indeterminates in Japanese.

Instead, the distribution follows if we adapt the notion of supervaluation (Fine 1975) and introduce a universal quantification over all possible disambiguating extensions of objects that may or may not satisfy the restriction of the quantifier. Specifically, leaving aside the compositional details, we have the following denotations for quantified sentences with *nào* or *gì*, with a quantifier  $Q \in \{\exists, \forall, \neg\exists, \neg\forall\}$ , restriction  $R$ , scope  $S$ , and some extension  $K$ :

- (4)  $\llbracket Q\text{-nào} \rrbracket = Q(x, R, S)$   
 (5)  $\llbracket Q\text{-gì} \rrbracket = \forall K. Q(x, R_K, S)$ , where for all  $x, K$ ,  $R_K(x) \equiv R(K(x))$ .  
 (6) a.  $\exists(x, R, S) \equiv \exists x. [R(x) \wedge S(x)]$   
 b.  $\forall(x, R, S) \equiv \exists x. [R(x) \rightarrow S(x)]$   
 c.  $\neg\exists(x, R, S) \equiv \neg\exists x. [R(x) \wedge S(x)]$   
 d.  $\neg\forall(x, R, S) \equiv \neg\exists x. [R(x) \rightarrow S(x)]$

For an example domain of three elements—a, definitely a book; b, possibly a book, possibly not; and c, definitely not a book—there are two possible consistent extensions,  $K_A$  and  $K_B$ :



The truth table deriving  $\llbracket Q\text{-gì} \rrbracket$  for all four quantifiers, both extensions for  $R$ , and all distinguishable extensions for the scope  $S$ , matches the felicity conditions observed for (1)–(3) exactly.

		$\exists$			$\forall$			$\neg\exists$			$\neg\forall$		
$S(a)$	$S(b)$	$K_A$	$K_B$	$\forall K$	$K_A$	$K_B$	$\forall K$	$K_A$	$K_B$	$\forall K$	$K_A$	$K_B$	$\forall K$
T	T	T	T	<b>T</b>	T	T	<b>T</b>	F	F	<b>F</b>	F	F	<b>F</b>
T	F	T	T	<b>T</b>	F	T	<b>F</b>	F	F	<b>F</b>	T	F	<b>F</b>
F	T	T	F	<b>F</b>	F	F	<b>F</b>	F	T	<b>F</b>	T	T	<b>T</b>
F	F	F	F	<b>F</b>	F	F	<b>F</b>	T	T	<b>T</b>	T	T	<b>T</b>

The contribution of *gì* can be considered as shifting the domain of vagueness. Whereas in the original domain, vagueness concerns whether a given object meets the restriction, in extension domain it concerns whether or not an extension is available: any given extension dispels the vagueness of the original domain. Notably, vagueness is only with respect to the restriction of the quantifier, not to the scope.

These constructions demonstrate an intricate link between vagueness and the syntactic and semantic structure of quantification. To explore these questions further, we discuss cross-linguistic variation in the strategies employed to express this kind of domain shift in quantification, including one restricted use of *sort of* or *kind of* available for some speakers of English and the contrast between *dono* and *donna* in Japanese.

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## P-Stranding in a language without P-Stranding: the case of Sluicing in Romanian

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**1. The aim** of this paper is to present several instances of Romanian Sluicing which apparently violate Merchant’s (2001) *Form-Identity Generalization II*, which holds regardless of whether or not there is apparently an island interior to the ellipsis site:



(1) *Form-identity generalization II: Preposition-Stranding*

(Merchant 2001)

A language L will allow preposition stranding under sluicing iff L allows preposition stranding under regular wh-movement.

Romanian is a *Pied-Piping language*: the preposition associated with a *wh*-DP must be displaced along with the *wh*-phrase in all the relevant environments (interrogatives, topicalization, relativization – including clefts and pseudo-clefts –, and comparatives), as shown in (2):

- (2) a. **Despre cine** ai vorbit  $t_{\text{despre cine}}?$  [Pied-Piping: OK]  
 about whom (you)have talk  
 'Who did you talk about'
- b. \***Cine** ai vorbit **despre**  $t_{\text{cine}}?$  [P-Stranding: ungrammatical]

The relevant data to be discussed in the paper concern cases in which the *wh*-remnant in Sluicing may (3a) or may not (3b) pied-pipe along the associated preposition:

- (3) *Părinții copilului discutau despre ceva,*  
 parents.DEF child.DEF.GEN argued about something  
 a. *dar ea a refuzat să ne spună despre ce*  
 but she has refused SUBJ CL.DAT.1PL tell about what.ACC  
 b. *dar ea a refuzat să ne spună ce*  
 but she has refused SUBJ CL.DAT.1PL tell what.ACC  
 'The child's parents were arguing about something but she refused to tell us what'

**2. The extension of the phenomenon.** P-Stranding under Sluicing is possible with remnants headed by prepositions that select an accusative ((3), (4a)), a dative (4b), and a genitive DP; the preposition may be either lexical ((3), (4b-c)) or functional (4a).

- (4) a. *Ai rănit pe cineva, dar mi-e greu să spun (pe) cine*  
 (you)have wounded PE someone but CL.DAT.1SG=is hard SUBJ say PE who.ACC  
 'You wounded someone, but I find it hard to tell you who'
- b. *A reușit în viață datorită cuiva,*  
 (he) succeeded in life thanks to someone  
*și nu mă abțin să întreb (datorită) cui*  
 and not CL.ACC.1SG refrain SUBJ ask thanks to who.DAT  
 'He succeeded in life thanks to someone, and I can't help myself asking thanks to whom'

**3. The following objectives** will be pursued in the paper:

(i) To put forth a derivational analysis of this instance of Sluicing; it will be shown that Romanian possesses a construction dubbed "(Rom.) lexicalizarea urmei" (*trace lexicalization / sounding the trace*) (Gheorghe 2004), which feeds this paradoxical P-Stranding instance of Sluicing:

- (5) *omul<sub>i</sub> care<sub>i</sub> am vorbit cu el<sub>i</sub>*  
 man.DEF who (I)have talked to him  
 'the man to whom I talked'

(ii) To analyze the implications of this phenomenon for the *theory of ellipsis*. The analysis will show that ellipsis is not an instance of mere PF-deletion (see also van Craenenbroeck & den Dikken 2006), but that the syntax of ellipsis sites is different from that of their overt counterparts because ellipsis presupposes the *focalization* of the remnant (Merchant 2001) and the construction of a *common topic* (López 2000).

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- b. Jerome's Vulgate:  
 sede                      a              dextris              meis  
 sit:IMPER.PRES.2SG    from       right:ABL.PL       my:ABL.PL

The same strategy is represented by numerous examples of synchronically non-decomposable locative expressions that have an established ablative etymology: Ancient Greek adverbs in *-then* (Lejeune 1939); Latin adverbs in *-im* and in *dē-*; French *dans* 'in' (< \*de-intus) and *dedans* 'inside'; Russian *sverxu* 'above', and others (MacKenzie 1978). The ablative etymology suggests that in all these cases, a static spatial relation was originally projected from an external viewpoint in the direction of the Ground, as in (1).

Along with the ablative strategy, some of the languages feature an alternative type of construction. In (2), the same ablative Greek expression as in (1a) (*ek dekσιōn* 'on the right') is translated into Latin not with an ablative (cf. 1b), but with an allative prepositional phrase.

- (2) da                      nobis      ut                      unus              ad              dexteram  
      give:IMPER.PRES.2SG 1PL:DAT that              one:NOM.SG to              right.side:ACC.SG  
 tuam                      et              alius                      ad              sinistram                      tuam  
 your:ACC.SG              and              other:NOM.SG to              left.side:ACC.SG              your:ACC.SG  
 sedeamus  
 sit:SUBJ.PRES.1PL

'grant unto us that we may sit one on your right and the other on your left' (Mark 10.31)

As the allative alternative to the ablative-pro-locative strategy becomes more widely attested, it gradually replaces the ablative-pro-locative strategy, which is no longer used productively in most modern European languages (with the exception of a few prepositions that are historically derived from ablative expressions but are no longer perceived as decomposable into parts, and can no longer be used on the ablative reading). For example, only the allative strategy is possible in Modern Greek for localization of Figures on the left or on the right of the Ground (literally, "to the left/right").

The paper explores the gradual change from the ablative to the allative strategy in the encoding of static spatial relations in Greek and Romance. It argues that the change in the preferred strategy was related to the typological shift from a satellite-framed to a verb-framed system that characterizes the history of the languages in question. As previously satellite-framed languages were reducing their case systems, they were neutralizing the goal vs. location distinction, and this neutralization resulted in the replacement of the archaic ablative-pro-locative model with the alternative allative strategy. Languages that have preserved their original (case-based) goal vs. location differentiation tend to retain the ablative-pro-locative model (Slavic).

### On the expression of TAM on nouns.

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There has been a growing body of literature on the expression of grammatical tense on nouns and the temporal interpretation of noun phrases (e.g. Lecarme 1996; Nordlinger and Sadler 2004, 2008; Alexiadou et al. 2007; Tonhauser 2007, among others). The paper contributes to these debates by examining the so-called predestinative forms in Tundra Nenets (Uralic).

Predestinatives are productively derived by suffixation but are only available on possessed nouns. Their meaning can roughly be described as a two-place relation "the future X of Y". I argue that they express a TAM-like category with nominal scope, either future tense or subjunctive/irrealis mood. In the tense analysis, Nenets patterns together with some other languages (e.g. Hixkaryana) where tense is only active in possessive constructions but is not expressed in non-possessive NPs. The tense is NP-bound and deictically interpreted in relation to the situation time. In the possessive phrase it can be interpreted with respect to two semantic predicates: either the nominal itself (the reference time, i.e. the property of 'being X') or the possessive relation (Larson and Cho 2003; Tonhauser 2007). Predestinatives indicate that the time of the possessive relation follows the situation time and may additionally express that the nominal time is also in the future. For instance, (*mān*) *l'ekar-dā-m'i* (I doctor-PRED-1SG) 'my future doctor / the doctor which will be mine / the doctor meant for me' can be interpreted in two ways: (i) the relevant person is not

a doctor at the situation time, i.e. both the property of 'being X' and the relation 'X is possessed by Y' are predicated for the future relative to the situation time, (ii) the relevant individual is a doctor at the situation time but not 'my doctor', therefore only the possessive relation is relativized with respect to time.

However, there may be reasons to analyse predestinatives as a modal category rather than tense. First, predestinatives are excluded from syntactic constructions which, by their nature, require pragmatically presupposed NPs in Tundra Nenets, such as passives, relativizations and constructions where verbal agreement is triggered by a topical argument. This suggests that they have a non-specific (existential) interpretation: there is no commitment to the existence of the predestinative entity prior to the situation. On the clause level there meaning is thus comparable to the meaning of the subjunctive/irrealis, which normally indicates the lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition. Second, predestinative arguments are only compatible with the verbs for which existence inference is not available. This is similar to subjunctive in complementation, which is normally licensed by the properties of the embedding context and selected by a class of predicates sharing a particular semantic content.

Since typological relationship between future tense and irrealis/subjunctive is well known, deciding between these two analyses may be a matter of terminology, but Tundra Nenets data clearly indicates the presence of TAM on nouns.

### Exaptation and constructionalization.

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In this paper, we will address the question of how the process of exaptation can be modelled within a constructional framework of language variation and change. We define exaptation as the reuse of an obsolescent conventional symbolic unit (i.e. a construction) as a new micro-construction elsewhere in the constructional network. In a constructional approach to language change, there are two basic processes by which new form-meaning pairings may arise: grammatical and lexical constructionalization (Trousdale *fc.*). Our research question is: does exaptation involve grammatical or lexical constructionalization?

We introduce our study by relating exaptation to the constructional parameters productivity, generality and productivity identified by Langacker (2005). We observe that, to an extent, exaptation, degrammaticalization and lateral shifts of bound morphemes (e.g. the *-sk-* infix in Romance) overlap, in that these processes all involve material that is typically very schematic in form and general in meaning, but decreasing in productivity and compositionality.

In the second part of the paper, we focus exclusively on two instances of degrammaticalization involving exaptation. Using data from the Swedish historical corpus *Fornsvenska Textbanken*, we show how two obsolescent case endings were exapted. One of them, the shift from the former MASC.SG.GEN suffix *-s* (example (1a)) to Modern Swedish enclitic *s*-genitive (example 1b) displays properties of grammatical constructionalization (Trousdale and Norde *fc.*), whereas the second, the development of a nominalization suffix out of the former MASC.SG.NOM suffix *-er* (Norde 2009: 179ff.), displays properties of lexical constructionalization. In the history of the *s*-genitive we observe a sequence of neo-analyses leading to a new form-meaning pairing with a determiner function, which goes hand in hand with an increase in the construction's generality and productivity.

- |     |    |                      |                   |                  |      |                |
|-----|----|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|------|----------------|
| (1) | a. | eens                 | blindz            | manz             | hand | ST 236         |
|     |    | a-MASC.SG.GEN        | blind-MASC.SG.GEN | man- MASC.SG.GEN | hand |                |
|     | b. | en blind             | mans              | hand             |      | Modern Swedish |
|     |    | [a blind man]=s      | hand              |                  |      |                |
|     |    | 'a blind man's hand' |                   |                  |      |                |

In the case of the MASC.SG.NOM suffix *-er* we observe how this suffix comes to be isolated in the adjectival noun construction where it was reanalysed as a derivational suffix ((2a)), and becomes further restricted to adjectives with derogatory meaning (2b). In other words, the suffix becomes less general and less productive.

- |     |    |                                                                                           |
|-----|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) | a. | <i>en blinder</i> (cf. MoSw <i>en blind</i> ) 'a blind person'                            |
|     | b. | <i>en dummer</i> 'a stupid one'; <i>en slarver</i> 'a messy one' (< <i>slarv</i> 'mess'). |

Based on our corpus data we make the following observations about the relationship between exaptation and constructionalization. First of all, exaptation targets isolated patterns in the morphological system. Speakers make new use of these isolated patterns either by employing them to produce new referential constructions (in the case of lexical constructionalization) or by developing a new procedural function (in the case of grammatical constructionalization). We conclude our presentation by making brief reference to other examples of exaptation in the world's languages to support the findings from our detailed case study of Swedish.

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## The verb *\*le-* in Finnic languages.

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In Finno-Ugric languages, there are two verbs for 'be': *\*wole-* versus *\*le-*; *\*wole-* is neutral (present, non-modal), whereas *\*le-* is temporal (future) or modal. In the preterite, however, only the *\*wole-*verb has the meaning 'be', the *\*le-*stem occurs in the meaning 'become' (Majtinskaja 1973: 88–89).

In my presentation, I will concentrate on *\*le-*verbs in Finnic languages. The linguistic data reveals that *\*le-*indeed exhibits different functions and combinatorial properties in these languages: it expresses 'being somewhere', 'change', 'come into being, emerge', deontic, dynamic as well as epistemic modality, 'resultativity' and 'future'; it combines with participles, infinitives etc; it functions as a full verb, but also as an auxiliary.

The main aim is to show on what occasions the different meanings arise and how the various senses of *\*le-*have developed. According to Saukkonen (1965: 174), for instance, the modal and temporal senses have evolved via the meanings 'come into being, emerge'. The analysis is based on the grammaticalization theory, in this particular case it considers the chain Verb-to-TAM ('tense, aspect, modality') (see Heine 1993). It draws, for example, on the works of Bybee *et al.* (1994), Heine (1993), Heine and Kuteva (2002). The linguistic data originates from text collections of Finnic languages.

It appears that the different temporal, modal and aspectual nuances are first and foremost dependent on the constructions into which *\*le-* enters, but also on the broader context. For example, modal nuances tend to arise in connection with past participles (as in the Livonian sentence 1), however, the broader context may also determine the aspectual meaning (in the Livonian sentence 2, the perfective meaning is foregrounded).

- (1) *Sudū-d li-bōd mi'n ni'emō mōzō mūrda-nōd.*

wolf-PL be-3PL I:GEN cow:PART down strike-PTCP

'Wolfs seem to have struck down my cow.' (Kettunen 1938: 197)

- (2) *Ku sinā li-d sie kurē jarā tapp-õn,*

when you be-2SG this:GEN devil.GEN away kill-PTCP

siz sinā ruoik min' jū'r tegž! (Setälä 1953: 107)

then you hurry:IMP I:GEN to back

'When you have killed the devil, then hurry back to me!'

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### Complementizer selection in L2 Greek.

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Complement clauses in Modern Greek (MG) can be introduced by various complementizers (*oti/ pos, pu, an* or *na*). Complementizer selection is defined by the specific features that each complementizer bears, the semantic compatibility between the matrix predicate and the complementizer (ex. 1a,b,c), the presence of propositional operators (such as negation or question) and the verb form in the matrix clause (Christidis 1982, Roussou 1994, 2010, Theophanopoulou-Kontou et al. 1998, Varlokosta 1994, among many others).

- 1a. Thelo na/ \*oti/ \*pos/ \*pu figho noris  
want.1sg. NA/ \*OTI/ \*POS/ \*PU leave.1sg. early  
I want to leave early
- 1b. Paradechtike oti/ pos/ \*na/ \*pu ekane lathos  
admitted.3sg.past.perf. OTI/ POS/ \*NA/ \*PU made.3sg.past.perf a mistake  
He/She admitted that he/she made a mistake
- 1c. Apogoteftika pu/ \*oti/ \*pos/ \*na echasa to treno  
be disappointed.1sg. PU/ \*OTI/ \*POS/ \*NA lost.1sg. the train  
I was disappointed that I had lost the train

With regard to the acquisition of MG as L2, previous research has shown that choosing the right complementizer could be rather complicated for L2 learners (Roussou 2006, Varlokosta and Triantafyllidou 2003). The aim of this paper is to explore some aspects of the acquisition of complementizer selection in L2 Greek. We investigate matrix verbs compatible with at least two of the complementizers *oti/ pos, pu* or *na*, which bear different meanings in each case (ex. 2a,b), using a questionnaire with two written tasks, an acceptability judgment task and a cloze test.

- 2a. O Janis lei oti tha fighi noris  
the.nom.sg. Janis.nom say.3sg OTI will leave.3sg. early  
Janis says that he will leave early
- 2b. O Janis lei na fighume noris  
the.nom.sg. Janis.nom say.3sg NA leave.1pl. early  
Janis says we should leave early

The questionnaire was administered to three groups of (elementary, intermediate and advanced) adults learning Greek as L2 (293 L2 learners in total, with various native languages) and to a control group of native speakers of MG. The responses of the L2 learners are examined with regard to the level of knowledge of MG and their native languages.

The results of the tasks show that, although L2 learners of higher levels performed better than the L2 learners of lower levels, there are problems faced by L2 learners of all levels, such as (a) the choice between *oti/ pos* and *pu*, (b) complementizer selection when psych verbs and perception verbs are used as matrix verbs, and (c) the role of propositional operators and verb type in the matrix clause in complementizer selection.

Results are compared with previous research for complement clauses in MG L1 acquisition (Katis and Stampouliadou 2009, Mastropavlou and Tsimpli 2011) and in adult L2 acquisition (Bhatt and Hancin-Bhatt 2002,



Dekydspotter et al. 2005, Tsimpli and Mastropavlou 2007). We also discuss how various theoretical approaches could account for the results of this study.

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## The distribution and the role of clitics in different Balochi dialects.

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The present study investigates the distribution and the role of clitics in different Balochi dialects. Balochi is spoken in south-eastern Iran and south-western Pakistan, and also in e.g. Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Oman, UAE. The number of speakers can be estimated to about 7-8 million, or possibly even more.

The oral texts which make up the corpus for the analysis of the clitics in Iranian Balochi were collected in different parts of Iran during several field journeys in the period between February 2008 to April 2011. The main part of the material consists of folktales, life stories and procedural texts told by male and female linguistic consultants (20 persons) of different ages (between 40 and 90) with different social backgrounds. After recording the linguistic data (in WAV format) the texts were reduced to written form by means of a phonological transcription. Language data and examples for this aim for other dialects were extracted from published papers and books.

Clitics are present in all the under study dialects, It is, however, very interesting to note that in some dialects only one clitic, the one for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular, is present, other dialects have two clitics, the one for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural. Still other dialects have the full range of clitics for all six persons.

In the dialects under study, the clitics are anaphoric and show a somewhat varying range of functions. They occur as agent in the ergative construction, direct and indirect object, as well as in possession constructions, in part-whole constructions, in prepositional constructions and to focus information. In spite of their non-nominative status, they are also found as subject, which is probably a retention from the ergative construction.

I will argue that the crucial role of the clitics is to compensate for a loss of the oblique case in the noun and pronoun inflection in a number of central Balochi dialects, where the clitics are particularly well preserved. In other functions, the clitics can be replaced by full pronouns, but in the agent function the agent needs a non-nominative marking, which is present in the clitic, but no longer in the full pronoun, nor in the noun, to which the agent clitic is an anaphoric reference in, e.g., the following example:

w�ja	�li	opt = �	taw	��n	kort
Mr	Ali	say.PT.3SG=PC.3SG	you	how	do.PT.3SG

Mr. Ali said, what have you done?

### Presupposition in the clausal and nominal domains.

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It is not a new claim that definite DPs (cf. 1) come with existence and uniqueness presuppositions: they have a unique referent (Frege 1892/1977, Strawson 1952). It has independently been observed that the propositional content of certain complement clause CPs (termed ‘factive’) is presupposed: that is to say, (2a) logically implicates (2b) (Legate 2010). That the content of such clauses is presupposed can be seen by the fact that (i) even with clausal negation (cf. 3a) the logical implication (2b) holds (ii) denying the content is infelicitous (cf. 3b), just as is the case for definite descriptions (cf. 1).

- (1) His country estate is large (# although he doesn’t actually have a country estate).
- (2) a. John told Sarah how he’s never been abroad.  
b. He’s never been abroad.
- (3) a. John didn’t tell Sarah how he’s never been abroad.  
b. # John told Sarah how he’s never been abroad, although he has really.

The CPs considered here are those introduced by the complementiser-like use of *how* (henceforth CLH; see Legate 2010). The usual presuppositions of both CLH-clauses (CLHCs) and definite DPs can be suspended under certain matrix predicates of propositional attitude or reported speech (see Abels 2010 on exclamatives). Just as there is not necessarily a referent for the definite description in (4a), neither does (2b) follow as a logical implication of (4b).

- (4) a. He lied/is always going on about his country estate.  
b. He lied/is always going on about how he’s never been abroad.

Legate (2010) suggests that the above similarities fall out naturally from an analysis in which CLHCs are actually DPs: she analyses them as nominalised clauses which involve a DP layer above the CP. However, there is considerable distributional evidence against positing a DP layer in CLHCs. CLHCs are degraded or ungrammatical in many contexts where definite DPs are acceptable, for instance (i) in subject position (cf. 5b) (ii) in preposed position (cf. 6a) (iii) as the focus of an *it*-cleft (iv) as fragment answers. We conclude that a DP layer thus cannot be the source of presupposition in CLHCs.

- (5) a. It’s funny how he’s never been abroad.  
b. \* How he’s never been abroad is funny.
- (6) a. He never told us how he’s never been abroad.  
b. \* How he’s never been abroad, he never told us.

Following Haegeman and Ürögdi (2010) on factive *that*-clauses, if CLHCs, like other ‘factive’ clauses, are better characterised as ‘referential’ CPs (de Cuba and Ürögdi 2009) and if referentiality is derived by clause-internal operator movement, then the presupposed nature of the content of CLHCs can be explained without positing a DP layer, also accounting for their distribution. Given that referentiality in DPs has also been attributed to operator movement (Campbell 1996, Aboh 2004), under such an approach the similarities in behaviour of definite DPs and CLHCs with regard to presupposition are captured not by assimilating the latter to the former, but by positing operator movement in the derivation of both referential structures.

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**The interaction of lexical and grammatical aspect in the Moroccan Arabic verbal system:  
a focus on the present participle.**

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Like many other Arabic dialects, Moroccan Arabic (MA) for decades has been subject to continuous language change. Structures originating from Old Arabic are constantly replaced by new ones. This is especially true for the present participle. Being a morphologically non-finite verb form, it nevertheless has the features of a full verbal predicate: For instance, a present participle can take a direct object (a structure that cannot be ascribed to a nominal sentence) and function both as the modificans and as the modificatum in a complex predicate. These features display the complete embedding of the present participle into the MA verbal system as a third pole in the verbal paradigm, the first two poles being represented by morphologically finite forms. Thus, the MA present participle can be rather characterized as a verbal form with a special conjugation pattern (Caubet 1993, Cohen 1984) and should be called a participle only for etymological reasons (Maas 2011).

The goal of this study is to determine the trigger of this restructuring process of the MA verbal system. Why is a morphologically non-finite verb form being fully embedded into this system? In contrast to morphologically finite forms, what functions does the present participle fulfill? Since the category of aspect can be expressed both lexically and grammatically by inflectional affixes in MA (Chaara 2003), the main hypothesis is that the present participle, lacking morphological aspect markers, expresses certain aspectual nuances that are blocked for the morphologically finite forms.

In order to differentiate the function of the present participle from the morphologically finite suffix and prefix conjugation forms, four verbs with different lexical aspect structures according to the features [ $\pm$  dynamic] and [ $\pm$  telic] have been selected (Bäuerle 1994, Smith 1997). In a grammaticality judgment test comprising 50 sentences, each of these verbs was presented to ten test persons in three ways: with a suffix marking perfective aspect, a prefix marking imperfective aspect and in the present participle form, each time in an unambiguous context supported by according adverbial elements. Items that proved to be problematic in the pretest were included twice. The test persons rated the sentences as grammatically correct or wrong. In the latter case, the study participants proposed a correctional sentence in order to clarify the location of their disagreement.

The preliminary descriptive results of this test confirm the permanent interaction between the lexical and grammatical aspect in MA by showing that the present participle cannot be attributed to only one distinct function. Its task rather depends on the respective lexical aspect of the verb. Judgment insecurities among the ten test persons display the immense degree of variance in the use of the present participle and reveal that the modification of the MA verbal system is still in progress. Altogether, this paper contributes to a better understanding of the interaction between the lexical and grammatical level for the category of aspect.

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### Alternations in paradigms. Initial consonant mutation in Irish Gaelic.

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Initial mutations are a prominent feature of the Celtic languages. These synchronic phonological alternations arose diachronically from the grammaticalisation of external sandhi processes whereby the various mutations became equated with specific pragmatic and semantic factors (function) in specific morphosyntactic and phonological environments (form). Both the form and function of initial mutations differ not only between languages (cf. Ó Siadhail 1989; King 2003), and across main dialects (cf. De Bhaldraithe 1954; Lucas 1979), but even across subdialects (cf. Hamilton 1974; Wagner 1979). Various attempts have been made to describe initial mutations within different theoretical frameworks (see e.g. Oftedal 1962; Awbery 1973; Wolf 2007). This paper will focus specifically on describing initial consonant mutation in a specific dialect of Irish Gaelic from a structural-functional theoretical perspective (see O'Neill forthcoming).

A specific dialect of Irish Gaelic was selected in order to capture the complex processes involved in initial mutations in the dialectal mode of existence of the language. Generalisations made across dialects for language description naturally result in a broader level of abstraction which is detrimental to the description of actual observed processes. The dialect of Iorras Aithneach was chosen for the study due to the availability of a thoroughly comprehensive grammatical description which not only includes standard forms but also numerous varieties and exceptions (Ó Curnáin 2007). The form and function of initial consonant mutations in the dialect were then (re)analysed and interpreted within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008; 2010). This structural-functional theory attempts to describe language structure across four grammatical levels of analysis relating to rhetorics/pragmatics, semantics, morphosyntax, and phonology. The core tenet of the theory that language description needs these four levels and that these four levels are organised in a top-down manner whereby the function largely (but not solely) determines the form was then tested on the basis of the (re)analysis within the dialect.

The general process of initial consonant mutation in the dialect proved to follow three sequential stages: (non-)activation; (non-)restriction; (non-)application. The phonological alternations showed changes in not only place of articulation, manner of articulation, and secondary articulation, but also combinations of all three. The alternations further proved to group together into four 'mutational paradigms' which are activated according to a complex mix of pragmatic, semantic, morphosyntactic, and phonological features. A number of restrictions lastly appeared to block the activation of a particular paradigm once activated.

This paper proposes a novel account of initial mutations from a structural-functional perspective. The process of initial consonant mutation and the phonological alternations within paradigms in the dialect will firstly be explained. The activational factors of each paradigm and the restrictions on activation will subsequently be summarised. A brief description of initial consonant mutation will then be given within the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar according to a selection of clear examples and representations. The paper will finish with implications for both general linguistic theory and the theories of Functional Discourse Grammar and Prosodic Phonology (Nespor and Vogel 2007).

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### Expressions of quantity in Bulgarian: apposition vs. government.

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Bulgarian noun phrases can show three internal relations: agreement (Adjective Noun), prepositional linkage (N preposition N) or juxtaposition (NN). Semantically, the latter, apposition-like type can be divided into two groups: 1. expressions of quantity and 2. true appositions. This paper aims to show that although the first type displays a surface appositional feature, i. e. the lack of overt case marking, in fact it exhibits government relations. Furthermore, the nouns involved are bivalent nouns the complement of which can be regarded as obligatory. The expressions of quantity can be subdivided into 3 groups:

a) quantity-substance

*litar mlyako*

litter.SG milk.SG

'a litter of milk'

b) container-contained

*chasha voda*

glass.SG water.SG

'a glass of water'

c) form of grouping – grouped entities

*talpa xora*

crowd.SG people.PL

'a crowd of people'

In traditional Bulgarian grammars, these phrases are viewed as appositions, and the discussions go mainly on which noun is the head and which is the modifier. As it has recently been proposed for other modern languages (see also Corbett et. al 1993; Teubert 2003; Trawinski 2000; Van Eynde 2006), I will argue that in these phrases the first noun functions as the head and the second noun as its governed complement.

I will verify this hypothesis on the data collected from the Bulgarian corpora ([www.webclark.org](http://www.webclark.org)), to which I will apply several linguistic tests.

1. *Government vs. Apposition*. The second noun in the expressions of quantity is a complement required by the valency of the first one; appositions do not exhibit such a semantic relationship. All head nouns restrict its complement NP to be indefinite, determiner-less and quantifier-less. The (a) and (b) types introduced above require a noun in singular, while the (c) type requires a noun in plural.

2. *Paraphrase with a prepositional phrase.* Expressions of quantity compete with prepositional phrases, for example in a') below; appositions do not allow such an alternative marking.

a') quantity-substance

*litar ot mlyakoto*

litter.SG from milk.SG.DEF

'a litter of the milk'

3. *Comparison with other Slavic languages.* In similar phrases, the second noun has an overt Genitive case marking. Since modern Bulgarian lost its declension system, such contrastive approaches are justified and helpful.

There are also other properties typical to the expressions of quantity that, however, are conditioned by the context:

1. *Subject-Predicate Agreement.* The data shows that the expressions of quantity prefer the Direct Object position. When in Subject position, however, the agreement allows alternative patterns, i.e. the predicate agrees either with the head or with the complement in the NN phrase.
2. *Pronominal Coreference Substitution.* Either both nouns in NN can be pronominalised or only the complement.
3. *Obligatoriness of the expressions of two nouns in the NP.* This criterion is not reliable, since it is related to the phenomenon of ellipsis, and it also depends on the lexical semantics of the predicate.

To sum up, this paper aims to contribute, firstly, on evaluation of the criteria that are useful for identifying of *head-modifier* constructions. Secondly, it provides evidence that the 'apposition-like' NPs in Bulgarian show hidden government relations. These findings are important for distinguishing between constructions that exhibit the same syntax but are not identical from a semantic point of view.

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## Morphological Complexity of Instrumental Verbs in Turkish Sign Language

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Having morphological structure of signs in its center, this paper aims to investigate the nature of instrumental verbs in Turkish Sign Language (TID). These verbs are the ones that have an instrument in its argument structure. Instruments can be expressed within verbs as a classifier or independently from verbs as a separate lexical item. Therefore, the following questions are aimed to be answered by this study:

- How lexical and classifier predicates operate in instrumental verbs?
- Are there any relationship or hierarchy between entity classifiers vs. instrumental classifiers in instrumental verbs?
- What does the structure of instrumental verbs suggest as to the classification of sign verbs by Padden (1988) and Pedersen-Engberg (1993)?

This study has benefited from two different types of analyses. Firstly, lexical and classifier predicates are defined and distinguished from each other. Özyürek and Perniss (2011) differentiate classifier predicate from lexical predicates saying that lexical predicate is the citation form of the sign whereas classifier predicate denotes size and shape or handling of the referent in addition to the sign. In other words, the classifier predicates have a more specific meaning. As to the secondary analysis, there are two different approaches to verbal classification. Padden (1988) classifies verbs into three groups: Agreement, spatial and plain verbs. On the other hand, second classification made by Engberg-



Pedersen (1993) puts verbs on a continuum from simplex to complex ones. Complex verbs of this group are further divided into three groups, namely: verbs of motion and location; verbs of handling, predicates of visual-geometric description (Schembri, 2003). The stance of instrumental verbs among these classifications will be discussed within the study.

The design of the study is elicitation based. 3 native signers of TID are the informants. Videos by elicitation method supplies data for the project. 30 instrumental verbs are extracted from the videos and analyzed. The extracted verbs are annotated through ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) developed by Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Wittenburg, et. al, 2006). This program allows for multiple layers during the investigation of a sign which sets the ground to come up with patterns observed in instrumental verbs.

The expected results are three folded. Firstly, lexical predicates as well as classifier predicates are expected to occur in different rates, and the percentage of classifier predicates versus lexical predicates will be displayed in the results of the study. Secondly, instrumental verbs are expected to yield more instrumental classifiers in number than entity classifiers based on what data displays. The percentages will be discussed in the results as to the hierarchy or relationships among themselves. Lastly, what the inner structure of instrumental verbs suggest as to the general classification of verbs by Padden (1988) and Engberg-Pedersen (1993) will be discussed. They are highly expected to be show characteristics of Engberg-Pedersen's (1993) complex verbs, namely verbs of handling.

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### Russian particles *mol* and *deskat'*: evidentiality, epistemic modality, quotation.

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In languages expressing evidentiality grammatically an utterance denoting a fact, i.e. an event that one saw herself or took part in (direct evidentiality) obligatorily differs from an utterance in which the speaker conveys information provided by somebody else (quotative, i.e. reportative mood); or presents the result of one's conclusions and guesses (inferentive); or what one saw or heard indistinctly (impressive) (indirect evidentiality). Languages lacking grammatical category of evidentiality usually have lexical evidentiality markers that specify the source of information.

Evidentiality is closely related to epistemic modality. Reference to the source of information is often connected with its incomplete reliability; and epistemic modality also implies incomplete reliability of the information.

The distinction of between evidentiality and epistemic modality was established in the literature, see, e.g., Aikhenvald 2004, Kozinceva 2007. Still indirect evidentiality, explicitly expressed, as a rule decreases the reliability of the utterance. Sentence *Ona opredelenno заму́ж* 'definitely, she is married' gives the speaker less reliable information than *Ona заму́ж* (cf. Khrakovskij 2007).

The Russian particles *mol* and *deskat'* are often used in contexts where the speaker disagrees with the contents of the speech of the other. Still, as is argued in Plungjan 2008, these particles are completely at place also in contexts where the speaker neither believes the speech of the other to be false nor evaluates it negatively. So *mol* and *deskat'* are not to be treated as epistemic markers.

More than that, I claim that *mol* and *deskat'* are not to be treated as markers of quotative evidentiality either (a different point of view is represented in Wiemer 2008). Both particles are semantically, and at times also syntactically, localized inside subordinate clause dependent on the verb of speech with its own subject: they are markers of quotation. In fact, quotation means that the speaker is wholly withdrawn from the responsibility for the contents of the utterance. While a marker of quotative evidentiality resembles a parenthetical phrase, when the speaker shares with the other the responsibility for the truth of the proposition in question (see Urmson 1970, Padučeva 1996: 321-334 on semantics of parenthetical clauses), so that the speaker and the parenthetical subject are present in the context of the utterance on a par:

(a) *Sosed skazal, nado, mol, osteregat'sja provokacij* = *Sosed skazal, čto nado osteregat'sja provokacij* 'my neighbor said one should beware provocations' [quotation];

(b) *Kak skazal moj soseď, nado osteregat'sja provokacij* 'as my neighbor said one should beware provocations' [quotative evidentiality].

While quoting, the speaker transfers responsibility for the contents of the utterance to the other. The only thing he is responsible for is the adequacy of transmission of the other's speech (or gestures). If he distorts the contents he violates the epistemic obligation.

While quotative evidentiality decreases reliability of the information, quotation gives place for the opposition along this parameter: particle *jakoby* differs from *mol* and *deskat'* exactly in that it shows that the speaker delivers second hand information specifying it as unreliable.

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## Information structure in a situation of language contact: Sakha influence on Lamunxin Even.

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Pragmatic domains of language use, such as markers of discourse structure, are particularly prone to contact influence (Matras 2009: 193-197). This can also be seen in Lamunxin Even, a dialect of the Tungusic language Even spoken in the village of Sebjan-Küöl in the Republic Sakha (Yakutia). This dialect is under intense contact pressure from the Turkic language Sakha (Yakut), as shown by structural changes, numerous copied lexemes, and, most strikingly, copied morphology (Pakendorf 2009, 2010). It is thus not surprising that Lamunxin Even has copied a number of discourse markers from Sakha, such as the connective particles *anī* and *dʒe*, the focus particle *ottɒn*, or the topic marker *buollayīna*, which has entirely replaced the native Even clitic *=sl*.

In this paper I will examine to what extent the functions of the copied elements in Lamunxin Even coincide with those of the Sakha models, or whether the copies have retained any functions from native Even elements, comparing data from narrative corpora of Sakha, Lamunxin Even, and Kamchatkan Even collected in the field. For example, it is notable that the topic particle *buolla ʃiina* in Sakha rarely topicalizes verb phrases, and then generally only after nominalizing the verb (1), while the copy in Lamunxin Even topicalizes verb phrases fairly frequently (2; ~10% of all tokens of *buolla ʃiina* in the Lamunxin Even corpus vs. ~3.3% of all tokens of *buolla ʃiina* in the Sakha corpus). A possible explanation for the higher frequency of verb phrases topicalized with *buolla ʃiina* in Lamunxin Even than in Sakha might be that features of the ancestral clitic *=sl* were grafted onto the copied item; thus, *=sl* is used with high frequency (27.8% of all tokens of *=sl* in the corpus) to topicalize verb phrases in Kamchatkan Even (3).

## (1) Sakha (BP 2002 fielddata, Efmy\_483)

<i>otton</i>	<i>atī:-la-h-ī-nī</i>	<i>buolla:na</i>	<i>na:r</i>	<i>min</i>	<i>atī:-la-h-abīn</i>
PTL	sale-VR-REC-NR-ACC	TOP	always	1SG	sale-VR-REC-PRS.1SG
<i>ol</i>	<i>χahan=da</i>	<i>kini</i>	<i>χačči=da</i>	<i>dien</i>	<i>tup-pat=da</i>
DIST	when=PTL	3SG	money=PTL	say.CVB	hold-PRSPT.NEG=PTL
<i>bil-bet</i>	<i>da ʃanī</i>				
know-PRSPT.NEG	PTL				

'As for shopping, I always buy everything, he never does, he doesn't keep money, doesn't even know it.'

## (2) Lamunxin Even (BP 2008 fielddata, JPZ\_pear.story\_014-015)

<i>tar-čam</i>	<i>it-tidʒi</i>	<i>īŋa-duk</i>	<i>hɔr-rɪdʒi</i>	<i>tik-te-n.</i>
DIST-DIM.ACC	see-ANT.CVB	stone-ABL	get.caught-ANT.CVB	fall-NFUT-3SG
<i>tarit</i>	<i>īŋa-duk</i>	<i>hɔr-rɪdʒi</i>	<i>buolla ʃiina</i>	<i>jak</i>
then	stone-ABL	get.caught-ANT.CVB	TOP.Y	what
<i>ilan</i>	<i>kūŋa-maja-l</i>	<i>ilgam-a-g-gara.</i>		<i>tik-če-le-n</i>
three	child-AUG-PL	stand-EP-PROG-HAB.NFUT.3PL		fall-PF.PTCP-LOC-POSS.3SG

'Having seen her, he got caught on a stone and fell. Then, having gotten caught on a stone, when he fell, three boys were standing.'

## (3) Kamchatkan Even (BP 2009 fielddata, EIA\_leaving\_Twajan\_126-127)

<i>nan</i>	<i>armija-kla</i>	<i>gurge:wči-ri-wu</i>
and	army.R-ALL.LOC	work-PST-POSS.1SG
<i>nan</i>	<i>armija-tkī</i>	<i>or-i-dʒe:n-ni-wu=si</i>
and	army.R-ALL	go-EP-DUR-PST-POSS.1SG=TOP

'And I worked until the army, and I went to the army (lit. go to the army I did).'

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### On the typology of recent verbal borrowings in Baltic.

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The typological study of verbal borrowings (Wohlgemuth 2009) has shown that languages follow certain strategies and patterns to accommodate verbs of non-native origin into their verbal systems. The accommodation strategies have certain areal trends, the Eurasian area being characterized by comparatively high frequency of the Indirect Insertion (IndI) which involves specific affixation of the borrowed verbal stem (some pattern types of IndI are briefly mentioned below). Moreover, the Northwestern Eurasian area shows a wide-spread use of IndI by adding the {-Vr-} suffix, cf. Swedish *disput-**era***, Middle High German *disput-**ier-en*** < Latin *disputāre* 'to dispute, debate', Swiss German *park-**ier-en*** 'to park' < English *park*, Croatian *kidnep-**ir-ati*** 'to kidnap' < English *kidnap*, etc. (Wohlgemuth 2009: 151ff., 228ff.).

As far as Baltic languages are concerned, only Lithuanian is included in the data base of the study (Wohlgemuth 2009: 337) and marked as a language with the Direct Insertion (DI) strategy (pattern S11 which implies no morphological adaptation). The reference given is Senn 1938: 151, but no directly borrowed verbs are actually mentioned by Senn and only possible influence of Polish on the similitive category in *-au-ti* ('act or be like N') is suggested.

By using the data from the dictionaries of slang and internationalisms in Lithuanian and Latvian, I would like to demonstrate that both languages follow the IndI strategy. In the case of internationalisms like Lithuanian *aprob-**úo-ti*** 'approve', *demask-**úo-ti*** 'disclose, unmask', *renov-**úo-ti*** 'renovate', etc. alongside their Latvian counterparts *aprob-**ē-t***, *demask-**ē-t***, *renov-**ē-t*** (cf. Latin *approbāre*, *renovāre*, and French *démasquer*), the morphological accommodation technique is apparent. Recent borrowings from English also show the same strategy at work, cf. Lithuanian *bráuz-**in-ti***, *klik-**in-ti***, *print-**in-ti***, *seiv-**in-ti***, etc. (< English *browse*, *click*, *print*, *save*). The corresponding verbs in Latvian are accommodated by adding suffixes *-ē-* and *-o-* (I do not have enough data at present to judge about their frequency), cf.: *brauz-**ē-t***, *print-**ē-t***, but *klik-**o-t***, *seiv-**o-t*** (alongside *seiv-**ē-t*** which seems to be very rare).

The suffix *-uo-* in Lithuanian and *-o-* in Latvian can be considered as typical (denominal) verbalizing affixes, while Lithuanian *-in-* and Latvian *-ē-* are the most productive causative/factitive markers. According to these properties, (relatively recent) verbal borrowings in Lithuanian and Latvian can be qualified as accommodated by following the strategy of IndI and by using verbalizing and causative/factitive affixes (patterns S21 and S22 of the IndI strategy in Wohlgemuth 2009). As far as suffix {-Vr-} is concerned, Lithuanian and Latvian differ from a number of European languages by not using it as a loan verb accommodation affix.

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### Syntactic representation of discourse-configurationality in Mandarin.

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Mandarin Chinese is claimed as a topic-prominent language and it displays many properties of discourse-configurational languages. It is believed that topics and foci are associated with specific syntactic positions in these languages. Based on the Split-CP hypothesis and the cartography of the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, 2004, Cinque 1999, Cinque and Rizzi 2008), many linguists attempt to give a detailed hierarchy of different functional projections of Chinese. My recent work tries to establish a general, but as detail as possible, an architecture of the left/right periphery in Chinese, by unifying and completing the different orders proposed by other linguists. I argue then that the correct order of the core projections in Chinese should be : **AttP (Speaker's attitude particles)** > **SQP (special questions)** > **iForceP (illocutionary force particles)** > **OnlyP (sentence Only focus)** > **S.AspP (Sentential aspectual particles)** > TP/AspP...

In this paper, I am going to be concentrated on the syntactic positions of topics and foci. Contrary to the previous analyses claiming that topics and foci occupy specifically fixed positions in Chinese, I will argue that Topics and

Foci are in fact ‘adjoined elements’ as suggested in Rizzi (1997) and in Boeckx (2008) in that they can intervene between any of the core projections: ForceP, S(pecial)Q(uestion)P, AttitudeP.

(TopP>FocP) > **AttP(1+2)** > (TopP>FocP) > **SQL** > (TopP>FocP) > **iForceP** > (TopP>FocP) > **OnlyP** (TopP>FocP) > **S.AspP** > (TopP>FocP) > TP/AspP

The result of my research will also show the internal hierarchy among these adjoined projections :

- i) FocP contains not only *even* FocusP (contrary to the previous studies), but also cleft FocusP, as in (1);
- ii) CleftFocusP is higher than *even* FocusP, as shown in (1a) vs. (1b);
- iii) TopP and FocP are adjoined materials that appear freely between any two core projections. Different positions of topic/focus give different interpretive effects (cf. 2a, b)
- iv) TopP is higher than FocP whenever and wherever they co-occur. This confirms the order proposed by Badan (2007) and Badan and Del Gobbo (2010).

- (1) a. (CleftFocusP > *even*FocusP)

[<sub>CleftFocP</sub> Shi Mali, [<sub>evenFocP</sub> lian zhongguoren [dou shuo tade zhongwen hao]]].  
 be Mary even Chinese all say her Chinese good  
 ‘It is Mary that even Chinese people say that her Chinese is good.’

- b. \* [<sub>evenFocP</sub> Lian zhongguoren [<sub>CleftFocP</sub> shi Mali, [dou shuo tade zhongwen hao]]].  
 even Chinese be Mary all say her Chinese good  
 (‘It is Mary that even Chinese people say that her Chinese is good.’)

- (2) a. [<sub>AttP</sub> [<sub>NegQP</sub> Shenme [<sub>TopP</sub> zhe-jia yinhang, [<sub>TP</sub> fuwu hen hao]]] [<sub>Att\* a</sub>]]?!  
 what this-CL bank service very good A

‘It is not true that the service is good in this bank!’ (AttP > NegQP > TopP)

- b. [<sub>AttP</sub> [<sub>TopP</sub> Zhe-jia yinhang [<sub>NegQP</sub> shenme [<sub>TP</sub> fuwu hen hao ]]] [<sub>Att\* a</sub>]]?!  
 this-CL bank what service very good A

‘As for this bank, it is not true that the service is good!’ (AttP > TopP > NegQP)

(*What* introduces a kind of special question here, which is interpreted as a strong negative opposition. This type of question is labeled as ‘NegQ’.)

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## A contribution of valency to the analysis of language.

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The aim of this contribution is to discuss several theoretical questions that are Essentials for the notion of valency. The demonstration of our approach (Functional Generative Description; see Sgall (1967), Sgall et al. (1986)) is based on an extensive study of material and tested by the data in Prague Dependency Treebank. The main issues connected with the notion of valency will be concentrated here on the following questions:

- (A) Does valency belong to the lexicon or to the grammar?
- (B) Is valency connected with all parts of speech or only with some of them?
- (C) How many distinctions are necessary and useful for the description of valency?
- (D) Are there some specific features characteristic for the noun valency? Are the sets for valency frame members identical for different parts of speech or not?

(A) The valency frame (VF in sequel) including all valency slots of a unit is an inseparable part of the respective lexical entry. A realization of this unit with (or without) its valency slots in the sentence is reflected in the syntactic structure of the sentence (valency slots may be optional, generalized or omitted for some other reasons).

(B) Historically, the study of valency started with verbal valency (Tesnière (1959); Helbig (1969), Helbig, Schenkel (1971); Pauliny (1943)). The necessity to take into account valency of nouns, adjectives (and adverbs) appeared soon (Novotný (1980), Eynde (1998), Karlík (2000), Panevová (2000, 2002), Kolářová (2010)). The arguments for the claim that the notion of valency in its pure sense belongs only to the autosemantic classes of words will be given. The formulation concerning valency of prepositions or conjunctions are misleading (Čermák (2010)).

(C) The labels used for valency slots are determined partly by the syntactic criteria (units with one, two valency slots), partly by the semantic criteria (three and more slots in verbal frames, connection of a unit with obligatory adverbials etc.). It is useful to distinguish obligatory and optional valency slots (for this distinction the "dialogue" test is used as a criterion, see Panevová (1974, 1994)). The introduction of a "semantic" label is based on the semantic contrasts in the corresponding linguistic meanings. An attempt to explain an absence of the obligatory valency member in the surface structure of the sentence will be present.

(D) For the noun valency the distinction between the description of the valency of deverbal nouns and primary nouns is provided. The deverbal nouns share the set of valency labels with the respective verbs, while some additional labels (such as partitive/material, appurtenance) must be added to the repertory of the valency members.

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**Eliciting a response from an audience.**

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At times in public meetings, a large group of people is addressed by the facilitator of the event, in order to obtain an answer to a query. This study aims at showing how silence from the audience is constructed as a positive answer by the simultaneous coordinated activities of the audience and the facilitator.

The data analyzed in this article are part of an ongoing interdisciplinary study APSE: "Aging, poverty and social exclusion: an interdisciplinary study on innovative support services". The study aims at documenting good practices, at the interactional level, in social intervention with older people living in poverty. The data collected so far include 40 audio recorded interviews, audio-recording of activities, observation. The transcripts analysed here consist of the audio recordings of some public activities involving older people and the meetings of the "*rede social*" of a district in Lisbon in which such activities were proposed and decided.

Through a detailed conversation analysis within an ethnomethodological framework, the study shows how silence is interactively constructed as a positive answer to a query addressed to the audience in order to take a decisions. To understand how a response is elicited from an audience is relevant issue at a practical level in order to understand the complexity of decision making in democratic participatory processes. In particular the use of silence as a positive answer runs the risk of being manipulative.

Previous studies described the pragmatic and communication relevance of silence (Jaworski 1993; 1997). The interaction between an audience and a public speaker was also studied (Atkinson, 1979; 1982; 1984; Atkinson and Drew, 1979; Broth, 2011; Llewellyn, 2006; McIlvenny 1996). Atkinson (1984) shows how an audience produces display of affiliation by clapping, cheering and laughing as a finely concerted activity. Coral responses (Atkinson 1984, 407-408) were identified as an institutional practice in different setting such as churches and schools. Drawing on this literature, this study describes how an answer to a genuine question is elicited by a large group of people (more than 20 members). This is a frequent occurrence in the data that are analysed in this study, in particular referring to the meetings of the *rede social*. The *rede social* includes members of a variety of institutions in the district: health centre, police, associations, ngos, museums, universities, etc. In these meetings decisions are taken in relation to initiatives that are jointly promoted by those institutions in the district. In the data we have several instances in which silence from the audience is interactively constructed as a positive answer. The study shows the importance of interactional organization of this interchange, in relation to the democratic quality of this decision making process, for example, the presence of several repetitions or reformulations of the initial question.

Understanding the complexity of democratic participatory processes can be useful, at the practical level, to help to establish and maintain their quality.

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**Propagation tracking in Linguistics and Memetics.**

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For a linguist adopting an empirical perspective, the Internet—a natural medium of daily communication for two billion people (ITU 2010)—is an extremely rich repository of language data: unregulated, essentially uncensored, spontaneous, immediately registered, largely self-organised, and amenable to relatively easy search and analysis with the help of properly designed statistical, concordancing and computational tools. Hitherto research on language evolution and change focused on large time-scales, typically spanning at least several decades. Nowadays, observable changes are taking place much faster. According to GLM (2009) a new English word is born roughly every 98 minutes. A deliberate choice of Web 2.0 repositories with user-generated content (notably weblogs, which have become a serious competitor to traditional printed news media, and microblogs and social networking sites, which in March 2010 overtook search engines as prime sources of information) allows enriching traditional qualitative-quantitative analyses with robust data concerning the structure of the connections and interactions between the participating users. The results will be presented of a data-driven interdisciplinary study analysing the character and speed of social diffusion of novel linguistic formations in a microblogging site. We will demonstrate how linguistic innovation becomes an institution, that the general lexical innovativeness of Internet users scales not like a power law, but a hump-shaped unimodal, and that the exposure thresholds necessary for a user to adopt new lexemes from his/her neighbours concentrate at low values, suggesting that—at least in low-stakes scenarios—people are more susceptible to social influence than may erstwhile have been expected.

A dynamical systems perspective, of late transforming many branches of science, can lead to a better understanding, in a both quantitative and qualitative way, of the nature of relationships and communication impacting the evolution of language *in vivo* and, more specifically, properties of the migration of memes in time and space. This will extend and go beyond the state-of-the-art on the evolution of language that has so far focused primarily on formal representations and *in silico* experiments, which not infrequently were grossly inadequate to the scenery of the 21<sup>st</sup> c. (Author 2009), delivering quantitative estimates on the expansion of linguistic expressions and the process of disambiguating their meaning, additionally allowing the prediction of future trends and their scale.

**Optionality in Grammar: identification, description and definition.**

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Optional marking of grammatical categories poses a specific challenge for linguistics concerning description and analysis. Determining criteria can be found not only at syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels: sociological and socio-cultural aspects are also relevant and manifest in, for example, speaker variation. Accordingly, the researcher's approach and methodology have to handle these parameters in order to result in valid generalisations.

In this paper I will discuss optional plural marking and propose that repeated observation, metadata and metalinguistic speaker knowledge provide essential findings, and are needed in combination in order to understand and accurately describe the phenomenon in a specific language. Optional ergative markers, object markers and passive marking are further optional structures described in different languages in the world (McGregor 2006), and the methodology suggested here can be applied to such structures in general, enriching the analyses.

Optional plural marking has been attested in many languages, often with a language-specific extent (Corbett 2000, Wiltchko 2008): optionality may vary at two levels, inherent marking at the nominal level on the one hand and contextual as verb agreement on the other. Similarly, we often find split systems along the animacy hierarchy: optionality may be grammatical only in parts of the lexicon, while other parts require obligatory marking (at the higher level of the animacy hierarchy) or do not allow plural marking at all (e.g. for inanimate referents at the lower end of the hierarchy). Depending on the focus and theoretical background of the researcher, only some (often syntactic) aspects are included in the argumentation, while the general status of the marking is not discussed, i.a. the frequency of appearance, the context and discourse in which the marking does occur as well as additional or exclusive meaning aspects like associative or distributive plural (Moravcsik 2003).

Besides a detailed description of the phenomenon in individual languages, the discussion about optional marking of grammatical categories is important on a more theoretical dimension: the status of number, for example, is challenged as a flecional category when optionality is detected (Corbett 1999). Furthermore, the notion of 'general

number' must take into account optional structures to understand the conceptualization of referents according to number (Lucy 1992).

I will present two studies in two unrelated small languages (Cabécar (Chibchan) in Costa Rica and Urum (Turc) in Georgia). Both show optional plural marking, yet the structures and the occurrence of the overt marking differ on lexical, conceptual and sociolinguistic levels. These aspects are only detectable with the methodology presented here. Repeated observation allows for a precise positioning of the split point and the overall occurrence (i.e. sporadic or dominant optional marking) of the phenomenon at hand. Sociolinguistic metadata and speaker statements give highly relevant information concerning language contact, language endangerment and (socio)linguistic variation in the speech community. The results not only improve the description of the individual languages but provide relevant data and evidence for the theoretical discussion about flecional categories, referent conceptualization, and language use.

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## English vague words as N2 in N+N structures: an example of colloquialisation of written discourse.

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The use of nouns as premodifiers in noun phrase structure (e.g. *summer holidays*, *platform exit*) has proven to be a recursive phenomenon in Present Day English (cf. Biber and Clark 2002). Sequences of nouns are frequently used in formal discourse (cf. Halliday 2006: 168). This is the case of the language of scientific research, in which N+N structures are widely used (e.g. *Engesser equation*, *microwave properties*), owing to the normative vision they provide to the concepts they stand for (cf. Varantola 1993) as well as a sense of authority, stability and permanence over time.

However, additional factors related to the different purposes with which speakers use discourse may influence the choice of certain N+N sequences. This may lead into structures which rather belong to informal contexts, for instance, *the goalkeeper thing* or *the flag issue*, in which the knowledge of contextual information by the interlocutor is already presupposed by the speaker.

The choice of nouns as second elements in these latter structures is far from being random. It mostly depends on the kind of words that characterise oral discourse and which may be referred to as general or vague words (e.g. *thing*, *issue*, *stuff*, *problem*, etc.). Carter and McCarthy (1997:16) regard general words as a subcategory of vague language, they are frequently used in spoken discourse and “enable a speaker to express attitudes and feelings without needing to locate an exact or precise referent”. Furthermore, Halliday and Hassan (1976: 274) point out the borderline status of these nouns since they fluctuate between open and close class items. They undoubtedly simplify discourse and lead into an omission of redundant information load, given the existing relationship between frequency and diverse contextual assumptions (cf. Mahlberg 2005).

In my proposed presentation I intend to illustrate the weak borderline between written and oral discourse by showing that the trend in the use of vague words as N<sub>2</sub> in English written language is just a consequence of the carrying over of conversational features into writing (cf. Hundt and Mair 1999). For that purpose, a corpus of written and spoken English is used. The evidence from the corpus will reveal the strategies encoders often resort to depending on real specific contexts. It will also prove that vague nouns as N<sub>2</sub> are ambiguous reiterated items replacing longer contextually redundant syntactic constructions. Their choice will eventually lead into a *colloquialisation* or *informalisation* of written discourse (cf. Mair 1997).

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## Syntactic exaptation and its continuing legacy: the case of the Central Semitic definite article.

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So far, changes claimed to be a result of exaptation have been primarily morphological (e.g., Lass 1990; Giacalone Ramat 1998; Willis 2010), while some examples of syntactic exaptation, or 'functional renewal', have been shown to be modeled on already existing syntactic patterns (Giacalone Ramat 1998; Traugott 2004; contra Brinton and Stein 1995). In this talk, I offer a possible case of syntactic exaptation, which is responsible for the innovation of the definite article in a branch of the Semitic language family. This category did not originally exist in Semitic, thus no model was available for the innovation.

The development of the Central Semitic definite article (e.g., Arabic *'al-/ʾaC-*, Hebrew *haC-*) has been regularly described along the lines of a usual grammaticalization scenario: DEM > DEF (e.g., Voigt 1998; Tropper 2001; Rubin 2005). The development of the Central Semitic article is not traced to proto Central Semitic, since not all the language of the branch developed it, but rather to developments in individual languages (Huehnergard 2005). In this paper, I will argue that the definite article could not have developed from a demonstrative, but was rather originally a syntactic marker of adnominal position which was co-opted for a new function (Pat-El 2009).

In Semitic, N-Adj. can be interpreted as a sentence or an NP. e.g., Akkadian *šarr-um dann-um* king-NOM strong-NOM 'a/the king is strong' or 'a/the strong king'. One of the ways to disambiguate the pattern is to attach a prefix (*\*han*) to an adnominal modifier. The prefix was later attached to the head noun with no additional function. Finally, the prefix ended up marking the difference between a definite nominal, originally adnominal, and an indefinite nominal, originally predicative. The following stages, all of which are attested, represent the change; exaptation took place between stage 2 and 3.

Stage 1: *kalb- han-ṭāb-* 'a/the good dog'  
as opposed to  
*kalb- ṭāb-* 'a/the dog is good'

Stage 2: *han-kalb- han-ṭāb-* 'a/the good dog'

Stage 3: *han-kalb- han-ṭāb-* 'the good dog'  
as opposed to  
*kalb- ṭāb-* 'a good dog'.

The pattern in stage 1 is still used in various functions. The result set up a model for a later development of the definite article in Aramaic. In the first centuries bce, the article in Aramaic has eroded to the point where it no longer functioned as a marker of definiteness and a new form of definite article emerged, with its initial attestation as marker of adnominal modifiers: adjectives, relative clauses and genitives (Pat-El 2010).

The data and analysis presented in this paper show that exaptation is responsible for a new feature which did

not exist previously in the language family, and that the result constitutes a category innovation through a ‘catastrophic jump’, rather than grammaticalization. Further, exaptation is shown to have replicated within a single language family (cf. Narrog 2007).

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### The human propensity body-part construction in Maasai.

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In general, Maasai nouns must carry determiners when used in larger syntactic constructions. In (1a), for instance, the Feminine Singular determiner proclitic *enk=* occurs on the noun ‘stomach’. However, rarely a noun stem does occur without any determiner: (1b) is highly similar structurally to (1a), but lacks a determiner proclitic.

- (1) a. *Áa-to-tir-ó* *enk=óshókε.*  
3>1SG-PERFECT-infect/hurt-PERFECT FSG=stomach.NOMINATIVE  
‘The (my) stomach has pained me.’
- b. *K-áa-ibôrr* *óshókε.*  
CONNECTIVE-3>1SG-be.white stomach.NOMINATIVE  
‘I am compassionate.’ (*literally*: The (my) stomach whites me.)

One might hypothesize that a determiner occurs in (1a) is because the noun is used referentially, i.e. to refer to a participant “as an actually occurring entity in discourse with continuing identity over time (DuBois 1980); while lack of a determiner in (1b) is due to the non-referentiality of the noun. However, other examples clearly show that nonreferentiality alone cannot account for when a determiner is missing. In (2), ‘stomach’ is non-referential, yet the determiner occurs.

- (2) *a-atá* *enk=óshókε.*  
INFINITIVE-have FSG-stomach.ACCUSATIVE  
‘to be a glutton’ (*literally*: to have a stomach)

This study combines a Construction Grammar approach with a detailed analysis of both elicited sentences and nominal references in a corpus of narrative and expository texts, to first show that use of determiners in cannot in general be predicted by referentiality of a noun.

A second hypothesis is that (1b) may involve noun incorporation, as cross-linguistically incorporated nouns generally do not carry syntactically-relevant (i.e. inflectional) morphology (Mithun 1984). Determination in Maa is a syntactically-relevant morphological category in that a noun usually cannot be used as a subject, object or object of a preposition in Maa unless it is first determined. Hence, the lack of determination in (1b) makes sense if the sentence involves noun-incorporation. However, one difficulty with analyzing ‘stomach’ in (1b) as incorporated is that it is inflected with tone for Nominative case. This can be seen by comparing the tone in (1b) with the tone patterns in (3a, b).

- (3) a. Áa-shɔr-ítâ                      ɛnk=óshókɛ.  
       3>1SG-rub-PROGRESSIVE    FSG-stomach.NOMINATIVE  
       ‘I am feeling bad in my stomach.’ (*literally*: ‘The stomach is rubbing me.’)
- b. Á-shór-íta                      ɛnk=óshókɛ.  
       1SG-rub-PROGRESSIVE        FSG-stomach.ACCUSATIVE  
       ‘I am massaging the stomach.’

A full analysis shows that (1b) instead corresponds to a special Human Propensity Body-part construction. This construction not only employs a non-determined noun in a Nominative case form, but also (typically) a stative color verb. Furthermore, the stative verb is intransitive in its lexical subcategorization, but occurs in a transitively-structured “Possessor Raising” clausal construction which always requires one more overt syntactic argument than the relevant verb stem requires in other basic clausal constructions. There are, finally, particular semantics associated with the relevant having to do with human propensity such as jealousy, morality, generosity, anger, and so on. In sum, no single factor such as referentiality, (straightforward) incorporation, or idiomaticity accounts for lack of a determiner, and the structure in (1b) is essentially learned as a constructional pattern with some constrained freedom in the particular lexical items that can occur in it.

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## Grounding operations on the resultative construction: a case study.

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In this paper, we make use of some of the theoretical tools of Cognitive Linguistics (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2008, 2010) in order to analyze some predicates which combine with the prepositional phrase *to sleep* in its resultative sense. Our starting point will be Boas’ (2003) list of the predicates which are compatible with the resultative phrase *to sleep*, to which we will add some other verbs (e.g. *lull*, *suckle*, or *cough*). Then we will resort to Levin’s (1993) work with a view to classifying all these predicates into different groups which behave differently, mainly verbs of non-verbal expressions (e.g. *cry*, *howl*, *sob* – in examples like *She cried herself to sleep*), verbs of manner of speaking (e.g. *chant*, *murmur*, *mutter*, *sing*, as in *Pythagoras could chant his disciples to sleep*), verbs of modes of being involving motion (e.g. *rock*, as in *She was usually able to rock him back to sleep quite quickly*), verbs of psychological state (e.g. *lull*, *soothe*, as in *Play some soft, soothing music that will lull you to sleep*), verbs of ingesting (e.g. *eat*, *drink*, as in *She drunk herself to sleep*), verbs of sending and carrying (e.g. *send*, *drive*, as in *The endless incomprehensible stream of language was sending Alan to sleep on his feet*), verbs with predicative complements (e.g. *nurse*, *parent*, as in *I would nurse him back to sleep until he was 14 months*), verbs of communication (*talk* verbs and verbs of transfer of a message like *teach*, as in *He used to talk his patients to sleep*), and verbs of obtaining (*get* verbs, as in *I do whatever works the fastest to get her back to sleep*). Our second aim will be to study the factors which license or block out the subsumption of these predicates into the resultative construction. The construction consists of all form-meaning pairings at all levels of linguistic description. The lexical specifications in the construction run on a series of principles. For instance, the Override Principle states that the meaning of lexical items is adapted through coercion to the meaning requirements of the higher-level constructions in which they partake (Michaelis 2003). As advanced, the way in which lexical items fuse with constructions is coerced by both internal and external constraints. We explore the different external constraints –



high-level metaphors like AN ACTIVITY IS AN EXPERIENTIAL ACTION and metonymies like MEANS FOR ACTION – which regulate the combination of the above-mentioned predicates with the resultative sense of the prepositional phrase *to sleep*. Finally, we will argue in favour of the resultative sense of the prepositional phrase *to sleep*, as backed up by the continuum between the caused-motion and resultative constructions postulated by Peña (2009).

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## The role of image schemas in global brands design.

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In the present-day market, new brands must not only comply with basic marketing needs (i.e. ease of pronunciation/spelling, lack of negative unfortunate semantic associations, displaying a catchy and distinctive character, etc.), but they are also expected to be meaningful to consumers worldwide. In order to connect with potential buyers from different countries, branding professionals have gradually turned their attention to certain resources that yield more evocative, cross-culturally significant trademarks. Together with the use of sound symbolism, whose semantic effects are, however, somehow limited, branding specialists have also incorporated some cognitive operations, such as metaphors and metonymies, to their repository of tools for the creation of new global brands (Koller, 2009; Pérez Hernández, 2011). A significant number of such mappings, however, are closely tied to specific cultures and, even when adopting a visual mode, their semantics may fail to be universally understood.

By contrast, image schemas, and image-schematic mappings (Johnson, 1987; Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999) qualify as an efficient, yet still largely ignored, tools for the purpose of creating global brands. Image schemas are recurring patterns derived from our sensory-motor interaction with the surrounding environment. They have an experiential basis and they are largely pervasive across cultures and languages. Such traits turn these schemas into a valuable mechanism for brand creation (Pérez Hernández, 2011). In addition, this paper argues that the universal nature of image schemas can be maximized through their multimodal expression. In fact, the systematic exploitation of multimodal image schemas in the process of brand design is shown (1) to ease the generation of global brands and (2) to increase their suggestiveness and conceptual richness, both through the fixed implications of the internal logic of the schemas, and also via metaphoric and metonymic extensions making use of those embodied schemata as their source domains. Thus, a corpus of international automobile brands/logos is analyzed in search of the image schemas at work in their conceptualization; the extension of their use and its multimodal nature is assessed; and a description of the semantic shades added by each image schema is offered.

In so doing, our aim is to pave the way for the creation of an inventory of sound and ready-to-use multimodal resources for the design of internationally appealing and meaningful brands. Additionally, our research into the image-schematic foundations of brands allows a parallel incursion into the current debate about the situatedness of image schemas themselves (Gibbs, 1999; Johnson, 2005; Kimmel 2005, 2008; Sinha and Jensen de Lopez, 2000) In the context of branding, our findings suggest that the structure of the general schemas is fleshed out through their interaction with the most salient attributes of the target product/service named by a particular brand, rather than in relation to other contextual or cultural facts.

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### **The economics of human thought. Metaphor and metonymy as unifying features of communication.**

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In Cognitive Linguistics metaphor and metonymy are recognized as central to human thought (cf. Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). Additional support for the centrality of both tropes to our everyday thought has been provided by the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal, 2008, 2011; Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009; Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi 2007; Mairal and González, 2010; González, 2011). LCM proponents have identified metaphor and metonymy in various degrees of abstraction and in interaction as underlying inferences and other kinds of construal at non-lexical levels (e.g. pragmatic implication, illocutionary meaning and grammar). These generalizations arise from the application of the *equipollence hypothesis*, a central methodological assumption in the LCM according to which the analyst needs to find whether linguistic processes that have been attested in one domain of linguistic enquiry may also be (at least partially) active in other domains.

In application of the equipollence hypothesis it is not unreasonable to assume that metaphor and metonymy may also interact in significant ways in non-verbal communication. There is already a substantial body of evidence based on the analysis of multimodal data that supports the importance of metaphor and metonymy (and their interaction) in the visual realms (Forceville 1996, 2009a, 2009b). Uriós-Aparisi (2009) and Hidalgo and Kraljevic (2011) apply the metaphor-metonymy interaction patterns discussed in Ruiz de Mendoza and Díez (2002) for verbal communication to multimodal data. This kind of work in fact lends support to the extension of the equipollence hypothesis from verbal communication (within linguistic studies) to non-verbal and even multimodal communication. Pérez-Sobrino (2011) argues, however, that some interaction patterns are more prevalent in visual than in verbal communication. One such case is found in the application of *conceptual integration* (as originally postulated by Ruiz de Mendoza, 2011, within the linguistic domain) to the visual realm and audial realm. In this presentation, I claim that the application of the equipollence hypothesis in a reverse way, i.e. from non-verbal to verbal communication, makes it possible to enhance our understanding of some possible interaction patterns at the linguistic level. A case in point is the possibility to establish degrees of conceptual integration between elements. Evidence obtained from multimodal analysis shows that the interaction between two integrated elements can range from full substitution of pre-existent material by new material (as in *I was surrounded by tentacles*, where 'octopus' totally replaces 'person' in a context where somebody has awkwardly embraced the speaker) to the integration of co-activated conceptual structure evoked by two independent elements (as in *He ran away with the tail between his legs*, where the tail of a dog is oddly attached to a person in order to convey a situation of sheer humiliation and avoidance of confrontation).

In much the same way, I explore other interaction patterns that are clearly revealed by a thorough examination of the non-verbal part communication with data obtained from multimodal communication and look for parallels in verbal communication.

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## On Latvian dative constructions with non-verbal predicates.

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Latvian is relatively rich in non-verbal predicates, or so-called predicatives, among them nominal ones (1), adjectival ones (2) and adverbial ones (3). Sometimes both adjectival and adverbial forms which are derivationally related are used (4a-b). In my talk I'm going to discuss the use of Latvian predicatives with an emphasis on dative constructions, which are very common for this language.

First, I would like to test the methodology proposed for Russian in (Zimmerling 2003) and (Say 2011), where predicatives are classified according to the types of derivational and semantic correlations between them and respective adjectives. For example, even in those cases when formally adjectival forms are used as predicatives in Latvian, the semantics of the construction may show the difference between similar forms: adverbial forms (productive forms derived with the affix *-i*) tend to appear in the sentences with obvious experiential semantics (cf. 4a-b).

Next, some non-verbal predicates will be analysed in the context of more grammaticalized ones. In fact, at first sight some nominal predicatives used in the dative constructions may be interpreted as possessive ones. However, these forms are not put in the genitive, as common for possessives in Latvian, cf. *Tev ir taisnība*<sub>NOM</sub> 'You're right.' vs. *Tev nav taisnība*<sub>NOM</sub> / *?? taisnības*<sub>GEN</sub> 'You aren't right.' (see Lagzdina 1997). Thus, in spite of some typological works, where the use of possession-based experiential constructions in the languages of Europe is mentioned (see Haspelmath 2001: 64) as widespread, one may see the slow drift from prototypical possessive constructions to the productive experiential model. This drift is easily supported by the widespread use of dative subjects in Latvian (both in possessive and experiential sentences). Moreover, the similar diachronic development took place in Latvian debitive constructions, originally based on the possessive ones with a modal meaning (Holvoet 2001).

It seems that more adverbialized predicates are closer to non-canonical experience predicates (cf. Barðdal et al. to appear). To sum up, most probably there is a hierarchy of non-verbal Latvian predicates used with dative subjects. Different parameters, such as compatibility with different copulae and modifiers, negation, (im)possible presence of sentential complements, etc. will be discussed in my talk as well.

## Examples

- (1) *Man prieks beidzot tevi redzēt.*  
I:Dat.Sg joy:Nom.Sg finally thou:Acc see:Inf  
'I'm glad to see you finally.' (MLVTK)
- (2) *Ārā kļuva gaišs.*  
outdoors become.Pst:3 light:m.Nom.Sg  
'It became light outdoors.'
- (3) *Man ir bail no šī suņa.*  
I:Dat be.Prs.3 afraid from this.m.Gen.Sg dog:Gen.Sg  
'I'm afraid of this dog.'
- (4a) *Ārā bija auksts / auksti.*  
outdoors be.Pst:3 cold:m.Nom.Sg cold:Adv  
'It was cold outdoors.'
- (4b) *Man ir \*auksts / ok auksti.*  
outdoors be.Prs.3 cold:m.Nom.Sg cold:Adv  
'I'm cold.'

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### Expletive clitics in northern Italian dialects.

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In my talk I will investigate the distribution of expletive Subject Clitics (SCI) in northern Italian dialects.

In many dialects, an expletive SCI occurs with impersonal verbs, including meteorological verbs (e.g. SCI + piove 'it rains') and modal auxiliaries of necessity (e.g. SCI + bisogna 'it is necessary', cfr. Benincà and Poletto 1994).

Renzi and Vanelli 1983:38-39 noticed that only a proper subset of the dialects that display an expletive SCI in the former context - see (1) - exhibits an expletive SCI with the modal of necessity, in (2):

- |     |    |            |                    |
|-----|----|------------|--------------------|
| (1) | a. | U ciove.   | (Oneglia, Liguria) |
|     | b. | A pieuv.   | (Torino, Piemonte) |
|     | c. | El piov.   | (Lecco, Lombardia) |
|     | d. | _ piove.   | (Verona, Veneto)   |
|     |    | SCI rains  |                    |
|     |    | 'it rains' |                    |

- |     |    |                            |                    |
|-----|----|----------------------------|--------------------|
| (2) | a. | _ bezogna partì.           | (Oneglia, Liguria) |
|     | b. | A venta parte.             | (Torino, Piemonte) |
|     | c. | _ bisugna andà via.        | (Lecco, Lombardia) |
|     | d. | _ bisugna ndar via.        | (Verona, Veneto)   |
|     |    | SCI must leave             |                    |
|     |    | 'it is necessary to leave' |                    |

My talk will take into consideration other contexts involving expletive SCIs in order to find other descriptive generalizations concerning their distribution across dialects.

My survey will be based on data from a hundred of dialects collected in the ASIt database (Atlante Sintattico d'Italia – Syntactic Atlas of Italy: <http://asit.maldura.unipd.it>). In particular, I will focus on the distribution and position of expletive SCIs in the following contexts:

i. negative sentences. In some dialects, like the one exemplified in (3a), the expletive SCI precedes the negative marker, while in other varieties it follows the preverbal negative marker, as in (3b). (it is worth noting that Poletto 2000:35-36 has already argued that the SCIs that precede the negative marker and those that follows it display different morphological and syntactic peculiarities):

- |     |    |                                            |           |
|-----|----|--------------------------------------------|-----------|
| (3) | a. | U nu ciove ciù (Oneglia, Liguria).         | SCI > neg |
|     |    | SCI neg rains any.more                     |           |
|     |    | 'it does not rain any more'                |           |
|     | b. | No l piof pi (Cencenighe Agordino, Veneto) | Neg > SCI |
|     |    | neg SCI rains any.more                     |           |

'it does not rain any more'

Incidentally, in several dialects -for instance, in many varieties of Piemonte and Lombardia- the position of the expletive SCI w.r.t. the preverbal negation marker cannot be ascertained as sentence negation is expressed by a postverbal marker.

ii. The co-occurrence of expletive SCIs with postverbal subjects of unaccusative verbs. In many dialects of Liguria and Emilia-Romagna, a postverbal subject is not doubled by an agreeing clitic, but by an uninflected expletive:

- (4) U cazza le foje (Oneglia, Liguria)  
SCI fall the leaves  
'the leaves fall'

iii. The presence of an expletive SCI in impersonal si construction (Cinque 1988 a.o.). In western dialects like Piedmontese and Ligurian varieties, the 3p clitic is used in impersonal constructions in combination with the reflexive clitic s(e) (Parry 1994):

- (5) a. U se dixè cuscì. (Oneglia, Liguria)  
b. A s dis parej. (Torino, Piemonte)  
SCI se say-3sg so  
'you say this way'

My research aims to investigate, on the basis of the data contained in the ASIt database, the position and distribution of expletive SCIs in the contexts (1)-(5).

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#### Structuring a specific domain: an electronic thesaurus of Ferdinand de Saussure's terminology.

Piccini, Silvia; Ruimy, Nilda and Giovannetti, Emiliano  
(Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche)

Although Ferdinand de Saussure's work has been disseminated all over the world, his thought was mainly reconstructed and interpreted by his students and disciples. His authentic writings are however of paramount importance as they highlight the complexity of the philosophical and semiological system Saussure developed and the attention he paid to linguistic terminology. The great Genevan linguist himself often used a peculiar vocabulary. He forged neologisms or conferred a new meaning to existing words, used a few terms ephemerally, changed the denotation of some concepts over the years, so to create his own idiosyncratic terminology, which is now at the base of modern linguistics.

In this paper, we present the first electronic thesaurus-lexicon of the Saussurean linguistic terminology that is being developed in the framework of the ongoing Italian project '*For a digital edition of Ferdinand de Saussure's manuscripts*'. The lexicon population consists of an updated nomenclature, encompassing not only the terminology gathered by two famous Saussurean scholars, Robert Godel and Rudolf Engler, but also new terms extracted from recently found manuscripts under study. In the lexicon, the overall structure of Saussure's terminology is made explicit and the semantic import of its component terms as well as the nature and relevance of their relationships are defined. The lexical model, on which the thesaurus is grounded, is a customized version of the SIMPLE model, a *de facto* standard in the domain of Computational Lexicography that enables a highly structured representation of lexical



knowledge. The first stage of the customization process consisted in designing and translating into the Web Ontology Language OWL the central component of the *SIMPLE\_FdS* model, i.e. a domain-specific lexical ontology that would structure Saussure's terminology. The two other building blocks of the root model, i.e. a network of semantic relations and a set of semantic features, were adapted in order to meet the requirements of the domain of interest. The expressive means deemed suitable for our domain were maintained whereas additional specific features and relations were created to account for term properties and relationships peculiar to the conceptual organization of this domain of knowledge. So far, 375 terms were endowed with a rich semantic description.

In the extended paper, examples of lexical entries will be provided and many interesting possibilities of lexical investigation will be pointed out. Information retrieval queries may in fact be formulated using any single piece of information encoded, be it a semantic relation, a feature or a lexical unit.

Such an electronic thesaurus-lexicon, based on a multidimensional structuring of concepts and a large network of semantic relations among terms, is therefore, in our opinion, a most valuable lexical research tool. It is our deep conviction that it will contribute to better master some of Saussure's reflections and to gain a wider understanding of the overall domain terminology. It might therefore help shading light on original aspects of the author's thought.

### **What is behind dative/accusative alternation in Romance.**

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(Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)

**Goal:** The aim of this talk is to provide evidence for an explanation of Dative / Accusative alternating verbs in Romance in terms of a new approach to double object constructions. In short, these alternations can be related to the existence of two different ditransitive constructions, the prepositional construction (PC) (1) and the double object construction (DOC) (2).

**State of affairs:** Though DOC had been traditionally considered absent in the Romance area (Kayne 1984), several researchers have defended that Spanish does have it (Strozer 1976, Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997). More recently, and building on Pykkänen's 2002 work, the same statement has been made again for Spanish (Cuervo 2003) as well as for other Romance languages, such as Romanian (Diaconescu and Rivero 2007) and Portuguese (Torres Morais and Moreira Lima Salles 2010). However, all these approaches insist on comparing Romance ditransitive constructions to English-like dative alternation (0), and as a consequence they have to prove that Romance languages show exactly the same structural asymmetries detected in English, which turns out to be wrong.

**First proposal:** Instead, I follow Fournier (2010) and propose to find out which are the truly inherent properties of the construction. With this less restrictive conception, it will be possible to detect DOC in a larger number of languages, crucially avoiding the (annoying) search for properties parallel to those found in English.

**My starting point** is the well-known existence of a bidirectional c-commanding relation between DO and IO in French (Harley 2002) (1) and Italian (2) (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991) ditransitive constructions. I explicitly argue that the same occurs in Catalan as well as in Spanish and, crucially, I state that differences on c-command facts are not related to the presence or absence of dative clitic (against Strozer 1976, Masullo 1992, Demonte 1995, Romero 1997, Cuervo 2003). While these authors defend that Spanish ditransitives with clitic are equivalent to English DOC (where IO c-commands DO) and those without clitic to English PC (where DO c-commands IO), I analyze in a very detailed way their examples and I base on new data from Catalan and Spanish to reject this equivalence. Instead, I argue that Catalan and Spanish do have DOC and PC but both of these constructions may appear with or without dative clitic. In fact, in both languages the use of clitic seems to be a matter of dialectal variation with no direct consequences on c-command relations.

The different possibilities of c-command (3) follow if we consider that the locus where binding and similar facts take place is not universally fixed and may change cross-linguistically and even intra-linguistically, as has been argued for French, Italian and Greek (Harley 2002, Anagnostopoulou 2003, 2005 and Fournier 2010). That is precisely what I extend to Spanish and Catalan ditransitive constructions, whether they are DOC or PC.

**Second proposal:** I will present a connection between this new view on Romance DOC and transitivity alternations in the area. The fact is that some Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, Italian) as well as Basque have several verbs (as those meaning 'phone', 'hit', 'write', 'steal', 'pay'...) which show a triple alternation: (i) ditransitive structure with DO (thing) and IO (person) (5), (ii) monotransitive structure with DO (person) (6) and (iii) intransitive structure with IO (person) (7). According to my analysis, ditransitive structure in type (i) (5) includes two possibilities: (a) obligatory transfer of possession (instantiation of DOC) and thus a more affected IO (person), and (b) facultative transfer of possession (instantiation of PC) and thus a less affected IO (person). I argue that option (a) gives

rise to the monotransitive variant in type (ii) (6) (somehow more affected complement of person in accusative), and that option (b) gives rise to the intransitive variant in type (iii) (7) (somehow less affected complement of person in dative). Support for this claim comes from several semantic approaches (Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Pinker 1989, Jackendoff 1990) which agree that DOC denotes an event where a certain entity is transferred and therefore the IO (complement of person) is necessarily affected by the action, whereas it is not necessarily this way in PC. Moreover, codifying the more affected participant as DO (in verbs with one complement) is a cross-linguistically quite widespread tendency (Dixon 1994, Kittilä 2007). Finally, I will also show how cliticization facts in Catalan (a language which preserves prepositional clitics) support this analysis.

Examples:

- (0) English a. John gave the book to Mary (PC, DO c-commands IO)  
b. John gave Mary the book (DOC, IO c-commands DO)
- (1) French a. Marie a donné son crayon à [chaque garçon]<sub>i</sub>  
b. Jean a présenté [chaque institutrice]<sub>i</sub> à ses élèves (Harley 2002: 62)
- (2) Italian a. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito Mariai a se stessi  
b. Una lunga terapia psicoanalitica ha restituito se stessi a Mariai (Giorgi and Longobardi 1991:42)
- (3) Spanish a. El tratamiento devolvió [DO la estima de sí mismo] [IO a María]  
b. El tratamiento le devolvió [DO la estima de sí mismo] [IO a María]
- (4) Catalan a. El tractament va tornar [DO l'estima de si mateix] [IO a la Maria]  
b. El tractament li va tornar [DO l'estima de si mateix] [IO a la Maria]
- (5) Catalan La Maria (li) telefona un missatge a la seva mare  
'Maria (cliticDAT) phones a message to her mother'
- (6) Catalan La Maria telefona la seva mare --- La Maria la telefona  
'Maria phones her mother' 'Maria cliticACC phones'
- (7) Catalan La Maria telefona a la seva mare --- La Maria li telefona  
'Maria phones to her mother' 'Maria cliticDAT phones'

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**The invisible hand and usage-based conceptions of language change:  
reassessing the role of cumulation, maxims and intentions.**

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The invisible hand theory of language change - as expounded by Keller (1994) - offers a most perspicuous explanation of how individual linguistic behavior is responsible for changes at the language level. As has been recently recognized (Luraghi, 2010), it presents an explanation of how individuals change their language that seems more plausible than theories that try to explain change by focusing exclusively on facts about language acquisition.

The theory takes the *individual* as the starting point of change, and sees his/ her behavior as guided by *maxims*. Maxim following can have consequences at the language level through the *cumulation* of similar behavior, which leads to the spread of language variants and to the decrease of others, thus causing the form-meaning pairings of the language to change: the *pragmatic* meaning of a form may become its *conventional* meaning. In the theory, the interplay of *intentional* vs. *non-intentional* is important. Individual behavior, including maxim following, is taken as *intentional*. The *cumulation process*, however, is *non-intentional*. In this manner, language change is explained as the *non-intentional result of intentional behavior*.

In my presentation I seek a revision of the theory in the direction of more empirical and conceptual adequacy by reassessing the concepts of *cumulation*, *communicative maxim*, and *intention*, and I will try to make the reassessment fruitful for a theory of *grammaticalization*:

(a) The concept of *cumulation*, however central in Keller (1994), has remained largely unexplored. This situation can be made to change by conceding to empirical research (either informant testing or corpus analysis) the importance it deserves in tackling cumulation. Recent work in the field of usage-based theories, namely work by Bybee (2007, 2010) is particularly relevant in this context, as distinctions such as *token* and *type frequency* may be extremely relevant to study cumulation processes.

(b) Also *communicative maxims* are insufficiently delineated in Keller (1994). As it is, the concept of a maxim does not do justice to the variety of behavior patterns that lead to change: as has already been pointed out in the literature (Pinto de Lima, 1995), some kinds of changes do not seem to come about through *maxim following* in the strict sense (e.g., phonological reduction). Instead of *maxims*, we should speak more generally of *mechanisms of change* (to borrow the expression from Bybee 2010). These mechanisms, however, call for characterization, mainly as to the role that *intentions* play in them. On one side we have non-intentional, passive behavior, and on the other fully intentional one (only around this second pole is talk of 'following maxims' justified).

(c) The continuum reaching from passive behavior to intentional behavior can be shown to correlate with the continuum put forward by Lehmann (2002) that goes from *grammaticalization* to *lexicalization*. I will try to make plausible that, while passive behavior is typical of advanced grammaticalization (e.g., inflection formation processes), mildly intentional behavior relates to regular lexicalization (e.g., lexeme creation by derivation), and fully intentional behavior relates to irregular, radical, lexicalization (e.g., lexeme creation by metaphor or blending).

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**Words that heal and sell – Discourse change in advertisements for health supplements.**

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Individual responsibility of each and everyone for their health is the new mantra for our times. Dietary supplements (or health supplements, as they are sometimes suggestively called) play an important part in this increasing market for health care products. In my talk I will present changes in how dietary supplements have been advertised over the last six decades.

I will focus on two genres: Advertisements in a periodical that has been available in all Austrian pharmacies for their customers for the last sixty years on the one hand and pamphlets as they are increasingly found at doctor's surgeries on the other hand. Covering these two genres, both, scope as well as diachronic change of this discourse can be retraced.

To understand the phenomenon under study different layers of context, amongst them the history of medicine with all its complexities, will have to be included in our analysis. Data analysis is based on the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA), a school within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

I will explore the use of metaphor, argumentation *topoi* and fallacies as well as visuals (photos, graphics, pictures *et cetera*) in these texts. Metaphor analysis will be based on the linguistic and philosophical ideas of Lakoff and Johnson, who regard metaphor as a pervasive cognitive and linguistic phenomenon. To study argumentation schemes - reasonable or fallacious - several well known *topoi* from the literature will be referred to as well as new ones will be proposed as they occur in our specific medical data. The visual part of the advertisements will be analyzed using the theories developed by Kress and Van Leeuwen.

With this approach it will be possible to show how very skillfully metaphors, argumentation *topoi* and pictures are employed in these texts in order to appeal to health-conscious audiences. By studying this discourse and by analyzing which aspects of the discourse change over time and which ones stay the same, we should be able to see durable as well as new aspects of our conception of health. In addition, by taking a close look at the "Words that Heal and Sell" we learn how our wish to be healthy is manipulated in these texts and, most importantly, how the arguments made could be confronted.

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**Multiple negation in Old Serbian language.**

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The main subject of this work is examination of usage of the multiple negation in Old Serbian language. The research was based on a representative corpus containing over two thousand examples of the use of the multiple negation which are excerpted from documents of Old Serbian literacy XII-XVI century (about seven hundred charters and letters from the office of Serbian medieval rulers XII-XV century, older transcripts of Dusan's Code, XIV and XV century, the Mining Laws of Despot Stefan Lazarevic (transcript from the sixteenth century), an novel about Troy in old Serbian.

Our primary goal is formulated considering the already widely known linguistic view of how development can assume three temporal and logical phases (Jespersen 1962, Křížková 1968, Horn 2010): a) only negation of the verb b) moving negation to the beginning of the sentence, where it merges with one member of sentences (resulting pronouns and adverbs become the sole bearers of negation in a sentence), and the last phase, (c) implies the negation of the predicate, pronouns and articles with *no-*, first in the function of amplification, emphasis, and then without that function. The primary theoretical goal of this paper is an attempt to determine the main roads and stages in the

development of multiple negation in the Serbian language, as well as the definition of formal models that can represent multiple negation, both in cases where it does not negatively change the content of the testimony, and in cases where multiple negation brings affirmative semantic value in a formal negative statement. A secondary goal of this paper is an exploration of the functionally stylistic and pragmatic aspects of the use of multiple negation in Old Serbian language, especially in the context of the fact that most of the corpus is documents of business and legal literacy in Old Serbian.

Apart from the basic methods of historical linguistics (method of inner reconstruction and comparative method), primarily used in the paper were the descriptive and statistical method, the former in the function of describing the basic syntactic models of expressing multiple negation, and the latter in the function of their statistical presentation. Considering the fact that the syntactical negation can hardly be separated from the logical negation, as well as the fact that it shares some features with the mathematical negation, the paper also applied the multidisciplinary approach, linguistic analysis was combined with logical and mathematical. The research combined the synchronous and diachronic approach, the former in the descriptions of syntactical constructions with multiple negation in the Old Serbian language of the XII – XVI century, and the latter while determining the developmental stages of the Serbian language starting from the XII century up until today.

The most important results of the research can be brought down to this: (1) the Old Serbian language noted the examples for two chronological layers in the development of multiple negation: (a) the low-frequent examples with single negation which separates from the verb and attaches to the pronoun or the adverb in the beginning of the word represent the older phase in the development of multiple negation, and as such represent the bookish note taken from the Church Slavonic language; (b) the high-frequent examples of multiple negation which most commonly negate the universal negative quantifier and predicate or sub-predicate of the sentence represent the last phase in the development of multiple negation in the Serbian language; (2) the Old Serbian language only confirmed the examples for the congruence of negations, while the examples for multiplying negations (mathematically-logical negation), present in the contemporary Serbian language, do not appear; (3) compared to constructions with the affirmative predicate, the use of the affirmative utterance formed by multiple negation is functionally-stylistically marked in the Old Serbian language, considering the fact that this type of utterance is most commonly used in dispositions of legal documents, in imperative and prohibitive constructions as a form of emphasis.

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## The new quotatives in the Serbian language.

Polovina, Vesna and Cerovski Panić, Natalija  
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This paper is focused on quotative markers, namely “the new quotatives”, such as *kao* (like), *krene* (he/she goes) in Serbian. In this research we compare the occurrence of these new quotatives and other lexical markers of quotations, such as *verba dicendi*. These new quotatives in Serbian are used in informal conversations when retelling dialogues, and their function is, we argue, mainly to convey not only the actual words that are quoted, but also the whole emotional and contextual situation. Using *kao*<sub>SRB</sub>, *krene*<sub>SRB</sub>, the speaker reproduces a real speech act but package it in a more expressive form, with sound and voice effects, with changes in prosody, and in nonverbal behaviour (gestures, facial expressions, body posture) as well. Introducing direct quotations with *kao*<sub>SRB</sub>, *krene*<sub>SRB</sub>, the speaker tries to create listener involvement and to increase the dramatic impact of the story.

The corpus for this research consists of 10 hours of video recorded TV talk shows in the Serbian language (*Beograd noću, 3 pa 1*), and 10 hours of audio recorded conversations. This corpus was transcribed and also relevant prosodic, kinesic and paralinguistic features were annotated.

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### Impersonal first person plurals in spoken Spanish and Portuguese.

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(University of Helsinki)

Despite recent interest on R-impersonals, i.e. impersonals with a reduction in referentiality (e.g. Siewierska and Malchukov 2011, Siewierska and Papastathi 2011), the use of first person plural (1PL) as an impersonalizing strategy has received less attention than impersonal third person plurals (3PL). The present study adopts a usage-based approach to the impersonal uses of 1PL pronouns and verb forms in spoken Peninsular Spanish (PS) and European Portuguese (EP). The objective is (1) to examine what contextual factors trigger the impersonal reading, (2) to compare the uses of impersonal 1PL in PS and EP and (3) examine whether the overt expression of subject pronouns is incompatible with the impersonal reading, as argued to be the case in 3PL.

The impersonal use of 1PL is defined as not restricting the referential scope of the pronoun or verb form to any set of referents identifiable to the addressee, apart from including the speaker (see examples 1-2).

- |        |                                                    |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |
|--------|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| (1) PS | <i>desnudos</i><br>naked                           | <b>somos</b><br>be-1PL              | <i>todos</i><br>all         | <i>iguales</i><br>equal     |                                   |                                |                    |
|        | 'naked we <b>are</b> all equal' (COREC)            |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |
|        |                                                    |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |
| (2) EP | <i>as</i><br>the                                   | <i>peças estão</i><br>people be-3PL | <i>a</i><br>PREP            | <i>voltar</i><br>return-INF | <i>para</i><br>to                 | <i>coisas</i><br>things        | <i>que</i><br>that |
|        | 'people are returning to things that               |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |
|        |                                                    |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |
|        | <i>nós</i><br>we                                   | <i>já</i><br>already                | <b>vimos</b><br>see.PRT-1PL | <i>os</i><br>the            | <i>nossos pais</i><br>our parents | <i>terem</i><br>have-INF.2/3PL |                    |
|        | <b>we have already seen</b> our parents use' (CdP) |                                     |                             |                             |                                   |                                |                    |

Qualitative examination of the data (= selection of transcripts from COREC and CdP) reveals that in both PS and EP the only requirement for the impersonal reading is that other referents in addition to the speaker are not available or inferable from the context. Similarly to impersonal 3PL, the referential scope may be construed as universal or it may be further restricted by lexical specifications provided in the context (cf. Siewierska and Papastathi 2011). However,



impersonal 1PL differs from 3PL in that it does not occur in episodic but only in generic clauses in the data. One of the reasons for this may be that reference to a concrete episode specifies the depicted event too much to permit an impersonal reading, given that the reading is construed as speaker-inclusive. In general, the differences between the impersonal uses of 1PL and 3PL are related to the fact that the while 3PL is anaphoric in its personal use, 1PL has both anaphoric and deictic properties. While in PS subject pronouns are not found in the impersonal reading (cf. ex. 1), in EP there is no such restriction (cf. ex. 2). This observation accounts for the significantly higher frequency of expressed 1PL subject pronouns in EP than in PS. I will further argue that the referential vagueness or impersonality is not a special use of 1PL forms but rather an inherent part of their basic meaning. While the impersonal reading is possible in generic clauses when the context provides no further clues to permit the identification of the referents, it is the personal reading that must be triggered by previous mentions of the set members or by pragmatic inferences.

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### Fronting of ed- and ing- predicates in written and spoken contemporary English.

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Fronting of ed- and -ing predicates is accompanied by the inversion of the subject and the non-fronted portion of the verb phrase in Present-day English, as in '*Waiting for him* was the leader of the opposition'. Constructions where the subject occurs in postposed position while some other dependent of the verb is preposed have been the subject of extensive research in the last decades, the focus of each individual study varying according to the nature and goals of the theoretical framework adopted (cf. Bresnan and Kanerva 1992; Bresnan 1994; Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2006, Prado-Alonso 2008, among others). Broadly speaking most analyses carried within the generative (cf. Bresnan and Kanerva 1992; Bresnan 1994) and functional paradigms (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2006) have focused mainly on those inverted construction types where the fronted constituent conveys a locative meaning, which subsumes "spatial locations, path, and directions, and their extension to some temporal and abstract locative domains" (Bresnan 1994: 75) as in, for instance, '*Beside him* was table full of well-known books'. In this sense, they have neglected the analysis of those inverted constructions in which the preposed constituent does not convey such locative meaning. In order to bridge this gap, the present paper offers a corpus-based analysis of inverted constructions in which the preposed constituent is an ed- or an -ing predicate. The data used to analyse the behaviour and distribution of these constructions in Present-day written and spoken English have been taken from four computerised corpora: FLOB, FROWN (cf. Hofland et al. 1999), CSPAE (cf. Barlow 2000), and ICE-GB (cf. Nelson 1988).

It is usually claimed that the fronted constituent in inverted constructions is discourse old information and thus serves to integrate the new information represented by the postverbal constituent into the already existing discourse (cf. Birner 1996: 147). Beyond this, however, the analysis of the data retrieved from the written and spoken corpora show that constructions with a fronted ed- or -ing predicate which is followed by the inversion of the verb and the subject can also be considered markers of spatial experiential iconicity through which the process of physical perception is reflected in the syntax. In sum, the paper contends that this type of constructions are not merely information packaging devices (old-new distribution) in English but can also be exploited for spatial iconic purposes and are more frequently attested in the written language.

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### Combining the reconstruction of sound change and geographic spread.

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The application of phylogenetic methods from biology allows us in linguistics to investigate the relationships between languages and group them into families. However, the same methods also enable us to go beyond phylogenies and look into the mechanisms of the language change. Prior to the application of any of the powerful statistical methods, the data has to be processed in a such way that a) it can be used as an input to those methods b) it preserves enough linguistic information for the results to be linguistically meaningful. However, as soon as more detail is allowed into the data, the clearer the obvious problems with the application of the statistical methods become for the reconstruction of language history. While some researches oversimplify the linguistic data in order to be able to apply some very powerful statistical algorithms, we seek a solution that will preserve as much linguistic detail as possible.

In this paper we will combine two aspects of variation, namely the geographic variation of closely related language variants ("dialects") and the internal variation of sound correspondences within each variant. Looking at sound changes, one of the central problems is that they are not very regular when they are investigated in more detail. Any sound change spreads both through a language and through the population of speakers, in our case through a population of villages within different dialects. Both processes happen at the same time, and the challenge is to reconstruct what has happened from a snapshot of synchronic data.

Concretely, we will use Bulgarian dialect data that consists of the pronunciations of 152 words collected at 197 villages (Prokic, 2010). Pronunciations of each word are aligned and the sound correspondence classes are extracted and annotated for various linguistic features, including the proto-sound and the context in which the sound change occurs. We use geographic location of each village to calculate the distances between each two villages in the data set.

The data is analyzed by employing a method inspired by Atkinson (2011). We look for optimal fit of linear interpolations of the attested variation based on three kinds of variables: geographical distance, sound similarity and semantic similarity. The variation of the reflexes of each proto-sound is taken as the dependent variable. For every reflex in every village a regression is performed using the geographical similarity, the sound similarity of the context, and the semantic similarity as regressors. The optimal fit is taken as indicative of the original geographical location and the original linguistic context in which a particular change arose.

On one hand, this method allows us to track the geographic spread of sound changes and the underlying geographical patterns. On the other hand, we can identify specific linguistic context in which sound changes occur.

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**Word classes in Ho (Munda): advancing the debate.**

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Munda languages, in particular Mundari, have been cited as languages without definable word classes (Hoffman 1903, Pinnow 1966). Frequently, claims are based on the observation that seemingly any lexical item can serve as the predicate in a clause. More recently, Evans and Osada (2005) claimed that Mundari does have noun and verb classes, but were criticized for the criteria they used (Croft 2005, cf. Hengeveld and Rijkhoff 2005, Peterson 2005). Croft objects to how many researchers (including Evans and Osada) are overly selective and insufficiently rigorous in evaluating the evidence they consider for establishing word classes"

Here we present empirical evidence arguing that Ho does have word classes. The approach taken in the present paper looks for patterns in the structural coding within different semantically-identified intransitive predicate constructions of Ho, following Croft (1991, 2001).

Four different strategies for intransitive predications emerge: an aspect-inflection strategy as in (1), an overt copular strategy with no aspect-inflection as in (2), a zero copular strategy (for "object referents" in identificational and equational constructions) as in (3), and a locative strategy (for "object referents" in locative, existential and possessive constructions as in (4).

- (1)      ni=do              sepeɖ-aka-n-a  
         3.ANIM.PROX=FOC young-PERFECT-INTRANSITIVE-FINITE  
         's/he is young'
  
- (2)      gaɾa iɳir-ge-ya  
         river deep-COP-FINITE  
         'the river is deep'
  
- (3)      munda=do    apu-n  
         chief=FOCUS father-1.SG  
         'the chief is my father'
  
- (4)      raca-re              kuŋtu mena?  
         courtyard-LOCATIVE wooden.post COP  
         'there is a wooden post in the courtyard'

The distributional patterns suggest distinct word classes, correlating with typological prototypes of noun, verb and adjective. We find that some property concepts (in the sense of Croft 2001) are treated in the same way as actions, as in (1). We thus identify these property-concept words as "stative verbs". A small class of property concepts pattern as in (2). This class corresponds to Dixon's core semantic types of adjectives; DIMENSION, AGE, VALUE and COLOR (1977, 2004); and we hence identify these as "adjectives".

The different strategies in general correlate with distinct semantics of the lexical predicate items in a particular construction. In addition to predication strategies, this study also looks at strategies for modification and referring and finds that distinct word classes are manifested across the language.

The current study supports Evans and Osada's claim that Munda languages do indeed have word classes. The evidence provided here, however, takes a wider range of distributional facts into consideration.

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### Loanwords, prominence and the basis for Mongolian vowel harmony.

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The standard analysis of Modern Mongolian vowel harmony is as rightward spreading of the features [RTR] (retracted tongue root) and [round] starting from the first syllable of the word (Svantesson et al., 2005 and others). Suffixes alternate according to the class of the root, as in /e:tʃ+E/→[e:tʃe:] "mother(RFL)" versus /a:w+E/→[a:wa:] "father(RFL)". Because Mongolian has exclusively suffixing morphology and native non-compound roots are always internally harmonic, native data alone cannot rule out leftward spreading within roots. In fact, data from recent Russian borrowings (common in the Halh dialect) shows that leftward spreading is possible during loanword assimilation. Russian [fen'tazije] "fantasy" becomes Mongolian [pʰantʰa:ts], while [ve'gon] "train carriage" becomes [pɔɣɔ:ŋ]. In these examples, the syllable with primary lexical stress in Russian triggers vowel harmony in Mongolian. (Though Mongolian lacks lexical stress, correlates of stress such as length and vowel reduction are salient. Stressed syllables are typically borrowed as phonemically long vowels.) Previous literature has noted the pattern but made no attempt to integrate it theoretically (Svantesson et al., 2005; Lubsangdorji, 2004). To further complicate the potential role of stress, recent loans from Northern Mandarin Chinese (common in dialects of Inner Mongolia) tend to remain disharmonic. Examples include [χɔ:ma:r] "number" from Mandarin ['xɑo<sup>51</sup>,mɑ<sup>21</sup>] "number" and [ja:ɡɔ:] "toothpaste" from ['ja<sup>24</sup>,ɡɑo<sup>55</sup>] (Bayancogtu, 2002). If Mandarin loans are transformed in the same way as Russian ones, the disharmony could be explained by the fact that Mandarin syllables carrying secondary stress undergo little reduction (Peng et al. 2005), thus creating multiple loci for harmony within a single word.

The current study clarifies the role of source language stress by empirically documenting the harmony behavior of non-initial syllables which are stressed in the source language. Speakers of several dialects of Mongolian in Mongolia and in Inner Mongolia, China were recorded saying Russian and Mandarin loanwords in isolation and with Mongolian suffixes. Results of auditory and acoustic analysis show that the assimilation patterns described above are widespread and consistent. Unstressed vowels in Russian loans are harmonized with the nearest stress-bearing vowel, whether it is to the left or the right. Mandarin words with two stress-bearing syllables can be assimilated as disharmonic. This supports the hypothesis that prominent syllables, rather than initial syllables, dominate vowel harmony. Loanwords in this data behave the same way as native words in several ways: vowel harmony applies with complete regularity across the root-suffix boundary, and the transparent vowel /i/ remains transparent within polysyllabic loan roots. This indicates that vowel harmony is being applied productively to loanwords. Therefore, evidence from loanwords that prominence trumps position in triggering vowel harmony should be incorporated into descriptions of the native phonology.

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**How predictive are grammatical constructions in Italian? The case of the caused-motion construction.**

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Differently from English, Italian has a rich morphological system and a relative free word-order. For these reasons, the suitability of a "full-scope" constructional approach to Italian, and typologically similar languages, is not immediately evident. One could even doubt that complex abstract syntactic constructions exist at all.

In Goldberg's (1995, 2006) version of Construction grammar (CxG hereafter), in fact, language is constructions all the way down (or all the way up) and morphemes are themselves considered to be constructions as they are form-meaning pairings. Still, one could argue that in Italian, i.e. a language rich in morphology, only morphemes (and multi-words and idioms) and very abstract and general argument structure constructions are to be considered as the fundamental Constructions. But, under this vision one would recreate the classical distinction between lexicon and grammar, which CxG rejects. So, if there are abstract and general constructions on the one end and "lexical" constructions on the other, the full range of in-between cases must be allowed too.

Furthermore, argument structure constructions (in English) have been found to be highly predictive of sentence/construction meaning (Goldberg et al. 2005), which provides an explanation, a motivation, for their early acquisition by children. Many of such evidences are still missing for Italian.

My contribution will describe an attempt to replicate on Italian the corpus-based analysis proposed by Goldberg et al. (2005) on English. While the original English study deals with two constructions: the ditransitive construction and the caused motion construction, the focus of my contribution will be the Italian caused motion construction that has a parallel syntax and semantics to the English one. The goal is to verify whether constructions are highly predictive of sentence meaning in Italian too.

Data is taken from the CHILDES database (MacWhinney 2000), from which all parent utterances of 28-months-old children are extracted and annotated according to constructional properties and verb meaning. The annotation is then used to calculate the Cue and Category Validity (Murphy 2002) of both the Construction and the main verbs, which measures their predictive power (i.e. respectively their reliability and availability) in relation to overall sentence meaning.

Interestingly, we find out that the Italian caused motion construction is both more reliable than verbs as a predictor of overall sentence meaning, and is also more available. The category validity of the construction is in fact higher than the average category validity of verbs, and constructional cue validity is higher than weighted cue validity for verbs.

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**The pronominal clitic system of Old Lithuanian in the Baltic-Slavic areal context.**

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Pronominal clitics are attested among Indo-European languages, their development, however, was different – some languages still have the system of pronominal clitics, and some have lost it. The difference in pronominal clitics' development is seen in Slavic languages – South and West Slavic languages still have the system of pronominal clitics while East Slavic languages have lost these special clitics (with the exception of South-Western Ukrainian dialects)

(Franks, King 2000, 187). In Baltic languages the situation is similar – system of pronominal clitics is also lost in East Baltic, whereas West Baltic (Old Prussian) material is too precarious with respect to clitics.

Old Lithuanian shows relics of pronominal clitics, they are recorded from the first book in the Lithuanian language dating the sixteenth century, though since the eighteenth century these forms were gradually used less and less, and then disappeared altogether. The process of clitic forms eliminating by generalization of the orthotonic variants is common for Old Lithuanian and East Slavonic (Holvoet 2011, 23).

It has been noted that Slavic languages exhibit the tension between two tendencies: 1) to observe Wackernagel's Law and hold the second position in the sentence / clause; and 2) the tendency to follow the word to which they most closely relate. Personal pronominal clitics, if they are not in second position, they are almost always after the verb (Gribble 1988, 194–195).

Old Church Slavonic, language, which has traditionally been analyzed as a language obeying Wackernagel's Law (Lunt 2001, 77), exhibit the aim of pronominal clitics to stay adjacent to the verb (Midgalski 2006, 167–169):

*A otъ načęla sъzъdaniju mōža i ženō sъtvorilъ =ě etsъ b[og]ъ*  
 and from beginning creationDAT man and woman createPART.M.SG themCL be3SG God  
 'At the beginning of creation God created a man and a woman'  
 (OCS, Mark 10: 6, Willis 2000, 326)

As well as Old Lithuanian – although the pronominal clitics of the Old Lithuanian are considered to be enclitics (Zinkevičius 1981, 49), i. e. obeying the Wackernagel's Law and holding the second position in the sentence, it should be noted that most of the pronominal clitics tend to stay adjacent to the verb, even if the verb is not the first word of the sentence:

*Atstok, grischk, ritoij dūsiū=t* Br ST, Sal 3,28  
 Go away, come back, tomorrow give-FUT1SG-2SG.DAT.CL.  
 'Go away, come back, I will give you tomorrow'

*Ligiey kayp bites ap=mi=fedá* KN 99,47  
 Like bees PRF.-2SG.ACC.CL.obsess-PST3  
 'Like bees obsessed me'

The aim of this paper is double: on the one hand to compare Old Lithuanian pronominal clitics with the Slavic languages which developed their pronominal clitic systems and on the other hand – to compare with the ones, which have lost it.

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## Discursive definition of national identity and citizenship: a comparative study of Canadian and Estonian constitutions and civil rights documents.

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The rapid increase in intercultural interaction, cross-border economic, social and technological exchange that globalisation has brought along has had enormous impact on the lives of different societies worldwide. As a result, the borders of nation-states, which are considered to be the primary guarantors of the preservation of the national



identity, are dissolving and embracing diversity and variation. Consequently, the perception of one's national identity is also undergoing a change. In order to capture and explain the current changing condition of national identity the paper resorts to the fundamental laws of the countries, which are considered to be the ultimate manifestation of peoples' and their states' self-image.

The given paper studies how the concept of national identity is formulated in the fundamental laws of the countries studied: Constitution and civil rights documents. The work compares the discursive definitions of national identity to find out to what extent different countries rely on ethnic and/or political definitions of national identity. Secondly, the research introduces the 'subjective' aspects of the discursive definition of national identity and on the basis of the qualitative interviews determines informants' attitudes and interpretations. The current study will gradually examine whether there is a disparity between the formulations of national identity as laid down in the fundamental documents of the countries and the attitudes and interpretations of the people living in these countries.

These documents are analysed on the basis of the context sensitive Discourse Historical Approach developed by Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak (2001) that intends to incorporate knowledge about the history of the discursive event as well as social and political fields where it takes place. The documents are studied in terms of referential or nomination strategies that Reisigl and Wodak propose, which include: *collectivisation* (as we, they, the people), *spatialisation* (as Germany, Asia, resident, inhabitant), *originalisation* (as Aborigines, ancestors), *culturalisation* (featuring ethnification: Romanians, nationals, linguification: German-speaking persons, and religionalisation: Jews, Christ), *politicisation* (featuring nationalisation: nationals, Germans; granting or deprivation of political and other rights: citizens, non-citizens, voters). The aforementioned strategies are employed to create collective images of different identities and the ideas about the existing order within a particular country. In other words, they create and supply information about how the people are defined and what the general sociopolitical atmosphere in a particular country is.

In the course of the conducted analysis we have looked at the basic legal documents of the countries studied: the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982, which is a rather recent document, and the last variant of the Estonian Constitution of 1992. The analysis of the empirical data has shown that this ambiguity exists not only in theory, but also in practice. In other words, the basic legal documents analysed in the course of the study are not "pure" either but contain the elements of both "civic" as well as "ethnic" conceptions of nation. However, the degree to which these elements are represented in the documents is different and has changed over the time, as a result of sociopolitical developments in the given countries.

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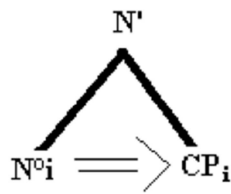
## Noun phrasal complements vs noun phrasal adjuncts.

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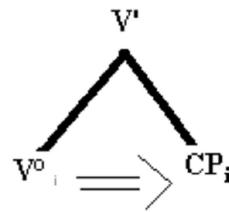
This paper draws a parallel between verbs selecting phrasal complements or adjuncts and nouns, which can select restrictive and non restrictive relative clauses, referring in particular to the German language.

According to Meinunger (2000) a noun which is identified by a restrictive RC assigns a referential index to it (1a) in the same way as, for example, the verb *sagen* (to say), marks its sentential complement with an argumental index (1b), since in both cases we are dealing with sister CPs of lexical heads.

(1a)



(1b)



(Meinunger, 2000: 212)

Starting from Meinunger's analysis, this paper aims at providing evidence of the fact that in German a restrictive relative clause and its head are linked by a head-complement-relationship while a non restrictive relative clause can be seen as an adjunction to its lexical head. Non-restrictive relative clause does not profit from co-indexing with its head (Meinunger, 2000: 213), but this does not mean they relate only semantically (Dal Gobbo, 2007) or phonologically (Grosu & Landman, 1998) with their head. Coordination will also be excluded by the impossibility of accounting for all cases of apposition. We'll see that non-restrictive RCs need also a syntactical relationship with their head, which differ considerably from that between a restrictive RC and its head but is analogous to the adjunction relationship between peripheral adverbial clauses (Haegeman, 2002) and the matrix verb. I propose therefore that restrictive RCs like central clause are merged at an earlier point of the derivation than non-restrictive or peripheral clauses. Restrictive RCs are merged within the matrix clause; non-restrictive RC are adjoined once the entire antecedent is fully projected.

Not by chance, when a noun is modified both by a restrictive and a non-restrictive relative clause these two sentences must occur in a defined order. As it is generally assumed that in German complements always precede adjuncts (2a vs 2b), we would expect that a restrictive RC cannot be placed after a non restrictive RC as it is in fact the case (3b).

- (2) a. *der Freund von Peter mit blauen Augen*  
the friend of Peter with blue eyes
- b. *\*der Freund mit blauen Augen von Peter*  
the friend with blue eyes of Peter
- (3) a. *Der Mann, der uns gestern zum Mittagessen eingeladen hat, und*  
the man, that us yesterday for lunch invited has, and  
*übrigens 35 Jahre alt ist, kommt aus Australien.*  
by the way 35 years old is, comes from Australia
- b. *\*Der Mann, der übrigens 35 Jahre alt ist, und uns gestern*  
the man, that by the way 35 years old is, and us yesterday  
*eingeladen hat, kommt aus Australien.*  
invited has, comes from Australia

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### **Genre-related language change: a case study on the development of post-war Austrian German.**

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A recent pilot study on language change in Austria, focusing on the Austrian standard variant of German, revealed that from 1970 to 2010 language change has occurred in several identifiable linguistics areas. Since the corpus which the study compiled is genre-based, i.e. comprises texts from 4 genres (and several respective sub-genres) in the fields of education, media and business, it was also able to show that such language change is significantly related to genre and thus also genre change.

The study initially mapped language change across the genres of business reports, newspaper articles, the Austrian Press Agency's news reports, and students' A-level German essays, with both qualitative and quantitative methods with respect to a broad range of linguistic features: (1) interpersonal meanings, i.e. meta-communicative elements, forms of address and tacit knowledge; (2) text structure, including description, explication and argumentation; (3) lexis, including the use of loan words, noun frequency, nominalization and compounds, metaphors, phraseologism and idiomatic expressions; (4) syntax with respect to functional adequacy, sentence length, complexity and mode; (5) deviations from language norms (Wodak & Rheindorf 2011, see also Coutinho & Miranda 2009; Weldon 2007; Gruber et al 2006 for categorization in genre description).

Across this comprehensive range of features, some general trends of language change could be identified, but all genres also show distinct changes. In case of the business reports, these changes are arguably most recognizably linked to context-related genre change: from relatively unremarkable, technical texts in 1970, addressing a highly specific target audience, the genre developed to expensively produced representative and argumentative texts in 2010, now addressing a much more general audience of customers, investors, business partners, small-scale shareholders etc. in the context of a globalized economy in crisis.

A similar case can be made for the 2 newspapers included in the study. With the notable exception of articles published in the "culture" section, we show a substantial change in the more distinguished quality newspaper, effectively bringing its language close to that of the tabloid, while the latter has remained relatively consistent in its language use. While the language characteristic of the Austrian Press Agency did not change to such an extent, it shows a strong trend toward the segmentation of information and reduction of syntactic complexity.

Taken together, these results indicate that language change is genre-driven or, in other words, related to genre changes which are themselves embedded in the context of broader, socio-political and global tendencies, such as glocalisation, marketisation and infotainment (Okulska & Cap, forthcoming; Wodak & Fairclough 2010; Martin & Rose 2008; Wodak 2011, forthcoming). Genre-driven language change can therefore be seen as a prime indicator of emergent language ideologies and shifts therein (Johnson & Milani 2010).

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### Translation of Idioms and Culture-specific Terms from Urdu to English

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Owing to the differing cultural setups, and the specific nature and composition of languages represented by ST (source text) and TT (target text), many cultural and linguistic barriers are faced by translators (Khan 2009: 21-23). The barriers concretize in such cultural and linguistic expressions as idioms, puns, and culture-specific terms. By virtue of them, loopholes are common to be found in a translation. The translation practice of rendering Urdu literary texts into English in Pakistan is a typical case of the issue sketched above. The two languages belong to two different language families as well as different cultures, and hence are very different from each other in terms of their grammatical, orthographic, lexical, phonological, and cultural make-up. As such, several barriers are faced by a translator while translating from one language to the other (specifically from Urdu to English, in our case).

To explore this case, the current study will conduct textual analysis of Khalid Hasan's translation (2000: 9-16) of Manto's short story *Toba Tek Singh* (first published in his collection of short stories *Phunduney*, which was published in 1955 by Maktaba Jadeed, Lahore (Baig 1991: 510)). Through this, the study aims at: (1) exploring, analyzing, and removing the barriers in the given translated text with relation to idioms and culture-specific terms, and (2) (through this study) formulating a framework to serve as a guideline for translators to understand how they should avoid translation loopholes, and which steps they should take in order to cope with the various cultural and linguistic barriers.

It is hoped that this pioneering translation-related study of cultural and linguistic barriers with reference to translation from Urdu to English will draw attention of the scholars towards this under-researched area of investigation, thereby paving way for further research in Urdu-English translation.

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### A functional approach to NP-clause parallels.

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Whereas formal theories of grammar have concentrated on similarities between the underlying *syntactic* structure of (complex) NP and clause, the functional approach to similarities between NPs and clauses is essentially based on parallels between the underlying *semantic* structure of NP and clause (Rijkhoff 1990, 2004, 2008, 2009). In this talk (using data from a representative sample of the world's languages), it will be argued that the same five FUNCTIONAL MODIFIER CATEGORIES can be used to analyze the internal structure of NPs and clauses. Notice that the label 'functional' should be understood as originally intended by linguists from the Prague School, who were "seeking to understand what jobs the various components were doing [...]" (Sampson 1980: 104).

The following five functional modifier categories can be recognized both in the NP and in the clause: (i) CLASSIFYING MODIFIERS, (ii) QUALIFYING MODIFIERS, (iii) QUANTIFYING MODIFIERS, (iv) LOCALIZING or ANCHORING MODIFIERS, and (v) DISCOURSE-REFERENTIAL MODIFIERS. These modifier categories include both grammatical and lexical modifiers and cover all 'dependents' that are not arguments or complements. Modifiers are distributed over nested layers around the head constituent (typically a verb or a noun), reflecting differences in SEMANTIC SCOPE. Conventionally, grammatical modifier categories like *Definiteness* or *Tense* are represented on the left, whereas lexical modifiers, such as adjectives, adverb(ial)s, PPs or relative clauses, are represented on the right (for a more detailed presentation see e.g. Rijkhoff 2008, 2009).

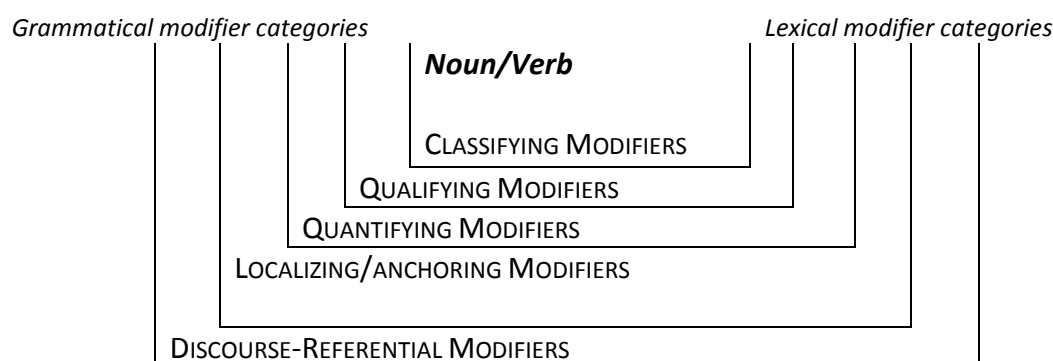


Figure 1. Functional modifier categories in a layered representation of NP/clause structure.

There is no one-to-one relation between form and function: a linguistic form or construction can often be used in more than one function (Rijkhoff 2009), and vice versa, different linguistic forms or constructions can be used in the same modifier function. Table 1 shows that members of various formal categories (e.g. adjectives, PPs, relative clauses) can be used as QUALIFYING MODIFIERS.

FUNCTIONAL CATEGORY: QUALIFYING MODIFIER (in NP)			
<u>Semantic categories:</u>	Formal categories:		
	ADJECTIVE	PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE	REL. CLAUSE
	...		
<i>Size</i>	big N	N of enormous size	N that was rather big
<i>Value / Quality</i>	expensive N	N of great value	...
<i>Age</i>	young N	N under age 16	...
<i>Color</i>	red N	...	...

Table 1. Some formal (and semantic) subcategories of the functional category 'QUALIFYING MODIFIER' (in the NP).

This paper will discuss various issues concerning parallels in the organization of NPs and clauses and includes synchronic and diachronic evidence from languages across the globe.

Research question/Hypothesis: the same (five) functional modifier categories can be used to analyze both NPs and clauses.

Approach/Theory: Functional-Typological.

Method: A combination of theory-driven data collection and data-driven hypothesis formation (using a 50 language sample).

Result: a five-layered model to analyze both NPs and clauses.

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### **The function of Dzungar Tuvan *-(l)ptlr* and *irgin* in relation to the speaker's perspective.**

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Dzungar Tuvan is a variety of Tuvan which is spoken by approximately 2000 people in the North of Xinjiang, China. The talk is based on my research on this variety carried out between 2007 and 2009 within the framework of my doctoral thesis.

The morpheme *-(l)ptlr* is a marker of a finite verb form. *irgin* is a particle used in a compound predicate. It can be combined with finite verb forms of a certain type, i.e. with those of participle origin. At first sight, *-(l)ptlr* and *irgin* seem to have similar functions since both of them primarily carry evidential semantics. However, evidentiality comprises three different types: a) *sensual experience*, b) *knowledge obtained from a third person (hearsay)* and c) *inference from existing evidence*. Furthermore, evidential forms often tend to acquire further functions, such as *dubitative* or *mirative* semantics. The question arises whether the morphemes *-(l)ptlr* and *irgin* express specific types of evidentiality, and whether they allow for any functional extension in certain contexts.

In Dzungar Tuvan, the inventory of finite verb forms itself as well as their specific functions vary considerably depending on the respective text type, which the speaker chooses in order to express a certain perspective on the narrated events. In narrative texts based on the past tense form *-DI*, the speaker takes a direct perspective. This means, he acts as a contemporary witness giving reliable statements about facts (evidentiality type a)). Here, the only evidential marker that can be encountered is *-(l)ptlr*, which then expresses the evidentiality type c), often showing a functional extension towards *mirativity*. However, the fact that only *-(l)ptlr* can occur in this text type might not only be due to the specific function of this morpheme, but also to the fact that *-DI* is not of participle origin and thus cannot combine with *irgin*.

This text type is opposed to the text type with the indirect perspective, i.e. the speaker establishes a temporal, local or emotional distance to the narrated events. This type of narrative texts is based on the finite form *-GAn*, which is originally a participle form. Both *irgin* and *-(l)ptlr* appear in this text type. The evidential functions of these morphemes, as well as their semantic extensions to *mirativity* and *dubitativity* will be dealt with in our talk in detail.

Epic texts inherently express a specific subtype of b), i.e. *knowledge from hearsay*. This text type is characterized by the use of both *irgin* and *-(l)ptlr* which have a text-structuring function here. *-(l)ptlr* is used for introduction, background information, and for establishing a new scene, whereas *irgin* forms carry on the plot. The talk will also deal with the question whether these secondary functions can be derived from the basic functions of these morphemes displayed in other text types.

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### **The "Celtic Hypothesis": evidence and ideology.**

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Since the time of Jespersen (1905), the 'Received View' has been that the influence of Celtic on English was minimal. This view has been challenged in recent publications such as Filppula 2003, Hickey 1995, McWhorter 2008 and 2011, or Van der Auwera & Genée 2002, and a complete issue of *English Language and Linguistics* (Filppula and Klemola 2009)



was dedicated to “re-evaluating the Celtic hypothesis”. My paper does not attempt to assess how many and which properties of English are possibly or necessarily due to contact with Celtic languages. Instead, I discuss how scholars have weighed the evidence and why they have repeatedly over-interpreted it, although according to the standards of normal empirical science it is inconclusive. I concentrate particularly on questions like the following:

Do linguists make a clear theoretical distinction between (a) languages (or varieties) as spatio-temporally localizable historical systems and (b) languages (or varieties) as folk-linguistic social constructs reflecting speaker attitudes? The crucial difference is that the latter are conceptualized Platonically, i.e. as more or less homogeneous and normative systems which are attributed essential qualities and which are sometimes also seen as reflecting or embodying the spirit of cultural, ethnic, racial or national communities, while the former need to be viewed as populations of individual instantiations which typically share a substantial number of constituents or properties, but which do not represent Platonic ‘types’ with ‘essential’ characteristics. The distinction is particularly important in the study of linguistic contact because very basic questions, such as whether a specific linguistic feature should be regarded as, say ‘English’ or ‘Celtic’, have very different meanings depending on how one interprets the concept ‘language’.

How do linguists conceptualize the relation and interaction between languages and speaker populations, and what kind of conclusions about one domain do they draw from observations about the other?

Is there a correlation between perspectives taken on the ‘Celtic Hypothesis’ and historically concurrent conceptualizations of and attitudes towards national, cultural, or ethnic purity and hybridity.

In cases where extant evidence is ambiguous or inconclusive, do linguists manage to remain agnostic about the relative plausibility of rival hypotheses, or do their evaluations reflect (tacit) preconceptions of what the world ‘is’ or ‘ought to’ be like?

Methodologically, the paper will work in the framework of (critical) discourse analysis. Its data will be drawn from linguistic studies from the beginning of the twentieth century to the present, from contemporaneous discourses on culture, nation and race, and for the recent past from internet sites, blogs and forums in which aspects of the ‘Celtic Hypothesis’ are popularized or discussed.

It will be shown that – up to the very present – representatives of both the received and the revised view of Celtic influence on English have found it difficult (a) to keep technical and non-technical conceptualizations of language apart, and (b) to prevent linguistically warranted claims and arguments from inspiring – and being inspired by – unwarranted interpretations regarding their implications beyond the linguistic domain.

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## Negation in the Transeurasian languages from a historical-comparative perspective

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The term “Transeurasian” is used in reference to a large group of geographically adjacent languages that share a significant amount of linguistic properties and include at most five linguistic families: Japonic, Koreanic, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. The question whether these languages are genealogically related is one of the most disputed issues of language classification. The present paper will combine the classical method of historical comparative linguistics with diachronic typology to shed light on the issue.

Mixed adjective typology is to be understood in the light of Stassen 1997. Cross-linguistically adjectives have no prototypical encoding strategy of their own (Stassen 1997: 30): they will align themselves either with verbs or with nominals. The encoding of property words across the Transeurasian languages, at least in earlier stages, appears to be

mixed: they tend to use both the nominal and the verbal strategy. The mixed typology is largely split in the sense that most property words have only a single encoding option, although all branches show cases of switching whereby the same property word can have both nominal and verbal encoding. This is illustrated in the following table:

encoding	Verbal	nominal	switched
Japanese	OJ <i>atu-</i> 'to be hot'	OJ <i>tasika nar-</i> 'to be trustworthy'	OJ <i>taka</i> 'high' OJ <i>taka-</i> 'to be high'
Korean	MK <i>kwut-</i> 'to be(come) hard'	K <i>kanan ha-</i> 'to be poor'	MK <i>toso ho-</i> 'to be warm' MK <i>toso-</i> 'to be warm'
Tungusic	Ud. <i>agda-</i> 'to be happy'	Ud. <i>zo:ngku</i> 'poor; the poor one'	Ud. <i>bogo</i> 'fat' Ud. <i>bogo-</i> 'to become fat'
Mongolic	WMo. <i>qala-</i> 'to be(come)/ feel warm'	WMo. <i>qara</i> 'black'	MMo. <i>bulqa</i> 'hostile; hostility' MMo. <i>bulqa-</i> 'to be hostile'
Turkic	OTk. <i>kat-</i> 'to be hard, firm, tough'	OTk <i>isig</i> 'hot'	OTk. <i>ač</i> 'hungry' OTk. <i>ač-</i> 'to be hungry'

Relying on data from historically attested and contemporary varieties of the Transeurasian languages, it will be shown that a serious number of verbal adjective stems correspond not only in form and function, but also in encoding option. This suggests that at least the verbal adjective encoding was inherited from a common ancestor. Besides cognate sets for verbal adjectives, etymologies for copula will be taken into account because they occupy an ambivalent position between verb and verbal adjective. It seems possible to reconstruct a common copula in proto-Transeurasian that is both verbally encoded in the meaning of 'to be' and nominally encoded in the meaning of 'being'.

Most languages of Europe display non-verbal encoding, whereas in East and South-East Asia verbal encoding is particularly strong. As could be expected, mixed adjective typology tends to appear in those areas where verbal and non-verbal encoding meet. The influence of the European languages has probably pushed the western, continental Transeurasian languages towards predominantly nominal encodings, whereas the mixed typology was better maintained in the eastern, insular Transeurasian languages due to the areal influence of verbally encoding languages in East and South-East Asia.

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## From temporal vagueness to syntactic and pragmatic dependency : the case of null tense (or aorist).

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As many other languages, Wolof (Niger-Congo, Senegal) has a specific verb form (the Null tense or Aorist) indicating that the process is anchored (located) in an *unspecified* situation. This indeterminacy (which goes along with a reduced morphology) contrasts with the other tensed conjugations and can explain the various temporal references the Null tense clause may acquire in context (future, past, present cf. 1,2,3), as well as its uses in sentences devoid of situational anchoring, such as proverbs (1) or stage directions. What is then the functional role of this apparently 'neutral' form ?

A broader overview of its contextual uses (Robert 1991) reveals that this conjugation provides a problematic array of uses with both syntactic and pragmatic constraints, and specific semantic effects. On the one hand, this conjugation is common in proverbs (1) and obligatory in tales and historical narrations (2), in which the Null tense is apparently used in independent clauses; on the other hand, it is typically a subordinating mood (obligatory with most subordinating conjunctions); it is also the only conjugation used to mark clause subordination (complement clauses, consecutive or purpose clauses as in (3)) without any subordinating morpheme; furthermore, the Null tense can also be used in injunctive clauses or in echo-questions.

- (1) Ku Ø            muñ,            Ø            muuñ.  
         whoNULL.3SG    be.patient,    NULL.3SG    smile

'The one who is patient will smile.' (Patience is rewarded)

- (2) *As soxna dafa amoon doom ju jigéen. Bi doom ji matee sëy mu maye ko.*  
 'Once upon the time there lived (*Verb focus*) an old woman with her daughter. When the daughter became (*Null tense*) nubile, her mother married (*Null tense*) her off.'
- (3) *Jox ma ko, ma seet.*  
 Give(:IMP) me it, NULL.1SG look  
 'Give it to me (so I can) have a look.' [SP]

In this paper, I will first characterize the different uses of this temporally indeterminate form and show that it is crosslinguistically widespread (e.g. François, Galand, Kiparski, Reintges, Robert, Taine-Cheikh); then I will present a unitary analysis of this conjugation accounting for its various uses. This analysis in terms of 'situational dependency' states that when the locator-slot of an utterance (defined by the speaker's time and his commitment to the utterance) is vacant, it has to be filled in by an extra-clausal locator. So, depending on the syntactic status of the locator and its integration in the Null tense clause, the complex sentence displays various degrees of dependency which range from pragmatic to syntactic dependency, and extend from discourse coherence to embedding (Robert 1996, 2010). Eventually, this remarkable use made by Wolof of temporal vagueness in the verb system will be paralleled with the spatial indeterminacy attested in the spatial deixis of this language (-u suffix), and its correlated effects of syntactic and pragmatic dependency (interrogation, relative and conditional clauses).

The crucial point revealed by this study is that, at the level of assertion, temporal and modal indeterminacy produces syntactic or pragmatic dependency.

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## Again on reversative meaning: Opposition, aspect and scalarity in Spanish *des*-verbs

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It has been traditionally assumed that the reversative meaning is triggered when a negative prefix, like Spanish *des*-, is adhered to a telic base verb. The result is a new verb which conveys an action cancelling a previous one -that denoted

by the base-, which is in a sense presupposed (Marchand [1973] 1974). This is what happens in *calzar* ['to take shoes on'] / *descalzar* ['to take shoes off']. However, it has been shown that not all of the reversative verbs necessarily presuppose a previous action, as happens for instance in *desajustar* ('to unfit'); and, what is more, the context may defeat the assumption even in those cases that usually denote a previous action (Cruse 1979, 1986; Varela y Martín García 1999; Costa 2008). For this reason, it is preferable to relate the reversative meaning to the results of the base and its respective derived verb rather than to a previous action (Cruse 1986; Horn 2002).

Similarly, and in spite of what may be inferred from Marchand's definition, not all of the reversative verbs behave equally in terms of aspect. In this way, Cruse (1986) has established different kinds of reversatives according to the distinction between absolute and relative opposition; thus, while *aparecer* ['appear'] / *desaparecer* ['disappear'] relate in terms of the former, *acelerar* ['to accelerate'] / *desacelerar* ['to decelerate'] relate in terms of the latter. Furthermore, it is assumed that the reversative verbs linked to absolute opposition result in complementary states with respect to their bases, while the reversatives linked to relative opposition result in antonym states (Cruse 1986; Grossmann 1994).

The description of aspect concerning reversative verbs become more precise if they are analyzed from a scalar perspective, which, for instance, may relate the telicity or atelicity of degree achievements to the limited or unlimited quantity of change experienced by the affected entity, respectively (Hay, Kennedy & Levin 1999; Kennedy & Levin 2008). From this point of view, according to their aspectual features, three kinds of Spanish reversative verbs can be established:

-Verbs in which the prefix *des-* conveys a scalar value, and, specifically, an end-of-scale value, as happens in *desbloquear* ['to unblock'], *desenchufar* ['to switch it off'], *desconectar* ['to disconnect'].

-Verbs in which the prefix *des-* conveys a relative scalar value, as in *desacelerar*, *desmejorar* ['to get worse'], *desenfurecer* ['to get less furious']... These verbs are in some sense related to a gradable adjective or a gradable adverb.

-Verbs in which the prefix *des-* may contextually convey a relative scalar value or an end-of-scale value, as in *desinflar(se)* ['to deflate'], *deshidrar(se)* ['to dehydrate'].

In sum, the scalar perspective may explain the aspectual distinctions of the Spanish reversative verbs formed with the prefix *des-*. Furthermore, the scalar value becomes a link between the reversative meaning and other meanings ascribed to this prefix, such as the intensive or the negative meaning. More generally, this paper means to connect the relationships between aspect and scalarity with opposition.

### On the apparent similarity of the Ibero-Romance languages: the syntax of negative causation in contrast.

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The main objective of this study is to compare the structure of the factitive construction expressing negative causation with *dejar* / *deixar* ('to let') in the Ibero-Romance languages (cf. Silva 1997). At first sight, Spanish and Portuguese behave very similarly, in accordance with the generally accepted idea that they present a high degree of syntactic equivalence. To begin with, as opposed to other related languages such as French or Italian, *dejar* and *deixar* can be complemented both by a completive clause (1) and an infinitive, with an anteposed or postposed causee (2). Secondly, they can act like a true auxiliary verb, triggering incorporation of the subordinated infinitive (cf. example 2), or they can adopt the syntax of a true lexical verb, namely the trivalent argument structure of the related control verbs expressing authorization such as *permitir* ('to allow') (3):

- (1) a. A la vuelta **dejé que** Chamorro condujera. (CREA: Silva L., 2000) 'When we came back, I let Chamorro drive.'  
b. A gente abre a boca e **deixa que** a palavra saia. (CDP: Azevedo A.) 'People open up their mouth and let the word come out.'
- (2) a. [...] en la corte de Minos no **dejan bailar** al primero que llega. (CREA: Moix T., 2002) 'In the court of Minos, they don't let anyone coming in dance.'  
b. Então, Bill, **deixa** o mercado **decidir** e poupa uma carga de trabalhos. (CDP: Ramos J., 1997) 'Thus, Bill, let the market decide and avoid a load of work.'
- (3) a. [...] **le dejaba que** le diera la teta a la niña (CREA: Chacón D., 2002) 'He allowed her to breast-feed the baby.'

b. [...] não puderam ou não **lhes deixaram** exercer o poder. (CDP, 1997) 'They couldn't or wouldn't let them exercise power.'

However, it has been argued previously that the nature of the infinitive in Portuguese and Spanish is quite different, presenting more verbal characteristics in the former language than in the latter (Leonetti Jungl 1999, Vanderschueren in press). A detailed empirical study of a wide corpus (containing about 1000 relevant cases, see *References*) will allow us to examine whether this structural difference influences on the syntax of the causatives with *deixar* and *dejar*.

It will be shown that statistically the selection of the three possible aforementioned complements differs substantially in both languages. In Portuguese the anteposition of the causee outreaches by far the rate in Spanish, which clearly prefers postposition. Secondly, the completive clause seems to be more easily selected in Spanish. A multifactorial analysis will show us to what extent the semantics of the main constituents (namely the degree of dynamicity of the causer, the causee and the caused event) determine the syntactic variation in both languages and to what extent this variation can be linked to the different grammatical status of the infinitive.

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### Recent developments in motion verb use among English and Spanish native speakers: a preliminary study.

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According to Talmy (1991, 2000, 2007) , languages can be divided into *Verb-framed* (V-languages; e.g., Spanish, Turkish, Korean) which codify path within the verb (La chica *entró* en la casa) and *Satellite-framed* (S-languages; e.g., English, German, Russian) which codify path outside the verb in elements like satellites allowing the verb to express concepts such as manner (The girl *walked* into the house).

Due to these typological differences, speakers of S-languages have the potential to encode a greater number of path segments in fewer words as compared to V-languages. Furthermore, these speakers have the ability to express manner more easily without the use of subordinate phrases. Consequently, S-languages have been shown to express manner more frequently and in a wider variety of contexts than V-languages (Özçalışkan & Slobin, 1999; Slobin, 2004). Nevertheless, recent studies have indicated that the patterns of motion expression in these languages may be shifting closer to each other, as a result of influence between the two. For example, Martínez-Vazquez (2001) predicted that Spanish will evolve in the direction of English due to the growth of Spanish speakers using English in their daily lives, the impact of English translations on Spanish, and the number of bilingual speakers using "Spanglish". According to her, this gradual change could have begun in general motion verbs and then spread to other verbs in which manner is more salient. Likewise, Romay-Fernández (2011), on the basis of corpora of British English from the 60's and 90's, found that the behaviour of certain English neutral manner of motion verbs, such as *walk* or *jump*, is becoming more similar to the behaviour of the corresponding verbs in V-languages in the cline of manner and path salience.

The proposed presentation will examine differences and similarities in the expression of motion in a group of fifty native speakers of English from Georgia, USA and fifty native speakers of Spanish from Galicia, Spain. Data was collected as part of a larger study (in progress) which studies the acquisition of words expressing either path or manner of motion in a novel word learning paradigm. As part of a series of tasks, participants were asked to view a short cartoon based on the characters *Tweety Bird* and *Sylvester* and to retell this story to the experimenter. Narrations were video-recorded, transcribed, and coded for elements expressing path, ground, and manner.

Results are expected to show that the differences between the two languages in patterns of motion expression, as outlined by Talmy (1991, 2000, 2007), are becoming less noticeable. Specifically, it is expected that while the descriptions produced by native speakers of English will contain more expressions of manner than those of Spanish speakers, the manner verbs that they choose will be more neutral (e.g., *walk* rather than *meander*). Conversely, it is expected that speakers of Spanish will produce more marked expressions of manner in their descriptions. Furthermore,



it is expected that English speakers will also use less complex constructions of path and ground elements, that is, expressing only one path in each phrase rather than multiple ones. Also considered will be the implications of this research and future directions.

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## A lexical-constructional approach to *fetch*, *find*, *gather* and *reach*.

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Drawing on corpus data from the BNC, COCA and Webcorp, this presentation discusses the different kinds of constructional realization for the verbs *fetch*, *find*, *gather* and *reach* by contrasting them with *bring*, *search*, *collect*, and *extend* respectively in the ditransitive and the dative constructions. To this end, I make use of previous taxonomic work by Levin (1993) and Faber & Mairal (1999), plus relevant elements from the analytical and explanatory apparatus provided by the *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM) as propounded by Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal (2008), especially its proposed set of *internal* and *external* constraints on lexical-constructional integration or *subsumption*.

The four verbs chosen for the present study, which are listed by Levin (1993) among *get* verbs, participate in the ditransitive construction since all of them meet the *sine-qua-non* condition of the 'transfer' model, viz. the Agent possesses the entity to be transferred and can do without it. The transfer meaning is clearly contributed by the ditransitive construction. This presentation explains why *\*Fetch that box to me* is ill-formed while *Bring that box to me* is not. The verb *bring* conveys the idea that someone carries an object from one place to another with or without a purpose. The Agent and the Recipient can be in the same place but not necessarily so (e.g. *She brought me some souvenirs from France*). When there is an overlap in the locations of the Agent and the Recipient the ditransitive construction is preferred. On the other hand, the dative construction is used when the locations of both the Agent and the Recipient do not coincide (cf. *He brought the wit and tough wisdom of his birthplace [...] to generations of Engineering students*). The syntactic behavior of *bring* and *fetch* (i.e. their (non)-participation in the dative construction) can be explained by means of the LCM constraint labeled *Internal Variable Conditioning*, according to which the world knowledge information encapsulated in the semantic make-up of the predicate restricts the nature of its constructional arguments. Thus, *fetch* [move + bring], which is a more complex verb, suggests that the Agent and the Recipient are in the same place. The fact that the verb *fetch* incorporates the idea of movement of the Agent to the location of an entity creates a clash with the dative construction, which exclusively encodes the movement of the transferred entity from a location to the Recipient's location. In contrast to the verb *search*, *find* fits easily into the ditransitive construction (*Find me a job/\*Search me a job*) since *find* highlights the result of an activity (searching) whereas *search* expresses an unfinished event ("try to find something/someone").

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**Constraints on lexical-constructional subsumption:  
accounting for say verbs in the dative and as constructions.**

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This presentation explores lexical-constructional integration of *say* verbs (Levin, 1993) into the *dative* and the *as* constructions. For this purpose, we make use of the explanatory tools developed within the *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM; cf. Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2008, 2011; Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza, 2009). The LCM distinguishes argument structure, implicational, illocutionary and discourse levels of representation based on combinations of meaning derived lexically, constructionally and inferentially. In this presentation we study the integration of lexical items into argument structure constructions. In the LCM, lexical-constructional integration (*subsumption*) is either licensed or blocked by a number of constraints, some of which arise from the lexical-class ascription of predicates while others are based upon the conceptual compatibility across characterizations or on the sensitiveness of a predicate to be construed from alternate perspectives in order to meet constructional requirements.

The study of lexical-constructional integration reveals certain inconsistencies in Levin's classification, which can be solved through a finer-grained exploration of the semantic configuration and the syntactic behavior of the members of a given class. For instance, a group of verbs belonging to the class of *say* verbs can participate in the *as* construction (understood here as the complex-transitive construction in which the object complement is preceded by *as*; e.g. *They announced John as the new secretary*) while others cannot. Furthermore, some verbs can participate in the complex-transitive construction regardless of the presence of *as*. These verbs (e.g. *proclaim*, *designate*) display a set of differentiating features that lead us to postulate the existence of a subclass whose function is to ascribe a role or status to a syntactic object. Even if members of this subclass can participate in both constructions, meaning implications arise from the presence or absence of *as*. Consider (1) and (2) below:

The committee proclaimed John the new secretary.

The committee proclaimed John as the new secretary.

In our view, the internal configuration of these verbs conjures up a sequence of events in which, first, an official decision is made and then this decision is communicated to other people. The use of the complex-transitive construction in (1) highlights the first event in the sequence, while the 'make the decision public' dimension is called upon by the insertion of the particle *as* in (2). The existence of this sequence allows us to explain the ungrammaticality of *\*The committee announced John the new secretary*. Verbs like *announce* thus belong to a different subclass that lacks the first part of the sequence. That is, the semantic configuration of these verbs is exclusively linked to the 'make the decision public' part of the sequence. Therefore, their participation in the complex-transitive construction without *as* is ruled out.

In general, we observe that the *Lexical Class Constraint* (LCC), as postulated by the LCM, allows us to determine whether the members of a given class or subclass can participate in a construction, thus being essential to our study. Along similar lines, we analyze the subclasses that emerge from our reclassification of Levin's *say* verbs. We examine their syntactic behavior at a higher level of granularity thereby accounting for the kinds of subsumption process in which they take part in connection with the constraints that regulate such processes.

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### Expressing evidentiality in Lithuanian: the case of neuter adjectives.

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Similarly to other European languages, in Lithuanian evidential meanings can be expressed by a range of linguistic means on the lexicon-grammar cline (Squartini (ed.) 2007; Diewald and Smirnova (eds.) 2010). Most attention has been devoted to the exploration of evidential participial constructions (Ambrasas 1977; Gronemeyer 1997; Wiemer 2006; Holvoet 2007), verbs of perception (Usonienė 2002, 2003) and particles (Wiemer 2007, Wiemer 2010). The present study focuses on the evidential functions realized by the neuter adjectives *akivaizdu* 'evident', *aišku* 'clear', *panašu* 'likely' and *natūralu* 'natural' used as complement-taking-predicates (CTP use) and parentheticals, e.g.:

<...> *palyginus šias sąvokas akivaizdu, kad jos nėra tapačios.*  
'<...> having compared these concepts it is **evident** that they are not identical.'

*Kalba, aišku, yra priemonė, lemianti žmonių tarpusavio bendravimą.*  
'Language, **clearly/of course**, is a means that determines human communication.'

The aim of the study is to identify evidential functions that correlate with CTP and parenthetical use of the neuter adjectives and compare their distribution in fiction and academic discourse. The study also addresses the question of the shared and non-shared status of evidence the adjectives refer to (Nuyts 2001). Evidential functions are distinguished by exploring the syntagmatic environment of the adjectives: the expression of the subject, position and scope of the adjectives, use of modal verbs, connectives and types of clauses.

The study is corpus-based and combines quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. The data are obtained from the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>), namely from the subcorpus of fiction, and from the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (<http://www.coralit.lt/>) which comprises academic texts from biomedicine, physical sciences, technologies, humanities and social sciences.

The preliminary results of the research reveal that the adjectives under consideration express the speaker's/writer's inferences drawn from "perceptual" and/or "conceptual" evidence (Diewald and Smirnova 2010) but not the speaker's/writer's degree of commitment towards the proposition, as it has been suggested in the literature (Tekorienė 1990; Akelaitis 1992). The distribution of the patterns of use of the neuter adjectives and marking of their evidential grounding differ in fiction and academic discourse. In fiction the neuter adjectives function more frequently as parentheticals, while in academic discourse they are more frequently used as complement-taking-predicates. Frequent parenthetical use of the adjectives in fiction is indicative of pragmatic use of the adjectives and loss of evidential functions, while frequent CTP use in academic discourse correlates with evidential functions. In academic discourse the "perceptual" and/or "conceptual" grounding of the adjectives is specified by "intratextual" and "intertextual" locative complements (Grossmann and Tutin 2010), clauses of reason and connectives more frequently than in fiction. Specification of the evidential grounding highlights the speaker's/ writer's role of a guide and arguer who aims to lead the hearer/reader throughout discourse or convince him/her of the validity of the proposition. In academic discourse inferences expressed by the neuter adjectives are mainly intersubjective, while in fiction they can also be subjective as the speaker/writer may signal the availability of evidence exclusively to himself/herself.

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#### On sentence information structure in Czech: the usual sentence position of particular sentence components.

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The paper deals with the sentence information structure (functional sentence perspective) in Czech, focusing on the tendency of the particular sentence constituents to appear in Czech sentence as topic or focus.

In Czech, there is a strong tendency to reflect the sentence information structure in word order. It is typical that the topic constituents appear in the sentence in front of the predicative verb and the focus part follows the verb<sup>1</sup> – for example, *Dalsi podrobne informace studenti najdou v nasem katalogu* / literally: *More detailed information students will find in our catalog* / non-literally: *Students will find more detailed information in our catalog*. In the topic part in Czech (in our example), there is the patient (*dalsi podrobne informace* / *more detailed information*) and the actor (*studenti* / *students*); in the focus part, there is the predicative verb (*najdou* / *find*) and the free verbal modification expressing locative (*v nasem katalogu* / *in our catalog*).

Of course, it is possible that all types of sentence constituents can appear both in the topic and in the focus part (in different sentences), depending basically on the fact whether they are contextually bound or not (in the example above, there is, for example, the patient in the topic part because it is contextually bound, but if it were not, it would be placed in the focus part that follows the predicative verb).

However, it was found out that there is a tendency of the sentence constituents to appear more often in the topic or in the focus (for example, the free modifications expressing temporal “when” tend to be in the topic part in Czech: *V kvetnu prijede na navstevu do Prahy prezident USA.* / literally: *In May arrives for a visit to Prague U. S. President* / non-literally: *U.S. President arrives for a visit to Prague in May*).

The paper analyzes the tendency of individual types of sentence components (inner participants and free modifications) to appear in the topic or in the focus in Czech. The research was carried out on language material from Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT) – on more than 38 000 sentences annotated as for their of topic-focus articulation.

The aim of the analysis was to find out how often and eventually under which circumstances individual sentence components occur in focus. On the basis of the research, a “focus scale” was established. The scale includes all types of sentence components that appear in PDT (i.e. more than 35 types of components). It was found out, for example, free modification expressing temporal “when” stands in focus in 32 % of occurrences; free modification expressing manner in 87 %. Since in Czech the role of sentence participants in functional sentence perspective is strongly connected with word order, the scale indicates also the general word order tendencies of sentence participants in Czech.

<sup>1</sup>However, in the sentences with the predicative verb in the second place, the topic participants can stand also behind the verb (cf. *Anotace na tektogramaticke rovine Prazskeho zavislostniho korpusu: Anotatorska prirucka*, 2005).

**Complex epistemic perspective in Duna.**

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Markers belonging to knowledge-related grammatical categories such as evidentiality and epistemicity are perspective-taking, and commonly portray items or events as perceived by a particular person. For example, in the language Duna (Trans New Guinea) I might use a visual evidential *-tia* to describe an event seen by me, the speaker (1).

- (1) *Ita-na no mbou ali-tia*  
 pig-SPEC 1SG garden dig-VIS  
 'The pig dug up my garden (I saw)'

Theories and descriptions of knowledge-related categories have usually focused on the speaker as the prototypical perspective holder, but it is well-known that knowledge-related morphemes are also used to encode perspectives of other potential locutionary agents, such as addressees and narrative-internal protagonists. For example, in many languages an evidential marker that is used in a question is understood to relate to the addressee's knowledge source, not the speaker's (2). Such phenomena are central to the exploration of language, complex perspective (i.e., the simultaneous expression of more than one viewpoint), and intersubjectivity, but have rarely been thoroughly examined in the descriptive or typological literature.

- (2) *Ita-na no mbou ali-tia=pe*  
 pig-SPEC 1SG garden dig-VIS=Q  
 'Did the pig dig up my garden (you saw)?'

In this talk I examine complex perspective and knowledge-related morphemes in Duna, a language spoken in Southern Highlands (Hela) Province, Papua New Guinea. Duna has an extensive inventory of bound morphology that relates to issues concerning knowledge, including information source, certainty, and expectedness, among others. Using original field data drawn from a range of genres, I present four examples illustrating some different ways that these markers invoke complex epistemic perspectives in interaction. In casual conversation, demonstrating awareness of an addressee's perspective aids in asking a favour. In telling a personal history, a speaker encourages an addressee to evaluate evidence that is available to both speech act participants, perhaps attempting to reinforce the truth of his narrative. Combatants in a court situation use epistemic markers to challenge each others' version of events. And a storyteller and his audience use evidential morphemes to reflect perspectives of both narrated events and the speech situation, collaborating in the construction of a storytelling world.

Descriptions of knowledge-related morphology have often been limited to monologic and elicited data, typically exploring how the relevant forms express the viewpoint of a single speaker. Multi-party, spontaneous material offers insight into the complex possibilities for expressing alternative and multiple viewpoints, and the functions of such constructions in interaction. The Duna data suggest that structures that purport to encode non-speaker perspective are also a powerful tool for expressing speaker stance towards propositions and participants in the speech situation.

**Egophoricity in Wutun.**

Sandman, Erika

(University of Helsinki)

In my talk I will examine grammatical and semantic properties of egophoricity markers in Wutun. Wutun is a little-documented Sinitic language, more precisely a distinct local form of Northwest Mandarin spoken by a population of some 4000 individuals in Wutun, Qinghai Province, Western China, also known as the Amdo region of ethnic Tibet (see Janhunen et al 2008). The local lingua franca in the Wutun-speaking region and the most important contact language of Wutun is Amdo Tibetan, and due to this language contact Wutun has acquired many Tibetan features, including the category of egophoricity. Egophoricity systems (also known as conjunct-/disjunct systems) are widely attested in Tibetic languages (see e.g. DeLancey 1986, 1990; Sun 1993; Garrett 2001). All these systems involve sets of epistemic markers

that are used to state both the speaker's source of information (evidentiality) and information access between speech act participants (epistemic perspective). This analysis is also valid for Wutun, and for a full understanding of the system, I will approach egophoricity in Wutun from the perspective of both the speaker and the hearer.

From the speaker-oriented perspective, evidentials in Wutun form a tripartite hierarchy related to the degree of speaker's involvement in the event. Wutun makes a distinction between egophoric evidentiality (speaker has participated and volitionally instigated the event), sensory-inferential evidentiality (speaker has observed or inferred the event, but has not volitionally participated in it) and factual evidentiality (speaker makes statements based on common knowledge and has no active role in obtaining new information.).

From the intersubjective perspective, it is necessary to consider if the speaker thinks that the information is expected from the hearer's perspective. Egophoric evidentials indicate that the event is expected to the speaker, but not necessarily to the hearer and the speaker may use them to convince the hearer. Sensory-inferential evidentials can be used to code information that has just been discovered by the speaker, and that is unexpected to both the hearer and the speaker. Factual evidentials represent generally known facts that are supposed to be old information for both to the speaker and the hearer, and they are used when the speaker expects the hearer to already know something about the topic.

My analysis is based on first-hand data collected during two field trips in Qinghai province in June-July 2007 and June-July 2010. In addition to elicited examples, descriptive and narrative texts, my data also includes recorded conversations that are essential in understanding the interactional aspects of epistemic perspective marking.

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## Deontic uses of initial unstressed *Que*-clauses in Spanish.

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Purpose and background. The proposed synchronic study presents a pragmatic account of the so-called insubordinate uses of *Que*-utterances with deontic meaning in Spanish. More specifically, we focus on the deontic uses of independent *Que*-utterances with directive (1) and exhortative (2) readings in conversational contexts involving Latin American speakers.

*Que se vaya* 'Let him leave.'

*¡Que sean felices!* 'May they be happy!'

Insubordinate constructions have received some attention in the Hispanic linguistic tradition. However, previous studies of *Que* have been concerned with peninsular Spanish exclusively. In pragmatically-oriented studies, it has been proposed that *que* functions as a discourse marker (Porroche Ballesteros 2000, 2009) or as a modal marker (Pons Bordería 2003). The construction grammar account by Gras Manzano (2011) proposes a distinction between modal and connective constructions. All in all, deontic uses have received little attention, even though they are attested in the Spanish data, and are known cross-linguistically as a typical function of insubordinate constructions (Evans 2007). Further, it is as yet unclear how deontic insubordinate *que*-clauses function within the larger domain of directive expressions. This paper aims at filling both these gaps.

Study design. In contemporary Spanish, insubordinate *Que*-constructions are the marked alternative for directive constructions such as imperatives, infinitives, verbal periphrases of obligation, etc. This paper is concerned with the specific pragmatic functions of those marked constructions. On the basis of Evans' macrofunctions of insubordinate sentences we set up a functional typology of insubordinate *Que*-constructions. Furthermore, we analyze



*Que*-initial directives as potential face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson 1987) and address issues of degrees of indirectness comparing the use of these constructions to the use of other directive constructions. Finally, we address the almost exclusive use of the subjunctive and the compulsory inclusion of the complementizer *que* in initial unstressed *Que*-clauses with deontic meaning.

**Results.** The preliminary results reveal that the use of deontic independent utterances with initial unstressed *Que* (both, in directives as well as in desiderative utterances) is proportionately less frequent than the use of free-standing *que*-clauses with quotative or evidential modal values in Latin American varieties of Spanish. The analyses confirm that an overlapping of two of Evans' macrofunctions (*indirection and interpersonal control* and *modal insubordination*) in the same construction is frequent (Gras Manzano 2011). Moreover, we found that the use of directives with initial *que* does not necessarily put face-threatening acts off the record. Following a usage-based approach, this study contributes to the existing body of research on insubordination by providing new insights into real language usage by native speakers of varieties of Spanish that have been neglected so far.

**Data.** The study is based on the analysis of 35 conversations among adolescents aged between 13 and 18 years old, who are native speakers of Spanish from Buenos Aires, Argentina and Santiago, Chile. The linguistic data were manually and semi-automatically extracted from the COLA corpus (Corpus Oral del Lenguaje Adolescente).

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### Hyperbole on social networking sites.

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This article explores the use of hyperbole on social networking sites (henceforth SNSs) with special attention to the important role it plays in the expression of evaluation and rapport management in this internet-mediated genre. Hyperbole, traditionally studied in rhetoric and literary contexts, has been more recently explored in the context of exaggerated assertions for interpersonal meaning in conversation (McCarthy and Carter 2004). I will focus on the use of hyperbole for the expression of attitude (affect and feelings), judgement and appreciation following appraisal theory (Martin and White 2000, 2005, Hunston and Thompson 2000) and combining their model with politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1987, Eelen, 2001, Lakoff and Ide 2005, Locher and Watts 2005, Spencer-Oatey 2002, Watts 2003, Watts, Ide and Ehlich 2005), in an attempt to explore the interactive meanings of hyperbole favoured by users when building personal relationships on SNSs. My data will be extracted from one particular site, i.e., *Facebook*, and from interaction among friends, as distinct from other academic or professional types of interaction on this SNS (See Yus, 2011 and Santamaría-García, forthcoming). The corpus for this study consists of 300 messages sent among friends in the United Kingdom and the United States during 2010-2011. The methodology for processing the data borrows techniques from Corpus Linguistics (CL), and combines its typically quantitative approach with the more qualitative one by Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA), as done in previous research (Santamaría García 2011). The results show that hyperbole features with high frequency in the expression of evaluation on SNSs. Some of the instances analysed suggest a process of conventionalisation of hyperbole, i.e. they no longer seem to retain their metaphorical force. On the other hand, some users are highly creative with hyperbole and their use seems to play an



important role in attracting the addressees' interest and their involvement both with the messages and their sender, contributing to their positive faces.

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### Language of intimacy: ideologically constructed intimacy in Japanese romance novels.

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The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how intimate relationships are ideologically constructed in Japanese romance novels. This paper linguistically analyzes how Japanese romance novels published in the early 2000s depict intimate relationships and demonstrates how feelings considered to arise from inner emotions are constructed ideologically under the socio-cultural influence of the contemporary society.

In Japan, people often experience "renai boom (love boom)" or become "love sick" (cf. Ueno 1998), and this phase is not constant. People are urged to find their Mr./Ms. Right by using their exposure to the information obtained from the media. Among such media are romance novels: the early 2000s saw a boom in romance novels that were widely read.

Although linguistic analysis has been conducted on texts published by Harlequin, and Mills & Boon (e.g., Radway 1984; Talbot 1995 & 1997), similar research on Japanese romance novels is insufficient. One exception is Shibamoto-Smith (1999 & 2004), which compared Japanese romance novels published between 1971 and 1995 with Harlequin-type western romance novels and found that ideal Japanese protagonists are not described in the way that their western counterparts are. In particular, Shibamoto-Smith pointed out that the former are less self-revealing.

More than ten years have passed since her research, and in this time, the concept of intimate relationships has experienced a paradigm shift from "romantic love ideology" to "pure or confluent relationships" (Giddens 1992). The recent trend of egalitarian partnership seems to raise a new risk: psychological instability. Therefore, it is worthwhile to examine and compare the results of Shibamoto-Smith's study with how protagonists in contemporary Japanese romance novels express their intimate relationships.

Specifically this paper focuses on two linguistic features that are salient in the novels of the early 2000s. The first feature is person reference: how protagonists refer to or address each other. The Japanese language has a variety of person reference forms, and choosing one among them has implications beyond simple reference. This paper traces the selection process of person reference forms (both self-reference and addressee-reference forms) in accordance with the shift in the concept of intimate relationships, revealing the importance of their forms of conveying the feelings of the speakers toward the interlocutors. In addition, this paper investigates the expressions of anxiety that also stand out in contemporary romance novels. It is found that, to express their feelings, both heroes and heroines exploit linguistic devices that are indexically associated with gender and mutual distance. Furthermore, the investigation reveals that such feelings are not directly expressed toward the beloved. In fact, the protagonists restrain from expressing their feelings to other characters in the story and often engage in soliloquy.

The analysis concludes by pointing out that the language of intimacy is not universal. We are bound by some rules imposed on the present society regarding what feelings are appropriate to have, show, and express. This finding demonstrates that even intimate feelings are constructed and represented ideologically through available linguistic devices.

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### **The language-internal diversity of grammatical relations: the case of Yakkha.**

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This paper provides a description of the grammatical relations in Yakkha (Sino-Tibetan, Eastern Kiranti, spoken in East Nepal). Taking into account all constructions that prefer some set of arguments over others, one finds almost all alignment patterns (except for A=P; terms used in the sense of generalized semantic roles, as in Dowty 1991; Bickel 2010).

Several constructions are accusatively aligned: converbs, most complement constructions and participant nominalization. The ergative pattern is found as well: in case marking, verbal agreement and in the expression of deontic modality. Another factor determining different alignment types are the referential properties (person, animacy and number) of argument and co-argument, which, in interaction with role-based alignment, may yield complex split patterns. The verbal transitive agreement (with both A and P), for instance, is reference-based in [1A>2P] and [(any)>1P] scenarios, but role-based in [3A>2P] and [(any)>3P] scenarios. Furthermore, each morpheme of the verbal inflection shows different alignment, with a tendency for speech act participants to be ergatively aligned, while third person aligns accusatively, against the universal expectations (Silverstein 1976), but in line with the general Kiranti pattern (Bickel 2008). The referential factor is also prominent in three-argument constructions, where it determines case and agreement of T and G (Schackow 2011), giving a privileged status to SAP arguments. The syntactic treatment of non-canonically marked S/A arguments, such as possessors and experiencers also has to be taken into account. Often such arguments participate in the same constructions as the 'canonical' S/A arguments, which shows that generalized semantic roles are not only useful in crosslinguistic comparison; they can capture important generalizations in determining the GR of a particular language.

As regards the construction-specific notion of GR, the Yakkha data not only show that arguments are aligned differently in each construction. Even within one construction one can find various alignment types, especially when several markers participate in it, so that there is the potential to align differently. This suggests that the construction-specific notion of GR might still be too broad. Furthermore, markers change their alignment properties while undergoing (further) grammaticalization (e.g. from a nominalizer to an agreement marker).

Finally, it is worth mentioning which constructions are irrelevant for grammatical relations in Yakkha: passivization and relativization. This is important to note, as some typological accounts on GR, most prominently Dixon (1994) and Foley & Van Valin (1984), rely on such syntactic criteria in search for universal notions of 'subject' or 'transitivity'.

The data consist of a natural language corpus and elicitations and were gathered between 2009 and 2011.

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**Linguistic constructions related to the distinction between emotion-denoting and affect-denoting German nouns.**

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Whether emotions (vs. affective states) involve a cognitive component (are *about something*) has been a matter of some research (e.g., Clore & Ortony 2000:52ff). Our study examines a set of pairs of near-synonymous German nouns denoting emotions or affective states. We assume the hypothesis that one of the nouns (e.g., *Lust* – *desire*, *lust*) tends to denote an emotion and the other one tends to denote an affective state (e.g., *Begierde* – *desire*). The emotion-denoting noun should then co-occur significantly more often with some constituent specifying the *theme* of the emotion than the other noun. Our study thus follows a tradition which assumes that conceptual differences between emotions can be examined by examining the corresponding linguistic expressions (e.g., Ortony et al. 1987:342, Scherer 2005:707). The resulting effect must be gradual rather than categorical since (1a) and (1b) are clearly both acceptable.

- (1) (a) Lust auf Kuchen  
desire for cake
- (b) Begierde nach Kuchen  
desire for cake

We selected 300 occurrences each for 10 pairs of candidates from the balanced German corpus of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (DWDS-Korpus, Geyken 2006). Two pairs had to be excluded, and thus 2,400 occurrences remained. We coded them for whether a grammatical realization of a theme was present, be it in the form of a complement as in (1) or some other realization (for example causatives with the emotion noun in subject position).

In this first study, 5 out of 8 pairs showed significant effects with varying strength, among them the following (the noun which favors the presence of a theme is marked with a <sup>+</sup>): *Sehnsucht* – *Verlangen*<sup>+</sup> (*longing*) ( $\chi^2=9.47$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.005^{**}$ ,  $\phi=0.63$ ), *Lust*<sup>+</sup> – *Begierde* (*desire*, *lust*) ( $\chi^2=8.46$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.005^{**}$ ,  $\phi=0.36$ ) or *Neid*<sup>+</sup> – *Eifersucht* (*envy*) ( $\chi^2=4.28$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p<0.05^*$ ,  $\phi=0.08$ ). No effect was measured, for example, for *Angst* – *Furcht* (*fear*) ( $\chi^2=0.32$ ,  $df=1$ ,  $p>0.05$ ). We can, however, relate some differences in significance and effect strength to the overall token frequency of the words and their development over the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

By further examining the realizations of themes of emotion-denoting terms, for example w.r.t. the syntactic category and semantic type of the theme (object, event, etc.), we hope to provide further evidence that different conceptualizations of emotions and affective states are expressed at the grammar level. We plan to report some of these further results in our talk. We will attempt to do all subsequent analyses in the framework of collostructional analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003), which should produce more robust results than the small sample/ $\chi^2$  methods used so far. The study is part of a larger corpus-based project on the lexicology of German emotion-denoting terms using both fine-grained methods as in this study, but also large-scale taxonomic methods like LSA (Landauer & Dumais 1997) to approximate classical taxonomies of emotions such as that of Storm & Storm (1987).

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### **Feature configurations in L2 learnability: new insights in patterns of borrowing and transfer?**

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The past and present diversity of natural languages around the world provides evidence for evolvability and L1 learnability of many different linguistic structures. The dynamics of this system in language contact situations, specifically the interface between L1 language diversity and L2 learnability, is currently not well understood. We aim to expose feature dynamics in L2 learnability by quantifying observed differences in L2 learnability by mother tongue. We want to test these differences on the distribution of structural features across languages (Greenberg 1963, Dryer 1992) versus the dependencies in distributions within language families (Dunn et al. 2011). This way, we introduce empirical data of adult second language learners to the quantitative diachronic approach. The outcomes are relevant for language change because L2 learnability plays a direct role in borrowing and structural transfer, which are core processes in language contact situations (cf. the concept of diffusion as well; Labov 2007).

We use over 100,000 L2 assessment scores of Dutch proficiency to measure L2 learnability. The data contain enough speakers to analyze more than 100 different first languages. According to a previous study, the assessment scores appear to be strongly correlated to the degree of evolutionary relatedness between the mother tongue (L1) and the target language (L2) as based on cognate distance (McMahon & McMahon, 2005). The scores are decomposed into partially crossed random effects for the mother tongue, additional language background, and country of birth. This way of structuring our data enables an estimation of independent as well as combinatorial effects across the random effects. The regression models incorporate confounding effects such as years and quality of education, gender and age.

By stepwise expanding our analysis, including typological feature configurations and weighing their impact, we expect to find distance effects in L2 learnability as based on the degree of overlap in structural features. Our first step is to analyze L2 learnability using feature distributions of the Indo-European mother tongues involved (the L1s), in comparison to Dutch (the L2), by regressing proficiency scores on feature differences. A sufficient amount of typological data to compute quantifications of morphological complexity (Lupyan & Dale, 2010) is available in the World Atlas of Language Structures (Dryer & Haspelmath, 2011). Extracted feature hierarchies are tested on consistency across language branches within the Indo-European languages.

Our second step is to establish the feature hierarchies in relation to L2 Dutch by sampling across genera first in pairs, and then by sampling within the Afro-Asiatic, Altaic and Niger-Congo language families. We compare the feature hierarchies obtained in these three language families with the Indo-European hierarchy on consistency to test whether the hierarchy of structural features that influence acquisition performance differs independently across genera and dependently within genera. We expect variable feature hierarchies, perhaps dynamically depending on the type of languages involved.

The third step is to extrapolate the observed patterns in feature hierarchies and their dynamics to (principles of) language change, with the aim at the same time to get better insights in patterns of borrowing and transfer.

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**Phonological and iconic properties of reduplication from a typological perspective.**

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The present paper aims to contribute to the typology of the REDuplication phenomenon. This process of morphology is of special interest mainly for two reasons: First, it is a morphological procedure without a phonologically constant form; rather, its particular formal exponent (the reduplicant) depends on the respective (base) form to which the process in question applies. Secondly, the meanings expressed by RED make up a relatively small and cross-linguistically constant set basically comprising different notions of plurality, intensity and, interestingly, diminution (cf. Kiyomi 1995).

Research question and hypothesis. The study focuses on the make-up of RED systems within and across languages. It is hypothesized that there is much less intra- and cross-linguistic arbitrariness of RED with respect to formal and semantic properties than hitherto acknowledged, in favor of a more systematic view which is derivable from typological observations and generalizations.

Approach. Two concepts play an essential role in the approach at hand: 1) structural preferences in the vein of Vennemann (1988), accounting for the preference for unmarked linguistic structures in lieu of the faithful identity between base and reduplicant, and 2) iconicity, the motivated relationship between form and meaning. The latter principle is accommodated to also cover the intuitively non-iconic but widespread RED functions of diminution (cf. Kouwenberg and LaCharité 2005, Stolz 2007, Fischer 2011), whereby it can be saliently adduced to deal with the homogeneity of occurring meanings in combination with their respective reduplicative forms.

Method and data. The investigated RED data stem from a sample of around 100 languages contained in the online *Graz Database on Reduplication* (<http://reduplication.uni-graz.at/redup/>) and are analyzed according to established morphological (word, stem, root, affix,...) and phonological (foot, syllable, consonant, vowel,...) categories. The linguistic material thus accumulated constitutes the empirical basis from which conclusions are drawn.

Results. A picture of RED emerges granting sheer arbitrariness of form and meaning a considerably weaker significance. Functional and structural principles as the ones alluded to above so far yield the following results:

Formally, the structure of reduplicants seems to obey the synchronic (and diachronic) maxim (Vennemann 1988: 2–3), languages employing partial RED always showing CV reduplicants, and often only these, quite frequently even at the cost of exact copying of the base (in addition, languages in which the process has lost productivity often display relics solely in the form of CV patterns, preferentially with fixed segmentism). Furthermore, the misconception of a strict dependence of partial RED on full RED has to be corrected in light of the data at hand. Functionally, a revised view of iconicity perfectly captures the prevalence of the concept in RED, the essentially iconic but derived nature of diminution (see, e.g., Kouwenberg and LaCharité 2005) being shown by the fact that a diminutive use seems to imply a pluralizing function of RED in a language.

Such observations add to a more concise typology of RED, a desideratum basically since the seminal paper by Moravcsik (1978).

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### **Tar sands pollution, from Fort Chipewyan Alberta to the White House.**

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When Chief Allan Adam of the Chipewyan band of Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, with other First Nations and environmental groups including Friends of the Earth, took out a full page ad in USA Today asking President Barack Obama to prevail upon Prime Minister Stephen Harper to put an end to tar sands exploration, it was treated as a local issue, ignored by mainstream media. Now, some three years later, the tar sands protest has reached the White House, and President Obama is forced to act. Dozens of discourses have merged, making Tar Sands exploration the hottest global issue of our time. Not only does the Keystone XL pipeline threaten the heartland of America, it promises to feed the fossil fuel addiction of Asian and European nations as it tips the globe past the carbon sinkholes that endanger fish, waterfowl and mammal species. Obama is taking responsibility for slowing the flow of crude tar through the U.S. while global attention focuses on his action and on secret lobbying and conflict of interest within the State Department.

Relevant discourses include campaign slogans, climate change, climate justice, environmental degradation, environmental protection, ecological justice, homeland security, environmental impact, renewable energy, fossil fuel addiction, peak oil, population explosion, endangered species, endangered languages, lobbying, Occupy Wall St., advertising, public relations, public hearings, fish and wildlife, regulatory agencies, First Nations, NGOs, Corporations, provincial government, federal government, biodiversity, oil spills, and health. New venues include Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, with Robert Redford making a plea on video, and thousands chanting "Yes, you can stop the pipeline."

In this presentation, I start with local discourse from Fort Chipewyan, Alberta in 1976 and gradually adumbrate the latest global developments, analyzing global discourses.

### **Different sensory perceptions as an explanation for multiple agreement choices and gender renewal: a case study from Dutch.**

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In the past decades many studies have dealt with Dutch gender, all of them underlining the progressive transition from a grammatical to a conceptual gender system (Audring 2009; De Vogelaer 2009; De Vos 2009; De Vogelaer & De Vos 2011). Nowadays the Dutch gender is described as a 'mismatched' one, given the paradigmatic unbalance between the number of gender values for controllers and targets. Dutch nouns belong to one of two genders, i.e. common *de*-words vs. neuter *het*-words. This bipartition is reflected at the pronominal level, with the exception of personal pronouns that partially maintain the original tripartite distinction between masculine, feminine and neuter. This state of affairs is the result of the historical simplification of Dutch morphology that led to the opacization of gender markers and to the gradual loss of grammatical gender, to the extent that nowadays pronoun usage seem to be determined no longer by grammatical rules, but to be based on the contingent perception of the noun referent, according to different degrees of individuation. Actually, gender instability can be also observed at the nominal level, at least for a marginal corner of the Dutch lexicon: double gender nouns (DGNs). DGNs are inherently unstable on the condition that they can trigger both the common as well as the neuter article (*de/het*-words) and therefore they can virtually take any kind of pronominal agreement. These nouns were purposely avoided in previous gender studies, mainly because their instability was treated as a matter of opaque gender assignment. However, the analysis of speech and Web data reveals that DGNs gender fluctuations can be explained relying on the same tendencies that were proved to be at work for the re-structuring of pronominal gender. That is, a noun as *de/het marsepein* 'marzipan' takes more likely the neuter article when it refers to the substance, i.e. unbounded entity, but prefers common gender when it makes reference to a piece of marzipan, i.e. bounded entity. As a matter of fact, a similar behavior can be observed also for nouns 'apparently' stable, i.e. *de boter* 'butter' (prototypical substance) > *\*het boter*.

The aim of this paper is twofold. On the one hand, I will provide examples of nominal gender shifts comparing them with similar cases at the pronominal to highlight those common semantic agreement pathways which strongly suggests that the re-categorization of Dutch gender is pervading the system as a whole. On the other hand, I will discuss



the cross-linguistic significance of gender renewals based on the perception of the referent (Fernández Ordoñez 2009) and the irrelevance of any distinction between gender agreement and gender assignment (Corbett 1991) in languages like Dutch, where gender is covert. In those systems, where gender is only 'visible' through agreement, the emergence of semantic rules based on different sensory perceptions of the referent may represent the cue to spot the cognitive reasons lagging behind the development of new conceptual systems.

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## The semantics of complementation in Ossetic.

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The paper is focused on the semantics of morphological and lexical complementizers in Ossetic.

Typological works on complementation distinguish the following meanings of complement clauses: fact (presupposed information; complements of verbs *know* etc.), proposition (asserted information; complements of verbs *believe, think* etc.), and event (immediately perceived situation; complements of verbs *see, hear, remember* etc.) (cf. the definition of these theoretical notions in Kiparsky, Kiparsky 1971, Arutjunova 1988, Zaliznjak 1990, Peterson 1997). The type of generic event has been claimed to be relevant in (Serdobolskaya 2011). For many languages, the distribution of morphological / lexical complementizers has been explained in terms of these semantic types.

The first two types are distinguished on the basis of the truth value of the dependent clause (presupposed truth in facts, no such presupposition in proposition type). For the third type, event, this parameter does not seem to be relevant. However, this type of complements can bear different marking to signal that the dependent clause belongs to the theme or rheme of the complex sentence (as it is the case in Ossetic).

The goal of this work is the functional explanation of the distribution of complement marking strategies in Ossetic. The data comes from the fieldwork with native speakers of Iron Ossetic.

The Ossetic system of complement strategies differs from this pattern. Ossetic has a number of conjunctions that are used in complement constructions. The conjunctions can occur with correlative pronouns in the matrix clause, or without such pronouns (see Abaev 1950). Traditionally, the conjunctions and correlative pronouns are analyzed as complex subordinators.

I argue that conjunctions and correlative pronouns bear different functions in Ossetic: the conjunction type encodes the semantic type of the complement (the conjunction *k3j* is used to introduce facts or propositions, *ku3d* – events, *ku3a* – generic events, *s3m3j* – potential or caused event, *k3d* is only used with the verb "to wait"), while the correlative pronouns are used to denote the place of the complement clause in the information structure of the sentence. If the complement belongs to presupposition or theme (1), the correlative pronoun is possible (obligatory in preposed complements, cf. Abaev 1970); if the complement belongs to assertion or rheme, the correlative pronoun is not used (2).

## Examples

- (1) *ʒʒ      ʒon-ən,                      ʒawər   ʒgaš   kʒj      u              wəj*  
 I            know-PRS.1SG      Zaur    alive      COMPL   be.PRS.3SG      this  
 I know that Zaur is alive.
- (2) *ʒawər   kʒm      iš? –      axwərgʒnəg                      ʒay-t-a              rənčən   kʒj      u*  
 Zaur    where   EXST    teacher                      say-TR-PST.3SG    ill            COMPL   be.PRS.3SG  
 Where is Zaur? – The teacher said he is ill.

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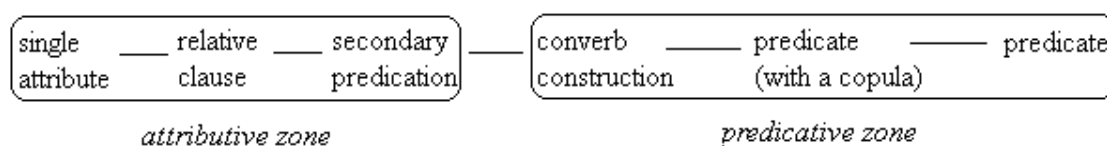
## Syntactic functions of participles in the Slavic languages.

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Participle is a cross-linguistically valid category, as the notion of it can be found in the descriptions of many genetically and geographically diverse languages. But while participles have been studied extensively in individual languages, there is still very little typological research on this category. This paper investigates the syntactic properties of participial forms in a genetically related group of languages known for its affluent non-finite verbal paradigm — the Slavic languages. The data used for the study includes various descriptive grammars, comparative studies, separate articles on participles in the Slavic languages, numerous monolingual and multilingual corpora and first-hand data collected from native speakers.

After formulating a multicriteria typologically relevant definition of participle, which can be condensed to 'a non-finite verb form that combines internal verbal syntax with external adjectival syntax', I determined the inventory of participial forms in the Slavic languages, following the traditional labels in their naming. Past Passive participles (PPP) are attested in all the languages, Present Active participles (PrAP) — in Russian, Upper Sorbian, Polish and Bulgarian. Present Passive participles (PrPP) and Past Active participles (PAP) preserve their participial nature only in Russian. Resultative *I*-form (cf. Russian *napisa-l* 'wrote') turned into a finite form (used with or without a copula) and lost the ability to be used attributively in all the languages, excluding Bulgarian. In addition to that, PrAP in Russian gave birth to a brand new participial form, Future Active participles (FAP), and PPP developed in a separate predicative form with several morphological and syntactic peculiarities in all languages in question.

The main method used in this study is semantic mapping (cf. [Haspelmath 2003]). Comparing the syntactic behaviour of similar participial forms in the Slavic languages, I found out six functions, which can be represented by the following map:



As shown by the map, the functions of participles constitute two main zones: three functions in the left part are more attributive, the others can be considered predicative. Similarly, the participial forms themselves fall into two parts. Active participles are entirely attributive, which can be explained by the fact that other verb forms have a full-fledged

Active paradigm, so the participles do not have to fill any gaps and substitute any missing elements. Passive participles, on the contrary, often have to serve as a substitution in cases when there is no specialized Passive finite or converbal form, which results not only in that they are more predicative, but also in the emergence of some special Passive predicative forms that obviously have a potential to lose their participial properties and leave the participial paradigm.

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#### Gendered determiners in Maa.

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Linguists have assumed that gender in gender-marking languages divides nouns into sets of lexemes in accordance to their gender assignment (Greenberg 1978). Furthermore, the gender to which a given nominal lexeme belongs can be ascertained by the different agreeing forms associated with it (Greenberg 1978, Corbett 1991). Using data from both elicitation and texts we argue that this definition does not fit the situation found in Maa (Eastern Nilotic, Kenya and Tanzania). The Maa grammatical gender system is similar to Corbett's "predominantly semantic" gender systems (Payne 1998). Further, Maa native speakers usually think of "nominal lexemes together with their gender prefixes" (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955:46). That is, with a handful of exceptions, native speakers will reject a noun in citation form if the noun is not preceded by either a procliticized determiner (Tucker and Mpaayei's "gender prefix") or a non-bound demonstrative that marks gender and number. Nevertheless, we argue that, grammatically, gender is associated with the entire nominal phrase rather than with the nominal lexeme. This is because the majority of nominal lexemes are not lexically specified for an inherent gender, and can be construed and used as either grammatically feminine or masculine. This construal is instantiated in the determiner chosen, and other agreeing forms in the noun phrase must correspond to that of the determiner.

The grammatical genders can be used to mark natural gender (*en=kítén* 'cow', *ɔr=kítén* 'bull'), size (*enk=álém* 'knife', *ɔl=álém* 'sword') and pejorativeness (masculine *ɔl=ámoye* 'monkey', feminine *enk=ámoye* 'wimpy monkey'). The gender marked on agreeing forms such as relative clauses depends on the determiner and not the nominal lexeme:

1. *en-gárrí na=tén*  
FEM.SG-car REL.FEM.SG-be.fast  
'a fast car' (elicitation)
2. *ɔr-gárrí ɔ=tén*  
MASC.SG-car REL.MASC.SG-be.fast  
'a fast big car / truck' (elicitation)

Only for a minority of lexemes in Maa has gender assignment been so regularized that the nominal lexeme itself can be said to be specified for gender. These lexemes can be divided into two groups. The first subset contains lexemes which can co-occur with determiners such as feminine *en=kímá* 'fire', *enk=ái* 'god, rain' and masculine *ɔl=təhání* 'person' but are incompatible with a determiner of the opposite gender. Members of the second subset are synchronically incompatible with separable determiners, such as *kólé* 'milk'; but historical work shows that these carry relics of older determiners.

These facts suggest that in the vast majority of cases, the elements which are inherently specified for gender in Maa are the determiners and not the nominal lexemes. This conclusion is in agreement with claims made by Heine and Vossen (1983) regarding the development of gender in Eastern Nilotic. They argue that gender in Eastern Nilotic is a relatively recent innovation which was introduced into Proto-Eastern-Nilotic via a set of "new demonstrative markers" (Heine and Vossen 1983:253). In Maa, the category of gender has, for the most part, not been re-interpreted to be associated with the nominal lexemes, which are postposed to demonstratives or to proclitics which developed from the Proto-Eastern-Nilotic demonstratives.

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### What happens if you do things with non-junk? Consequences of exaptation for morphological paradigms.

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In this paper, I argue for a more constrained notion of exaptation than is often employed in historical linguistics. In accordance with current practice in evolutionary biology, I discard the 'junk'-criterion as an element of the definition of exaptation. Instead, I take the notion of 'old form for new function' as the crucial point.

Adopting such a concept entails, however, that one has to deal with the fact that both old and new functions of an exapted linguistic form can co-exist at the same time. For example, when politeness becomes grammaticalized through the repeated application of pragmatic strategies acting upon pronominal forms, the new honorific pronouns tend to retain their older person-number specifications as well, as has happened, e.g., with German *Sie*<sub>2HON</sub> and *sie*<sub>3PL</sub>. We have thus a situation where one surface form systematically encodes at least two distinct morphosyntactic functions, a fact which is reflected in varying syntactic behaviour.

This observation is reminiscent of what happens generally with morphosyntactic constructions when they enter grammaticalisation processes. However, morphological forms tend to be tightly integrated into paradigmatic structures – hence, the co-existence of old and new functions results in different cells in a paradigm being occupied by one and the same form. Superficially the result is similar to syncretism or paradigmatic neutralisation.

In this paper, I will discuss consequences of non-junk exaptation for our understanding of the structure of morphological paradigms, using examples such as Standard German polite pronouns or the emergence of sub-genders in North Low German dialects (i.e. case forms of articles being exapted for [+/-human] with feminine nouns). In particular, I will propose the notion of 'morphological parasites', which emerge as the result of a *systematic* re-use of fully functional forms in novel grammatical categories. This notion should allow us to capture the intra-paradigmatic relations of exapted forms.

### Constraining allomorphy in loanword integration.

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Our presentation aims at formalizing a universal of borrowing in an explicit loanword integration model and account for some apparent exceptions. Our model (, forthcoming), takes the input of integration to be a single surface form and its output to be a full paradigm. The process is constrained by Lexical Conservatism (Steriade 1997), the anti-allomorphy force which preserves surface features of the input form during paradigm formation. All the other properties of borrowing are derived from the properties of the recipient lexicon and the "inter-language mappings" internalized by the bilingual speakers.

Lexical Conservatism predicts allomorphy in borrowing to be minimized: on the side of the source language, a single form is the input, while on the recipient side, creation of new allomorphs is avoided. Anti-allomorphy will be illustrated by uniform stress in Serbo-Croatian nouns borrowed into Slovene. In this class of prototypical borrowings (nouns ending in a consonant, which in both languages are assigned to the largest masculine declension), in cases where the noun has a mobile stress in Serbo-Croatian (as in *pàsŭlj*<sub>NOM</sub> – *pasŭlja*<sub>GEN</sub> "bean (dish)", with all the remaining

cases having the stress of the genitive form) the resultant Slovenian paradigm copies the stress of the nominative form (pásulj<sub>NOM</sub> - pásulja<sub>GEN</sub>). This is surprising in the face of the fact that Slovenian does have mobile paradigms (zákon<sub>NOM</sub> - zákóna<sub>GEN</sub> “marriage”) and that there are many cognates which would lead us to predict the final stress in the resultant Slovene (e.g. Serbo-Croatian dèlfin<sub>NOM</sub> – delfína<sub>GEN</sub> ~ Slovene delfin<sub>NOM</sub> – delfína<sub>GEN</sub>). Lexical Conservatism constrains the hypothesis space here and predicts the correct result.

Next we analyze three cases where in spite of LC a pair of allomorphs is borrowed, in order to show that LC nevertheless constrains allomorphy in important ways. First, we analyze Italian verbs borrowed into Maltese (Hoberman & Aronoff 2003), where e.g. *sugger-ire* ~ *sugger-isc-o* “to suggest” is mapped onto a paradigm in which both *issuġġer-* and *issuġġerixx-* are exponents of the stem. As we will show, this mapping is actually preferred by LC as it prevents adding a new allomorph with stress on the stem *sugger/issuġġer*.

Next we turn to the Dutch alternation between long and short vowels in open/closed syllable contexts, which affects a closed class of native nouns and has surprisingly been extended to certain Latinate items e.g. /mɔl/ ~ /mo:lən/ “mole(s)”, but not all e.g. /xram/ ~ /xramən/ “gram(s)”. LC correctly predicts that allomorphy in singular-plural pairs depends on licensing by related words, e.g. /molariteit/ “molarity”.

A third case of borrowed alternation comes from Serbo-Croatian, where some Spanish nouns in *-o* have plural allomorphs in *-os* e.g. *flamingo* ~ *flamingos-i*. Vowel-final singular allomorphs would cause ineffability with native plural morphology and hence adding plural allomorphs is the least costly solution.

As a result of the three analyses, a loanword integration model emerges in which the inherent entanglement of phonology, morphology and lexicon in borrowing is taken seriously and formalised.

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## Modal verbs of necessity across languages and disciplines.

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Recent years have witnessed an upsurge of interest in various aspects of academic discourse especially from cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary perspectives (Fløttum, Dahl & Kinn 2006, Hyland & Bondi 2006, Fløttum 2008, Suomela-Salmi & Dervin 2009, among others). Current research addresses ways and means scientific authors of different cultural background construct stance while “language variation across disciplines is now one of the more fruitful lines of research” (Hyland 2011: 178). While a variety of lexico-grammatical means used by scientific authors to construct stance are extensively investigated in academic discourse, little research is done on the distribution and usage patterns of necessity modal verbs across different languages and disciplines.

In this paper we attempt to contribute to the growing cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary research on academic discourse as well as to address the issue of epistemic modality and evidentiality from a cross-linguistic perspective. We conduct a contrastive study of the modal verbs of necessity in the *CorALit* (corpus of academic texts in Lithuanian, see Usoniene et al. 2011), a comparable corpus of English (based on Davies 2008) and a comparable corpus of Dutch (our own compilation). The markers under investigation are *must*, *moeten* and *turėti* ‘have to’. The study employs contrastive corpus based methodology as well as qualitative and quantitative analysis.

In the first part, we compare the frequency and the usage patterns of these verbs to check whether there is any disciplinary and language specific variation in their usage. We also concentrate on the issue of writer-reader interaction and analyze if the modal verbs under investigation are more typical in their root meaning and therefore enable the author to construct a dialogically contractive (White 2003) position, or whether they are more frequently used as epistemic and/or evidential markers and open up a dialogically expansive (White 2003) position of the author. In the second part, we focus on what one could call the non-root meanings of these modal verbs, i.e. on their epistemic and/or evidential uses. Academic discourse provides the perfect empirical basis to weigh in on the debate about “evaluative” *must* versus “purely evidential” *moeten* (see De Haan 2001 but compare Cornillie 2009) and on the epistemic and/or evidential status of *turėti* ‘to have’ (see Holvoet 2009). The paper describes and explains the ways in

which Lithuanian, English and Dutch are alike and/or differ in general and, more specifically, in academic texts – bearing in mind linguistic and stylistic dissimilarities between the languages.

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### Racism under the radar: representations of Roma in the Czech press.

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This paper derives from an interdisciplinary study of representation of the Roma minority in Czech press reporting. This study is especially timely, as there has been an upsurge in ethnic tension in recent months, particularly in the north of the Czech Republic, and the issue has been at the forefront of domestic news stories.

The legislative norms that underlie civil society in modern democracies such as EU states mitigate against the deployment of media language that is obviously discriminatory or racist; however, studies in the UK and elsewhere (e.g. van Dijk, 2000; Teo, 2000; Gabrielatos and Baker, 2008) have shown that media often bypass these norms, paying lip service to cultural tolerance while using “under-the-radar” linguistic codes that undermine it.

The paper presents a critical analysis of rhetorical representations in news reports, highlighting devices in mainstream media language that substitute defamatory hate speech with seemingly more neutral linguistic forms. Specifically, I explore the framing devices used by Czech journalists that obfuscate meanings which are otherwise potentially unethical and/or exclusionary, thereby circumventing accusations of intolerance.

Particular attention is paid to the role of dysphemism. Dysphemism denotes derogatory and usually proscribed naming strategies, but, the paper argues, encompasses common “acceptable” (i.e. legally or ethically permissible) stereotypes, and might also extend beyond pure lexis to other framing devices such as exclusionary pronoun use, or stylistic phenomena such as negative conceptual metaphors. The depth of embedment renders hate speech less conspicuous in news editorial and narrative styles. Furthermore, language can function simultaneously as euphemism and dysphemism, and can facilitate the encoding of hate speech.

Using the combined tools of critical discourse analysis (CDA) and corpus linguistics (using the media language section of the Czech National Corpus as well as a DIY corpus) and drawing on the combined CDA/corpus methodology proposed by Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), a profile of journalistic style with respect to current representations of minorities in the Czech Republic is beginning to emerge. As this study develops over time, the growing amount of data will reveal clearer patterns of discursive change in a society whose domestic media are still relatively under-monitored in the non-Czech speaking world.



In any media context, there is a complex relationship between discourses of media and public opinion and the premises and assumptions that inform perception of everyday media events. Identifying the range of linguistic forms that may be used to express discriminatory opinion in news media is necessary in the struggle for equality in reporting. Opening up media language(s) to linguistic scrutiny is a key step to engendering a fairer, more dialogic press everywhere.

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### New information structuring processes and their consequences in cross-linguistic influence.

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Learners can initiate permanent change in morphosyntax that begin with changes in information structuring. In bilingual speech communities with many adult acquirers of one of the languages, the development of new functional contrasts in the target L2 and their adoption by L1 speakers is likely to follow from pragmatic transfer. I show how a finiteness contrast is a morphosyntactic contrast that can be motivated by this type of transfer. In Sri Lankan Malay (SLM), predicate focusing in sentences containing temporal sequences is a plausible trigger for the development of (non-)finiteness morphology.

Events in complex sentences typically appear as subclauses in the same order in which the events occur in time. In many languages, this linear ordering and context are sufficient to convey event sequence. In a smaller number of languages, such as those spoken in Sri Lanka, the temporally non-primary events, those that took place first, must also appear as non-finite participial adjuncts. There may also be a tendency to dislocate such constituents to the sentence periphery in order to focus them in discourse, just as nominal constituents can be dislocated in order to focus them. In the sprachbund that includes SLM, focusable constituents can indeed include nominal arguments, but they can also be verbal predicates representing related events in a temporal sequence. In such an information structure system, contrastive finiteness marking facilitates the interaction of these two structural patterns, i.e. temporal sequencing and focus. A finiteness contrast can preserve the temporal sequence, not necessarily recoverable from context, under focus detachment. This becomes necessary when a temporally secondary event is in focus. This constitutes a pragmatic-discourse motivation for a structural accretion, a case of functional complexification reflected in morphosyntax. The addition of new functional morphology has been treated in recent language contact literature as resulting from generalized feature competition and metatypy, or other metaphors suggesting random functionally unmotivated processes, however diachronic models appealing to random restructuring processes are unnecessary.

With respect to the language contact origin of the process in question, SLM, underwent extensive grammatical change during a protracted period of close cultural contact and bilingualism in Shonam, a variety of Tamil spoken natively by Sri Lankan Muslims. In that period, many Shonam speakers acquired Malay as a second language. Shonam is a language in which the most recent event predicate is tense-marked, and subsequent event predicates appear as non-finite participles. SLM did not originally feature a finiteness contrast. In the modern grammar, assigning focus to a secondary event predicate cannot be permitted to override the finiteness asymmetry based on the event hierarchy. The associated morphology is preserved even when the linear order of constituents shifts for secondary discourse-pragmatic reasons. It is possible to reproduce this grammatically in English (though only if a clear prosodic break is introduced before the final clause) with the sentence "Having awoken, the child went to school, having gotten dressed". The linear position of the final adjunct clause highlights its focal status, but the fact that it is participial shows that it is temporally non-primary.

**Colour word Stroop test in late unbalanced Polish-English bilinguals.**

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The aim of the study was to test whether and how the proficiency level in English affects the amount of within-language interference in Stroop colour word test by Polish learners of English, as well as to test the language effect (L1-Polish vs. L2- English) in colour naming speed.

It is argued that the results, contrary to previous studies, indirectly support the Critical Period Hypothesis, as well as call for a disjoint treatment of the bilingual inhibitory mechanisms and the Stroop inhibitory mechanisms.

In colour word Stroop tests more proficient L2 speakers show more between-language interference than the less proficient ones (Magiste 1984 on German-Swedish); they also show more within-language than between-language interference (Tzelgov et al. 1990 Arabic-Hebrew, Cheng and Ho 1986 Chinese-English). Thus, naming the ink colour of incongruent colour words (e.g., the word *red* printed in green ink) takes less time when the response language is one's L1 and when the L2 in which the stimuli are printed is relatively low proficient. With the increased L2 proficiency the interference increases and for the most proficient L2 speakers and/or balanced bilinguals it becomes (up to 25%) larger in the within- than in the between-language condition (MacLeod 1991). This pattern is frequently attributed to higher abilities of more proficient unbalanced bilinguals to inhibit unwanted information in L2 (Harris 1992, Okuniewska 2007) if both languages are activated (the between-language condition), but not when just one (within-language condition). However, an equally possible explanation could be that the amount of interference depends on language level in the between-language condition, but does not depend in the within-language condition, irrespective of the proficiency in L2. The aim of the investigation was to check what interference pattern would emerge in late unbalanced bilinguals in the within-language Stroop test in Polish (L1) compared to English (L2).

51 participants (mean age  $19,8 \pm 1,6$ ) of varying level of English proficiency (group a - beginners with completed 20 hours of English course, group b - intermediate, group c - proficient, group r - proficient in English, advanced in Russian) were tested on Golden Stroop test (black colour-words, coloured Xs, and colour words in incongruent colours, 100 each, to read in 45 seconds). To avoid word length discrepancies (*czerwony* vs. *red*, *zielony* vs. *green*, etc.) interference was calculated as the colour word to coloured patch (colour naming) ratio.

MANOVA tests revealed significant difference between the overall Polish and English interference results ( $p < 0,0001$ ), caused by significant differences between Polish and English results in group a ( $p = 0,043$ ) and group c ( $p = 0,002$ ). No significant differences were found for group b ( $p = 0,229$ ) and r ( $p = 0,950$ ). For colour naming all the groups had significantly higher results in Polish than in English (group a and c  $p < 0,001$ , group b  $p = 0,002$ , group r  $p = 0,019$ ). No group was significantly better at colour recognition or interference results than any other group. Thus, in late unbalanced bilinguals (age of acquisition  $< 10$ ) colour naming is slower in L2, irrespective of the advancement (beginners through proficiency) and the within-language interference is smaller in L2, irrespective of the advancement.

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**Romanian or Moldovan? Uses and abuses of historical linguistics.**

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Considerable debate, much of it acrimonious, took place in the Republic of Moldova following the break-up of the Soviet Union as to the name of the newly independent country's language: Romanian ('româna') or Moldovan ('moldovenească')? The issue was, unsurprisingly, more than one of nomenclature, but had political overtones; by and large 'Romanian' was the designation favoured by those who sought greater affiliation (and perhaps ultimately merger or reintegration) with Romania, whilst 'Moldovan' was the term used by those of the opposite persuasion (Dyer 1999). The extreme viewpoint — that Romanian and Moldovan are in fact different languages — is represented by the (controversial) publication of a Moldovan–Romanian dictionary (Stati 2003), now in its second edition (Stati 2011). Until 1989, Moldovan was written using a version of the Cyrillic alphabet (and still is in the breakaway Republic of Transnistria). However, the existence of Moldovan as a separate language is not recognized by international bodies such as the ISO (Popescu 2008).

In this paper, I shall demonstrate that the fact that Moldovan (or Moldavian), a term traditionally used to designate a group of Romanian dialects spoken not only in the Republic of Moldova but also in the contiguous area of north-eastern Romania, has been perceived in some quarters as a distinct language has an importance which transcends the controversies of the last 20 years. It can be traced back to abuses of historical linguistics perpetrated by Stalinism, which tended to stress the Slavonic element in the language and sometimes went so far as to claim that Moldovan was a Slavonic language, or a Romance-Slavonic contact language, distinct from Romanian. Not only were Slavonic elements in the language highlighted and emphasized; many neologisms were borrowed from or calqued on Slavonic (for instance, *sîngurzburaător*, lit. '(by-)itself-flyer', calqued on Russian *самолёт* 'aeroplane' (contrast Romanian *avion*) — with the word for 'flyer', moreover, a highly marked term), in a conscious attempt to demonstrate the hypothesis by 'facts on the ground'. It is this fact that gives the Moldovan language controversy its broader significance — it fits into a larger picture of state-sponsored abuses of scientific method dating from the Stalinist era. The obvious parallel is with historical revisionism (see, for instance, Service 2004), but possibly the most striking is with Lysenko's re-espousal of the discredited Lamarckian genetic theory postulating the inheritance of acquired characteristics (Lysenko 1948; see also Graham 1998, Joravsky 1970, Medvedev 1969). In this view of the world, diachrony is not a given, but is subject to *a posteriori* manipulation. This approach influences history, genetics, and linguistics, and is a significant (if not particularly glorious) chapter in the intellectual history of the last century. The Moldovan language controversy is, I conclude, the last gasp of this dubious intellectual tradition.

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**A constructional perspective on the development of the indefinite article in English.**

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This paper revisits the emergence of the indefinite article in English from a diachronic construction grammar perspective. In the functional literature, the phenomenon has been classified as a typical case of grammaticalization in which a numeral (OE *an* 'one') developed into the indefinite article *a/an* (cf. Rissanen 1967; Givón 1981; Mitchell 1985).

Traditionally, researchers discuss the issue separately from the grammaticalization of the OE deictic demonstrative *se* into the definite article *the* (cf. e.g. Christophersen 1939; Spamer 1979; Lehmann 1982[95]; Himmelmann 1997; Diessel 1999; Lyons 1999; McColl Millar 2000).

Although most of these 'separate' discussions provide excellent descriptions of the forms' gradual grammaticalization, they are insufficient because they do not really identify the causal triggers of the change and fail to see the interdependency of the two developments. Therefore, I adopt a constructional approach which

- a) links the development of the indefinite article to the previous emergence of its definite counterpart,
- b) takes into account the influence of "lexically underspecified constructions" (Van de Velde 2010: 291) and
- c) shows how OE 'NP ecology' (i.e. the composition, distribution and frequency of various NP constructions) steered the development in its specific direction.

Construction Grammar in particular has long been aware of the fact that linguistic forms usually do not grammaticalize on their own but in the context of emerging larger schematic constructions and that the formal and functional development of forms and constructions is often influenced by the analogical links to other constructions in a larger taxonomic network (Traugott 2007: 525; Noël 2007: 184; cf. Goldberg 1995, 2006; Tomasello 2003, 2006; Croft & Cruise 2004; Trousdale & Gisborne 2008; Traugott & Trousdale 2010).

I will postulate that complex analogy and frequency effects led to the emergence of a positional, syntactic, lexically underspecified 'determination slot' in early Old English. This slot itself became a functionally exploitable structural category in the sense that the overt marking of in/definiteness became obligatory (in this slot). The slot is an 'attractor position' (Bisang 1998), which first lead to the recruitment of the demonstrative as an obligatory slot filler (= definite article) and then also attracted the numeral to grammaticalize into it (= indefinite article). In other words, the development of the indefinite article was the result of the grammaticalization of a schematic construction with a slot (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 12; cf. DeLancey 1993; Hoffmann 2004). From that perspective, a construction is a "grammatical primitive" which is "both the source and outcome of grammaticalization" (Traugott & Trousdale 2010: 13).

Theoretically, the paper is a first attempt to conceptualize the rise of (in)definiteness constructions and sketch their taxonomical network in English. Empirically, this paper rests on a large quantitative and qualitative analysis of definite and indefinite NP constructions in several early Old English prose texts in the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (YCOE).

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### Caught between Semitic and Romance: the causative-inchoative alternation in Maltese.

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As a result of intense language contact between typologically diverse languages (viz. Arabic, Sicilian, Italian, English), Maltese has developed two verb formation strategies: root-and-pattern association and concatenation. In terms of stem structure, derivational potential and inflectional morphology, Maltese verbs fall into two classes:

- **templatic**, e.g., *kiteb* 'write', formed by combining a consonantal root (vktb) with a binyan (C1vC2vC3);
- **concatenative**, e.g., *ttajpja* 'type', formed by attaching a verbal suffix (-ja) to a syllabic root (vtajp), which generally undergoes initial gemination.

Templatic verbs, which are mostly of Semitic origin, constitute a closed list. Concatenative verbs are predominantly derived from Romance and English, and make up an open, highly productive class (cf. Mifsud 1995; Hoberman & Aronoff 2003; Hoberman 2007; Spagnol 2011).

Consonantal roots are usually inserted in more than one verbalizing morpheme (binyan), creating different verbs. Consider, for instance, vksh in the examples below:

binyan I C1vC2vC3	<i>kesaħ</i> 'cool, v.i'
binyan IIC1vC2C2vC3	<i>kessaħ</i> 'cool, v.t'
binyan V	tC1vC2C2vC3 <i>tkessaħ</i> 'be cooled'

By contrast, syllabic roots typically combine with one verbalizing suffix only. For instance, vintens selects the morpheme *-ifika* (*intensifika* 'intensify') and Vorgan selects *-izza* (*organizza* 'organize'), and it never happens that vintens selects *-izza* (*\*intensizza*), or vice versa. Argument alternations are therefore marked by morphologically related verbs on the one hand, and are not encoded in derivational morphology, on the other. Concatenative verbs express argument alternations either periphrastically (e.g., *aċċerta* 'assure' – *aċċerta ruħu* 'assure oneself') or by a single verb, which is used both transitively and intransitively (e.g., *skura* 'make dark' and 'become dark').

Focusing on the causative-inchoative alternation, one of the main valency alternations in the language, I show that there is considerable variation in the marking of the alternation in Maltese, which goes hand in hand with the distinction between the two verb formation strategies. Templatic verbs typically mark the alternation by means of two different morphologically related verbs, with the inchoative verb (1b) being often morphologically more complex than the causative one (1a).

- (1a) *It=tifla*                      *fetħ-et*                      *it=tieqa*.  
 DEF=girl                      open-PFV.3SG.F                      DEF=window  
 'The girl opened the window.'

- (1b) *It=tieqa nfeth-et.*  
 DEF=window open-PFV.3SG.F  
 'The window opened.'

Concatenative verbs, however, do not express the alternation overtly. Labile verbs, i.e. ambitransitive verbal forms, are used to mark both the causative and the inchoative alternant, as in (2).

- (2a) *It=tifel iċċarġja l=mobile.*  
 DEF=boy charge.PFV.3SG.M DEF=mobile  
 'The boy charged the mobile.'

- (2b) *Il=mobile iċċarġja.*  
 DEF=mobile charge.PFV.3SG.M  
 'The mobile charged.'

A sentence creation task and a corpus study on a set of around 40 labile verbs in Maltese (cf. Gatt & Spagnol; Spagnol 2011) reveal that, even though they fail to show any morphological mark that would distinguish the causative or inchoative alternant as formally more marked than the other, labile verbs nonetheless evince a bias in transitivity. In other words, labile verbs do not constitute a homogeneous class: some of them are more likely to occur in transitive frames, while others tend to pattern with intransitive constructions.

In spite of the differences in the formal encoding of the alternation by templatic and concatenative verbs, a unified analysis of the causative-inchoative alternation in Maltese can be provided if causatives and inchoatives are assumed to be both derived from an underlying root. This analysis has the further benefit of accounting for the difference in (i) the morphological realization of the alternation, and (ii) the transitivity biases among labile verbs.

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## Epistemic immediacy and distance as the basis of the Croatian TAM system.

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This paper explores the Croatian tense-aspect-mood system on the basis of epistemic immediacy and distance. The aim of the paper is to show that epistemic stance is the overarching notion behind the following phenomena:

- 1) *I*-participle vs. *n*-participle use in Croatian
- 2) the distinction in the use of the Present Tense vs. *I*-participle constructions
- 3) the distinction in the use of the Aorist vs. *I*-participle constructions.

In order to do this, we have performed a number of corpus studies in the Croatian National Corpus: a study of a random sample of 1000 tokens each of *I*- and *n*-participles, a study of Aorist forms of 6 verbs (*dobiti* 'get', *doći* 'come', *kupiti* 'buy', *otići* 'leave', *reći* 'say', *vidjeti* 'see') and a study of a random sample of 500 sentences each of conditional clauses with *da* 'if', *ako* 'if', *kad(a)* 'when'. The samples were manually coded for: the tense used, time reference, person, number, appearance of auxiliary (and a number of other categories). Overall, the results show that the Perfect Tense is by far the most frequent *I*-participle construction (over 80% of the cases), and that the combination of the Present



Tense of the *be* auxiliary with the *n*-participle is the most frequent *n*-participle construction (over 90%). The Present Conditional is the second most frequent *l*-participle form (some 12%). Whereas the Perfect Tense tends to be used with a precise time reference, the Aorist tends to be used without precise time identification. The study of the conditionals showed certain limitations in the combinations of tenses in the protasis and apodosis: with *ako* 'if' the protasis–apodosis combination tends to be Present–Present, with *kad(a)* 'when' the protasis–apodosis it tends to be Present–Present and Perfect–Perfect, and with counterfactual conditionals with *da* 'if' it tends to be Perfect–Present Conditional.

Generally, all of these results are compatible with an aspectual account of the Croatian TAM system. The *l*-participle refers to a non-permanent property of the first participant in the action chain (cf. Langacker 1987), and is a viewpoint operator (in the sense of DeLancey 1981) which expresses retrospective aspect generalized to epistemic distance (Stanojević 2011). The *n*-participle is complementary to it: it reverses the energy flow in the action chain (Belaj 2004:35) focusing on the target domain, and refers to a permanent property of the target domain participant. The Aorist and the Present Tense express various degrees of epistemic immediacy (Stanojević and Geld 2011; Geld and Zovko Dinković 2007), for various reasons: because of perfectivity (Aorist) and imperfectivity (the Present Tense). *Ako* 'if' and *kad(a)* 'when' work within the epistemic plane set up by the verbal forms (in the sense of Dancygier and Trnavac 2007), whereas *da* 'that' is a space builder which defaults the use of the Present Tense to epistemic immediacy, and the Perfect Tense to epistemic distance. Ultimately, this account suggests that the Croatian TAM system is largely aspect-based, which is in harmony with cross-Slavic and diachronic evidence regarding *l*-participles, *n*-participles and conditionals.

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## Looking for synesthetic associations in everyday language.

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Synesthesia represents a privileged point of view from which to observe the association of different senses in language. The term synesthesia in linguistics refers to a metaphorical process of transfer from one sensory modality to another (e.g., *warm color*). Classic literature about synesthesia in poetic language (Ullmann 1957, Rosiello 1963) recognizes a directionality in synesthetic transfers: they tend to follow a hierarchical order, from the "less differentiated" senses (smell, taste) to the most differentiated ones (hearing, vision). Hierarchies of sensory modalities have been formulated also in studies concerning the semantics of single lexemes. Viberg (2001) proposes for perception verbs a hierarchy where vision is the less marked modality: semantic extensions usually go from one modality to a more marked one, but not the other way around. These two apparently specular hierarchies could be both interpreted as a reflection of the greater psychological relevance of vision (and hearing), which would imply a tendency to enrich the linguistic means to refer to it. If this interpretation is correct, then generalizations from synesthesia and from perception verbs studies are not contradictory, but converging. To propose a well-grounded hypothesis, however, a much wider research on synesthesia is needed. The problem with studies like Ullmann's is that they are based on relatively scant data and, most importantly, these data consist in poetic or literary texts, which typically show a high degree of freedom in creating unusual associations of concepts. Looking for synesthesia in 'ordinary' language would allow detecting sensory modalities association patterns that could be more revealing from both a linguistic and a cognitive point of view. To

that end, I propose a study based on data from large (web) corpora. Data are from English and Italian, but the proposed method is designed in view of a future extension to other languages, and can be summarized in the following three steps: 1) Compiling a list (as ample as possible) of perception-related lexemes, with the help of existing lexical resources, 2) Tagging the lexemes in the list according to sensory modality, 3) Mapping the list to corpus data, in order to extract contexts including at least two instances of the lexemes from the list, tagged with two different sensory modalities. The extracted contexts are of this type: *A visit to Perthshire to [savour]<sub>TASTE</sub> traditional Scottish [music]<sub>HEARING</sub>*. The analysis aims to assess the possibility to make generalizations about attested vs. non-attested (possible vs. impossible?) patterns of synaesthetic transfer and preferred directions. The results are to be compared to the sensory modalities hierarchies proposed in the literature on poetic synesthesia and on perception lexicon, and possibly (and cautiously) with the recent findings on neurological synesthesia: in this latter field too, research has drawn attention to the patterns of association within sensory modalities (attested vs. non attested, relative frequency, Novich *et al.* 2011). If some uniformity in synaesthetic patterns is to be found, it could open a fascinating window into human perception and language.

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### **Subjects and pivots in early New Indo-Aryan (nia). Evidence from Early Rajasthani, Braj, Awadhi and Pahari.**

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The problem of subject in Indo-Aryan languages has received considerable attention in the literature. Main arguments marked by different cases have been investigated with respect to control properties establishing the alleged subjecthood of both nominative and non-nominative subjects. The diagnostic tests such as conjunction reduction, reflexivization, Equi NP deletion etc. have been applied (cf. Verma 1976; Verma & Mohanan 1990) and it has been almost generally accepted that there is no uniform category of subject in contemporary IA and that the arguments marked by cases other than Nominative show different degrees of subjecthood (cf. Montaut 2001; 2004). The research on the subjecthood in IA has not been constrained to contemporary stage but it has been also extended to earlier stages such as Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) (e.g. Cardona 1976; Hock 1986) and Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) (Peterson 1998). However, research on early stages of NIA is still needed.

In a more construction specific approach sensitivity to grammatical relations has been questioned for conjunction reduction, converbial chains and reflexivization with respect to NIA (cf. Bickel & Yādava 2000).

The present paper attempts to give a brief account of what has happened in the history of selected early NIA dialects (such as Braj, Awadhi, Rajasthani and Pahari) at their earliest attested stages as regards sensitivity of conjunction reduction, converbial chains and reflexivisation to basic grammatical relations. In MIA – there are no cases of an S/O pivot as far as conjunction reduction is concerned, however converbial chaining and reflexivisation unanimously show an A/S pivot. Interestingly, even if we have evidence for a pragmatic pivot controlling coreferential deletion in MIA it is actually restricted to an A/S syntactic pivot (Peterson 1998).

I will try to demonstrate that those constructions which operated along the lines of the pragmatic A/S pivot in MIA did not necessarily operate in the same manner in early NIA. The examples of coreferential deletion in main clause coordination (and subordination) which indicate the possible existence of an S/O pivot (cf. Khokhlova 2001; 2001 for early Rajasthani) will be verified against the background of their pragmatic and semantic contexts. I will also try to show that in early NIA converbial chaining and reflexivisation do not have to be controlled by A of the main clause.

Thus the paper will also aim to show to what extent the notions of pragmatic and semantic pivot, as they were primarily used by Foley & Van Valin (1985) or Van Valin & LaPolla (1997), and then applied to MIA (Peterson 1998) are useful tools to grasp the whole array of phenomena connected with grammatical relations in early NIA.

Taking into consideration other factors such as case marking of the so called non-nominative subjects (ergative and obligative constructions) this preliminary research should try to answer the question whether there is any historical and areal correlation between languages such as Braj, Awadhi, Rajasthani and Pahari as regards their in-/sensitivity to grammatical relations in conjunction reduction, converbial chains and reflexivisation.

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### The expression of perfect meaning in East Africa and Jamaica.

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This paper is part of a larger project which deals with the expression of perfect meaning in emergent varieties of the English language, or New Englishes. In previous studies we analysed perfect meaning in East and South-East Asian Englishes (AsEs) as represented in the ICE-corpora, and in the present paper we extend the study to the remaining varieties of English for which there is currently a comparable ICE-corpus available, those from Jamaica and East Africa (comprising Kenya and Tanzania). Our main focus will be to identify morphosyntactic peculiarities which, as is the case in AsEs, can be explained in terms of diffusion from the input language at the time of colonization, that is, an early variety of spoken and, not necessarily standard, English, in which the grammaticalization of the perfect was not complete and alternated with other forms (cf. Rissanen 1999: 224-225; Schneider 2000: 211). We will also ask whether potential similarities found between these typologically unrelated and geographically disparate languages may conform to the same developmental process, one that is subject to consistent sociolinguistic and language contact conditions (Schneider 2007: 4-5).

In order to make the data comparable with findings from our previous studies, we will analyse all occurrences of the ten most frequent lexical verbs in our database of AsEs (*come, finish, get, give, go, hear, see, say, tell and think*), and look at how they are used to express perfect meaning in informal spoken discourse in ICE-Jamaica and ICE-East Africa. Through this analysis we intend to (i) ascertain whether the tendency observed in Standard English and in AsEs whereby the perfect form is losing ground to the preterite also holds true for East Africa and Jamaica (Van Rooy 2009:311-312; cf. Hundt and Smith 2009); (ii) see whether the competition between the present perfect and the preterite for the expression of (especially recent-past) perfect meaning, reported for American English (Hundt and Smith 2009) and found in AsEs (Authors 2011a, 2011b), is also a feature of the varieties analysed in this study, confirming thus the vernacular universal noted by Chambers (2004) as a common feature of language contact varieties (cf. also Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi 2004); (iii) ask whether the base form and *have*+base form, which are productive forms for expressing perfect meaning in AsEs (cf. *I just finish my exam today*, ICE-HK; *I haven't actually think about it*, ICE-SIN), are also productive in these varieties and are therefore motivated by common cognitive constraints towards simplification stemming from language contact conditions (Schneider 2007:4-5), or whether, on the contrary, they are a peculiarity of AsEs determined by the isolating nature of the substrates (particularly in the case of Singapore and Hong Kong; cf. Authors 2011a); (iv) analyse the import of temporal markers in the expression of perfect meaning to see if low adverbial support favours the occurrence of a higher number of variants, as is the case with the less evolved AsEs (Authors 2011b; Sharma 2001; Hundt and Smith 2009).

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**Writer-audience interactions in travelers' blogs and forums  
through metadiscursive markers in English and Spanish.**

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Travelers' blogs and forums constitute two types of web-based genre where writer - audience interactions are crucial to gear the text towards its ultimate purpose: giving a positive or negative opinion or evaluation of touristic services or products. Metadiscursive markers are one of the tools when construing this writer-audience interaction. Previous research has claimed specific cross-linguistic and generic characteristics when dealing with *institutional websites* of touristic promotion (Mapelli, 2008; Suau-Jiménez, 2005, 2011a, 2011b). *Hedges* and *commitment markers* have proved to be salient interactional features in English websites, whereas Spanish ones are strongly built through *boosters*, especially in the form of qualifying adjectives. My aim in this research is to unveil the structure of writer-audience interaction in other web-based genres: travelers' blogs and forums, in order to widen the scope of knowledge about interactional metadiscourse with new generic models, also in English and Spanish. The research question would be whether non-institutional web-based genres such as travelers' blogs and forums in English and Spanish display different or same markers in writer-audience interaction to exchange opinions and reach persuasion.

This research is part of a current R+D project financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation for the years 2012-2014. A substantial corpus of blogs and forums in English and Spanish will be collected from the internet and the AntConc.3.2.4 (2011) free software concordancing and wordlist tool will be applied to extract markers in context and create a database. Methodologically speaking, a generic analysis will be first carried out in order to set apart rhetorical functions and communicative goals applying to both genres. Following Fairclough (2003), genres can be termed as communicative or strategic, according to their interaction type, the distinction between strategic/communicative being more a matter of degree, as they both can occur in combination in various ways. Thus, a first generic analysis will reveal the actual goals of these blogs and forums in English and Spanish, therefore building a first theoretical characterization layer that will give support to the second stage of the analysis. Then, Hyland & Tse's (2004) interactional metadiscourse model will be applied to analyse markers in English and Spanish in both genres. Latest research findings, especially those dealing with touristic genres and the Spanish language, will also be taken into account, thus completing Hyland & Tse's model for markers' types and their language realizations (Mapelli, 2008; Vázquez & Giner, 2009; Suau-Jiménez 2011a, 2011b).

The expected results are that cross-linguistic differences between English and Spanish will possibly be confirmed, since metadiscursive interaction is strongly stemmed on socio-linguistic roots. However, the generic variable –web-based genres used for personal interaction in tourism– may reveal new uses in the way writer and audience relate through interactional markers to express opinions or reach persuasion, other than institutionalized ones. These findings will be crucial to widen and strengthen theoretical and applied cross-linguistic and cross-generic knowledge of interactional metadiscourse in the field of tourism. Implications for discourse analysis, educational and translation purposes are evident.

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**Complementary quantity in Shetland Scots: results from a regional survey.**

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The Shetland Isles were colonized by Vikings from about 800 AD. They belonged to Denmark until 1469, when they were ceded to Scotland. As a result a Nordic language, first Old Norse and later Norn, constituted the dominant language for nearly 800 years, and native speakers of Norn could be found as late as the 18th or even early 19th century (Barnes, 1998). While the modern Shetland dialect unequivocally is to be classified as a form of Lowland Scots, the exact nature and extent of its Scandinavian trace features remain a topic of continuing inquiry. One of the most cited claims concerns its syllable structure. Catford (1957) reported that stressed monosyllabic words contained either a long vowel followed by a short consonant, or a short vowel followed by a long consonant. This, in his view, constituted a trace of the complementary quantity that probably existed in Norn, and which is still found in Swedish and Norwegian (Riad, 1992): Sw. *hat* 'hate' V:C vs. *hatt* 'hat' VC:. It was not until 2002 that this suggestion was finally examined on the basis of acoustic measurements (van Leyden). The results indicated that the inverse correlation between vowel and consonant duration was weaker than in Norwegian but stronger than in mainland Scotland (Edinburgh) or the Orkney isles, which are situated considerably closer to the mainland.

There is substantial linguistic variation within the Shetland archipelago (Mather & Speitel, 1986), some of it possibly attributable to earlier inter-island isolation. An investigation of the relationship between vowel and consonant duration was therefore included in a recent regional survey of Shetland Scots. In this paper, the results from six localities are presented. For each, two men and two women were recorded, all of whom were above the age of 55 and local to the specific locality. The present study focuses on the vowel system before /t/, as this context facilitates a comparison across regions. Monosyllabic target words (*feet, beat, bit*, etc.) were produced by the informants in the carrier sentence: 'I say \_\_\_ again'. Measurements were made for vowel and consonant duration (stop gap for /t/), and the relation between the two is assessed on the basis of correlation measures.

The results are discussed with respect to (a) the individual, (b) the locality in Shetland, and (c) gender. Although there was considerable inter-speaker variation, a regional pattern emerged. Overall, the inverse correlation was stronger for the northern isles, west Mainland, and Out Skerries, and weaker for south Mainland and localities closer to it. These results are further discussed from the viewpoint of 'peripherality' within Shetland. Overall, the pattern was stronger for male speaker. As it has been suggested that the pattern examined may be in decline in Shetland (van Leyden, 2002), the final question considered is whether the results reflect a process of standardization or levelling, in which women are leading the way.

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**Is the development of linking elements in German a case of exaptation?**

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The development of linking elements in German has usually been analysed as a case of exaptation (see Fuhrhop 1998, Wegener 2008). According to this view, the functionless material (either former genitive endings or former primary suffixes) caught between two constituents of compounds were subject to refunctionalisation as linking elements, as in *Kind+er+geld* 'children's allowances'. This analysis is on par with the early (and still popular) understanding of linguistic exaptation: functionless morphology ('junk') gains a novel function.

In this talk, a differentiated picture of this development will be presented, challenging not only the popular opinion concerning the emergence of linking elements but also the notion of exaptation itself. Based on historical



evidence, the development of linking elements appears to be a complex process comprising two layers: The first layer contains the linking vowels which developed along the path derivational suffixes > primary suffixes (for compounding) > linking vowels in Old High German. The second layer of linking elements is a result of formal renovation. Here, the inflectional (genitive) endings serve as the source. What on the first sight seems/seemed to be a (clear case) of exaptation (old form > new function), turns out to be a complex process including 1) a development within the domain of word-formation (Old High German) and 2) a renovation (old function > new form; since Middle High German). For (the analysis of) the development of the second layer, the transition from Old to Middle High German is of paramount importance. During this period, the reinforcement of the old system of linking elements which was still productive began.

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## The derivation and historical changes in meaning of the Japanese adverb *kasanete*.

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This study attempts to explain the derivation and historical changes in meaning of the Japanese adverb *kasanete*. Based on many examples of the verb *kasanu* (the old form of *kasaneru*) and the adverb *kasanete* gathered from the Japanese literature, I will discuss the derivation of the adverb *kasanete* from the verb *kasanu* and changes in meaning of *kasanete* from a viewpoint of cognitive linguistics.

*Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* (Comprehensive Dictionary of the Japanese Language) records the meanings of the Japanese verb *kasaneru* and the adverb *kasanete* as follows:

- Kasaneru*: 1. to pile up; to overlap (from the early 8th century),  
 2. to put one thing upon another; to repeat (from the late 8th century).  
*Kasanete*: 1. repeatedly; again (from the early 11th century),  
 2. soon; in the (near) future (from the late 16th century).

*Kasanete* with the second meanings (soon; in the near future) has been in common use. There are many examples of *kasane* with the second meanings in various genres of the Japanese literature such as *ukiyo-zōshi*, *kabuki*, and *kyōgen* in the Edo Era (1603-1867) and novels in the Meiji Era (1867-1912). However, the second meanings disappeared in the present Japanese.

The verb *kasanu* with the meaning of “overlapping” or “piling up” had been a common word, when the adverb *kasane* appeared in the early 11th century. See examples of (1) for the verb *kasanu*, and (2) for the adverb *kasane* below.

- (1) *kami amata oshi kasane te ito nibuki katana shite kiru*  
 paper many pile up very blunt knife with cut  
 ([She] piles up many pieces of paper and cuts them with a blunt knife. )  
 Makura no soshi, Sei Shonagon, the early 11th C.  
 (2) *kaku kasanete notamaere ba*  
 ike this again said when (when [he] said it again like this,)  
 Genji monogatari, Murasaki Shikibu, the early 11th C.

The adverb *kasane* with the meaning of “again” was derived from the verb *kasanu* with a concrete, physical meaning of “piling up”. The act of “piling up many pieces of paper” in (1) entails the repetitive action of “putting one piece of paper upon another”. The concept of “again” comes from the act of repeating that action over and over.

Around the late 16th century, the adverb *kasane* acquired the meaning of “in the (near) future” which

expressed a more abstract concept of time. See the example (3) below.

- (3) *kasanete*          *yururito*    *dan'na e ohikiawase wo mōsō*  
 in the near future without haste master to introduction do  
 ([I] will introduce the master to you without haste in the near future.)  
 "Tōsei Otogi Soga" Ejima Kiseki 1713

The adverb *kasanete* with the meaning of "again" had an implication that "the act of repeating that action again will take place in the near future," which resulted in adding the new meaning of "in the near future" to *kasanete*.

Thus, *kasanu* with a concrete, physical meaning came to be used for the formation of *kasanete* with an abstract meaning, and *kasanete* further acquired a more abstract meaning in its historical development.

#### Sources of examples

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#### Vague non-numerical quantifiers (English-Czech interface).

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Theoretically anchored in Channell (1994), this paper focuses on a subtype of intentional vagueness, represented by vague non-numerical quantifiers (VnQs), with the prototypical structural sequence [VnQ + of +N], as in ( *a bag of nerves, oceans of energy*), in their figurative meaning ( *bags of talent* vs. *bags of sand*). Within the framework of functional and systemic grammar - as advocated by the Prague scholars and their followers - these overt language manifestations of informal interaction are approached from *quantitative* and *qualitative perspectives*, with the activation of both the vertical axis of alternation (*bags of*,/ *seas of*,/ *oceans of*...) and the horizontal axis of co-occurrence of VnQ with N-collocates (*a bag of trouble/ tricks /nonsense/ nerves*). The aim is twofold: (i) to give evidence of how 'armchair' linguists can profit from the resources of corpus linguists, and (ii) how the quantity of data emergent from the corpora opens up space for a more delicate semantic taxonomy of VnQs on which to base a more consistent cross-language comparison. Samples of English (BNC) and Czech (ČNK) data will be projected into an imaginary gradient ranging from (+ for quantity) to (-for quantity), with the focus in the discussion section on the domain of *immensity* (e.g. *ocean/s of, sea/s of, mountain/s of*) and its tentative sub-categorization into immensity perceived as spreading on the surface ( *sea/s of energy*), or piling up (*mountains of litter*). Our research tasks are the following: Is the semantic domain of immensity saturated in both the compared languages by similar VnQs? Are there any significant typological differences between analytical English and synthetic Czech in manifesting vague quantification? Are there significant differences in collocability (cf. *oceans of energy* vs. *moře energie* [sea of energy]; *bags of fun* vs. *kopec srandy* [a hill of fun]) ? To what degree are the VnQs idiomatic in the respective languages? (*It cost the earth.* vs. *Stálo to fůru peněz.* [It cost a cartload of money.]) The results are expected to give evidence of the usefulness of corpus-based data for the 'follow-up' theorizing about emergent tendencies and parameters by which to contribute to a better descriptive and explicative adequacy in the domain of VnQs and demonstrate how the relational meanings of [VnQ + of + N ] sequences are negotiated on the basis of contextual clues and shared socio-cultural norms.

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Exaptation by cooptation: the Coast Tsimshian preposition *da*.

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Older materials in the Coast Tsimshian (CT) language (Boas 1911) document the existence of a single preposition *a* (/ʔa/) common to all members of the Tsimshianic family (Canadian West Coast). In recent scholarship on CT, *a* is often replaced by *da*, which has the same function and very general meaning. This morpheme is unknown in the rest of the family, but comparative and historical data show that it arose from a phonetic merger with unrelated adjacent morphemes, which resulted in the preservation of the prepositional function.

The Tsimshianic family has two branches, Maritime and Inland, which show significant differences in phonology, morphology, morphosyntax and vocabulary. Each branch includes two varieties, one conservative and one innovative. Most notably, the Maritime branch includes the most conservative (South Tsimshian [ST]) and most innovative (CT) varieties.

The pan-Tsimshianic preposition *a* ([ʔa]) is shown in example (1) which is typical of Nisga'a (N) in the Inland branch:

- (1) N *Mitkw=hl= wilp a =hl= hix.* The house was filled with blubber.  
 full=CON= house PREP=CON= fat

The ST version of this sentence obligatorily includes the still unglossed enclitic *==(ð)t* (unknown in the Inland versions) before the preposition, as in (2):

- (2) ST *Müütkü=i= waab==it a =i= yeex.* The house was filled with blubber.  
 full=CON= house==ENC PREP=CON= fat

Older CT examples, such as those recorded by Boas more than a hundred years ago, do correspond to the ST structure (Boas 1911:413; morphemic analysis updated):

- (4) CT *Hooltg=a= waalb==[a]t a (=a) ts'aak.* "Full was the house of fat"  
 filled=CON= house==ENC PREP(=CON=) blubber

On the other hand, the Modern CT equivalent of this sentence uses a *da* morpheme, now functioning as a preposition (Mulder 1994, Stebbins 2003), with a meaning and function apparently equal to those of *a* (leaving the originally epenthetic *[a]* of (4) confused with the normally pre-nominal CT "Connective" *=a=*):

- (5) CT *Hooltg=a= waab...a... da yeey.* The house was filled with blubber.  
 filled=CON= house...CON??... PREP fat

Comparison of (4) and (5) shows that CT *da* corresponds to the *coalescence* of the enclitic *==t*, the preposition *[ʔa]* and the connective *=a=*, the latter merging with the vowel of the original preposition. This coalescence results from a combination of CT phonological erosion with the degrammaticalization of the enclitic *==t*. Of the three original CT morphemes, two were phonologically weak, especially the Connective *=a=* which merged with the vowel of the preposition *[ʔa]*, obscuring the morphological identification of the resulting *[a]*. Only *==t* had phonological salience, but it had lost its still underdetermined syntactic function, and (unlike in ST) deglottalization of the original phonetic sequence *[t-ʔa]* created a salient sequence *[da]*, reinterpreted as a preposition.

This development seems to be an instance of *exaptation by cooptation*, although not quite in the sense of Lass 1990. The degrammaticalized, desemanticized but obligatory [t] was coopted by the vocalic remnant of the original preposition [ʔa], enabling the unambiguous restoration of the prepositional function.

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### Oriented adjuncts in two Germanic languages.

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In this paper we focus on what have been called subject-oriented (Davies 1967), agent-oriented (Frey 2000) or participant-oriented adjuncts (Dik et al. 1990, Himmelmann & Schultze-Berndt 2005), or, simply, "oriented adjuncts" in Geuder's (2000) terms, in English and Swedish, as illustrated in the following examples:

He *wisely* kept his mouth shut.  
Han höll *klokt* nog munnen stängd.

The aim of the paper is threefold. First, we want to present a typology of oriented adjuncts on the basis of semantic and syntactic features. Second, we aim at describing three major types of oriented adjunct. Finally, we will focus on differences between English and Swedish in relation to the subtypes distinguished.

In our typology of oriented adjuncts in the two languages, we will pay special attention to the following aspects: morphological marking; possible paraphrases; inherent 'voice' – i.e. active or passive (Davies 1967); variation in positioning of the adjunct ; possibilities of semantic ambiguities ('manner' reading and/or 'oriented' reading) and ambiguities as to the attribuant of the oriented adjunct.

In the description of three major types of oriented adjunct, we will focus on some grammatical and semantic issues which have been described in the literature on oriented adjuncts in general and discuss these from the perspective of a layered approach to the clause structure. One issue which we will explore is the question whether the attribuant of an oriented adjunct (the 'controller') is to be modelled in terms of syntactic or semantic functions (cf. the alternative uses of the terms 'subject-oriented' and 'agent-oriented'/'participant-oriented'). Another relates to the scope of oriented adjuncts, i.e. their 'orientation': e.g. what is the contribution of event-relatedness in participant-related adjuncts? If the oriented adjunct also has event-orientation, what aspects of the event does it characterize?

It will be shown that there are some interesting differences not only between the three main types studied, but also between the two languages involved.

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### Does Metonymy Bridge Conceptual Distance?

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Can metonymy jump from 'tissue' to 'staff'? Yes, it can, at least step-by-step, as the semantic development of French *bureau* shows (Blank, 1997). And how about direct metonymic shifts across large conceptual distances? This is what we examine in this paper.

In a metonymic construction, a word which normally stands for a concept A is used to designate a concept B, with A being an aspect of B and/or B being an aspect of A. The distance between two concepts is the inverse of the degree to which these concepts are related: closely related concepts have a small distance to each other, less related concepts are more distant. Thus, concepts and their properties (such as 'object' and 'shape') have a small distance as they are directly related. Concepts which are only related by means of other concepts (such as 'agent' and 'patient' in an event frame which are related indirectly to each other via the event) have a bigger distance.

Psycholinguistic research on metonymy has shown that innovative metonymies, i.e. metonymies which are neither lexicalized (like *construction* in *the construction of the sentence is complex*) nor common (like *Dickens* in *read Dickens*), are processed as fast as common metonymies and lexicalized expressions if enough context is provided (Frisson & Pickering, 1999, 2007). We investigate an aspect of metonymy which has not been treated up to now: the degree of conceptual association between the literal meaning of an expression and the intended metonymic reading.

This is our working hypothesis:

**Working hypothesis** *The processing time of an innovative metonymy depends on the distance between the involved concepts: the bigger the conceptual distance, the longer the processing takes.*

It is implemented as follows:

Processing time is tested in a self-paced-reading experiment (Just et al., 1982). Metonymies are embedded in a small context and presented to the test person word-by-word. The test person decides when the next word appears by pressing a button. Reaction times will be recorded after the appearance of the metonymic target word and the two words that follow.

In order to guarantee that the metonymies are innovative, we resort to German deverbal *ung*-nominalizations that do not appear in the Celex database (Baayen et al., 1995) and get less than 1000 hits on Google.

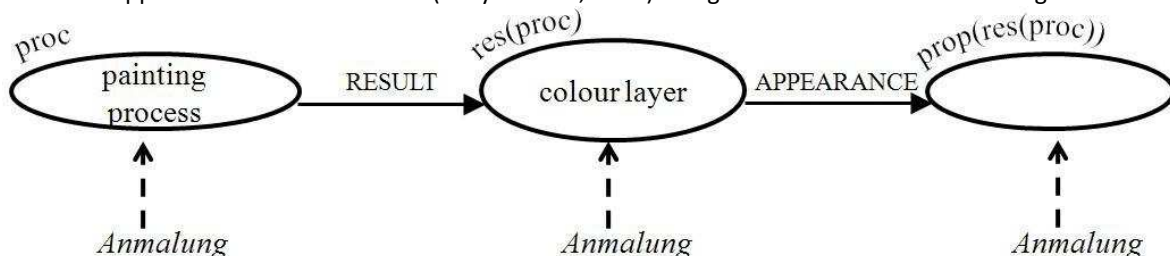


Figure 1: Frame which illustrates the concepts which are represented by the *ung*-nominalization and their relations

We implement the criterion of conceptual distance with the help of three types of concepts: 1) process (proc), 2) result of the process (res(proc)) and 3) property of the result of the process (prop(res(proc))). Res(proc) is directly related to proc and prop(res(proc)) is directly related to res(proc), but prop(res(proc)) is only indirectly related to proc. Thus, the conceptual distance between proc and res(proc) is smaller than between proc and prop(res(proc)) (cf. Figure 1).

For each *ung-noun*, three contexts trigger the three different readings. The *proc*-reading is the basic meaning of the nominalizations. Thus, the test persons are moved to make a direct metonymic shift from the *proc*-reading to the *res(proc)*-reading and an indirect, mediated metonymic shift from the *proc*-reading to the *prop(res(proc))*-reading.

Example: the deverbal noun *Anmalung* (< *etw. anmalen* 'to paint sth.') is used in the sense of 'process of painting', 'result of the painting process: coat of paint' and 'property of the coat of paint: appearance'.

*proc*

Julius war die weiße Wand satt gewesen. Er hatte grüne Farbe aufgetragen, die Farbschicht war fast trocken. Die Dauer der Anmalung hatte er unterschätzt.

Julius had had enough of the white wall. He had applied green paint, the coat had almost dried. He had underestimated the duration of the [*ung-noun*: 'painting process'].

*res(proc)*

Julius war die leere, weiße Wand endgültig satt gewesen. Daher hatte er nun grüne Farbe aufgetragen. Das langwierige Trocknen der Anmalung hatte er kaum abwarten können.

Julius had finally had enough of the blank, white wall. That's why he had applied green paint. He had hardly been able to wait for the [*ung-noun*: 'coat of paint'] to dry.

*prop(res(proc))*

Julius war die weiße Wand satt gewesen. Er hatte grüne Farbe aufgetragen, die Farbschicht war fast trocken. Ihre matte, glatte Anmalung hatte er sich genau so vorgestellt.

Julius had had enough of the white wall. He had applied green paint, the coat had almost dried. He had imagined its matt, smooth [*ung-noun*: 'appearance of the coat of paint'] exactly like it was.

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## Making sense of perception. Sensory perceptions as persuasive devices and evidentiality markers in journalistic travelogues.

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Handbooks for journalistic writing (e.g. Burger & De Jong 2009: 55) often advise (future) journalists to 'appeal to all senses' when relating a story, especially in the case of travel journalism, but they do not explain **why** this is so important. An explanation could be that, *travelogues*, as Pan & Ryan (2009) call these travel articles published in newspapers and magazines, describe *the unfamiliar* to the reader, more than any other journalistic genre does. They describe places the reader has not visited (yet) so it is essential that the information should be first-hand, from a journalist who has 'seen the place with his own eyes'. The fact that the journalist has been there, enhances the truth value of the message.

In most cases, travelogues do not only want to share an experience with the reader, they also want to persuade the reader to make the same journey. If this is the purpose, even more 'evidence' is needed for the truthful presentation of the description. Involving all senses in the description of the perception makes the representation more complete and might contribute to its persuasive effect.



In order to analyze this representation linguistically, I have collected a sample of 50 travelogues published in Flemish (Dutch language) lifestyle magazines. I have singled out all instances of what Halliday (1985) calls mental processes concerning perception, in which the Senser is the journalist. I have categorized the sensory perceptions that are described (also in terms of frequency) and I have drawn up an overview of the linguistic-pragmatic communicative purposes these descriptions have, in relation with the contents being communicated.

According to (amongst others) Hsieh (2008), perception verbs are also a kind of linguistic markers for expressing sensory evidentiality, next to evidential verbs and adverbs. They encode the writer's evidence for the proposition and in some cases the epistemological positioning of the writer (Bednarek 2006).

Bednarek (2006) and Hsieh (2008) have explored evidentiality in *mainstream* news discourse. I will compare their findings to the way evidentiality is marked in travelogues. In news discourse, by indicating sensory evidentiality, journalists 'engage in attaining a maximal balance between their awareness that they cannot be neutral and their belief that they should fulfill the requirement of objective reporting' (Hsieh 2008: 219). I will show that sensory evidentiality in travelogues is used differently in a twofold way. On the one hand its purpose is to prove the presence of the reporter on the location and on the other hand it is used to virtually replace the reader's senses, in order to give the reader the feeling of being present or the urge of wanting to be present.

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### Pronominal verbs and interface adjustment strategies in Romance and Germanic.

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Pronominal verbs in Spanish require the presence of a clitic, and show a certain degree of variation. Particularly, a subset of such verbs allows optionality as regards to the requirement of the presence of the clitic (Mendikoetxea 1999), as seen in (1):

- (1) a. Juan (se) cayó.  
Juan (se) fell off.
- b. El tren (se) paró debido a la tormenta.  
The train (se) stopped due to the storm.
- c. El enfermo (se) murió de cáncer.  
The patient (se) died due to cancer.
- d. Ana (se) ha leído este libro ya.  
Ana (se) has read this book already.

In Dutch, there are also pronominal verbs (Teomiro 2010), i.e. verbs that require the presence of the particle *zich*. These verbs also show variation as regards to the presence of the particle, as can be seen in sentences (2a) and (3a). However, this variation is attested in a subset of pronominal verbs that is different from the subset of pronominal verbs that allow variation in Spanish, as seen in (2b) and (3b) vs. (2a) and (3a), respectively.

- |                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                     |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>(2) a. Jan bewoogt (zich).<br/>Jan moved (zich).</p> <p>b. Juan *(se) movió.<br/>Juan *(se) moved.</p> | <p>(3) a. Jan herstelt (zich).<br/>Jan recovers (zich).</p> <p>b. Juan *(se) recupera.<br/>Juan *(se) recovers.</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In this talk, we will compare pronominal verbs in Spanish and Dutch in order to compose a cross-linguistic classification of such verbs. Our hypothesis is that the codification of concepts is universal (Reinhart 2002), as well as the syntactic component of the language (Chomsky 2001, onwards). Therefore, the variation observed in pronominal verbs, both synchronically (Romance vs. Germanic, in our case) and diachronically, is due to pseudo-optionality in processes that take place at the lexicon-syntax and syntax-phonology interfaces.

Particularly, we will propose that the alternations with and without *se* in Spanish, and *zich* in Dutch are due to, on the one hand, operations on the valency of the verb at the lexicon-syntax interface (Horvath & Siloni, 2011; Reinhart, 2002; Reinhart & Siloni, 2005; Teomiro 2010, 2011). On the other hand, the account of the observed variation needs to resort to processes at the syntax-phonology interface too.

To conclude, this talk will report on a comparative study of the pronominal verbs of Spanish and Dutch, and we will also touch on other languages such as German and English. Finally, this will allow us to propose a cross-linguistic classification of pronominal verbs.

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## Forms of vagueness in free-choice.

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Free-choice (FC) items, e.g. any in Vendler's (1967) examples Pick any apple, could be seen as serving the purpose of remaining intentionally vague in the selection of the referent for the nominal expression, so as to keep the hearer's choice space as broad as possible. We examine how vagueness can enter the phenomenon through the empirical data or in the formal analyses.

Vagueness can be encoded in linguistic data at least through the form of the items and the constructions they appear in. i) In Korean and Japanese, two agglutinative languages, FC items are formed by combining an indefinite/wh-element with a disjunction marker, e.g. Korean *amwu-na* (any), and this combination may serve also to approximate a characterization, e.g. Japanese *nomimono nani-ka* (some drink or other). The indefinite can be characterised as a generalised quantifier with multiple witness sets, but one that cannot have specific readings—cf. *amwu* cannot be used autonomously. The wh-element can also introduce a set of alternatives, i.e. the possible answers are the propositions one gets by substituting the values in the position of the wh-element. Disjunction logically preserves the validity of alternatives in the set and often adds mutual exclusion. Therefore, these expressions can be used when the domain of reference is contextually given but an individual referent is not singled out. ii) French *qu- que ce soit* (any) often serves as a 'catch all' element that closes off a list, e.g. *pas de but pédagogique, pas de visée philosophique ou quoi que ce soit* (Le Monde 2009). The first elements of the list provide properties characterizing co-hyponymous subsets of a whole whose denotation is intensionally exhausted by an antispecific expression, so as to provide a discourse relevant hypernymic characterisation of the set of potential referents whose extension is the lowest upper bound.

As for vagueness in the analysis, i) Kadmon&Landman (1993) have formalized FC meaning via the combination of the semantic constraint of strengthening—requiring an entailment among statements—and the pragmatic constraint of widening, whereby the quantificational domain is perceived as extended to marginal cases. Subsequent proposals have turned widening into a semantic constraint affecting the denotation of the head noun. Under the revised notion, all nouns become vague predicates and the enormous truth functional price to pay for it is partly obviated by appealing to scalar inferences. Scalar implicatures are generated by an exhaustive operator as a case of systematic structural ambiguity (Chierchia 2005). This operator negates all the elements in the set of alternatives that are non-weaker than the asserted proposition. The formalisation requires an explicit characterisation of such a set in any given context. ii)

Alternatively, vague reference is mimicked via conditions on the family of situations in which the formula representing the proposition is true (Jayez & Tovenet 2005). Consider the standard tripartite structure Operator R(estriction) S(cope). FC meaning is formalized via a combination of constraints that prevent particular individuals in R both from satisfying the formula in all situations (no winner) and from failing to satisfying it in all situations (no loser), i.e. always (or never) belonging to the intersection with S. No explicit characterisation of a set of alternatives is required.

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### Coherence relations and verb implicit causality: evidence from German.

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The coherence relation which a speaker/hearer construes in a discourse segment influences significantly the interpretation of referring expressions and the salience of their referents (Kehler 2000, Stevenson et al. 2000). The represented coherence relation, however, is influenced by factors such as verb semantics (implicit causality, thematic roles, internal temporal structure), connectives and aspectual and temporal features of utterances. In the literature (Garnham et al. 1996, Garvey & Caramazza 1974, Rudolph & Försterling 1997), implicit causality is defined as a feature of interpersonal verbs which attributes the cause of an event to either the subject or the object in complex utterances conjoined by a causal connective. Consider the examples:

Helen<sub>i</sub> apologised to Mary<sub>k</sub>, because ... she<sub>i</sub> has been late.  
 Helen<sub>i</sub> praised Mary<sub>k</sub>, because ... she<sub>k</sub> won the competition.

According to this verbs are classified as subject-biasing or object-biasing verbs (Garvey & Caramazza 1974). While there are stable findings for English (Garnham et al. 1996, Garvey & Caramazza 1974, Stevenson et al. 2000, inter alia) and for Dutch (Koorneef & Van Berkum 2006), this type of semantic classification has been only rarely applied to German verbs (Rudolph & Försterling 1997). Therefore, our study first seeks to test its applicability to German interpersonal verbs. Secondly, we compare the impact of the factors implicit causality type and connective type on the construal of coherence relations as expressed by the information structure of discourse continuations.

We conducted a series of experiments in order to determine the implicit causality of a sample of 35 interpersonal verbs applying a pen and paper sentence continuation task (Garvey & Caramazza 1974, Rudolph & Försterling 1997). A group of 93 German native speakers were asked to write continuations to sentences containing a stimulus verb in the first clause followed either by the German causal connective *weil* 'because', or by the German additive connective *und* 'and' or German adversative connective *aber* 'but'.

By means of a cluster analysis we identified 3 clusters according to the implicit causality of the verbs in the *because*-condition – subject-biasing verbs (i.e. *begrüessen* 'greet'), object-biasing verbs (i.e. *loben* 'praise') and a third class which we will call 'non-biasing' verbs (i.e. *streicheln* 'pet'). The non-biasing verbs do not show a clear causally determined referent preference. We discuss their properties in terms of their *actionsart* and their thematic role grid.

The majority of the verbs in the *and*-condition elicit continuations towards the subject of the main clause, whereas the majority of the verbs in the *but*-condition reveal an object preference, thus effecting a topic-shift.

The results suggest that for the tested German population implicit verb causality influences the information structure of the second clause only if it follows a causal connective which explicitly marks the intended discourse relation as a causal one. The procedural meaning of discourse connectives (Blackmore 2002) proves to be a stronger cue for the constitution of anaphoric cohesion than the implicit causality of verbal predicates.

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### The evolution of one Estonian polysemous word – *täpselt* ‘exactly, precisely’.

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This statistical study of corpora shows the grammaticalization of an Estonian adverb (*täpselt* ‘exactly, precisely’) into a pragmatic marker, based on written sources from the 1930s through the 2000s. Excerpts from written Estonian fiction and newspaper texts demonstrate its evolution, showing that it originates from an autosemantic source (adverb) and is gradually developing into a synsemantic word (pragmatic marker). The study focuses on the evolving functions and their respective frequencies. Consider two illustrative sentences; in the first one (a) *täpselt* is used as an adverb and in the second one (b) as a pragmatic marker.

- (a)     *Ma*     *tea-n*     ***täpselt***,     *kus*     *ta*     *ela-b*.  
          1SG     know-1SG     exactly     where     3SG     live-3SG  
          ‘I know **exactly** where he/she lives.’
- (b)     *Nii*             *tee-me-gi*,     ***täpselt!***  
          like\_this do-1PL-GI     exactly  
          ‘That’s what we’ll do, **exactly!**’

Words developing from an adverb to a pragmatic marker can hold many different functions (Brinton 1996; Simon-Vandenberg, Aijmer 2007) and have a tendency to grammaticalize (see e.g. Heine, Narrog 2010) as well as undergo subjectification, displaying generalization in meaning content, occurrence in new contexts, decategorization, and loss of phonetic substance.

The analysis is based on 1413 instances. The data come from the Corpus of Estonian Literary Language and from the Balanced Corpus of Estonian. The word *täpselt* ‘exactly, precisely’ is analysed in detail because of its especially diverse functional uses which are explained both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative analysis displays the relative shares of percentage and numbers of usage per decade, including the general frequency of occurrence of different functions in different eras. Statistical analysis carried out in R and Minitab shows how different nuances of meaning correlate with various aspects in the sentence (e.g. position, collocation etc.) and through that make it possible to determine the behaviour of the word *täpselt*.

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**(‘t) Schijnt (‘it seems’): an evidential particle in colloquial Belgian Dutch.**

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The topic of this paper is the clause-medial use the verb *schijnen* (‘to seem’) in non-standard varieties of Belgian Dutch as illustrated in 0. De Haan (2007: 142) has claimed that Dutch *schijnen* is less grammaticalized than its German cognate *scheinen* on account of the unavailability of a construction like 0 in Dutch. This paper seeks to demonstrate that *schijnen* is more grammaticalized than de Haan believes seeing that in non-standard varieties of Belgian Dutch, ‘*t schijnt* (‘it seems’) has grammaticalized into an evidential particle.

*Er is ‘t schijnt een epidemie geweest van valse kroep.* (9maand.be)  
I hear there has been a whooping cough epidemic.

*Er ist, scheints, nicht zuhause.* (Diewald 2001, cited in de Haan 2007: 142)  
He is, it seems, not at home.

Following Thompson and Mulac’s (1991) ‘matrix clause hypothesis’, according to which parenthetical instances of *I think* and related expressions derive from a complement-taking construction through a grammaticalization process, as well as Heller and Howe’s (2008) work on English verbs of appearance, a construction making use of obligatory subject extraposition 0 can be posited as the source of the use of ‘*t schijnt* illustrated in 0.

*Het schijnt dat de Stijn eens een telefoonnummer van een meisje te pakken heeft gekregen.* (fkserve.ugent.be)  
I hear that Stijn has finally got a girl’s number.

In standard Dutch, *schijnen* may occur as part of the lexicalized adverbial *naar het schijnt* (‘as it seems/as they say’) and the verb can also be used parenthetically, either with 0 or without 0 the adverbial *zo* (‘so’). However, these parentheticals with *schijnen*, specified as “comment clauses” by Schelfhout et al. (2004), differ from the use of ‘*t schijnt* that this paper is concerned with, not least in being less grammaticalized.

*Het is te overduidelijk dat hij ongelukkig is... bang voor alles en iedereen, schreeuwt (zo schijnt het) continu om soortgenoten* (forum.fok.nl)  
It is more than clear that he’s unhappy... afraid of everything and everyone, continually calling out (so it seems) for his kind.

*En dan te bedenken dat over 10 jaar meer dan de helft van Den Haag allochtoon is (schijnt het).* (forum.fok.nl)  
And to think that in ten years’ time more than half the population of The Hague will be of immigrant origin (it is said). (forum.fok.nl)

First, the syntactic “fixation” of ‘*t schijnt*, i.e. the grammaticalization process that Lehmann (1985: 308-309) defines as a loss of syntagmatic variability, is more advanced than that of comment clauses with *schijnen*; ‘*t schijnt* is restricted to the middle field while comment clauses can be more freely inserted and can be used with local scope (Van Bogaert 2007), as below.

*Ik kan niet op de naam komen van een geloof ik Argentijnse keeper die in Turkije heeft/kepte (...)* (forum.fok.nl)  
I cannot recall the name of this I believe Argentinian goalkeeper who used to play/plays in Turkey.

Second, in addition to this syntactic integration, ‘*t schijnt* is also prosodically highly integrated; whereas comment clauses can be realized with ‘comma intonation’, ‘*t schijnt* does not constitute a separate tone unit and cannot be stressed. Third, the provisional subject *het* is not only reduced to ‘*t* but often also elided altogether. This phonological reduction is similar to the development of Afrikaans *glo ek* through *glo’k* to *glo*, now a fully-fledged evidential particle (Thompson & Mulac 1991; de Haan 2001), and can be accounted for in terms of the grammaticalization process Lehmann denotes as “attrition” (Lehmann 1985: 307).

*ik droom in kleur en dat is schijnt stoer.* (fkserve.ugent.be)  
I dream in color and apparently that’s cool.

This paper provides an account of the network of *schijnen*-constructions, relating ('t) *schijnt* to other uses of the verb and situating them on a grammaticalization cline. This is done on the basis of data from the Spoken Dutch Corpus and internet data.

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### **A discourse analytical perspective on the professionalization of the performance appraisal interview.**

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Over the years, oral institutional genres have become increasingly professionalized and this is strongly related to the high amount of advice literature, containing Stocks of Interactional Knowledge (Peräkylä, & Vehviläinen, 2003), that is used for the design and linguistic construction of such genres. In this presentation, we zoom in on the genre of performance appraisal interviews. These conversations between managers and their employees, 'where the goal of assessing an employee's performance is realized using interactive conventions that resemble those of a therapy or counseling session' (Cameron, 2000, p.15), have made increasing use of different rating scales and questionnaires, which are often distributed among supervisors and employees as a support during the preparatory and interviewing phase of the performance appraisal process.

**Research question & data.** Moving from this global level of the advice literature to a local level, this article studies the effect of the use of such a questionnaire on the interview itself. More specifically, this presentation looks at a dataset of four meticulously transcribed performance appraisal interviews which we collected in 2011 at an organization that has a well thought-out way of dealing with the performance appraisal interviewing process by closely linking its questionnaire to the organizational competencies and by defining the preparatory phases of the interview in clearly discernable steps. In particular, we look at the way these preparations permeate in the actual performance appraisal interview itself and what the effect of this preparatory phase is on the local linguistic level of the interview by taking a discourse analytical perspective on the data.

**Method.** Our approach integrates a conversation analytically inspired angle focusing on the sequential features of the interactions and an analysis of a number of discourse strategies relevant for the study of (institutional) interaction, such as the use of pronominal forms to refer to, among others, an institutional collectivity (see e.g. Van De Mierop, 2005) or the negotiation of face through the use of hedges, boosters and modal verbs (see e.g. Holmes et al., 1999).

**Results.** The analyses reveal a nuanced picture of the local effects of the preparatory phase of these interviews, demonstrating on the one hand advantages of this type of approach, which can be situated mainly in the structuralizing effect of such a well-defined agenda based on the preparatory questionnaire, increased employee



participation and depth of the discussion, while on the other hand disadvantages such as inefficient use of institutional time because of overlapping topics and lengthy terminology-oriented negotiations are exposed as well.

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### Genre-diffusion in English absolutes: a common pathway reversed?

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This paper addresses the diffusion of the absolute construction (AC) in various genres of written English as well as in spoken English. The AC is a non-finite construction consisting of a predicate (typically a participle) and a (pro)nominal subject. The construction in its prototypical form is not overtly syntactically linked to the rest of the sentence and can express the same range of semantic relations with its matrix clause as finite subordinate clauses can (e.g. time, cause, concession,...), as in (1). ACs with syntactic linking (or augmentation) are, in Present-day English (PDE), mostly marked by the preposition *with(out)* – as in (2).

- (1) *This being the fast-day before the sacrament at Edinburgh, I stayed at home all day...* (PENN)  
(2) *With every muscle starting to the strain, the Doomsman whirled his enemy's body...* (COHA)

Studies of the AC to date commonly make reference to genre, but have not discussed the issue in great detail. What information is available is synchronic and usually allocates the AC to formal text types (Quirk 1985: 942) or to fiction (Ross 1893); similarly, Kortmann (1995: 191) points out that "absolutes are dispreferred in conversation".

The present paper fills that gap by providing a diachronic genre-study of English ACs. Indeed, it can be readily assumed that constructions do not spread all at once throughout an entire language, but rather emerge locally (e.g. in a particular genre) and spread from there. In particular, the paper explores how the AC diffused from more formal and/or literary genres via less formal genres into the spoken language. Interestingly, this pattern of diffusion appears to differ from a common path of development, whereby language items spread from the spoken to the written language (as did the progressive, for instance; see Kranich 2010: 102; see also Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2003: 28 on the commonly assumed direction of spread from informal to formal language, and Labov 1994: 78 on 'change from above and below').

In tracing the path of diffusion of English ACs, the paper will first of all provide a detailed picture of the (changing) frequency distribution of ACs across the various genres and across time. In doing so, particular attention will be paid to (i) the genre-distribution of augmented vs unaugmented ACs, (ii) the genre-distribution of specific predicate types (participle, PP, adjective, noun), and (iii) the genre-distribution of specific semantic categories. A special concern will be the question whether ACs in spoken English are as productive as in the written genres or whether they are largely idiomatic.

Corpora used include the Helsinki Corpus, the Penn-parsed corpora and COHA for the written genres from Early Modern English to PDE, and Wordbanks Online for spoken English. These corpora were selected because they are all parsed or tagged, and offer a wide range of different genres.

By investigating whether and how the ACs' genre-distribution changed over time, this research hopes to further clarify how and to what degree the place of the AC in the English language has shifted and how this change fits within a broader framework of linguistic diffusion.

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### Multiple exponence of standard negation in Austronesian.

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Standard negation is the negation of declarative verbal main clauses (Miestamo 2005) and 'multiple exponence' means that negation is expressed by more than one marker. The phenomenon is well documented for Europe – see French (1) – and reasonably well for parts of Africa (esp. Semitic and Bantu).

- (1) Je        **ne**        te        vois        **pas.**        'I don't see you.'  
I        NEG        you        see        NEG

Since at least Early (1994) and Lynch (1998) we have been aware that the phenomenon is also found in Austronesian, and recent surveys (Hovdhaugen & Mosel (eds.) 1999, Lynch, Ross & Crowley (eds.) 2002, Adelaar & Himmelmann (eds.) 2005, Blust 2009) support this view. The most recent and largest overview is probably Dryer (2011): he particularly also looked at negation with more than double exponence, though he did not find it in Austronesian.

	Austronesian languages surveyed	double NEG	triple NEG	quadruple NEG
Dryer 2011	128	20	Ø	Ø
In this study we report on more languages – from a reasonably representative sample – and we found more attestations, including clear cases of triple negation, illustrated in (2), and even one quadruple negation.				
	Austronesian languages surveyed	double NEG	triple NEG	quadruple NEG
this paper	389	78	4 (?9)	1

- (2) Natügu (Oceanic, Solomon Islands, Boerger, in prep.)  
tökölëwäu        'I don't know.'  
**tö-kölë=w-ä-u**  
NEG-know-NEG-I-NEG

We subdivide the multiple exponence constructions as to whether or not the negation is obligatory, emphatic, morphemic or syntactic, and we also survey the ordering esp. vis-a-vis the verbal complex. We then compare the variation found in Austronesian to that found in Europe and Africa, with a focus on two issues. One is the relevance of the process most commonly called upon to explain multiple exponence, viz. the so-called 'Jespersen cycle' (Dahl 1979) and we will show how a version of it explains some but not all cases of multiple exponence. The second issue is areality: we will show to what extent multiple exponence clusters geographically, also across families.

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### Why does focus want to be adjacent to the verb?

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Although in many languages the informational structural relations of topic and focus are linked to the left periphery of the sentence, they have also been related to the position relative to the verb. More specifically, the positions adjacent to the verb are often mentioned as focus positions. For example, in Basque and Hungarian, elements placed immediately before the verb (IBV) are interpreted as focus, as exemplified in (1), where *egy kalapot* 'a hat' is in exclusive focus in (1a), but not in (1b). Conversely, in Aghem and Zulu focused elements must appear in the position immediately after the verb (IAV), as illustrated in (2), where the focused question word *ghé* 'where' (2b) and the answer (2c) must appear directly after the verb.

Hungarian (É. Kiss 1998: 247)

- (1) a. Mari egy kalapot nézett ki magának  
Mary a hat.ACC picked out herself.DAT  
'it was a hat that Mary picked for herself'
- b. Mari ki nézett magának egy kalapot  
Mary out picked herself.DAT a hat.ACC  
'Mary picked for herself a hat'

Aghem (Watters 1979: 147)

- (2) a. fíl á mò zí kí-bé án 'sóm  
friends SM P2 eat fufu in farm  
'the friends ate fufu in the farm'
- b. fíl á mò zí ghé bé-'kó?  
friends SM P2 eat where fufu  
'where did the friends eat fufu?'
- c. (fíl á mò zí) án 'sóm (bé-'kó)  
friends SM P2 eat in farm fufu  
'(the friends ate fufu) in the farm'

The leading question for this talk is what is so special about the positions adjacent to the verb that makes them ideal for encoding focus. In order to arrive at an answer to this question, the talk provides an overview of the typological data of the IBV and IAV positions, comparing the two types and relating them to the "basic word order" in the respective languages. One hypothesis is that the canonical position of the object can grammaticalise to become a focus position, thus giving rise to a syntactic configuration more determined by discourse properties than syntax. The larger and more theoretical objective of this research is to see in how far syntactic (movement and/or focus) features can account for the different focus positions.

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### The reflexive/non-reflexive alternation in the pseudo-copular use of the Spanish verb *quedar(se)*.

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This contribution will focus on one of the dozen Spanish verbs that can be used as pseudo-copula to express a change-of-state, namely: *quedar(se)* 'become/remain-(refl)', which, as we will show, profiles the result of a separation or loss. Unlike other change-of-state verbs (*hacerse*, *volverse*, *ponerse*), however, the verb can be used non-reflexively (*quedar*) as well as reflexively (*quedarse*). Although this alternation raises questions as to possible differences in (i) meaning, and (ii) grammaticalization, the vast literature on the Spanish reflexive system has hardly dealt with it (except for Bull (1950) and Morimoto & Pavón Lucero (2005)).

The first aim of the present study is to uncover the import of the cliticization of *quedar* as pseudo-copula and to come to grips with the difference in 'construal' (in the sense of Langacker 1990: 61) between *quedar* and *quedarse* in examples like the following:

(1) [...] *Al escuchar aquellas revelaciones quedé perplejo. Y tentado estuve de tomar la palabra e interrogar a Jesús sobre ese misterioso "cierre" de una época. Sin embargo, mi condición de estricto observador me mantuvo al margen de la conversación.*

'[...] Listening to those revelations **I remained/stood perplex**. And I felt tempted to take the floor and to interrogate Jesus on this mysterious "closing" of a period. However, my condition of strict observer kept me at the margin of the conversation'.

(2) *Y entonces me ocurrió lo más extraordinario que me había ocurrido nunca en mi vida de comisario, lo más hermoso, lo más patético, [...]. Una monjita vino a decirme que ella era la culpable. Me quedé perplejo, porque era lo único que no esperaba oír en este mundo, [...].*

'And at that time the most extraordinary thing that had happened to me in my life as police commissioner, the most magnificent, the most moving, took place [...]. A nun came to tell me that she was the guilty person. **I remained/stood perplex**, because that was the only thing I did not expect to hear in this world, [...]

Drawing on insights developed e.g. in Morimoto & Pavón Lucero (2005), Maldonado (1997, 1999, 2000), Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000)), we hypothesize that the reflexive clitic *se* marks a maximal degree of subject involvement in the change of state event, more specifically, that the reflexive profiles an inside-view, whereas the non-reflexive form corresponds to an outside-view. The difference is corroborated in (1) by the comment *mi condición de estricto observador*, indicating that the speaker observes himself from the outside, and in (2) by *lo más extraordinario que me había ocurrido nunca en mi vida*, evoking a reflection of the experiencing subject himself, thus enhancing his subjective involvement.

The second aim is to deal with the degree of grammaticalization of *quedar* and *quedarse*. Our working hypothesis is that the reflexive form *quedarse* has become more grammaticalized as pseudo-copula expressing a change-of-state than its non-reflexive counterpart. The latter oscillates between two readings, viz., change-of-state vs. permanence (without change); besides, it shares with *estar* 'to be (in a state)' the possibility of functioning as auxiliary of the passive.

The verification of these hypotheses is based on a corpus analysis of contemporary Spanish prose; for each verb we will register up to 800 tokens per pseudo-copular use, drawn from the online *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA).

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### Nominal/verbal marking of dependency relations in Oceanic languages.

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Background and Research Aim – Oceanic languages provide a specifically interesting basis to investigate nominal valency, since their grammars directly reflect the relevant semantic dimensions. In particular, this paper offers an integrated functional account of three common grammatical properties of Oceanic languages, by investigating ‘nominal’ and ‘verbal’ ways of marking dependency relations. The relevant properties are:

- Oceanic languages show a basic formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, and often a number of sub-distinctions within alienable possession (Lichtenberg 2009);
- Many Oceanic languages use possessive morphology to mark (certain types of) subjects in main clauses (Palmer 2011);
- Oceanic languages display few distributional differences between semantic ‘nouns’ and ‘verbs’: both person/object-denoting and action-denoting words can typically be used in referential and predicative functions, without any additional formal marking (Mosel & Hovdhaugen 1992, Broschart 1997).

Method – A cross-classification of typical ‘nominal’ vs. ‘verbal’ semantic meanings and pragmatic functions results in four construction types:

- A person/object-word used in referential function;
- A person/object-word used in predicative function;
- An action-word used in referential function;
- An action-word used in predicative function.

For each of these construction types I determine the way(s) in which dependency relations are expressed, distinguishing three possibilities:

- Expression with ‘nominal’ possessive marking. If this is the case, then I determine which specific type of possessive construction is used.
- Expression with ‘verbal’ person marking;
- An alternation between different marking strategies.

Results and Discussion – The results display a wide array of variation across languages and across constructions. At the same time, the attested variation is shown to be motivated by a common semantic principle: the degree of control characterizing the relationship between the head and the dependent. This principle is relevant both in ‘nominal’ functional dimensions (involving person/object-words and/or reference) and in ‘verbal’ dimensions (involving action-words and/or predication). Moreover, in order to show that the same principle applies outside of Oceanic languages, the paper discusses converging evidence from corpus-based and psycholinguistic studies of English (Haspelmath 2008, Lichtenberg et al. 2011).

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### Causativization in Harakmbut: effects of areal influence?

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South American languages show interesting features in the domain of causativization. In addition to markers expressing the common types of direct and indirect causation, they typically have markers conveying the more recently established type of sociative causation (Guillaume and Rose 2010). This is a type of causation in which the causer not only makes the causee perform a particular action, but also participates in it (to varying degrees) (Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 147-153). This paper focuses on the morphosyntactic patterns of causative marking in the underdescribed language Harakmbut (more specifically the Amarakaeri dialect spoken in the Madre de Dios district of Peru), and it concentrates on effects of areal influence in this domain. Harakmbut is still considered an isolate (cf. Wise 1999: 307), although Adelaar (2000) has argued for a genetic link with the Brazilian Katukina family, which may be further linked to Macro-Jê.

The data available in the literature (Tripp 1995; Helberg 1984, 1996) and my own fieldnotes suggest that Harakmbut formally distinguishes between direct causation (verbal suffix -a') and sociative causation (verbal prefix to-), as illustrated by examples (1) versus (2)–(3) respectively. Indirect causation is expressed by a number of periphrastic constructions, one of which, with the verb 'say', is shown in (4).

- (1) *Nang-ta            ěsĩwĩ-a            o-wik'-a'*  
 mother-ACC    smoke-NOM/INS    3SG.IND-weep-CAUS  
 'the smoke makes the mother weep'  
 (Laminas de actividades de la lengua harakbut, Workshop 02/08/2010; my glosses)
- (2) (a) *e-mba-pe*  
 INF-VPL-eat  
 'to eat'  
 (Tripp 1995: 253; my glosses)
- (b) *e-to-mba-pe*  
 INF-CAUS.SOC-VPL-eat  
 'to eat with guests'  
 (Tripp 1995: 103; my glosses) (= 'to make guests eat by eating yourself')
- (3) *o-to-kudn-tuy                            keme munẽyo ken-en hak-yo*  
 3SG.IND-CAUS.SOC-enter-DIST.PST    tapir lady    she-GEN house-LOC  
 'The tapir lady showed him how he had to enter into her (parents') house'  
 (Patiachi Tayori 2008: 16; my glosses)
- (4) *Nang    a-mba-pe            o-n-a            ken-en    wa-shi-po-ta            mbiing*  
 mother    2SG.IMP-VPL-eat    3SG.IND-DIR-say    3SG-GEN    NMLZ-skin-round.form    ACC fish  
 'the mother makes her child eat fish'  
 (own fieldnotes 2011)



The examples with sociative marker *to-* express the joint-action subtype of sociative causation, i.e. the causer makes the causee do something by doing it himself/herself. Further examples show that this marker is also used in the assistive subtype (e.g. the mother helps the child pee (by holding it)), but not in the supervision subtype (e.g. the mother is making the child do his homework) (cf. Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002: 147-153).

Another issue that will be addressed is the relation between sociative causation and applicative marking, for which syncretism has been noted in South Western Amazonia (Guillaume and Rose 2010). Example (2) suggests that Harakmbut may show this syncretism as well, specifically with the applicative function of introducing a comitative argument. I will investigate how the Harakmbut case bears on Guillaume and Rose's (2010: 392-394) hypothesis that the syncretism need not be the result of a shift from causative to applicative, as has been assumed so far (e.g. Shibatani and Pardeshi 2002), but may as well be the result of an extension from applicative to (sociative) causative.

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## Valency within the possessive noun phrase: a new approach to head/dependent marking.

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This paper argues that noun valency, i.e. the idea that nouns, like verbs, have their own argument structure, requires a basic opposition between two types of dependency relations obtaining within the possessive noun phrase (for similar proposals, cf. Lehmann 1985, Seiler 1983, *inter alia*). The first type of relation concerns possessed nouns that are semantically dependent on a possessor, such as kinship terms and body part terms. Such nouns, more commonly referred to as 'relational', are considered bivalent, since they designate an inherent relationship between two entities. Therefore, they are considered predicates that select an obligatory possessor argument; a relation referred to as 'predication'. The second type of dependency relation involves possessed nouns that can only be optionally modified. Such nouns, generally denoting concrete objects, are considered monovalent, since they occur with a facultative possessor. The possessive relationship between a possessed head and its possessor modifier is called one of 'modification'.

The morphological marking of dependency, and more specifically its location, within phrases and clauses has been investigated extensively by Nichols (1986, 1988, 1992) as the head/dependent marking parameter, also known as 'locus of marking'. However, the bivalent nature of some nouns versus the monovalent nature of others is not accounted for in traditional dependency grammar.

This paper demonstrates the relevance of a dichotomous approach to dependency for locus of marking, by investigating possessive noun phrases in a typological sample of thirty-nine languages. It solely considers languages that overtly code the predication/modification opposition within the possessive NP, traditionally referred to as a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. It is shown that locus of marking adheres to two universals following from the split in dependency relations: if a language employs head-marking, it also employs predicate-marking, and if a language employs argument-marking it also employs modifier-marking. These universals are motivated by the

asymmetric nature of each relation: whereas the dependency of arguments is triggered externally, as evoked by the predicate, the dependency of modifiers is triggered internally, i.e. is supplied by the modifier itself, as it is an optional addition to the head. These two types of semantic asymmetry are reflected formally in different locus of marking patterns.

The findings of this paper show that split dependency is a strong predictor of locus of marking within possessive NPs across the world's languages. As such, the paper strongly supports the concept of noun valency, and the split in dependency relations that follows from it, which are still under debate (cf. Partee & Borschev 2003).

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### The boundedness distinction in adjectives.

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1. Introduction. The literature on adjectives assumes that gradable adjectives come in two kinds, bounded and unbounded (Barbiers 1995, Paradis 2001, Kennedy 2007, Kennedy & McNally 1999, 2005, Tsujimura 2001, Vanden Wyngaerd 2001, Wechsler 2005). Typical bounded and unbounded adjectives are given in (1) and (2), respectively:

- (1) The door is open/closed.
- (2) Max is tall/short.

I consider the question whether this distinction is grammatical or encyclopedic, arguing in favour of the latter position.

2. The boundedness distinction is grammatical: syntactic effects of (un)boundedness. The fact that the boundedness distinction seems to give rise to syntactic effects at first sight seems to suggest that it is grammatical. For example, bounded and unbounded adjectives take different kinds of degree modifiers:

- (3) a. very/terribly/fairly \*open/\*closed/tall/short
- b. completely/absolutely/almost/half/mostly open/closed/\*tall/\*short

Barbiers (1995) further argues that modals taking adjectival complements in Dutch only admit bounded adjectives.

- (4) De fles moet leeg.  
      'The bottle must (become) empty.'
- (5) \*Het kantoor moet groot.  
      'The office must (become) big.'

Finally, Vanden Wyngaerd (2001) argues that adjectives in resultative small clauses must denote bounded scales (see also Wechsler 2005).

- (6) Frank heeft de ballon \*groot/kapot geblazen.  
      'Frank has blown the balloon big/to pieces.'

3. The boundedness distinction is encyclopedic: category shifts. Borer (2005a,b) accounts for category shifts, such as mass-count shifts, by assuming that the substantive vocabulary of a language represents an extra-grammatical

conceptual system of encyclopedic knowledge. Rich encyclopedic meaning can easily be overridden or coerced, whereas meaning contributed by grammar in the strict sense (such as plurality) cannot. The existence of boundedness shifts in adjectives supports the idea that its primary nature is encyclopedic. I show that boundedness depends on the noun, or something related to the noun, that the adjective is predicated of, rather than being an inherent property of the adjective itself. Changing the noun consequently changes the boundedness properties of the adjective. For example, when open is predicated of nouns like door, window, gate, mouth, eyes, some physical property of these objects yields the boundary of the openness scale. The property involved involves encyclopedic knowledge: doors move along some axis on a hinge, and this movement is constrained by a physical boundary, the door frame in this case. The boundedness of open with these nouns derives from the existence of this physical boundary. The same adjective acquires an unbounded sense when it is predicated of nouns like attitude, person, question, landscape, as witnessed by the fact that it allows unbounded modifiers, whereas some of the bounded scale modifiers become impossible.

(7) The landscape was very/terribly/fairly/\*half/\*almost open.

Data will be advanced to show that, far from being an isolated case, such examples in fact constitute the norm, and that virtually any adjective can shift into a bounded or unbounded sense. These data support our claims that (i) boundedness is not inherent in the adjective, but rather derives from the noun it is predicated of, and (ii) that the boundedness distinction is encyclopedic rather than grammatical.

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### The Portuguese inflected infinitive: empirical approaches compared.

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The use of the Inflected Infinitive (INFL INF) – basically, an infinitive with a person and number ending – remains a much-debated issue in Portuguese linguistics. This is especially the case in contexts that allow both an INFL INF and a non-inflected form (NI INF). In particular, we look at adverbial clauses in which the infinitival subject co-refers with the main clause subject (i.e. the underlined 1<sup>st</sup> person plural in the next example):

Para **aquecermos** / **aquecer** um pouco, vamos fazer este pequeno exercício.  
in-order-to warm-up-INFL INF.1PL / warm-up-NI INF a bit we-go do this small exercise  
'In order to warm up a bit, we are going to do this small exercise.'

Despite the vast literature on the issue, it has not been seriously empirically studied before. Our aim is to fill up this gap. We specifically focus on Vesterinen's (2006, 2011) recent cognitive hypothesis, according to which the INFL INF is used in cases in which the infinitival subject risks to be less cognitively accessible due to contextual reasons, like i) the anteposition of the adverbial clause with respect to the main clause; ii) presence of a pause between main and

adverbial clause; iii) a considerable distance between the infinitive and the antecedent of the infinitival subject. In these cases the INFL INF is hypothesized to offer a cognitive advantage over the NI INF.

In our presentation we investigate these variables by comparing the results of both a (written) corpus study (of some 1000 relevant INFL INF/NI INF cases) and a self-paced reading experiment (on 61 native speakers of European Portuguese), making use of advanced statistical linear (mixed-effects) modeling. This double approach allows us to examine Vesterinen's hypothesis both from the production (corpus) and the reception (experiment) angle.

On the one hand, the corpus study shows that the three variables do have an influence on the appearance of the INFL INF: the INFL INF is used more frequently i) when the infinitival clause is preposed to the main clause, ii) when there is a pause between infinitive and main clause and iii) when the distance between infinitive and its subject antecedent increases.

On the other hand, the experiment data show that there is a cognitive advantage in using the INFL INF form at the recognition level, especially on the part of the sentence that follows the infinitive. However, the experiment did not yield any positive results as to the three investigated variables. Overall, the self-paced reading task reveals that the expected cognitive advantage is primarily manifested in longer, more complex sentences with lower frequency verbs.

These results from production and reception suggest a complementary relationship between both empirical angles: INFL INFS are used more frequently in complex sentences to facilitate correct recognition. We therefore argue that Vesterinen's accessibility account is but part of the solution for the inflected/non-inflected problem, and that it is in fact a part of a larger principle, namely the complexity and the autonomy of the infinitival constructions.

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## Towards a unifying syntactic account of logophoricity, evidentiality, TNS, and agreement.

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This paper will argue that the overt evidential morphology as perceived in Bulgarian, Lithuanian and other genetically not related languages can reveal the structure of universally underlying functional heads. The aim is to corroborate previous work on the syntactic nature of discourse features (Cinque 1999, Speas 2004). Couched within the cartographic approach, the analysis builds on split C/T/v domains, which minimally consist of the following features, with logophoric features occupying the high C-domain (cf. Sigurðsson 2004):

- (1) [<sub>CP</sub> Force...Top/Foc ...Λ<sub>A</sub>/Λ<sub>P</sub> ...Fin[<sub>TP</sub> PRSN ...NUM ...Mood ... T...Voice [<sub>VP</sub> v ... (NP<sub>αPRSN</sub>) ...]]

Arguably, morphological features (e.g. inflection, case) cannot be unequivocally interpreted as direct positive evidence of corresponding syntactic features, since overt grammatical formatives like TNS, AGR, and PRSN markers in a particular language are complex feature bundles rather than universal syntactic primitives. In this regard, there are indeed difficulties when interpreting morphological data as direct evidence of syntax. Nevertheless, we also observe much consistency across languages, which observation calls for a deeper understanding of the universal features constituting complex functional nodes.

For instance, the Bulgarian TNS/Mood/Aspect system reflects syntactic and discourse features thus providing evidence of intricate inflectional morphology. Simple sentences like "It was warm here yesterday" in English-type languages cannot reveal (without any further morpho-syntactic devices, like e.g. adverbials or particles) (i) whether the source of information is trustful or not, (ii) whether the speaker expresses his/her own attitude towards the event or statement or not, (iii) whether the speaker was present or not when the event took place. Such ambiguity is resolved in Bulgarian by using discrete morphosyntactic forms of the AUX "sym" (be)<sup>1</sup> for expressing evidentiality – "beše"/"e bilo"/"bilo" (was), cf. (2-4):

- (2) Včera tuk **beše** toplo evidential (personal experience)  
yesterday here was<sub>PST.3SG.IMP</sub> warm

'It was warm here yesterday'

- |     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                        |           |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|
| (3) | Včera tuk <b>e bilo</b> toplo<br>yesterday here is-was <sub>PST.PRFT.3SG.IMP</sub> warm<br>~'I heard/they told me that it was warm here yesterday'<br>(and I rather believe it or remain agnostic)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | evidential<br>evidence/hearsay)                                        | (reported |
| (4) | Včera tuk <b>bilo</b> toplo<br>yesterday here was <sub>PST.PRTCPL.3SG.IMP</sub> warm<br>~'Someone said that it was warm here yesterday'<br>(I might believe it or not)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1) evidential (hearsay)<br>2) evidential (dubitative)                  |           |
| (5) | Elka <b>pisa</b> na Petko da dojde, (*taka razpravjat)<br>Elka wrote <sub>PST.3SG</sub> on Petko DA come <sub>3SG</sub> *so tell <sub>3PL.IMP</sub><br>'Elka wrote to Petko in order for him to come'<br>(I am a witness)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | evidential (personal experience)<br>*reported evidence                 |           |
| (6) | Elka <b>pisala</b> na Petko da dojde, (taka razpravjat)<br>Elka wrote <sub>PRFT.3SG.FEM</sub> on Petko DA come <sub>3SG</sub> , so tell <sub>3PL.IMP</sub><br>'They say that Elka has written to Petko in order for him to come'<br>(I report what I've heard)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | evidential<br>evidence/hearsay)                                        | (reported |
| (7) | Elka (i) <b>bila pisala</b> /(ii) <b>pisala bila</b> na Petko da dojde,(taka razpravjat)<br>Elka was wrote <sub>BE-PRFT.3SG.FEM</sub> on Petko DA come <sub>3SG</sub> , so tell <sub>3PL.IMP</sub><br>'They say that Elka has written to Petko in order for him to come'<br>(but I might express my attitude towards the information and even doubt the event of writing or –more importantly - the event of Petko's coming (i.e. the effect of Elka's writing), especially in the sequence in (ii)) | 1) evidential (hearsay)<br>2) evidential (dubitative/speaker attitude) |           |

Drawing on cross-linguistic evidence from Bulgarian, Lithuanian, and sample data from other genetically non-related languages such as Tibetan, Sherpa, Donno So, it will be shown that the functional heads in the split T-domain (TNS, Mood, PRSN) display certain symmetries cross-linguistically (cf. Speas 2004, 2010). Moreover, following the line of reasoning in Chomsky (2008) that TNS and  $\phi$ -features of T are derivative (or inherited from C), the connection between evidentiality and logophoric features can be straightforwardly established. Thus it appears that evidentiality is tightly connected with TNS (for Bulgarian, Sherpa), with (non)-agreement (Lithuanian), or with logophoricity (Donno So), which is a welcome result under our split TP approach.

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<sup>1</sup>Not only past, but also present and future in Bulgarian can carry evidential information.

### Gender-specific use of *just* in English computer-related texts.

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This analysis deals with discursive and pragmatic functions of the adverb *just* from a gender perspective in a written professional discourse genre.

The issue of the meanings and grammatical status of *just* has emerged from recent corpus-based analyses of linguistic data. In contemporary grammars of English *just* is semantically classified as a restrictive adverb. But grammars have also underscored that this primary meaning often has mitigating and emphasising overtones (Quirk et al. 1995; Biber et al. 1999). Aijmer (2002) offered a syntactic criterion for distinguishing between the two functions of *just* – as an adverb and a discourse particle. While restrictive *just* only focuses the hearer's attention on a syntactic element in its scope, *just* as a discourse particle "has an indexical relation to the speaker's attitude or emotions towards a discourse event" (Aijmer 2002:154). Operating at a discourse level *just* appears to be a double-edged linguistic element performing opposing functions: intensification vs. mitigation of a proposition, positive vs. negative politeness strategies. Which of the functions are realized depends, among other pragmatic factors, on the text type, and roles and status of the speakers.

Multifunctional linguistic elements and politeness strategies tend to demonstrate gender-specific distribution in their use by women and men. Due to its functional potential *just* was considered to be an excellent candidate for a study from a gender perspective.

Complementing previous findings, which were concerned mostly with interpersonal spoken interaction, the present study concentrated on professional genre of written discourse. A narrowly specialized corpus of computer-related texts compiled specifically for the study offered the advantage of eliminating the parameters of register variation, while enabling us to focus on gendered authorship of the texts.

The quantitative analysis indicated that *just* occurred more than twice as often in male authored texts (M-texts) than in female authored texts (F-texts): 3.0 occurrences per 1000 words in M-texts vs. 1.4 occurrences per 1000 words in F-texts.

Applying Aijmer's framework in the analysis, 3 main readings of *just* in the texts were distinguished: temporal, particularizing, and emphatic. The proportions of the three readings relative to each other were roughly similar in F- and M-texts. As evidenced by the most frequent collocations with *just*, in both F- and M-texts *just* signals a friendly and encouraging attitude towards the reader by mitigating instructions, commands and generally bringing down the formality of the texts.

However, the study showed that the emphatic *just* displayed the greatest gender-related variation in the corpus. Men preferred to use *just* as an interpersonal particle, while women preferred to employ it as a restrictive adverb.

The study suggests that gender interacting with professional status of male and female authors (Holmes, 2006) may be an important factor affecting both quantitative distribution and functional prevalence of *just* in the corpus of texts under investigation.

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**Prosodic analysis of topicalization markers (TMs) in French.**

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1. Introduction. Topicalization Markers (TMs) in French, like *en ce qui concerne* (1), lexically indicate that the element following the TM has to be interpreted as the topic or the frame of the utterance, in contrast with clitic left dislocation (2), where the dislocated constituent is co-referent with the pronoun *il* and where the topic marking is implicit.

(1) *Difficile de s'y retrouver, tant les divers statuts des fonctionnaires sont nombreux. Mais en ce qui concerne les fonctionnaires "d'état", ils devraient être tous alignés sur le statut des militaires.*

[So numerous are the different statuses of public servants that it is difficult to make sense out of them all. As far as public servants working for state government are concerned, however, they should be treated as soldiers are.]

(2) - *Et après, on est tous les deux chez notre père. Mon père, il va être moins seul en fait et il y aura toujours quelqu'un chez lui.*

[And afterwards, we both stay with our father. My father, he's going to be less lonely and there'll always be someone with him.]

In contrast with most studies about TMs in French, which are limited to their syntactic and discourse properties in written (mostly formal) language (Choi-Jonin 2003 – Fløttum 1999, 2003 – Lagae 2003, 2007, 2011 – Porhiel 2004, 2005), we investigate the interaction between discourse and prosody in spontaneous speech (in several corpora of oral French, a.o. C-Prom, ESLO and Rhapsodie). The general claim of this paper is that, contrary to what is put forward in Martin (2009: 163), left dislocation constructions with and without TM are marked by a strong and obligatory prosodic boundary.

2. Background. Our prosodic analysis is based on Mertens' (2006) predictive model of French unmarked default intonation, which is based on syntactic structure and which specifies the prosodic boundary of the stressed syllable of each intonation group (IG). Mertens (2006) states that peripheral constituents like clitic left dislocations are followed by a major boundary. We will show that TMs indeed are separated from its verbal kernel by a major boundary.

3. Details. We will first present the results of our analysis of the pitch contour of the stressed syllable in different types of constructions involving a left detached constituent, a.o. left dislocation with TM (ex. 1), clitic left dislocation (ex. 2), left detached spatio-temporal constituents (ex. 3) and universe-of-discourse introducers (4) (referring to mental spaces - Fauconnier 1994).

(3) *En Espagne, le gouvernement s'attaque à la fraude fiscale.*

[In Spain, the government is dealing with fraud.]

(4) *Dans le domaine de l'économie, il était jusqu'à présent difficile de mettre d'accord les pays très libéraux.*

[In economic policy, it has so far been very difficult to reconcile the ultra-liberal countries.]

We will show that all these left detached constituents are separated from the verbal kernel by an important pitch interval, rather than by a clear-cut pause. The stressed syllable of the left detached constituent reaches a high level tone.

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### Rhythmic stress and musical verse in european Portuguese.

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Phonological descriptions of European Portuguese (EP) assume that this language lacks a rhythmically-governed secondary stress (Pereira 1999; Mateus & D'Andrade 2000; Mateus et al. 2003). Several arguments support this view: in EP, secondary stress position within the word may vary considerably; its identification is not absolutely clear and relies quite often on subjective auditory judgments; it does not seem to be ruled by any systematic regularities; it is weight-insensitive; it does not seem to trigger or to inhibit any phonological phenomena.

Nevertheless, it is also acknowledged that, both in the European and Brazilian varieties of Portuguese, polysyllabic words' unstressed syllables do have different degrees of prominence (Pereira 1999; Bisol 2000; Mateus & D'Andrade 2000; Mateus et al. 2003; Keller 2004). The distribution of such relative prominence degrees seems to obey a rhythmic pattern indeed: avoiding Stress Clash and fulfilling Selkirk's (1984) Rhythmic Alternation Principle, each other syllable from the stressed syllable leftwards bears a relative prominence (e.g.: [σσσσσσ]<sub>ω</sub>).

The major problem that subsists, though, in the study of secondary stress in Portuguese dwells at the difficulty of finding strong correlates for it. Studies on truncation procedures, comprehending oral and written productions of European and Brazilian Portuguese (e. g. Araújo 2002), have demonstrated some interesting regularities which suggest that secondary prominence does play a role in word abbreviations such as acronyms, for instance (these seem to respect regular rhythmic constraints and to cut the original words at feet boundaries).

In this study, we will examine a different type of evidence suggesting the rhythmic distribution of secondary prominence within words in EP: traditional singing, which organizes sound chains according to regular patterns of rhythmic alternation between strong and weak beats. Our hypothesis is that in Portuguese musical verse, syllables bearing primary or secondary stress will occur preferably on strong beats. This would offer us strong evidence of some kind of representation of secondary stress and rhythmic organization in the speakers' linguistic intuitions, hence of the relevance of this issue for the phonological description of EP. In addition, it would emphasize the correlation between a more general rhythmic ability of humans and the prosodic organization of languages, as it is suggested by theoretical approaches like Natural Phonology (see, for instance, Auer 1988).

Our analysis will focus mainly on Delgado's (1980) comprehensive collection of traditional verse and singing of Southern Portugal. Taking the linguistic and musical corpus found in this compilation as a representative sample of sung EP, we will look for a correlation between strong musical beats and prominent syllables.

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**Apodotical use of adverbs and the grammaticalization of discourse markers:  
evidence from ancient Greek οὐτως.**

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Many of the most important trends based on the Theory of Grammaticalization for the last years have lied in its application to explain the genesis and evolution of particles and discourse units —mainly markers (Traugott 1995; Brinton 1996). By means of this framework, many unknown factors related to the historical process that involves the development of these elements have been much clarified. But the use of this approach entails, also, some problems. Particularly, in the diachronic study of the forms, the Theory of Grammaticalization uses to set up linear patterns of analysis, focusing on the source and finishing points, but often neglecting the intermediate stages, regarded as mere phases in a scalar evolution.

Though the restrictions related to this linearity do not hinder the description of most of the forms —in fact, many discourse markers have been successfully explained by means of these patterns—, the difficulties increase as it regards more complex units, whose evolution is not so clear. These units seem to keep all their different values in amalgamation, getting away from the prototypical design of these processes.

This is the case of the ancient Greek adverb οὐτως. Taking its modal-anaphorical etymology as a starting point, the adverb has quite soon developed a sort of polyfunctionality, including uses both inside and outside the sentence structure, as a sentence adverb and, finally, as a consecutive connector. As it has been already marked, in spite of this apparent linearity, the adverb assumes its new values together with the old ones, becoming more and more a *proforma*.

Evidence of that these values are not only scalar phases towards a final result (teleological approach), but true coexisting stages is the fact that every intermediate stage may, in turn, develop parallel results. In this way, considering the different values described for οὐτως from a standard corpus of classical Greek literature (Martínez & Ruiz 2011), it is possible to design a path according to the following schema:

Sentence adjunct > Apodotic use > Sentence adverb (proconditional use) > Conjunctive adverb

But this path does not have to maintain exclusively this linearity. This paper will focus on the behavior of one of these intermediate stages: the so-called apodotic use —the adverb used as a cohesive device between hierarchical-structured clauses.

The data provided by this research show some cases where apodotic οὐτως, in a later moment, undergoes an alternative evolution, putting aside the preceding one. Namely, we refer to certain postclassical constructions who reflect a fusion of syntactic structures which results in the location of apodotic οὐτως inside final clauses introduced by ἵνα.

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**Conventionality as a core issue in the biological and cultural evolution of language  
- applying Tinbergen's model of biological explanation in linguistics.**

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Pace Saussure, the most fundamental characteristic of linguistic signs is not that they are arbitrary, but that they are conventional; conventionality allows signs to become arbitrary over time, driven by other mechanisms (Keller 1998). There is some consensus on how non-conventional behavior may conventionalize; linguistic conventions (routines for coordinating mental states, functioning by being mutually recognized) are based on intersubjectivity (Clark 1996, Keller 1998, Verhagen 2005, Tomasello 2008, Zlatev et al. 2008). Still, how to fit conventionality into biology, is unclear or controversial. Central concepts of behavioral biology can be of considerable help here, especially when combined with central concepts of usage-based cognitive linguistics.

An utterance constitutes observable behavior, that may systematically produce behavioral effects, including someone else producing an utterance. Linguistic usage is thus amenable to analysis in the framework of behavioral biology as structured by "Tinbergen's four questions" (Tinbergen 1963). When asking "why" an organism exhibits a certain behavior, one has to address four different questions; only answering all four establishes full understanding:

- 1 (proximate), *causation*: what are the (molecular, neurological, etc.) mechanisms that produce the behavior?
- 2 (ultimate), *function*: how does it contribute to the fitness of the organism?
- 3 (proximate), *ontogeny*: by what process of individual development did the behavior arise in the organism?
- 4 (ultimate), *evolution*: what is the phylogenetic history of the behavior? How did it evolve?

For language, Fitch (2010: 70) proposes to add a fifth question, concerning historical language change. However, the evolutionary history of a linguistic item basically *is* the history of consecutive populations of utterances; there is no *direct* link between selection pressures effecting the differential survival of our ancestors, and the words and/or grammatical rules in a language. Language is itself a system characterized by a Darwinian algorithm of variation, selection and replication (Croft 2000), and the same conceptual system of proximate and ultimate explanations applies at this cultural level as it does at the biological/genetic level. It is especially the *content* of *ultimate* explanations that distinguishes the two (interlocking) levels of evolution, but cultural evolution does not introduce another *type* of explanatory questions.

Distinguishing proximate from ultimate questions helps to see the roles of 'conventions', 'norms' as social phenomena, and 'routines', 'entrenchment' as psychological phenomena, both in biological evolution and in cultural evolution; the latter contribute primarily to proximate explanations, the former especially to ultimate explanations concerning function and evolution.

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**Scramble, scurry, and dash: correlated evolution between motion event encoding and the size of the manner verb class.**

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Languages allow their speakers to talk about motion in different ways (Talmy 1985, Slobin 2004). The analysis of motion event encoding has mostly been concerned with syntactic differences between motion event construction types, such as satellite-framed and verb-framed constructions. However, the lexical semantics of the words used in these constructions, as well as their potential relationship with the motion event construction types, is an interesting avenue of investigation in its own right.

Slobin (2004) proposed that if a language becomes more manner-salient, i.e., when there is an increase in the usage of constructions which feature manner expressions, speakers of that language will elaborate the domain of manner expressions. This would involve that many more new manner expressions, such as manner verbs, adverbial expressions or ideophones, come into existence. These manner expressions are predicted to have more and more specific semantics (such as the English verbs 'scramble', 'scurry', and 'dash'). In this paper, a first attempt at answering the following question derived from Slobin's (2004) claim will be presented: do languages which use more satellite-framed constructions (in which the main verb of the sentence is a manner verb) also have a larger class of manner verbs?

The data are taken from a parallel corpus of translated motion events from three literary works: *Alice's adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking Glass and what Alice found there*, both by Lewis Carroll, and *O Alquimista* by Paulo Coelho. Included in this corpus are twenty-one Indo-European languages (English, Dutch, German, Swedish, Portuguese, Italian, French, Russian, Polish, Serbo-Croatian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Irish, Breton, Greek, Armenian, Albanian, Hindi, Nepali, Persian, and Kurdish). The use of a parallel corpus enables access to a maximally comparable data set on the motion event constructions used by these different languages. At the same time, this dataset can be used to assess the manner verb inventory in each language.

Bayesian phylogenetic comparative methods will be used to model both changes in the encoding of motion events and in manner verb class size by mapping the variability found in both of these variables onto a set of phylogenetic trees of Indo-European. These methods are then used to track the mostly likely evolutionary changes each of the variables has undergone. They allow us to formally investigate whether it is more likely that change in manner verb inventory size is dependent on an increase in the use of satellite-framed strategies, or whether it is more likely in this case that the lexical domain develops separately from the syntactical domain. Some first results indicate that there is indeed a correlation between an increased use of satellite-framed constructions and a bigger class of manner verbs. However, other factors seem to be involved as well. The correlation between an increase in the use of satellite-framed constructions and an increase in the number of manner verbs, as well as other factors that potentially influence the size of the manner verb inventory, will be fully assessed in this paper.

**Information structuring by multilingual speakers:  
code-switching as a marker of topic-comment or focus-background.**

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Information structure refers to how linguistic resources in a clause reflect what, according to the speaker, the addressee already knows (Lambrecht 1994; Erteschik-Shir 1997). These resources may highlight, amongst others, the distinction between the referent that the proposition is about (topic) and new information conveyed about that particular referent (comment). In addition, they may also mark the distinction between the referent that the addressee supposedly least expects (focus) and the other referents in the proposition (background).

Speakers have been found to organize both topic-comment and focus-background through a range of linguistic resources (Vallduví & Engdahl 1996; Erteschik-Shir 2007), such as word order and prosody. By contrast, code-switching has been understudied as an information structuring element. Code-switching is defined as the locally meaningful "juxtaposition of two languages within one speech exchange" (Auer 1999), such as in the *Spanish-English* clause *Además yo no soy head of year* ['Besides I am not head of year.']. This paper wants to bridge the above-mentioned gap by investigating the relationship between code-switching and information structure, and more in

particular how code-switching highlights either topic-comment or focus-background, such as in the two examples below:

- ((a), *French-Dutch*)      *Le jour qu'on est allé d'r was geen plaats niet meer. ['The day we went, there was no room any more.']* (Treffers-Daller 1994: 207)
- ((b), *Dutch-Turkish*)      *Mesela okulda iki tane kız da bana verkering sordu. ['For instance, two girls at school have asked me out on a date.']* (Backus & Dorleijn 2009: 77)

In (a), code-switching highlights the boundary between a scene-setting topic (the adverbially used French NP "*le jour qu'on est allé*" ['the day we went']) and the comment ("*d'r was geen plaats niet meer*" ['there was no room any more']). In (b), the Dutch noun "*verkering*" ['date'] is inserted in a Turkish matrix language clause: the object of the girls' request, a date, is assumed to be the least predictable information in this proposition.

In our analysis, we will pay particular attention to two types of possible constraints on information structuring through code-switching. First, we show to what extent other ongoing syntactic and/or semantic processes in the clause may constrain this pragmatic information structuring process. For that purpose, we adopt Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005).

Second, we also want to demonstrate the influence of extralinguistic contextual factors. Various researchers have emphasized that different types of language contact "scenarios" yield different types of code-switching (Muysken 2000). Thus, depending on the language contact situation, code-switching may mark information structure in a different way. The analysis therefore starts from concrete multilingual data compiled from four sample corpora in the LIDES database: two corpora of code-switching among immigrant speakers (Dutch-Turkish (discussed in Backus 1996) and German-English (Eppler 2010)) and two corpora of code-switching among indigenous speakers (French-Dutch (Treffers-Daller 1994) and English-Spanish (Moyer 1992)).

This paper wants to demonstrate how an interdisciplinary approach to code-switching and information structure can yield new and fruitful insights in both (still fragmented) research areas.

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**Towards a constructional account of binominal quantifiers in Spanish  
and the interplay between analogy and conceptual persistence.**

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The aim of the present paper is to reconsider the role of frequency, analogical thinking and conceptual persistence in grammaticalization processes. I will argue that the development of binominal quantifiers can best be captured by a constructional network account (Traugott 2008; Trousdale 2010): the highly frequent and prototypical *montón de N2* 'heap of N2' paved the way for the spontaneous association of the binominal pattern with the expression of quantity, and attracted, or at least speeded up the rise of other binominal quantifiers.

Quantifying nominals (QN) are characterized by displaying a quantitative potential next to the original lexical meaning, as they designate containers (*brazada* 'armful'), configurations (*montón* 'pile', *racimo* 'bunch') or collective entities (*hatajo* 'herd', *tropel* 'mob, heap'). When the QNs are followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *de* indicating the mass, they can be considered binominal quantifiers (*un montón<sub>N1</sub> de dinero<sub>N2</sub>* 'a pile of money'). The binominal quantifier construction is generally considered as a locus of grammaticalization (Brems 2010): within the binominal syntagm, the QN (or N1) that constitutes the head of the quantifying construction (*[una pila][de libros]* '[a pile] [of books]'), gets re-analysed as quantifying the mass designated by N2 (*[una pila de] años* '[a pile of] years]').

In the literature on English binominals, the latter reanalysis is often presented as part of a grammaticalization chain: [pre-partitive use > (expanded) partitive use > degree modifier use > free degree adjunct use] (Traugott 2008: 228). However, the latter schema abstracts away from the individual histories of the Spanish QNs. First, only few instances are observed where (only two) Spanish QNs (i.e. *montón* 'heap' and *barbaridad* 'barbarity') end up as free degree adjuncts. Second, several QNs seem to have skipped the productive pre-grammaticalization stage and immediately serve a quantifying function when showing up in the binominal construction, e.g. *letanía* 'litany', *aluvión* 'avalanche', *barbaridad* 'barbarity' (Verveckken: To appear). Further, the suggested pathway of change does not do full justice to the role played by analogy and conceptual persistence.

More precisely, the force of analogical thinking is observed not only in the extension towards new (and semantically similar) QNs in the N1 slot, but also in the extension towards new N2-collocates which tend to cluster around particular semantic domains (for instance, quantifying *letanía de* only quantifies over N2s referring to parts of speech). Conceptual persistence is found to play a role not only in the morpho-syntactic persistence (or synchronic compositionality) of the binominal construction, but also in the productivity of the binominal phrase to express either quantity or quality assessment.

The data for this analysis were extracted from three on-line corpora and contain spoken as well as written, formal as well as informal, synchronic as well as diachronic data. For ten QNs – i.e. *alud* 'avalanche', *aluvión* 'flood', *barbaridad* 'barbarity', *hatajo* 'herd', *letanía* 'litany', *mar* 'sea', *montón* 'heap', *pila* 'pile', *racimo* 'bunch' and *tropel* 'mob' – exhaustive or representative samples were extracted from the *Corpus de referencia del español actual* and the *Corpus diacrónico del español*. From the *Corpus del Español* all instances were excerpted of the 'N1 de N2'-construction from medieval Spanish up to Present-Day Spanish. For this usage-based analysis, data were approached from a cognitive-constructional perspective.

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### Applying the Negative Existential Cycle on the Uralic Language Family

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The term Standard Negation (hereafter SN) refers to the negation of simple indicative sentences with an overt verb predicate as in (i) *Mary doesn't sing* (Dahl 1979, Miestamo 2003/2005). Sentences such as (ii) *Mary is not a nurse* (hereafter a non-verbal sentence) and (iii) *There are no wild cats* (hereafter existential sentence) are excluded from the domain of SN because in many languages they are negated by a strategy different from SN. The negators used in such clauses are referred to as special negators. The first goal of this paper is to describe the synchronic distribution of such special negators in the Uralic family and to set them in a broader typological context. The second goal is diachronic. Specifically, I aim to outline the processes whereby the special negators evolved, with a focus on negative existentials, trace their interaction with SN, and, ultimately, test the diachronic model suggested by Croft (1991) based on Uralic data. My sources have been grammars and elicitation from language experts for 27 extant Uralic languages.

Languages may use different negators for (ii) and (iii) as illustrated by Erzya in 0 below. The most widespread case of special negation is the use of a special negative existential, which is observed in most Uralic languages except in the Finnic and Saami groups. This distribution is both genealogically and geographically conditioned. When compared to a larger language sample of 115 typologically diverse languages, it is shown to fit with larger areal patterns of the cross-linguistic distribution of special negators.

Negative existentials in Uralic appear to have evolved by means of three processes: (i) words with an inherently negative content as for instance Forest Enets *d'agu* 'be absent, not exist' (Florian Siegl, p.c., citing (Janhunen 1977: 40-41), see also (Hamari 2007: 107-109) for Mordvin languages; (ii) fusion between a negative element and a (nominalized) form of an affirmative copula or copula-like verb cf. (Bartens 1996, Hamari 2007: 107-109, Honti, 1997); (iii) borrowing, as in Mari *yuke* 'not.exist', cf Turkish *yok* 'not.exist' (Kangasmaa-Minn 1998: 231, Vasikova 1990: 72-73). The negative existentials are used as SN in some restricted contexts in 8 out of the 15 languages where they are observed. The comparative data available so far allow for the postulation of the following paths of development: (i) via the use of the negative existential in a nominalized construction, which in turn is interpreted to express a particular verbal category. The negative existential becomes the negation marker for this category, cf 0. (ii) via the use of negative existential as a pro-sentence and emphatic negator external to the clause, cf. 0. (iii) via general grammaticalization processes where the negative existential 'not-have' is interpreted as a default negator for predications set in perfect or pluperfect, cf. 0.

Croft (1991) puts forth a model about the evolution of SN from existential negators as they gradually expand their use into negating verbs. The current study contributes to the model as follows. First, lexicalization of negation has to become part of the model as there is plenty of Uralic as well as cross-linguistic evidence that negative existentials tend to evolve equally often from words with an inherently negative context than from fusions between a negative element and an affirmative verb. Second, the strength and association with particular construction have to be made explicit when discussing the transfer of negative existentials into the domain of verbal negation. Finally, time depth needs to be brought in when discussing this development. The data from modern Uralic languages do not illustrate the cycle in its entirety. We can only assume its completion based on reconstructed data; consequently, it has to be made explicit, that it takes more than several hundred years for a negative existential to evolve into a full fledged SN marker, if it ever does. The available evidence suggests that most negative existentials, while breaking into the domain of SN, tend to remain restricted to a particular category for a very long time.

#### Examples

Erzya (Uralic, Mordvin) (Hamari, 2007: 90)

- |                                                                             |                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| a. A <i>mora-n</i><br>NEG sing-PRS.1.SG<br>'I don't sing; I am not singing' | b. <i>Mastor lank-so araś išťamo źveř</i><br>Earth top-INE NEG such animal<br>'There is no such animal on earth' |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- c. *Ǫiń a lomať rńiń l'ixaratka-t* d. *Pokšta-ś avol' ejkakš*  
 We NEG human.being.PL.NOM we fever-PL.NOM Grandfather-SG.DEF.NOM NEG child  
 'We are not human beings, we are fevers' 'Grandfather is not a child'

Selkup (Uralic, Samoyed) (Beáta Wagner-Nagy, p.c.)

- a. *ukkir poo ämtä čääńka* b. *man ili-ptɔɔ-mi Čääńka*  
 One tree PTCL NEG.EX.3.SG NEG place-INE-PX3.SG NEG.EX.3.SG  
 'There aren't any trees at all' 'I did not live' [lit. 'My living does not exist']

Forest Enets (Uralic, Samoyed) (Florian Siegl, p.c.) *d'agu* 'NEG.EX' > *d'ak* 'No'

*mud' ma-ńeđu<sup>w</sup> obu ań enči ä-đa še-xuru*  
 1SG say-ASST.1SG what FOC person be-FUT.3SG who-NEG

*d'agu-š Vitalik kańi-sau to-nin*  
 not.exist-3SG.PST Vitalij go-PROB[PST].3SG there-LOC

*d'ak mańuw Vitalik ań toni? kanta-d ńi-š koma-?*  
 no say-ASST.3SG Vitalij FOC there go-SG NEG.AUX-3SG.PST want-CNG  
 I said: "What person will it be, there is nobody!" "Vitalij might walk over there".  
 "No" I said "Vitalij does not like to walk there"

Komi (Uralic, Permian) (Arja Hamari, p.c.)

- a. *Maša-len em-ęś kerka-jas* b. *Maša-len kerka-jas abu-ęś*  
 Maša-GEN EX-PL house-PL Maša-GEN house-PL NEG-PL  
 'Maša has houses' 'Maša doesn't have houses'
- c. *Tani kerka abu* d. *Maša abu ičet*  
 Here house NEG Maša NEG small  
 'There is no house here' 'Maša is not small'
- e. *Me vęl-i o-g mun* f. *me vęl-i abu mun-ęm-a*  
 1SG be-1PST NEG-1 go.CNG.SG 1SG be-1PST NEG go-2PST-1/3SG  
 'I was not going' 'I had not gone'

#### Abbreviations

ASST	assertative	EX	existence	GEN	genitive	NOM	nominative	PTCL	particle
AUX	auxiliary	FOC	focus	INE	inessive	PL	plural	PST	Past
CNG	connegative	FUT	future	LOC	locative	PROB	probability	PX	possessive
DEF	definite			NEG	negator	PRS	present tense	SG	singular

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**Verbs of perception from a typological and contrastive perspective.**

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Typologically, verbs of perception have been studied from various perspectives. Viberg (1984, 2001) looks primarily at lexical differentiation within the semantic field of perception verbs, whereas Evans & Wilkins (2000) and Vanhove (2008) look at the extension of perception verbs into the field of cognition and Dik & Hengeveld (1991) and Boye (2010) look at perception-verb complements and their interpretation. Much of the typological work has been concerned with the relationship between the basic meaning of perception verbs to express more direct physical perception and extended uses as cognitive verbs ('think', 'know'). One result that is relevant within the context of the present workshop is that extensions within the field of perception (e.g. 'see' > 'hear') tend to follow universal restrictions and be based on general cognition and ultimately on human biology (the sense organs and the organization of the brain), whereas the extensions into the cognitive field (primarily 'see' > 'know' and 'hear' > 'know') are mediated by varying cultural conceptualizations. Recently, verbs of perception have been described in European languages from a number of perspectives such as the conceptualization of directionality (Huomo 2010), evidentiality (Whitt 2010) and the role of word order for the interpretation of infinitival complements (Enghels 2009). Thus, perception verbs express conceptualization within a number of cognitive domains and depend for their interpretation on a complex interaction with the specific morpho-syntactic structure of individual languages.

Against the background of the general typological framework discussed above, this contribution to the workshop will present results from an ongoing corpus-based contrastive study of perception verbs in Swedish and a number of other European languages included in the Multilingual Parallel Corpus (MPC) consisting of extracts from (at present) 22 Swedish novels and their translations into English, German, French and Finnish. To a more limited extent, translations of the Swedish texts into other languages than the four mentioned are included in the corpus. There are also some original texts in other languages than Swedish. The data will be used to further illuminate some of the phenomena mentioned in the initial paragraph but a number of other phenomena have also turned up during the analysis of the corpus such as extensions of perception verbs into the field of Social contact ('you should see a doctor'), the use as a supervision causative (*se till att-S* 'see to it that-S') and the development of discourse particles (*sörrö* < *ser du* lit. 'you see', *hörrö* < *hör du* lit. 'you hear'). There has been a tendency in earlier research to focus on visual and auditory verbs. For that reason, special attention will be drawn to the pattern of polysemy of Swedish *känna* 'feel', which has both perceptual and cognitive meanings, and its closest correspondents in the other languages in the corpus, and to internal perception such as balance ('feel giddy'), proprioception and pain and to the experience of emotions ('feel angry/happy...').

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## Continuing right-dislocation and polarity in Catalan.

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The problem. While our understanding has grown of the discourse role of right-dislocation (RD) (Vallduví, 1992, Grosz & Ziv 1998, Mayol 2007, Villalba 2011), there exists a class of RD (*continuing RD*) that have proven impervious to any principled analysis, for the role of the dislocate is (apparently) null, and simple pronominalization should suffice to retrieve the active and local antecedent:

- (1) MARTA: Que no heu tingut mai una filla, vós?  
 'MARTA: Oh, did you ever have a daughter?'  
 TOMÀS: Una filla! ... Sí que la tenia, **una filla**. *Terra baixa*, p.163  
 TOMAS: A daughter! ... Yes that CLITIC had, a daughter.  
 'TOMÀS: A daughter! ... Yes, I had **a daughter**

Our communication aims to account for the pragmatic felicity conditions of continuing RDs by looking at the role of polarity, an overlooked factor in previous work. Particularly, we will show that a significant amount of continuing RD (like (1)), involve the contradiction of part of the interlocutor common knowledge.

Data and results. The corpus included 257 instances of RD from three sources: the theater play 'Terra Baixa', the novel 'Vida privada', and the Catalan translation of Chester Himes' 'The Big Gold Dream' (*El gran somni daurat*).

The results showed a strong contrast between re-introducing RDs (which serve to activate a previously introduced non-activated referent or a referent inferable from the context) and continuing RDs (e.g. (1)) regarding the overt expression of polarity (either positive or negative): 59.8% of continuing RDs showed a marked polarity, whereas it amounted to 40.2% in the case of re-introducing RDs.

Analysis. To explain the very often co-occurrence of continuing RDs with marked polarity, we will defend the hypothesis that in continuing RD, although the referent is local and highly accessible, it is not omitted because it indicates that the information in focus substitutes or corrects some proposition in the common ground. For instance, in (1) the omission of the RD would weaken Tomàs' denial of Marta's (pragmatically) presupposed proposition "You didn't have a sister".

The hypothesis is confirmed by the role of many adverbials found in continuing RD, which reinforce the presupposition denial contribution of the dislocate. This is particularly apparent in the case of temporal adverbs, which set temporal points for the evaluation of the event (assertive value), while presuppose an alternative situation where the same event took place or didn't (see Michaelis 1996 for already). This explains the role of *sempre* 'always' in (2), where Marta states that Sebastià is a rogue and, subsequently, partially corrects herself to add that he has always been a rogue:

- (2) MARTA: Perquè el Sebastià és... un brètol. I, ai Déu meu, que sempre ho ha sigut **un brètol**. *Terra baixa*, p. 169  
 'MARTA: Because Sebastià is... a rogue. Oh, my God, he has always been **a rogue**.

Taken as a whole, the evidence from polarity and adverbials raise new light on the pragmatic role of continuing RD, which becomes less mysterious a mechanism than currently assumed.

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# Spanish 'se' and the resultative subevent: comparing aspectual 'se' and anticausative 'se'.

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Spanish reflexive clitic *se* can be used as an anticausative marker –obligatory present with *romper* ('to break') like verbs, obligatory absent with *hervir* ('to boil') like verbs and optionally present with *cuajar* ('to curdle') like verbs- and as an aspectual operator that optionally appears with some unergative and unaccusative verbs such as *dormir(se)* –'to sleep'- and *caer(se)* –'to fall'-. Is there any common property underlying both types of *se* and relating both types of construction?

Our aim is to show that not only in the context of anticausative constructions (Labelle & Doron: 2010) but also in combination with intransitive verbs (De Miguel y Fernández Lagunilla: 2000), the presence of *se* is related to a focus on the resultant state while its absence is related to the addition of a dynamic subevent denoting a process previous to the change of state. This will be shown by analysing the striking behaviour of verbs that can appear with and without *se*, either anticausatives such as *cuajar* or intransitives. Thus, we will explain, for instance, why negation of the resultant state and modification with *durante* ('for') are ungrammatical in the presence of the clitic, given the properties associated with it:

- (1) a. La leche (\*se) cuajó, pero no está completamente cuajada  
'The milk (\*se) curdled, but it's not completely curdled'  
b. La leche (\*se) cuajó durante dos meses hasta que se convirtió en queso  
'The milk (\*se) curdled for two months until it turned into cheese'
- (2) a. La rama (\*se) ha caído, pero no está completamente caída  
'The branch (\*se) has fallen, but it's not completely fallen'  
b. Alicia (\*se) cayó durante una hora por la madriguera  
'Alice (\*se) fell for an hour through the rabbit-hole'
- (3) a. Pepe (\*se) durmió, pero no está completamente dormido  
'Pepe (\*se) slept, but he's not completely asleep'  
b. Pepe (\*se) durmió durante una hora  
'Pepe (\*se) slept for an hour'

Focusing on intransitive verbs two facts will be shown:

(i) Only unaccusatives that participate of the anticausative alternation –via suppletive forms: *morir* / *matar* ('to die / to kill'), *caer* / *tirar* ('to fall / to drop')- admit *se*, unlike those unaccusatives that have no causative counterpart –*ocurrir* ('to happen'), *florecer* ('to blossom')

(ii) Verbs of motion behave like unergatives (3), and both denote atelic processes; nevertheless, the presence of the clitic turns them into change of state verbs that have indeed causative counterparts (5):

- (4) a. Pepe bajó las maletas  
'Pepe moved the luggage down'  
b. Pepe durmió al niño  
'Pepe caused the kid to fall asleep'.

We expect our results to be useful in order to answer questions such as: (i) Is it still possible to talk about these two different types of *se* in Spanish? (ii) Is *se* a true anticausativity marker, or something else? (iii) Constructions with *se* plus an intransitive are in fact anticausatives? Are they something else? (iv) How do we actually define the anticausativity-unaccusativity relation?

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### When vagueness implies (categorization by) similarity.

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Recently a number of studies investigated the development of structures encoding vagueness deriving from taxonomic nouns: English *sort*, *kind*, *type* (Dennison 2002, 2005, 2011; Margerie 2010); French *genre* (Boileau & Morel 1997, Fleischmann & Yaguello 2004; Mihatsch 2007), Swedish *typ* (Rosenkvist & Skärlund), Portuguese *tipo* (Bittencourt 2000), Spanish *tipo* (Mihatsch 2007), Italian *specie*, *tipo* (Masini 2007, Voghera to appear). This remarkable cross-linguistic convergence called attention on the common paths of grammaticalization, although less interest has aroused the cognitive and semantic steps implied by the passage from a taxonomic constructions to vagueness expressions.

According to Sperber & Wilson (1991: 546) "loose talk" is "based on resemblance relations among representations", and comparative reasoning has been claimed to be the source of some vagueness expressions by different scholars (Channel 1994, Mihatsch 2009, Mauri & Giacalone Ramat 2011). Voghera (to appear) shows that the notion of similitive comparison (Haspelmath & Bucholz 1998) is a basis (possibly not unique) for the construction of vagueness with the use of Italian *tipo*. In fact, in most of the structures it has the role of expressing an explicit (1) or implicit (2) similitude or analogy, that is an approximate parallelism between an item X and an element of a definite set (for instance the set of *tests* in (2)):

- (1) *E' una casa grande tipo la tua*  
'It is a big house kinda like yours'
- (2) *Questa è tipo una prova, dimmi subito se non ti piace*  
'This is like a test, tell me immediately if you do not like it'

This paper examines the possibility to extend the notion of similitive or analogical comparison to explain other vagueness expressions, such as those with Italian taxonomic N *genere* ('kind'), such as constructions *N del genere* ('N of the sort) or *cosa del genere* ('something like that' 'lit. thing of the kind'), with the function respectively of "vague category identifier" and "general extender" (Channel 1994; Overstreet 1999):

- (3) *C'è un artista (...) che lavora con una macchina del genere.*  
'There's an artist (...) who works with a machine of the sort'
- (4) *ma perche' non si concentra su una cosa del genere invece*  
'but why don't you concentrate on a thing like that (lit. of the kind) instead'

Aim of the paper is to show how apparently different constructions entail the same cognitive and semantic processes: the attribution of a quality or a property to an element by analogy with something else. "Analogical thinking is ubiquitous in human cognition" (Gentner 2003: 106) and its relevance for both linguistic acquisition and development has been part of theoretical reflections since the antiquity (De Mauro 2006); recently it has received a new attention by historical and general linguists (Bybee 2010): to explore its contribution to intentional vagueness could be a further step forward a unitary comprehension of several phenomena cross-linguistically spread.

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### Is exaptation the real grammaticalization?

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'Exaptation' is defined by Lass (1990: 80) as the "the opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use". I interpret this definition as referring to the acquisition of an additional, previously unattested function by a grammatical form (grammatical morpheme or construction). On this basis, I wish to explore the relationship between 'exaptation' and 'grammaticalization'.

I wish to argue that Kuryłowicz's (1965: 69) extension of the notion 'grammaticalization' actually includes to a large extent cases of exaptation and that, accordingly, cases of exaptation are much more frequent than those cases of grammatical change that can be subsumed under a reasonably delimited notion of 'grammaticalization'.

Kuryłowicz has enlarged the notion of 'grammaticalization' by all those changes in which a grammatical form becomes "more grammatical" than before. Depending on the definition, 'grammaticalization' and 'exaptation', potentially overlap in the area of Kuryłowicz's extension of grammaticalization (i.e., "from less grammatical to more grammatical"). This is because, even if a useful measure for the presupposed degree of being "more or less grammatical(ized)" existed, this variability in 'grammaticalized-ness', I will argue, cannot be considered a characteristic of language change that is necessarily central for our understanding of language change in general. What is relevant for

the understanding of language change, however, is the fact that grammatical morphemes / constructions can undergo a change in their function (no matter what the exact degree of 'grammaticalized-ness' is before and after the change).

As indicated above, an underlying point in my paper will be that the idea of a form being 'more grammatical' than another one (or than a previous use of the same form) is highly problematic. I will argue that the current diagnostics for measuring the 'degree of being grammaticalized' operate on a heterogeneous set of criteria in a way that makes it impossible to sufficiently determine the position of a form on an alleged hierarchy (not grammatical → a little grammatical → more grammatical).

The paper will provide a theoretical discussion on the basis of attested and described instances of language change (predominantly exaptation changes). My main point will be that we will gain more insight into the patterns and mechanisms of grammatical change if we do not focus on the current (originally Kuryłowiczian) hierarchy of grammaticalization (more or less grammaticalized), but if we see those cases primarily as "opportunistic co-optations of [grammatical] feature[s]". For instance, examining the acquisition of an inflectional function by a derivational morpheme (Kuryłowicz's primary example) contributes much more to the study of language change, if we assess how and under which conditions the additional function emerges rather than if we state that (or measure whether) inflection is "more grammatical" than word-formation.

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### The interaction of focus marker with TAM categories as a result of language contact: a case of the Kakabe language.

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The interaction of focalization with verbal categories is a phenomenon which is characteristic of the West-African area and is rather uncommon outside it [Creissels et al. 2008: 104-105]. In my presentation I will consider a case of such interaction, which is attested in the Kakabe language (Mande < Niger-Congo) and I will claim that it appeared as a result of contact with Pular (Atlantic < Niger-Congo).

As has been shown in [Heine & Kuteva 2005] language changes following general paths of grammaticalization and changes induced by language contact are not opposed to each other as had been usually implied before, but rather the latter often acts as a reinforcement for the former.

I will analyze the case of a future construction, which grammaticalized from a locative construction with focalization due to the contact of Kakabe with Pular. Locative meaning is commonly expressed in Kakabe with a copula *bi* and a postpositional phrase:

- (1) *bireedè bi (búti ke lã)?*  
bread.ART be (shop.ART LOC)  
'There is bread in the shop'.

There is a progressive construction in Kakabe, which evidently originated from the locative construction:

- (2) *Fánta bi Bàntaráà tugu-la*  
Fanta be manioc.ART pound-GER  
'Fanta is pounding manioc'.

Apart from this, the copula *bi* and the verbal suffix *-la* (of postpositional origin) is used in a future meaning construction:

- (3) *A mani bòyi komin, a bi tàláncan-na le*  
3SG COND Fall when 3SG be split-GER FOC  
When it falls, it **will split**.

It will be shown that the future meaning evolved from the locative construction independently of the progressive meaning construction, and it followed one of the scenarios of development proposed in [Bybee et al. 1994: 263]. It involves intermediate modal meanings of predestination and intention, which are also attested by the construction *bi ...la* in Kakabe.

There is a very intriguing asymmetry between the future and progressive constructions in question at the level of information structure marking. Focalization is marked in Kakabe by a special particle *le* attaching to the right boundary of the focalized phrase. Both elicited material and extensive corpus data show that *le* almost never appears in the construction *bi ...-la* with the progressive meaning and is almost always present in the construction *bi ...-la* with the future meaning. This leads to the conclusion that while the progressive meaning emerged simply from the locative construction, the path of semantic development leading to the future meaning included the focalization particle.

One more manifestation of the interaction of focalization with TAM system is the neutralization of the opposition between the perfect marker *bati* and the preterit marker *ka* in contexts with non-neutral information structure. In sentences with focalization (either on any of the arguments or on the predicate) only the preterit marker is used, even if the context implies perfective meaning. In particular, the perfect marker *bati* is almost never used in wh-questions, though it is common in general questions.

Kakabe has been under strong influence of the Pular language for several centuries and the effects of this influence are attested at all levels from phonetics to the syntax of Kakabe. A striking feature of the morphosyntax of Pular is an extensive interaction of focalization and TAM categories which runs through the whole paradigm of verbal affixes. There are separate paradigms of verbal markers for the utterances with neutral information structure and for those with a focalized phrase. In the contrastive paradigm, there is a neutralization of between future-potenital and progressive and also between the perfect and preterit [Koval 2003], which is strongly reminiscent of the case of Kakabe. At the same time, there are no languages, genetically related to Kakabe where any relation between focalization and TAM categories would be attested, though almost all of them also possess a focalizer.

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## Exploring the cross-linguistic relationship between resultative constructions and participles.

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This paper explores the relationship between participles and resultatives in a genealogically and areally diverse world-wide convenience sample of 40 languages based mainly on material from reference grammars. It is considered which types of participles and related non-finite verb forms, such as converbs, are likely to materialize in resultative constructions and to what extent the typologies of resultatives and of participles can be expected to correlate cross-linguistically.

Following Nedjalkov & Jaxontov (1988: 6), but with a broader scope, resultative is defined here as the expression of a state with some formal trace of dynamicity and/or anteriority reflecting a potential previous event. Example (1) from Kobon, for instance, expresses a state, and the transitive light verb combination *jö gi* 'break do > break [transitive]' and the perfect marker are formal traces of dynamicity and anteriority (the previous event "Somebody broke the axe").

(1) Kobon (Trans-New Guinea; East New Guinea Highlands; Davies 1981: 169)

Ru	pa	jö	g-öp
axe	strike	break	do-PERFECT3SG

'The axe is broken.'

Resultatives are known to play a major role in the grammaticalization of perfect (and other tense-aspect categories) and of passive, but are underresearched in non-Eurasian languages. The typology of resultatives in the traditional literature has been focussing on the study of constructions involving participles in association with stative verbs. As Bybee et al. (1994: 67-68) put it: “In the most common case, the resultative sense is the outcome of the combination of the stative auxiliary, which provides the sense of a present state and the past and/or passive participle, which signals a dynamic situation which occurred in the past and is seen as affecting the object of the transitive verb or the subject of the intransitive” (Bybee et al. 1994: 67-68). An example for a participle-based resultative is (2) from Purépecha and its English translation is another example.

(2) Purépecha (Mexico, isolate; Chamoreau 2003: 125)

'i	thi'rerakua	xa'ra-š-ti	kua'ɾata-tini
this	table	be-AORIST-ASSERTIVE3	destroy-PARTICIPLE
'This table is broken.'			

Participles are, however, far from being universal and there are many languages with resultatives lacking participles, and languages with participles, such as Kobon, not using participles in resultative constructions. The Kobon participle or adjectivizer *-ep/eb* is, however, neither anterior nor passive which may make it unsuitable for resultatives.

Unfortunately, participles are understudied in typology and cannot be said to represent a well-defined cross-linguistically comparative concept, especially also because it is not clear to what extent they represent an inflectional or a derivational class type. If participles are viewed as verbal adjectives (Haspelmath 1995: 3), their prototypical function according to Croft (2003: 185) should be modification rather than predication. Resultatives, however, are usually expected to occur in predication rather than in modification.

This paper explores to what extent the typology of resultatives can be useful to arrive at a cross-linguistically applicable concept of participle. It is further investigated whether participles - as far as passive and/or anterior participles are concerned - can be said to be a preferred marking strategy for resultatives that block other strategies which are cross-linguistically available.

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## Object position and heavy NP shift in Old Saxon and beyond.

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In this paper I test whether the hypothesis about Old English of Taylor & Pintzuk (T&P; to appear) – that surface VO order is found not only with new objects but also with given/inferable objects – also holds for Old Saxon. Data is drawn from a corpus of the complete Old Saxon *Heliand*, partially annotated for morphosyntactic properties at the clause level. Broadly following the methodology of T&P (2010, to appear), subordinate clauses containing a finite auxiliary or modal and a DP object are extracted.

If postverbal objects were permitted only when new information, the prediction would be made that there would be a similar ratio of new to given/inferable objects in both AuxVO and VAuxO clauses. T&P (to appear) show that this prediction is false for Old English: while the effect of information status is statistically significant in VAux clauses, there is no such effect in AuxV clauses. Following the criteria of Birner (2006), objects in my Old Saxon corpus are divided into ‘new’ and ‘given’. An effect similar to that found by T&P (to appear) is found: while in VAux clauses there is a strong preference for VAuxO with new objects, this effect is not significant for AuxV clauses.

In addition, I consider the syntactic status of right-peripheral ‘new’ objects in VAux clauses, taking as a starting point Wallenberg (2009, to appear), in which Heavy NP Shift (HNPS), across Germanic, is analysed as movement of the object to the left-peripheral SpecFocusP followed by remnant movement of TP to a higher SpecTopicP. I argue instead that HNPS should be analysed as movement to a SpecFocusP above vP, in the ‘low left periphery’ of Belletti (2001). There are various arguments for this conclusion: firstly, right-peripheral arguments when focused in Germanic appear to be information-foci, rather than identificational foci as is more commonly the case in languages with foci in the CP-layer; (1) is found in Old Saxon, and (2) in modern English is fully grammatical, whereas both would be ruled out as identificational foci (É. Kiss 1998: 252). Secondly, as (2) shows, HNPS is compatible with conditional clauses in which argument fronting to the left periphery is impossible.

(1) *sô that uuiten ni mag ênig mannisc barn*  
*so that.ACC know NEG may any human child*  
 ‘so that no human child may know that’  
 (Heliand 4298–4299)

(2) if I met on the street **someone from Bound for Glory or No Remorse** they would most likely kick my ass  
 (<http://www.xcatalystx.com/board/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=2562&p=21819>)

However, HNPS also presents problems for cartographic accounts. Bies (1996) finds small numbers of examples of preverbal objects with narrow focus and postverbal objects without narrow focus in Early New High German. Similarly, T&P (to appear) find that 9.7% of postverbal objects in VAuxO clauses in Old English are given, and that grammatical weight has a strong effect independently of information status in favouring HNPS; the same seems to hold of Old Saxon. Approaches in which HNPS is conceptualized cartographically as movement to a dedicated syntactic position, then, may well represent an oversimplification.

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## Exploring and recycling: topichood and the evolution of Iberoromance articles.

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The aim of our talk is to contribute to the discussion of the concept of exaptation by



1) the analysis of two phenomena of linguistic change which haven't been discussed under this label before and which have received little attention altogether. Nonetheless, they are instances of re-use of highly grammaticalized linguistic material;

2) an explicit proposal of two ways in which exaptation may occur, namely: on the one hand, a case of "Systemstörung" (Norde 2002) in Brazilian Portuguese (BrP) which led to reanalysis phenomena also in the determiner system; and, on the other hand, the extension of the definite article (DA) in Classical Spanish to clausal contexts while drawing close to the end of its grammaticalization path and losing its "clear function" (Traugott 2004). Both phenomena are discussed on the basis of new empirical data and it will be claimed that in both cases previous article oppositions are given up and the old forms are "recycled" as markers for information structural purposes.

The data basis for this study are BrP spoken language corpora (IBORUNA, NURC, PEUL, own recordings from Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo) and, for Spanish, the collection of all instances of the construction under study in the CORDE historical corpus.

BrP allows for bare nominals much more freely than other Romance languages. At the same time it can be argued that the BrP determiner system has been considerably disturbed, e.g. by the loss of the verbal counterpart of the D category, the object clitics (Vincent 1995/1997) and by an abandonment of the "phonetic saliency" of the DA (Wall 2010). In the course of this disruption, a new distribution can emerge exaptively. Müller 2002 has claimed that preverbal bare subjects with a generic reading are in fact to be interpreted as topics, and we extend this claim to definite/specific preverbal bare subjects (cf. 1, from the IBORUNA corpus), which yields "Ø" as a generalized topic-marker:

- (1) o carro do moleque num tinha documento ... documento tava na chácara  
 the car of-the boy not had document ... Ø document was in-the cottage  
 "The boy drove the car without document ... the document was in the cottage"

Spanish, in turn, has extended the DA to completive *that*-clauses (2), a process launched around 1600 (Lapesa 1984). This extension, though extremely unusual, is in fact not unreasonable given the noun-like function of the clause: the DA becomes a marker of nominality. However, since typical NP properties (definiteness, specificity, uniqueness, etc.) don't apply to clauses, the DA's presence/absence has later been reinterpreted in informational terms: DA-marked sentences convey 'thematic' (Serrano, in press) or topical information.

- (2) vino bien **el** que apareciera Juan (Laforet, *Nada* [1945], CORDE)  
 it-came good **DA** that appeared Juan  
 "it was fortunate that Juan appeared"

By comparing the two processes, insight can be gained on the different ways exaptation might emerge through exploratory uses under 'limit conditions', such as occur when a form is involved in a systemic disruption or reaches the further end of a fully stretched-out grammaticalization continuum.

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**Voice alternations and grammatical relations: more on the variation of case alignment types.**

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The present paper follows the approach by Bickel (2011), where grammatical relations are viewed as language-specific and construction-specific. In such an approach, grammatical relations can be conditioned by different factors, such as referential properties of arguments or clausal properties (e.g. TAM categories, or main vs. subordinate clauses). Another relevant factor is the class of the predicate from which arguments are selected. Single predicates define one language-specific predicate class if they share the same behavior with respect to some argument selector. The argument selector considered here is case-marking. Predicate classes often share some semantic features, but they can usually not be defined on semantic grounds alone; therefore, it is more suitable to define predicate classes on the basis of their language-specific morphosyntactic behavior.

The present paper suggests that different language-specific grammatical voices also represent different (morphologically conditioned) predicate classes (i.e. a change in voice corresponds to a change in predicate class). It aims at giving a qualitative typological overview on the effects that voice alternations have on the case-marking of arguments, considering voice alternations where the number and the generalized semantic roles (abbreviated S, A, P, T, and G, understood as semantic entailments of predicates in the lexicon, see Witzlack-Makarevich 2010) of these arguments and the meaning of the predicates are preserved (also known as meaning-preserving alternations, cf. Kroeger 2006), while the case frames (and therefore also the grammatical relations of the involved arguments) change. This includes types of passives, antipassives and symmetrical voice alternations in Philippine-type languages and inverse systems mainly found in the Americas (cf. Zúñiga 2006). Arguments are defined on purely semantic grounds. Establishing a *tertium comparationis* in this way makes possible a crosslinguistic comparison without prioritizing particular morphosyntactic properties of the involved arguments and avoids circularity in the definition of grammatical relations.

My paper also aims at contributing to the study of the language-internal variation of case alignment types. Morphologically marked voices are usually not taken into account in studies on alignment; but if they are, more alignment types can be found by comparing case frames of two-argument predicates to case frames of one-argument or three-argument predicates: for instance, if the S argument of a one-argument predicate is treated in the same way as the (morphosyntactically promoted) P argument of a two-argument predicate in a canonical passive voice, while the (morphosyntactically demoted) A argument is treated in a different way, this exhibits an instance of ergative alignment.

The data used in this paper are drawn from a worldwide sample of languages having some sort of meaning-preserving voice alternation.

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**Non-finite purposive marking in Ngarla (Pama-Nyungan, Ngayarta).**

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Ngarla (Pama-Nyungan, Ngayarta) is a moribund Australian language that has traditionally been spoken just north of Port Hedland, Western Australia (Curr 1886). It belongs to a group of Western Australian languages with very rich TAM-systems (c.f. Westerlund 2012), and is also located right at the edge of an area in which the languages have switch reference marking in dependent relative and/or purposive clauses (Austin 1981). Previously, Ngarla has received very

little scholarly attention, but it is presently being studied and described from a functional perspective. The paper will describe the functions of two non-finite Ngarla verbal suffixes, *-(l)wanti* and *-(l)yartara*, as in (1) – (2). The suffixes' possible status as converbs will also be considered.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *Yaan*                      *Ngaya*                      *ngunyi-karni*  
 go.FUT                      1SG.ABS                      DEM (distant)-ALL  
*japal-ngarri-yartara.*  
 meal-INCH-yartara  
 'I will go over there in order to eat.'
- (2) *Nyayi-ngku*                                      *nganarna-nga*                                      *mantu*  
 DEM (proximate)-ERG                                      1PL.EXCL-DAT                                      meat  
*punga-rri*                      *paji-lwanti.*  
 kill-PRS                      eat-lwanti  
 'This (man) is for us killing meat for eating.'

The two suffixes were initially suspected of being switch reference markers. A careful study of all existing examples of their use has however revealed that *-(l)yartara* approximates the use of the infinitive in English subordinate clauses. If left unmarked for case it creates an equivalent of English clauses of purpose (e.g. *He climbed up on the roof [in order] to see the match free*), as in (1). When taking case marking (something that is common for non-finite verbs of Australian languages; c.f. Dixon 2002), it instead approximates adverbials of European languages. In (3), *japal-ngarri-yartara-lu mungu-ngku* (meal-INCH-yartara-ERG alone-ERG) thus constitutes a dependent clause functioning as an adverbial of cause and reason. The case marking indicates what main clause argument it belongs with/modifies (i.e. the subject *ngaja*).

- (3) *Punga-rnu*                      *Ngaja*                      *yukurru*                      *japal-ngarri-yartara-lu*  
 hit-PST                      1SG.ERG                      dog                      meal-INCH-yartara-ERG  
*mungu-ngku.*  
 alone-ERG  
 'I hit (the) dog (so that) I could eat alone.' (i.e. 'I hit the dog so that it would go away and I could eat alone.')

*-(l)wanti,*    on  
 the other hand,

creates a modifier to the direct object of the statement in which it occurs, without necessarily being adjacent to said object (discontinuous noun phrases also being common in Australian languages; Dixon 2002). In (2), *paji-lwanti* can thus be considered to belong together with *mantu* 'meat'. *-(l)wanti* would appear to correspond most closely to the use of English *for* + gerund (the 'ing-form') in attributive function (in this example 'meat for eating').

When considering the *-(l)yartara* and *-(l)wanti* suffixes' possible status as converbs, Haspelmath's (1995) definition of converbs will be employed.

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<sup>1</sup>The abbreviations employed in the examples are: 1 = first-person, ABS = absolutive, ALL = allative, DAT = dative, DEM = demonstrative, ERG = ergative, EXCL = exclusive, FUT = future tense, INCH = inchoative verbaliser, PL = plural, PRS = present tense, PST = past tense, SG = singular.

**Redefining belonging: national identities in transnational digital networks.**

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In both public and academic discourse two basic narratives, a liberal democratic narrative and a bicultural narrative, are used to configure and make sense of the history of New Zealand and its identity as a nation, and to underpin arguments about the distribution of resources, including linguistic resources, and the future shape of New Zealand society (Liu, 2005). Drawing on critical discourse analysis methodologies, this paper begins by analysing and discussing discourses of New Zealand nationhood, national identity and belonging on official websites, in public speeches, and debates by politicians and academics (Lyons, Madden, Chamberlain and Carr, 2011; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt and Khan, 2010), to identify the topics, strategies and linguistic means by which national identity is constructed (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart 2009) in 'elite discourses'. The research then addresses the following question: what changing discourses of national identity and belonging emerge in web 2.0 spaces? It examines contexts and tools for the expression of belonging in the twenty-first century and the changing technologies through which this can be expressed: web 2.0 spaces are analysed as public spheres where national identities can be asserted, disseminated, contested, and negotiated in ever-emerging texts and where new discourses of belonging are voiced. Anthems once described as 'the echoed physical realization of the imagined community' (Anderson, 1991) are no longer fixed landmarks of national identity but emerge within transnational digital networks as texts subject to multiple, diverse representations, where the global and the local interact at levels of increasing complexity and fluidity. A second research question then examined is: how are New Zealand anthems on YouTube constructed as new sites for the expression of belonging? The main part of this paper thus analyses nationhood discourses and new discourses of belonging in relation to New Zealand anthems on YouTube, arguing they represent expressions of belonging 'from below' as competing narratives to more formal inscriptions of national identity. Using the notion of 'interpretative repertoires' (Potter and Wetherell, 1998) it briefly examines the nature and resurgence of the 'one nation' discourse that appeared in reaction to the official (re)introduction of the bilingual Maori-English national anthem E Ihowa Atua/God Defend New Zealand in 1999, as background to analysis of contemporary discourses of nationhood, national identity and belonging accompanying bilingual New Zealand anthems on YouTube. The paper provides insights into the complexities, uncertainties, ambiguities and contradictions in constructions of national identity and belonging voiced within New Zealand and within the transnational digital diaspora. It also argues that national identity is redefined by web 2.0 spaces, making possible new forms of agency and resilience in both representing, enacting and contesting notions of belonging and their relationship to prevailing nationhood discourses. The paper concludes by situating the study within a larger Pasifika project which examines the emergence of changing discourses of belonging within the Maori digital diaspora and, for endangered languages, in the milk-drinkers of Vanuatu.

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**Central bank speak: from mystique to transparency.**

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My paper aims at describing how central bank speak has changed over the past 25 years based on the results of a study of a variety of linguistic features in the Norwegian Central Bank Governor's annual addresses from 1986 to 2011.

Central bank decisions have traditionally been shrouded in confidentiality. Central bank governors were known to be parsimonious with words and what they did say was often cryptic. In recent years, however, views and practices regarding transparency have changed swiftly and radically in most countries. Central banks have become open about their strategies, their objectives and the background for their decisions. At the same time the operational target of central banks has shifted from a fixed exchange rate to price stability, leaving much more room for judgment. The Central Bank Governor's annual address, which is given in front of a select group of economists and government dignitaries, is published simultaneously in Norwegian and English. While the Norwegian source texts have, in recent years, come to address the Norwegian public at large, the English target text remains geared towards specialists in economy.

The objective of the study is twofold. First of all, I wish to determine to what extent increased transparency and the change of operational target, which occurred in the middle of the 25 year period under investigation, have affected this particular genre. I also wish to identify significant differences between the Norwegian source text and the English target text due to the more specialized readership of the latter text.

The study is based on a corpus of 25 annual addresses in both Norwegian and English. The corpus has been digitalized and the source and target texts have been aligned. The corpus will be analyzed with the aid of corpus analysis tools for term extraction and key word analysis. Using a diachronic approach, I will study a number of linguistic features in the source and target texts: term density, the use of metaphors, pronouns, text types, rhetorical devices, as well as the overall structure of the text. The results will be triangulated with interviews of the present and former central bank governors and the central bank's in house translators.

My study draws on research in the field of terminology, metaphor studies, discourse analysis and translation studies.

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**World-wide prehistoric language migration rates.**

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Previous attempts to measure the migration of rates of languages in prehistory (Nichols 2008) have been based on observations of the current extent of language families and informed but unsystematic inferences about time depths of phylogenies. Since then, new tools for inferences of linguistic prehistory have made it possible to combine objective and systematic hypotheses about the 'whens and wheres' of proto-languages for the purpose of assessing language migration rates. The 'whens' are established through the method of Holman et al. (2011), which measures the time depth of proto-languages on the basis of phonological differences among lexical items (rather than on cognate identification, as in glottochronology). This method can be applied by computational means to a dataset of any size, such as the ASJP database (Wichmann et al. 2011). The 'wheres' are established through the algorithm of Wichmann et al. (2010). Based on the well-known idea (Sapir 1916) that the area with the greatest linguistic diversity within the extent of a language family is most likely to be the homeland, the algorithm finds a diversity measure for each language within a given group, defined as the ratio between the average linguistic distance of the given language to all other

languages in the group and the average geographical distance to the other languages. The center of the homeland of the group is hypothetically assigned to the location of the language with the highest diversity score.

These methods in conjunction with the ASJP database, which currently comprises 57% of the world's languages, allow for inferring migration histories for well over a thousand languages at various levels of temporal remoteness, making it possible to state generalizations concerning migration rates during different periods and in different areas in prehistory. The temporal distance from a proto-language to each of its immediate offspring (be it other proto-languages or currently spoken languages) is divided by the geographical distance to infer the speed of migration, and subsequently averages over multiple migration events are calculated.

Previous orally presented analyses of a smaller dataset showed an increase in world-wide migration rates of around 200m/year to around 800m/year during the last approximately 7000 years. Different world areas showed similar curves for the increase in migration rates, except for Sahul, which had a markedly lower rate. But this special behavior may just be apparent—an artifact of not taking aspects of the geography into account when measuring geographical distances. The present paper applies a more adequate measure of geographical distances to an expanded dataset in order to establish how fast languages have travelled during different periods and in different world areas. To avoid spurious results, it refers to a more conservative definition of language families than *Ethnologue* (Paul 2009), which was used in previous work. This new classification is based on the judgments of Harald Hammarström (person communication), and is available as part of the metadata for individual languages in the most recent versions of the ASJP database.

### **(Intensive) language contact without grammaticalization: a Baltic (and Slavic) anomaly?**

Wiemer, Björn

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Although the model of 'contact-induced grammaticalization' (CIG) introduced by Heine/Kuteva (2003; 2005) has encountered due criticism, it can be considered a valuable concept, above all because it allows a renowned kind of structural change to be distinguished from other kinds of language change and ties it together with language contact (cf. contributions to Wiemer et al., forthcoming). Against this background, it is intriguing to observe that contact of diverse varieties of Baltic with Slavic ones has hardly ever resulted in changes that could be subsumed under CIG. A systematic survey of structural changes conditioned by contact between varieties of these two language groups reveals numerous cases and types of structural changes on practically all levels – from phonotactic rules (Wiemer 2006) to the usage of cases and case endings (Koptjevskaja-Tamm/Wälchli 2001; Wiemer/Erker 2011) and the partial re-alignment of basic syntactic patterns (Ambrazas 2001; Seržant, forthcoming). However, first, all these changes fall outside grammaticalization proper; they represent reanalysis, analogical expansion (in the lexicon) or reinterpretation of already existing (partial) paradigms or grammatical categories. Second, for many of these changes, one need not (and often cannot) solely make contact with Slavic responsible, since the given phenomenon occurs in a broader area and their spread can better be explained by Baltic-Finnic contact. Third, some of these changes are rather restricted to Baltic-Finnic contact and are scarcely or not encountered at all in Slavic varieties of the same region (e.g., verb particles; Wälchli 2001; Wiemer, forthcoming, or the evidential interpretation of the perfect; Wälchli 2000). Fourth, cases of grammaticalization attested for in Lithuanian, e.g., in the TMA-domain (Arkad'ev, forthcoming) must have arisen rather spontaneously, at least, without the interference of Slavic.

Furthermore, most persistently mutual MAT and PAT borrowing (in the sense of Sakel 2007) and of polysemy copying has been observed in derivational morphology (Wiemer 2009), but this, again, has not resulted in processes subsumable under grammaticalization. Apart from this, cases of PAT or MAT borrowing in inflectional morphology and of the copying of morphonological rules are unattested. Thus, despite a very high score in terms of the Borrowing Scale in Thomason/Kaufman (1988), intensive language contact has left these most form-related and central parts of the grammar of either group unaffected. In the talk, I will first give a rough survey of relevant phenomena, highlighting some less well known cases. I will then ask whether the lack of CIG in contacts between these two closely related language groups can be regarded as an anomaly against a European background, and I will examine whether this lack can be explained by the type of language contacts or rather by structural reasons. As for the latter aspect, Baltic and Slavic have a structurally high affinity to one another, in particular in derivational morphology where, beside nominal inflections, they seem to be most conservative, while in terms of syntax they seem to have been developing in partially divergent directions. The question arises whether these two circumstances have formed an obstacle rather than a favorable condition for CIG.



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## Tonal and morphological properties of the Mbugwe verbal system.

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Mbugwe (mgz) is a Bantu language (F34) is spoken in Northern Tanzania by about 20 000 people. It is isolated from other Bantu languages and surrounded by Cushitic (Iraqw and Gorowa) and Nilo-Saharan (Datooga and Maasai) languages, which makes it a particularly interesting language to investigate. As many other minority languages in the country it is under heavy pressure from Swahili, the national language. Mbugwe has, like many Bantu languages, a rich morphology, and especially in the verbal system, the forms are numerous. In this paper I will present my current analysis of the TAM (tense, aspect and mood) system in Mbugwe, with a focus on the tonal and morphological properties of the different verb forms.

In recent years SIL has started a project in the language area, and their work on orthography development has given me a starting point for my description of the language, together with Maarten Mous' sketch of the language, which was published in 2004. Most of the data for this paper was however collected during a four month field trip in the Mbugwe area in the fall of 2011. Different verb forms were surveyed and elicited, using both texts and questionnaires. Particular attention was given to tone, which is crucial for the understanding the TAM system of Mbugwe. Several verb forms are differentiated by tone alone, and certain tonal melodies are assigned to different TAM forms. Another

interesting feature of the system is that the anterior and hodiernal verb forms appear to be the same, both segmentally and tonally. This is perhaps not very unusual, but the phenomenon has not been given much attention in the literature. Mbugwe also has main verb-auxiliary verb constructions where the auxiliary comes after the main verb, which is typologically unusual, although it is reported in other Bantu languages, such as Rangi (F33, the closest relative to Mbugwe) and Kuria (E43). Although the analysis is not yet finalized, I will demonstrate some unique characteristics of the Mbugwe verbal system, which have not been available to the public before.

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### Exaptation and degrammaticalisation within an acquisition-based model of abductive reanalysis.

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Historical linguists have increasingly come to accept that, while grammaticalisation in general follows a unidirectional pathway creating items more closely integrated phonologically, syntactically and semantically into the grammatical system, a stubborn residue of genuine counterexamples remains, showing precisely the reverse development. One focus of research has therefore shifted to attempting to explain the circumstances under which a linguistic subsystem will undergo grammaticalisation as distinct from those where it will witness degrammaticalisation (Norde 2009).

This paper contributes to this area by showing that exceptions to the unidirectionality of grammaticalisation are linked to morphological obsolescence, a phenomenon also crucial in exaptation, where ‘grammatical forms which have lost most or all of their semantic content ... are put to new uses as semantically distinctive grammatical forms’ (Heine 2003: 168). Poor evidence for acquisition may lead to two outcomes: loss of the relevant material (acquisition failure); or the use of particularly creative hypotheses (abduction) (cf. accelerated change in creolisation). In the second case, the material may come to express an existing grammatical category or give expression to a category not previously encoded in the language.

Change is caused by failure of children to acquire a particular grammatical category. Faced with material that expresses that category, they either interpret it as an instance of some category whose existence they have already posited or else abduce the existence of some new grammatical category. In the light of this interpretation, exaptation and degrammaticalisation can be understood as special cases of familiar processes of reanalysis within an acquisition-based framework of change. I demonstrate how several cases of exaptation and degrammaticalisation can be approached within this general overall framework:

(i) reanalysis of indefinite pronouns (‘something’) as nouns (‘thing’) in Bulgarian (*nešto* ‘something’ > ‘thing’) and Irish (Old Irish *ní* ‘something’ > ‘thing’) results from failure to identify the relevant class of indefinite pronouns at all (Irish) or failure to attribute particular pronouns to their correct class due to morphological opacity / paradigm irregularity (Bulgarian); an alternative analysis, that the items are nouns, is available and not blocked by morphological evidence;

(ii) exaptive reinterpretation of the *was* : *were* distinction as expressing polarity in various English dialects (affirmative *was* vs. negative *weren’t*) results from failure to acquire the category (feature) of number in the verb as number morphology eroded from Middle English onwards; polarity sensitive morphology in other auxiliaries (cf. affirmative *will* vs. negative *won’t*) meant that a polarity feature on verbs had to be posited anyway, hence children failed to acquire the feature of number, attributing its effects instead to the feature of polarity.

Under this view, possible pathways of change are limited by the possible hypotheses that acquirers may make. Where evidence is poor, as in the case of obsolescent grammatical subsystems, these hypotheses are relatively unconstrained

and may lead to unexpected developments: assignment of a phenomenon to a new grammatical feature (exaptation) or to an existing lexical feature counter the general trend of grammaticalisation (degrammaticalisation).

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### Antonymy and evaluative polarity.

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We investigate the evaluative polarity of 25 antonym pairs in text in the British National Corpus (BNC). The questions we are asking are (i) to what extent one of the members of the various pairings promotes negativity in most contexts, while the other member promotes positive polarity, (ii) what happens to the evaluative polarity when in metaphorical contexts, and (iii) is the positive usage of a word in majority, confirming the Pollyanna hypothesis?

It is well-known that some lexicalized pairs are inherently evaluative such as *good-bad* and *happy-sad*, while others such as *quick-slow*, *true-false*, *open-close* and *light-heavy* are more loosely associated with positive and negative readings, e.g. *slow to realize*, *slow to respond*, *slow to adapt* vs. *quick to spot*, *quick to prepare*, *quick to use*. The tendency and the governing principle seem to be that *slow* is more readily associated with negativity and *quick* to positivity.

Our hypothesis is that evaluative polarity is most clearly propagated through the ‘figurative’ meaning. For instance, *light-heavy* constitute a strongly canonical pair of antonyms along the dimension of WEIGHT as evidenced through sentential co-occurrence in the BNC. The concrete reading of *heavy bag* or *light bag*, may out of context be understood as a matter-of-fact expression about WEIGHT, but within context both *heavy* and *light* may very well be either neutral, positive or negative. However, for some relatively common combinations evaluative polarity is part of the combination itself, e.g. *heavy smoker* has a negative ring and *light food* a positive one. We thus propose that *heavy* is more often used in combinations where negativity is involved, while the reverse is true of *light*, and this is particularly clear in ‘figurative’ uses of expressions such as *heavy smoker* ‘unhealthy degree of smoking’, *light food* ‘light is elegant’, *heavy book* ‘hard to read’, *light work* ‘is pleasurable’. There are of course also certain contexts where a lot of WEIGHT is positive, e.g. in the context of power as in *a heavy politician*, *heavy* is positive. Positive attitude is invoked in certain contexts and we will investigate what those contexts are. Attitudinal overtones are ubiquitous at the same time as people are largely unaware of them, unless they are explicitly brought to a head.

We have coded 500 random examples from the BNC for each of the 50 adjectives in the test set for evaluative polarity metaphorization and metonymization, (among other things). Preliminary findings show that more than half of the coded examples were either clearly neutral or unclear cases that could not be coded. For the remaining examples, the positive and negative occurrences were of almost exactly the same, i.e. positive words are not used more often in their polar sense than in their neutral. Neither are their negative antonyms. This study does not seem to bear out the predictions of the Pollyanna Hypothesis as stated by Boucher & Osgood (1969) namely that the number of positive uses should exceed the negative ones. The distribution of evaluative polarity in metaphorized constructions seems to follow the basic usage.

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### Adjunct control plus connectedness plus the passive confirms smuggling.

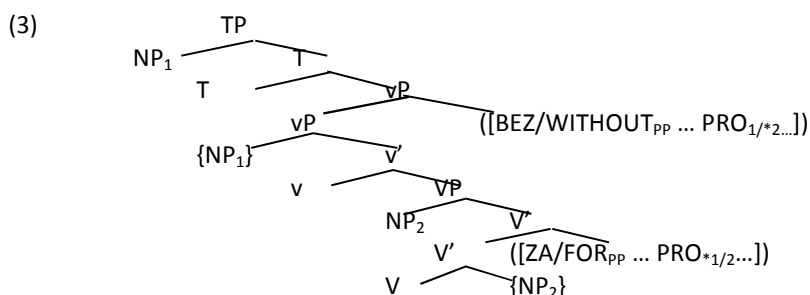
Witkos, Jacek and Żychliński Sylwiusz  
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan)

The purpose of this presentation is to support the smuggling theory of the passive in view of a particular theory of control into Polish (and English) adverbial gerunds, infinitives and participles based on a tiered attachment of adjunct types.

Control type (Subject/Object) is captured via the point of attachment of the adverbial gerund: the gerund controlled by the subject is attached high (at the vP level) while the gerund controlled by the object is attached low (at the V' level):

- (1) Szef<sub>1</sub> zwolnił swego najlepszego pracownika<sub>2</sub> [bez PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> zawahania].  
 boss fired his best worker without hesitating  
 The boss<sub>1</sub> fired his best worker<sub>2</sub> [without PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> hesitation]
- (2) Nauczycielka<sub>1</sub> podziękowała ojcu<sub>2</sub> swego ucznia [za PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> podwiezienie]  
 teacher thanked father her student for taking  
 The teacher<sub>1</sub> thanked her student's father<sub>2</sub> [for PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> giving her a lift]

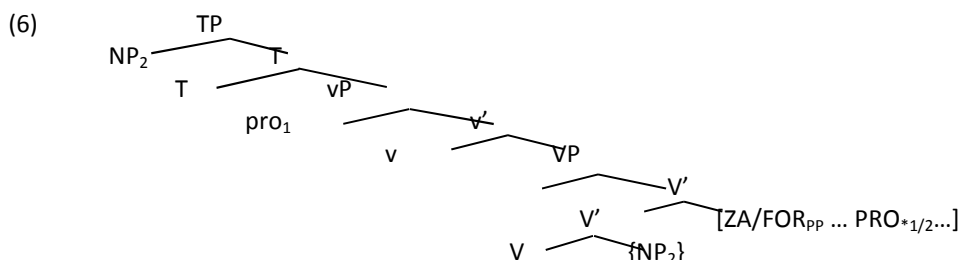
On a movement approach to control based on Hornstein (2001), Manzini and Roussou (2000) and Bowers (2008), the movement of the controller NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub> in (3) licenses the movement of the element from inside the gerund (respectively BEZ/WITHOUT<sub>pp</sub> or ZA/FOR<sub>pp</sub>) through establishing a connected subtree:



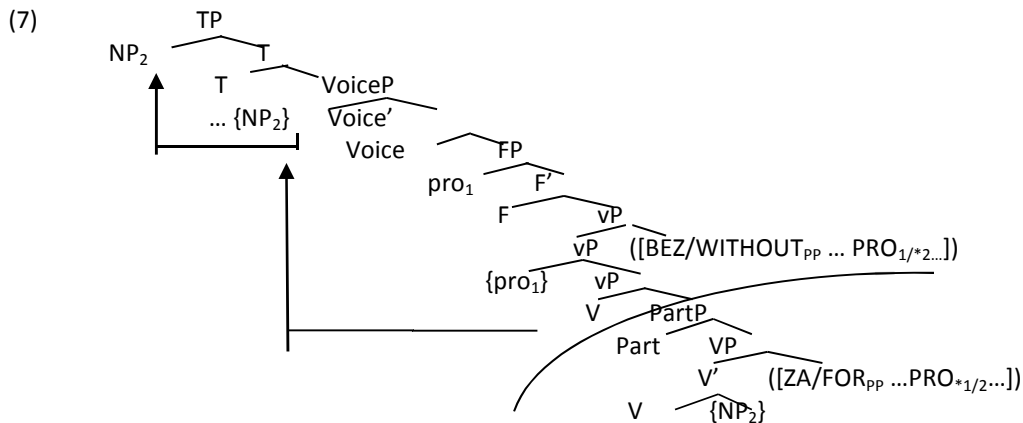
It is interesting to note that the same control pattern is retained in the passive:

- (4) Najlepszy pracownik<sub>2</sub> został pro<sub>1</sub> zwolniony [bez PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> zawahania].  
 best worker was pro fired without hesitating  
 The best worker<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> fired [without PRO<sub>1/\*2</sub> hesitating]
- (5) Najlepszy pracownik<sub>2</sub> został pro<sub>1</sub> zwolniony [za PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> picie w pracy]  
 best worker was pro fired for PRO drinking in work  
 The best worker<sub>2</sub> was pro<sub>1</sub> fired [for PRO<sub>\*1/2</sub> drinking at work]

This fact is less straightforward on the standard derivation of the passive (Chomsky 1981, Baker, Johnson and Roberts 1989), where Minimality considerations would predict that the implicit Agent should be the closer controller in both the passive of the Subject and the Object control patterns:



Following Collins (2005a-b) we propose that the passive operation does not involve a simple raising of the object as in (6) above but a displacement of a larger constituent, with object movement as a final stage of the derivation. In the passive the whole PartP moves up to [Spec,VoiceP] in order to check the relevant features. Since the ZA/FOR<sub>pp</sub> gerund is contained in the PartP, it moves along to [Spec,VoiceP], eliminating the possibility of subject control, as the agentive pro<sub>1</sub> is left behind (this state of affairs extends to English object control verbs, e.g. *persuade*):



For the passive construction with Subject Control, the  $pro_1$ , having moved to Spec,FP, forms a connected subtree with the gerundive BEZ/WITHOUT<sub>pp</sub>, which paves the way for the movement of PRO to  $pro_1$ .

In further parts of the presentation we show that adverbial infinitives and participles also vary w.r.t. their attachment site. The conclusion is that properties of control into Polish (and English) adjuncts confirm the smuggling approach to the passive and require distinct attachment sites for adverbials of different types. For more demanding word order challenges, adoption of the copy pronunciation hypothesis seems unavoidable.

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**Synchronic and diachronic biases in language families.**

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Synchronic typological distributions are the products of underlying diachronic processes. Language families that are demonstrated by the Comparative Method provide a unique window for studying such processes: since observed diversity within a family has developed from a single language, it seems likely that the synchronic distribution of features in the family carries a statistical signal about the way it developed, i.e. about diachronic trends.

To explore the probability of detecting such a signal, we have developed a stochastic model of language diachrony as a time-discrete birth-death Markov process (cf. Greenberg 1978:75, Maslova 2000). Given a set of starting parameters (which include the type of the common ancestor language, transitional probabilities of type change, age of the language family etc.), the model is used to generate possible synchronic distributions for the corresponding language family. By repeatedly evaluating the model using randomized parameter choices, we show that diachronic trends within language families (=diachronic bias) very often lead to the development of particular, clearly distinguishable synchronic trends (=synchronic bias). We also show that the multinomial probability distribution (or binomial in case of a binary variable) can be used as a sufficient approximation to our model. This licenses the use of statistical tests which are based on the multinomial (or binomial) probability model for the purpose of assessing the probability of hypothesized diachronic trends in language families.

Moreover, the patterns become stable after relatively short developmental time, which suggests that even comparably young language families carry a reliable signal about diachronic trends.

Based on these findings, we propose a method for evaluating the probability of diachronic biases within and across language families and show how this method can be used for evaluating hypotheses on universal and areal factors in how languages develop. Our method utilizes Bayesian estimation techniques to compute the likelihood of the presence of the diachronic bias for each family in the sample and combine (using a weighting procedure) these likelihoods into a single bias estimate across language families. We also present a ready-to-use computer algorithm (written in R) implementing our method and show that it performs well on simulated data.

A major challenge for such approach is to incorporate evidence from small families and isolates, since these outnumber large families in almost all datasets. However, because our model relies on a Bayesian interpretation of probability as a degree of belief (or certainty) about a hypothesis, it can effectively utilize and combine evidence from all — no matter how small or uncertain — information sources by using appropriate weighting procedures.

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**Positive polarity items in Romanian: the scalar approach or a matter of resumption.**

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**Aim and Claim:** The aim of this paper is to examine the lexicalization patterns of Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) in Romanian and to answer the question whether a suitable account of PPIs in Romanian entails the use of a Scalar Model (cf. Israel, 1996) or if the distribution of PPIs can be accounted for in terms of negative polarity items-licensing (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004). This paper argues in favour of a unifying account of positive and negative polarity, analyzing positive polarity items as double negative polarity items, in data such as the following:

- (1) a. Sînt olecută tristă, e ultima zi și a început să plouă la Viena.  
Am-1st.p.sg little sad is-3rd.p.sg. last day and start-3rd.p,PS SA rain in Vienna.  
'I am a little sad, it is the last day and it started raining in Vienna.'
- b. Bucureștiul are o sumedenie de muzee foarte bune.  
Bucharest-the have-3<sup>rd</sup>.p.sg. a multitude of museum-pl. very good.



'Bucharest has tons/ scads of interesting museums.'

c. [...]vreau      sa    dispari      cat      ai      clipi [...]  
 want-1<sup>st</sup>.p.sg    SA disappear    how many/much    would-2<sup>nd</sup>.p.sg    blink  
 'I want you to disappear in a jiffy/ in the twinkling of an eye'

Analysis: This paper starts by analyzing Polarity Sensitive Items (PSIs) as scalar operators which must be interpreted with respect to an appropriately structured scalar model. In the beginning of this paper the distribution of polarity items is explained in terms of their lexical semantics, that polarity sensitivity is a sensitivity to scalar reasoning, and the inferences relevant to polarity licensing do not depend on semantic entailment alone, but on a general ability for scalar reasoning. Analyzing examples like the one under (1c) we notice that the distribution of an expression like 'in the twinkling of an eye' cannot be fully accounted for according to the hypotheses of the Scalar Model of Polarity. Thus, this paper will argue for a unifying account of positive and negative polarity (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004), showing that expressions like 'in the twinkling of an eye', among other PPIs in Romanian, are sensitive to the semantic property antimorphy (cf. Falaus, 2008).

The present paper will also provide experimental data which show that speakers of Romanian as L1, confirmed the hypothesis that PPIs are scale preserving and that the items and expressions we analyzed in this paper qualify as PPIs.

Conclusions: This paper examines the lexicalization patterns of Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) in Romanian, claiming that the distribution of PPIs can be accounted for in terms of negative polarity items-licensing (cf. Szabolcsi, 2004). The present proposal is not necessarily incompatible with the scalar insight, but the fact that there are NPIs like 'in years' or 'either' that the scalar approaches cannot account for, we may assume that perhaps the scalar semantics is parasitic on the system of polarity licensing, instead of driving it.

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## A cross-linguistic study of exclamatives.

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Research questions. First, the talk aims to determine the ways of expressing exclamation cross-linguistically, i.e. exclamatives (e.g., (1)). Second, it conducts a detailed study of wh-exclamatives, i.e. exclamatives that use wh-words. More precisely, the study investigates morphological, syntactic, and lexical-semantic properties of wh-exclamatives.

Theoretical approach. According to the authoritative theory of exclamatives in [4] and elsewhere, there is a special exclamative clause type conventionally associated with illocutionary force of exclamation. For example, (1) is a special exclamative clause type since, unlike interrogatives, it doesn't involve inversion and, unlike declaratives, it uses wh-words. (2) has a syntactic form identical to that of an interrogative sentence and, thus, is not a unique exclamative clause type.

- (1) *What a nice dress Susan bought!*  
 (2) *Isn't the dress nice!*

Methodology. The methodology comprises collecting the data from literature and from native speakers via questionnaires (tête-a-tête and in correspondence).

Data. The study investigates two samples to answer two research questions. The first one determines the ways of expressing exclamation cross-linguistically and comprises around 90 languages which belong to 20 language families (Altaic, Arawakan, Austronesian, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, Dravidian, Indo-European, Kartvelian, Na-Dene, Nakh-

Daghestanian, Ndu, Niger-Kongo, Nilo-Saharan, Quechua, Semitic, Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Tupi, Uralic), including isolated languages (Basque, Haida). The other sample is a subset of the previous one and contains around 30 languages for a detailed study of wh-exclamatives.

Results. First, the talk determines the two basic ways of expressing exclamation cross-linguistically: clausal vs. nominal exclamatives. The former is further partitioned in two groups, which have a wide repertoire of varieties. One variety of clausal exclamatives involves embedded clauses, i.e., infinitives (European, [2]), participles, converbs (Nakh-Daghestanian, [2]), and complementizer ('that') clauses (Semitic, [1]). The other variety comprises non-embedded clauses, i.e., wh-exclamatives, emphatic (e.g., Niger-Kongo) and inversion (illustrated in (2)) clauses.

Second, the talk focuses on wh-exclamatives and shows that most languages have special markers of exclamation (e.g., Japanese [3], Chinese [5]). Furthermore, the talk argues for that syntactically wh-exclamatives resemble indirect questions. If a wh-phrase in indirect questions moves from its site or stays in situ, the same occurs in exclamatives, respectively (e.g., European vs. Altaic languages). If a verb in indirect questions moves from its site or stays in situ, the same holds for exclamatives, respectively (id.). Also, the talk reveals that basically wh-exclamatives express the following groups of meanings: (i) 'how', 'how much/many', 'what'(Adj); (ii) 'what'(Noun), 'who', 'where'; (iii) 'when', 'why'. The classification is based on the fact that the groups of meanings are ordered in terms of priority: (i)>(ii)>(iii). For example, if a language has wh-exclamatives of type (ii), then it should have at least one wh-exclamative of type (i). Moreover, the talk demonstrates that languages show preference for presence of Adj and Adv in wh-word+Adj+Noun (see (1)) and wh-word+Adv+Verb constructions. Finally, the talk shows that languages can be split in two groups: those that use different wh-words for the constructions ('what'+Adj and either 'how'+Adv or 'how much/many'+Adv) and those that use the same wh-word for both constructions ('how'+Adj/Adv, 'how much/many'+Adj/Adv).

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## Parallels Between Auxiliaries and Numeral Classifiers.

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Between the clausal and nominal domains, not only has the structural representation been argued to be parallel, but also lexical items have been taken to be counterparts of one another. For instance, Roehrs (2009) proposes that articles are nominal auxiliaries. Mandarin Chinese has no articles. However, numeral classifiers in the language, such as *pi* in *san pi ma* 'three CL horse => three horses', are treated as nominal auxiliaries in Chao (1948, 1968: 584) and Lu (1951: 42), and as numeral auxiliaries in Ōta (2003 [1958]: 146), although no systematic argument has been given. I find there are at least seven shared properties between auxiliaries of clauses and numeral classifiers.

① Neither may function as an argument or predicate.

② They both select lexical categories. Auxiliaries select verbal phrases and numeral classifiers select nominal phrases.

③ Neither is selected by any lexical category. No verb has to occur with an auxiliary, and no noun has to occur with a numeral classifier. Bare nouns may function as arguments or predicates independently.

④ They both can be absent or have null forms in certain constructions and in certain languages. Not all clauses have auxiliaries. Similarly, in Chinese, idiomatic expressions have no classifier between a numeral and a noun, as in a

non-classifier language, e.g., *wu ma fen shi* 'five horses split a body'.

⑤ They both may have an EPP-like property, i.e., they are next to an overt element in addition to the selected lexical category. In English, an auxiliary is next to the subject or the expletive (the subject is null in imperatives). Parallel to that, a numeral classifier always occurs with a numeral or quantifier (only the numeral *yi* 'one' can be null, under certain conditions).

⑥ They both license ellipsis, like many other head elements. Auxiliaries license VP ellipsis. Likewise, numeral classifier license NP ellipsis:

- (1) Baoyu mai-le san ben shu, Daiyu ye mai-le san ben ~~shu~~.  
 Baoyu buy-PRF three CL book Daiyu also buy-PRF three CL <book>  
 'Baoyu bought three books, and so did Daiyu.'

⑦ They both allow place-holders. In English, the word *do* in do-support is a place-holder of auxiliaries. In Mandarin Chinese, the position of a numeral classifier can be taken by a semantically vacuous element, which is associated with a c-commanded real unit word in the nominal. In (2), *ge* is a place-holder of the classifier position, and the real unit-denoting element is *duo* in (2a), *di* in (2b), and *qun* in (2c) (Zhang 2011a; 2011b: Chapter 6).

- |     |    |                                                         |    |                                                               |    |                                                              |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) | a. | san ge hua-duo<br>three CL flower-CL<br>'three flowers' | b. | san ge shui-di<br>three CL water-CL<br>'three drops of water' | c. | san ge yang-qun<br>three CL sheep-CL<br>'three sheep flocks' |
|-----|----|---------------------------------------------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|

These parallelisms show the formal properties of functional elements, which bear certain formal features (e.g., tense, aspect, countability) and project a higher-level domain: verbal auxiliaries project the time domain of TP above the theta or space domain (cf. Guéron 2005) and numeral classifiers project an individual-denoting domain above the kind-denoting domain of NPs (cf. Acquaviva 2010).

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## Phonological change in an endangered language: evidence from Kurmanji.

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Most endangered language situations involve gradual decline in speaker numbers and speaker fluency. As more speakers in a subordinate community shift to the dominant language (O'Channessy, 2011), fewer children learn the minority language, and often those who do so learn it imperfectly, resulting in semi-speakers, people who have learned the language to some degree and are not fully fluent. This is the situation typical of the gradual shift of a minority language to a majority language (Palosaari & Campbell 2011).

Large-scale investigation projects on sound change in endangered languages are notably lacking for some areas of the globe, in particular the Middle East. This paper therefore targets one of the languages of the Iranian group, one of the geographically most extensive and typologically most diverse branches of Indo-European. Following recent investigations of obsolescing languages such as Babel (2009), I present a study of phonetic changes in the Khorasani dialect of Kurmanji (an Iranian language) based upon recordings of two generations of speakers. This paper focuses on the realization of the phonological contrasts of aspirated/unaspirated initial voiceless consonants, and investigates the question: What is the nature of the evidence of aspirated/unaspirated initial voiceless consonants in the Khorasani dialect of Kurmanji on the process of language change regarding interference from the strong dominant language, Persian?

Khorasani Kurmanji has contrastive aspirated/unaspirated initial stops and affricate consonants, rarely found in any other Iranian Languages, especially Persian. There are 12 voiceless consonants in Kurmanji, and 8 of them include 3 stops and one affricate paired by the aspirated /unaspirated distinction. The four pairs are: [p]/[p<sup>h</sup>] , [t]/[t<sup>h</sup>] , [k]/[k<sup>h</sup>] , [tʃ]/[tʃ<sup>h</sup>].

When aspiration duration is considered, aspirated consonants are significantly longer than corresponding unaspirated ones (Feng 1985, Wu 1992), and the voice onset time (VOT) of an aspirated obstruent is longer than that of the unaspirated counterpart (Lisker & Abramson 1964; Ohde 1967, 1984).

The feature of 'unaspirated' in an unaspirated initial voiceless consonant is a marked feature in Kurmanji, compared with the aspirated ones which occur in the dominant language Persian, and tend to be more unusual cross-linguistically, more difficult for children to learn and more easily lost in language change. They tend to be replaced by less marked ones (aspirated initial voiceless consonant) in language change.

It is clear that categorical changes, loss of allophones, and sub-phonemic variation are all characteristics of sound change in obsolescing languages. Categorical changes with the transfer of a sound from the dominant language to the minority language phoneme are particularly common (Babel, 2008).

The extent to which sound changes have occurred in the Khorasani dialect of Kurmanji is considered through instrumental phonetic investigation in this paper. Acoustic measurements show that unaspirated initial voiceless consonants have undergone phonetic change convergent with Persian, the dominant contact language. The contrast between aspirated/unaspirated is considerably diminished in Generation 2 with respect to Generation 1. Thus, this study provides a demonstration of how phonetic data can be used to illuminate the evolution of an endangered language's phonology.

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**Will greenwash overwhelm greenspeak? Language, communication  
and the "greening" of global discourse: present challenges for critical ecolinguistics.**

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The ongoing "greening" processes of language and discourse, and of the intersecting socio-cultural, political and environmental perspectives at every level - the global age of "greenspeak" (Harré et Al., 1999:VII), "greenomics", "ecofriendliness" and "greenwash" - are confirming how the role of Linguistics is being fundamental in both creating and tackling today's globalized crisis of the Man and Nature relationships (Sapir, 1912; Chawla, 1991; Schultz, 1992, 2001; Penman, 1994; Mühlhäusler, 1983; 1998; Howarth, 1996; Jung, 1996, 2001). This is the current challenge for the relatively young, transdisciplinary and cross-cultural critical Ecolinguistics approach, which needs to particularly expand its research and analytical applications using its established theoretical background (Fill, 1993; 1996; 2001a; 2001b; Bang and Døør, 1993; Harré et Al., 1999; Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001; Mühlhäusler, 2003; do Couto, 2007; Döring et Al., 2008) on the increasing profusion of ecological and pseudo-environmental lexicon and texts. Ecolinguistics must simultaneously systematize its methodology, widening its lexical, metaphor, grammar, semantic and semiotic research lines (Harris, 1992; Goatly, 1996; Noth, 1998; Brier, 2001; Bay et Al., 2003; Döring and Nerlich, 2006; Verhagen, 2008; Döring and Zunino, in press), and deepening its use of a Critical Discourse Analysis approach (Haig, 2001; Mühlhäusler and Peace, 2006; Alexander, 2009), remembering that "... the [CDA] theory as well as the methodology is eclectic; that is, theories and methods are integrated, which is helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation" (Wodak, 2001:69). Also, the rapidity of the greening up phenomena, embracing every linguistic aspect from the "eco" and "bio" neologisms to iconography, online multitexts and all processes of semiosis, implies that stronger efforts have to be made to specifically investigate the macro-categories of referential, systematic and social adequacy, semantic vagueness and underdifferentiation, and misleading encoding (Mühlhäusler, 1983; Harré et Al., 1999:29-34).

Therefore, a fully integrated research is required, that entails critical linguistics and discourse analysis on the many facets of the interfacing natural-cultural communicative and cognitive praxis, and that synchronically and diachronically explores the business, the political, the media, the marketing, the institutional and the environmentalists' voices (such as Trampe, 2001; Kuha's articles on climate change, 2008, 2009; a few works on animals, economics, and "biodiversity" – Stibbe, 2003, 2005; Stibbe and Zunino, 2008; Alexander's 2009 extensive research on the Body Shop, BP, Monsanto, Shell, and "sustainable development"; a forthcoming glossary of greenspeak and greenwash terms and expressions in Italian, Spanish and English, as well as a paper analyzing the websites of the top five 2011 world's and US greenest companies, according to Newsweek's annual Green Rankings). This may be important to question the establishment of a superficial "sustainability trend" that is becoming an extremely counterproductive reality for the holistic *Weltanschauung* of Ecolinguistics as well as for the general, pragmatic reality of suitable environmental communication (see for example EEA, 1999; UNEP and Futerra, 2005; DEFRA, 2011).

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## **Descriptions of the thematic workshops**

### **WS1. Parametric variation in discourse-configurationality.**

Covenors: Timothy Bazalgette and Jenneke van der Wal  
(Cambridge University).

This workshop is primarily interested in the manner in which different languages encode discourse information in the syntax, with a view to reaching a better understanding of the parametric variation in this domain, both from an empirical and a theoretical perspective. We therefore invite contributions of new data relating to discourse-configurationality, particularly from lesser-studied languages, and also proposals that explain such variation. We aim to have a good mix of more descriptive typological-comparative presentations and papers discussing these data in the light of recent minimalist proposals regarding the nature of parameters: on the one hand, the Borer-Chomsky Conjecture (cf. Baker 2008) postulates purely lexical parameters, which lends itself to the description of small differences between varieties (see e.g. Kayne 2005), while typological clustering nevertheless appears to reflect a more structured field of variation than predicted by this approach (e.g. Baker 2008, Roberts and Holmberg 2010). We consider discourse-configurationality to be a particularly fertile area of investigation as the crosslinguistic variation in this area remains understudied, and consequently it has not yet played a significant role in the development of parametric theory.

Languages have been classified as “configurational” or “non-configurational” largely on the basis of word-order properties. English is the standard example of a configurational language, where the syntactic functions of subject and object can be systematically deduced from their position in the sentence. Li and Thompson (1976) claim that some languages, such as Chinese, can, by contrast, be insightfully described by taking the discourse notion of topic and not that of syntactic subject to be basic. In these topic-prominent languages, assigning a specific syntactic position to the discourse function “topic” is viewed as more important than doing so in relation to the syntactic function “subject”. Hence “discourse-configurational” languages are defined by É. Kiss (1995:6) as languages in which the discourse-semantic functions of topic and/or focus are associated with particular structural positions.

It is, however, unlikely that there is a strict division of languages into configurational vs. discourse-configurational, as we find variation in the extent to which word order is determined by discourse functions. For example, the Celtic languages make extensive use of topicalization and focalization but are otherwise rigid VSO (Tallerman 1997); Zulu is SVO with a low focus position (Buell 2007); and, in Cayuga, word order is “fully pragmatically based” (Mithun 1992). One of the questions this workshop intends to address is whether this variation can be straightforwardly captured using syntactic parameters.

While the Configurationality Parameter (Chomsky 1981, Hale 1983) represents an initial attempt to understand the syntactic basis of configurationality, it is now known that such a parameter cannot account for attested variation in this domain. We should therefore revisit the question of configurationality to gain new perspectives on the types of parameters that may underlie the attested crosslinguistic patterns. Concrete issues addressed are the following: First, in a cartographic approach, the variation is due to the parametric presence or absence of (overt) movement to specific syntactic projections for e.g. topic and focus. This is a clear implementation of discourse functions in the syntactic structure, but there is an ongoing debate surrounding the existence of syntactic focus features and the value of postulating the whole cartographic structure as part of the narrow syntax. A second issue is the fact that discourse-functions are not only hosted in the left periphery of the sentence (the CP domain), but also lower in the structure. This has led some to pose a “low left periphery” (Belletti 2004), possibly in the vP, which in turn inspired research on the question whether the vP and CP -both being phases -are isomorphic (cf. Drubig 2007). A third issue is the relation between wh-elements and discourse functions. Their movement to the left periphery is rather similar from a syntactic point of view (A'-movement), but their interpretational effects and their sometimes distinct requirements (both within an across languages) urge us to rethink our treatment of both, with distinct parameters potentially being involved.

#### **Questions**

- We intend to organize a workshop to further discuss empirical data reflecting the variation observed in the area of discourse-configurationality, with the objective to relate these data to theoretical issues such as those outlined above. Specific questions we would like to discuss include, but are not limited to, the following:

- What are the limits to discourse-configurationality? For example, do languages with a dedicated focus position always allow topic fronting? Are there any languages which consistently wh-move/focalize/topicalize rightwards?
- What variation do we find in the use of the high and low peripheries? For example, movement to a low periphery (scrambling or object preposing) is in some languages associated with definiteness and topicality, and in others with focus in the position immediately following the verb (Watters 1979). Are there languages which only make use of medial and never left-peripheral topic/focus positions (cf. i.a. Belletti 2004 on the lower topic/focus field)?
- Can we identify a parametrically determined typology of discourse-configurational languages?
- Is it plausible to think of any instances of discourse-configurational variation in strictly PF terms, as suggested by Berwick and Chomsky (2011)?
- Which theoretical model offers the best insight into the syntactic components of discourse-configurationality?
- What is the relation, if any, between wh-movement and discourse-related movement? Do they have the same syntactic motivation, both being A' movement? Are wh-elements always focused?
- Are the observed information-structural effects associated with the CP and vP periphery mirrored in nominals, i.e. a left periphery of the DP? Are there any placement and/or marking options (e.g. particles and/or intonation) available in clauses that are unattested in nominals, or vice versa?
- Are there any insights to be derived from a diachronic consideration of changes in discourse-informational properties?

By addressing these questions, our workshop aims to broaden the typological test-bed for the syntactic conditions applying at the interface between narrow syntax and discourse. We hope to bring together theory and typological data, with the purpose of beginning to unravel the syntactic basis of discourseconfigurationality and the nature of parametric variation.

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**WS2. Detachment constructions [dislocations] and typology  
in languages of Europe and beyond.**

Convenors: M.M.Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest (CNRS, LACITO)  
& Ricardo Etxepare (CNRS, IKER).

In spite of a varying terminology, one can notice in the recent studies of Detachment constructions (previously called « dislocations ») a fair amount of convergence, for instance through the priority given to information criteria, referential accessibility, and cognitive relevance (see Gundel & al. 2010, Lambrecht 2001, 2004). Detachments have been mostly studied within the theoretical frame of Information Structuring (IS), that was introduced in linguistics by the Prague School functionalists and has been more systematically investigated in the last few decades. The recent IS research has focused on two major topics: (i) the notional foundations of IS theory (Vallduví 1992, Lambrecht 1994, Erteschik-Shir 2007) ; (ii) the development of models of grammar which account for the interaction between IS, syntax and semantics. Multi-level integrated models of grammar have been proposed by functionalists (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), while generative studies have integrated IS notions into the « cartographic » approach initiated by Rizzi (1997).

The « left periphery » is the one which has given rise to most studies (Barnes 1985, De Cat 2007, Sturgeon 2008). Mentioned already in the 1980s (Geluykens 1987, Lambrecht 1994, Dik 1997), the « right periphery » has steadily been the cause for controversies (see Bernini & Schwartz (eds.) 2006), but its independence towards the Theme/Topic is confirmed by several new investigations (Fernandez-Vest 2004, Horlacher & Müller 2005, Brunetti 2009a, 2009b, Amon 2009). The recognition of 2 types of Detachments has profited by the progresses of synchronic and diachronic Detachment Linguistics in France (Combettes 1998, Neveu 2003, Apothéloz, Combettes & Neveu (éds.), 2009).

In parallel with the traditional dichotomy (Theme-Rheme / Topic-Focus), a tripartite analysis has developed, that meets the principle of a triple organization of the utterance advocated by several language theoreticians (Pierce, Daneš, Hagège). The choice of a textual and interactional definition of the Theme and Rheme has implied the recognition of a 3rd element, the Mneme (*Tail, Antitopic*), which is characterized by formal and semantic properties. The method of analysis has can thus be based on twice 3 elements : 3 levels, pragmatic, morphosyntactic, semantic ; 3 pragmatic constituents – Theme – Rheme – Mneme –, with 2 basic strategies available :

- the *binary strategy 1* (Theme-Rheme), with a 1st element frequently detached (Initial Detachment, ID)
- and the *binary strategy 2* (Rheme-Mneme), where the 2<sup>nd</sup> constituent is detached (Final Detachment, FD) ; it is a typical construction for Impromptu Speech, mostly absent in written style.

A Minimal Communicative Utterance (MCU) is in this perspective shaped by the Rheme, which, in ordinary conversations, is often, but not obligatorily, a short Answer, morphosyntactically variable (Fernandez-Vest 1994, 2009a, 2011b). In Europe, the study of Romance languages in particular has permitted to reach a deeper knowledge of IS and its privileged means of expression : prosody, discourse particles, word order. IS is no longer considered an exclusive matter of syntax : in the Informational Patterning theory, prosodic parsing is seen as an index of formal recognition of IS (Scarano 2009). Diachronic studies of « non standard French » have shown that IDs and FDs, even though a very old syntactic phenomenon which can be interpreted differently by enunciation theoreticians vs. syntacticians, require basically to take into account the prosody as well as the discourse co- and context (Blanche-Benveniste 2010).

Another important contribution is made by the Non-Indo-European languages of Europe, which through their constant contacts belong to the European semantic sphere, but typologically are still rather different from their neighbors : Detachments have been studied in Finno-Ugric languages (Samic and Finnic) from the points of view of their typological evolution from oral to written language as well as from the internal contrastivity of spoken vs. written enunciation (Fernandez-Vest 2006). The 2 types of Detachments have been integrated in the prestigious « Comprehensive Grammar of Finnish » published by the Finnish Academy of Science (ISK 2004). Detachments in Basque have been studied mostly on the formal/generative model, with a particular recent attention to so-called « interface interactions » between prosody and information structure (Elordieta 1997; Elordieta 2002; Arregi 2003; Irurtzun 2007; Irurtzun and Elordieta 2009, among others), but other discourse structure oriented studies exist (Osa 1990). Taking into account a number of classical observations about the fundamental syntactic properties of focus constructions in Basque (see Etxepare & Ortiz de Urbina 2003 for an introductory work), e.g. the existence of possibly different focus positions and of multiple focus constructions (Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2008), two broad lines of analysis have been applied to Basque Theme-Rheme constructions in syntactic theory: the traditional idea that focus constructions are operator constructions targeting a given syntactic position in the clause structure (the so-called « syntactocentric » or derivational analysis, see recently Irurtzun 2007 for Basque); (ii) and the idea that focus is an interface phenomenon, whose syntactic distribution follows from comparison between representations pertaining to different modules of the linguistic faculty (for a recent proposal in this sense, Arregi 2003).

Larger cross-linguistic studies, favored by the modern use of electronic corpora, have begun giving results about the main processes involved in IS in typologically different languages – see the Project *ISTY 1* (Information Structuring and Typology, 2008 – ) : *Detachment constructions in Languages and Discourses* of the CNRS-Fédération TUL (Typologie et Universaux Linguistiques), that aims at exploring further the interaction of IS, semantic and syntactic structures (Van Valin 2005) through comparing 30 languages in the light of several theoretical approaches, and

<http://www.typologie.cnrs.fr/spip.php?rubrique48>

[http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/colloque/focus\\_rheme/index.htm](http://lacito.vjf.cnrs.fr/colloque/focus_rheme/index.htm)

**Topics for the workshop include, but are not limited to, the following:**

- (a) Detachments and external contrastivity (typological descriptions ; cross-linguistic studies)
- (b) Detachments and internal contrastivity (oral vs. written register ; types of utterances ; types of discourse situations)
- (c) Detachments in transfer (oral interpretation, translation of fiction dialogues)
- (d) Detachment, IS and discourse genres
- (e) Detachments and other devices of spoken language (discourse particles, prosody)
- (f) Detachments in an evolutionary perspective

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### WS3. Typology of Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia.

Covenors: Thomas E. Payne (University of Oregon and SIL International); Pirkko Suihkonen (University of Helsinki); Andrey Filchenko (Tomsk State Pedagogical University) and Lindsay Whaley (Dartmouth University).

A broad band of typologically similar indigenous languages stretches from Japan and Korea, across Asia and into Eastern and Northern Europe. These languages belong to several genetically distinct language stocks and families, notably Japanese-Ryukyuan, Korean, Mongolic, Palaeo-Siberian, Yeniseyan, Tungusic, Turkic, Uralic, and Indo-European, as well as several unclassified languages, and languages for which genetic relationships are controversial. In Southern Asia, the area interfaces with Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian, Dravidian, and Austro-Asiatic languages. During the



course of history, this huge area has been a meeting place of many cultural and linguistic strands, and represents a fertile, yet largely untitled, field for typological, comparative and sociolinguistic research.

The current workshop aims to address the following ongoing research questions for the languages of this region:

- a. To what extent are word classes identified in the lexicon, versus in syntactic structures only?
- b. What are the similarities and range of variation among the tense, aspect, modality, and evidential systems?
- c. To what extent is locational and directional marking used to express aspectual and modal categories?
- d. To what extent are medial clauses or converbs used in discourse?
- e. Is constituent ordering more sensitive to pragmatic categories than grammatical relations?

For the past several decades, much important typological work has been done, and is still being done, in Russia and other countries where these languages are spoken. Unfortunately, because of political, economic and language barriers, this research has been largely unknown to the international community. For this reason, beginning in 2001, a series of three international symposia was organized to bring together researchers working in various countries to coordinate typological research in this broad linguistic area. The last of these "LENCA" (Languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia) symposia took place in Tomsk, Russia, in June, 2006. While much has been accomplished as a result of these symposia (see, e.g., Vajda, 2008; Suihkonen, *et al.*, in press), much is still unknown about the typological characteristics of the minority languages in this important region.

Continuing in the tradition of the LENCA symposia, the proposed workshop consists of presentations and discussions dealing with the morphosyntactic typology of languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia, with emphasis on understudied minority languages. The location of SLE 2012 in Stockholm is particularly auspicious for the proposed workshop since several minority language varieties in Sweden meet the LENCA profile, among them at least four varieties of Saami, and a minority variety of Finnish (Tornedalen), all belonging to the Uralic stock. Since one of the major motivations for this workshop is to foster communication among scholars who are normally isolated from one another, it is advantageous that SLE 2012 is relatively accessible to scholars travelling from various points throughout the LENCA area. Although all the papers accepted for this workshop are in English, the workshop will be officially multilingual, with discussion encouraged in any language. In this way we hope to continue the LENCA legacy of free scholarly engagement between East and West.

Three topically organized sessions within the workshop are proposed. These are: General morphosyntactic typology, Aspect and modality, and Clause combining and discourse structure.

Session one will contain four papers dealing the word class issues (adjectives and articles), correlative clauses and predicative possession constructions.

Session two will contain five papers on tense, aspect and modality. Two themes have attracted particular attention among typologists working in the region. First, comparable evidential and mirative categories clearly exist across several language families and stocks. Sometimes the sources of the forms used to express these categories are verbal, while other times they are nominal or adverbial. However, though the sources are distinct, there is a striking similarity in the conceptual categories that such forms tend to express. Such a skewed relationship between form and function is unlikely to have arisen by pure chance. Therefore, we are left with the question of whether these similarities are due to language contact or whether they reflect cognitive/functional principles. Second, there is a tendency for locational and directional morphosyntax (either verbal morphology or postpositions) to also express aspectual and modal meanings. Again, the degree of comparability among genetically unrelated languages is surprising, and indicative of contact phenomena or functional principles yet to be articulated in the literature.

Session three deals with clause combining, including serial verbs and converbs, as well as reference tracking in discourse. Relatively little comparative work has appeared on the discourse structures of Eurasian languages, particularly minority languages. By bringing together papers that examine clause combining and reference tracking in specific languages, we anticipate that the need for greater comparative work will be underscored.

In summary, the proposed workshop aims to bring linguists working on minority languages of Europe and Northern and Central Asia together to discuss typological trends in a large region extending from Japan to Norway. The languages that form the subject matter for the workshop clearly belong to several distinct language families and stocks, and the workshop does not address the many unresolved questions of genetic relationships in the region. Rather it is a typological workshop, aimed at documenting the degree of linguistic similarity and range of diversity in a very important area, and providing, insofar as possible, substantive explanations for better-than-chance similarities.

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#### **WS4. Grammatical Relations beyond Subjects and Objects: 40 Years Later.**

Convenors: Alena Witzlack-Makarevich, Balthasar Bickel  
and Fernando Zúñiga (University of Zurich).

The term grammatical relations denotes the relations between a clause or a predicate and its arguments, such as subject, direct object, and indirect object. These categories are among the most basic concepts of many models of grammar and are often regarded, either explicitly or implicitly, as universal. Moreover, they belong to the fundamental concepts in descriptions of most languages.

The 1970s saw a fundamental change in the discussion of grammatical relations triggered by an increasing interest in languages in which grammatical relations are organized in a different way than in the familiar European languages, as, for instance, in languages exhibiting ergative traits (e.g. Dixon 1972 on Dyirbal, Comrie 1973, 1979 on Chukchi; Blake 1976 on some Australian languages; Woodbury 1977 on West Greenlandic Eskimo), the Philippine-type languages (cf. Schachter 1976). Since in these languages, morphological criteria do not identify grammatical relations in the same way as what is known from European languages, it became common to extend the inventory of grammatical relation tests beyond morphological marking and word order and to include syntactic processes as diagnostics of grammatical relations (e.g. Equi-NP deletion, raising, conjunction reduction, passivization, the behavior of the reflexives, etc. cf. Li 1976 and Plank 1979).

In many cases various morphosyntactic constructions of a language provide conflicting evidence. In such cases, it became common to pick out one or a small set of particular construction(s) from a range of phenomena. This construction, or this selection of constructions, was then treated as providing the one diagnostic for “real” or “deep” grammatical relations (e.g. Anderson 1976). Typically, these grammatical relations were then equated with subjects and objects familiar from European languages. As a result, grammatical relations were identified by different criteria in different languages.

A natural response to this problem is to consider all morphosyntactic properties of arguments without prioritizing among them. Under this approach, the various morphosyntactic features and properties of arguments do not necessarily converge on a single set of grammatical relations (e.g. one subject and one object or one ergative and one absolutive) in a language. Instead, every single construction can, in principle, establish a different grammatical relation. Thus, instead of viewing grammatical relations as uniform categories, it became common to regard them as construction-specific categories (e.g. Comrie 1978; Moravcsik 1978; Van Valin 1981, Croft 2001; 2010, among many others).

The construction-specific and language-specific view of grammatical relations has become widely accepted in current typology. Also many recent grammatical descriptions aim to provide in-depth accounts of the morphosyntactic constructions defining grammatical relation. However in practice, this enterprise is not without difficulties. This workshop aims to address the challenges of a construction-specific approach to grammatical relations. The focus is entirely on such challenges in language description and typology; issues of formalization and the architecture of grammar (e.g. varieties of “Construction Grammar”) are not our primary concern here.

The main topics of the workshop will include, but are not limited to, the following:

- In-depth accounts of grammatical relations in less documented languages integrating all relevant constructions.
- As constructions are also language-specific, how does one first identify the relevant constructions and isolates them from similar ones (e.g. raising vs. control constructions)?
- How does the construction-specific approach to grammatical relations cope with non-canonically marked or non-canonically behaving arguments?
- How are demoted and promoted arguments of passives and antipassives integrated?
- Accounts of constructions defining grammatical relations not considered previously.
- What are the possible co-dependencies between individual constructions defining grammatical relations (e.g. agreement interacting with raising possibilities)?

- Can or should case assignment be treated on a par with purely syntactic evidence for grammatical relations? Is it something entirely different?

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### WS5. Loanwords as evidence in formal linguistics.

Convenors: Peter Jurgec (Meertens Instituut Amsterdam)  
& Marko Simonovic (Utrecht University).

While loanwords have been useful as a tool of phonological investigation even in the early days of generative phonology (e.g. Hyman 1970, Kaye and Nykiel 1979, Zonneveld 1978), they have taken a more central role only with the advent of constraint-based approaches in generative phonology (for recent overviews, see Calabrese and Wetzels 2009, Kang 2011). The motivation behind this move seems quite clear, though it has been rarely made explicit. For one, the phonological facts of loanwords can be presented in the form of regular input-output mappings, which makes them susceptible for linguistic analysis. But there is an explanatory gain as well. As Kang (2011) eloquently put it, “[t]he patterns that emerge in loanword adaptation often reveal aspects of native speakers’ knowledge that are not necessarily obvious in data of the native language and, as a result, loanword data can inform our analysis of the native phonology.”

This much granted, it is striking that most discussions of loanwords nowadays begin and end with an account of loanword data sets without addressing the larger picture which loanwords are initially invoked to help provide. This includes a comprehensive theory of grammar and lexicon.

The goal of this workshop is to put loanword research into a general perspective in a more explicit way. We are inviting both analyses of specific data sets which show the broader picture and analyses of the current discourse in the field.

The range of topics we would like to see covered comprises, but is in no way restricted to the following:

- Can loanword data help us evaluate linguistic theories and programs (e.g. generative versus functional approaches)? In other words, is a particular approach disqualified as a whole if it is unable to account for loanword data?
- Is it possible that the reality of loanword processes requires a theory which is not directly connected to the theory of grammar?

- What is the relation between native phonology and loanword phonology? Are there (sometimes? always?) different grammars for native words and loanwords, or not? If yes, in what way can loanwords then inform us about the native phonology? If no, how can we account for sometimes systematically differing patterns between native words and loanwords?
- What are the input and output representations in loanword adaptation? To what do they correspond in reality? In what ways are loanword representations different from the representations of native words?
- In what ways are loanwords processed differently from native words? Do these differences extend to nonce words?
- What is the theory of the lexicon implicit to loanword adaptation?
- Could the loanword adaptation agenda be extended to morphology and morphosyntax and what perspective would that yield? Should the phonological changes in loanwords be viewed separately from the creation of a novel lexical entry with all the necessary morphosyntactic features?
- What is the nature of the knowledge internalized by the bilingual adapters? Is the knowledge of bilingual adapters different from the knowledge of monolingual speakers (and in what ways)?
- Are the processes in loanwords (only) synchronic or diachronic? How is this relevant to the linguistic theory?
- Are there any parallels between the loanword patterns found in spoken vs. signed languages? Why (not)?
- What is the theoretical status of the mechanisms invoked for accounting for loanwords within Optimality Theory? What are the representations that go through OT-computations? Do loanwords have bearing on the Richness of the Base?

**WS6. Beyond Phylogeny:  
Quantitative diachronic explanations of language diversity.**

Convenor: Michael Dunn (Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen).

Recent advances in the quantitative study of language history have put diachronic approaches to the centre of modern linguistics. This workshop is a meeting of scholars who are interested in using hypothesis-driven, quantitative methods to understand the diversity of language in its real, historically (including geographically and socially) contingent context. The papers in the workshop are divided into three broad themes: **(a) quantitative linguistics and prehistory** — papers linking quantitative historical linguistics to the extra-linguistic context, including prehistory, human dispersals, climate and culture change — **(b) mode of evolution** — papers using quantitative historical models to investigate the diversity of other aspects of language — and **(c) trees and networks** — papers treating the evolution and diversity of language itself, including innovation and stability, and vertical and lateral transfer.

**(a) Quantitative linguistics and prehistory.** Quantitative methods provide new ways of proposing and testing hypotheses about the relationships between languages. Rather than proposing new relationships (or recapitulating the relationships demonstrated by conventional historical linguistic methods) these methods extract more information than hitherto available about the history of known language families. This can involve testing historical scenarios, chronological inference, or linking language history to the archaeological or genetic record. Modern quantitative methods allow new insights in the relationship between language history and other aspects of human history, such as demography or social structure (e.g. Bowerman et al. 2011); language change can be modelled explicitly, inferences can be made about the geography of linguistic diversity (Walker and Ribeiro 2011).

**(b) Mode of Evolution.** Language history allows us insight into the dynamics of language change. Most papers in this section address the patterns of typological diversity as the outcome of historical processes. In addition to this whole-language approach to typological diversity, language phylogenies can be used to model diachronic processes acting on particular domains of language and culture, such as word order evolution (Dunn et al. 2011) and kinship/social organisation (Jordan 2011).

**(c) Trees and Networks.** Any representation of language history is an idealisation away from the true underlying processes. These underlying processes differ, both between languages in different geographical areas, as well as within languages (where evolutionary processes may differ between different linguistic subsystems). Quantitative phylogenetic methods can be classified by what kind of data they act over, and what model/s of change they presume. In this section are papers analysing lexical cognate data (and other categorical, 'isogloss'-type data), and papers working from phonological similarity. Most participants analyse cognate data using Bayesian phylogenetic inference methods, which have until recently been limited to producing phylogenetic inferences in the form of trees. However, the paper by Nelson-Sathi et al. shows Bayesian phylogenetic methods for inferring reticulated (network) histories. Analyses of phonological similarity are usually carried out using distance methods, which have had the advantage of being more amenable to network analyses, but which have been criticised for their lack of an explicit model of change. Papers in this session show technical advances in distance methods too, with validation tests on huge data sets, and by the use of machine learning techniques to weight distance measures in a historically principled way.

The participants in this workshop include many of the most active scholars working in quantitative diachronic/typological methods in Europe, and has a sizeable contribution from upcoming Scandinavian research groups (Amazonian project, Lund University; Uralic project, Universities of Helsinki, Turku and Tampere).

**WS7. Baltic languages in the European context:  
Theoretical, comparative and typological perspectives.**

Convenors: Peter Arkadiev (Russian Academy of Sciences)  
& Valgerdur Bjarnadóttir (Stockholm University).

The Baltic languages are ideal for studying various linguistic phenomena such as language contacts, borrowing and language change. This is due to many reasons, one of them being their geographical position, situated on the east coast of the Baltic Sea, which has long been an area of contact between multiple linguistic groups such as parts of the Finno-Ugric language family and two major Indo-European language groups: Slavic and Germanic. The languages of the Baltic area have, especially during the last several decades, been subject to areal-typological research with contributions as Stolz 1991, Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.) 2001, Wiemer 2002, Nau 2001, Kehayov 2008.

Another reason is their renowned (though sometimes overestimated) archaism characterized by phonological and morphological complexity and possible remnants of Proto-Indo-European syntactic structures. For that reason Baltic languages, especially Lithuanian, has attracted many scholars in comparative linguistics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and has therefore played an important role in the earlier works of comparative grammar.

However, many aspects of the structure of these languages and their dialects are underrepresented in the general linguistics and typological discourse today, and relatively little attention is even paid to their diachrony in studies of language change.

The workshop will focus on the Baltic language group (Lithuanian, Latvian, Latgalian, Old Prussian and their dialects) and specifically on the assessment of the Baltic material from a broader European areal perspective, including, but not limited to the Circum-Baltic region, serving as a buffer zone between Eurasia and Standard-Average European.

The workshop is intended to be a forum where scholars working on Baltic languages can discuss various problems relating to the study of these languages from a broader geographical, typological and theoretical perspective. Its goal is to bridge the gap between the study of Baltic languages and current trends in linguistic theory and language typology, and last but not least to attract attention of the linguistic community to this rich and yet not fully investigated group of languages.

In particular, the workshop aims at the following goals:

- to advance the study of contact-induced phenomena at different levels of language structure (phonology, morphosyntax, grammatical categories, semantics, and lexicon) as well as of the interplay between inherited and contact-induced features in the structure of Baltic languages, in line with a tradition represented by such contributions as Stolz 1991, Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.) 2001, Wiemer 2002 etc.;

- to promote typologically oriented studies focusing on Baltic languages and to underscore the value of the Baltic data for typology, on the one hand, and the fruitfulness of a typologically informed approach to the Baltic languages, on the other (cf. such contributions as Nau (ed.) 2001, Holvoet & Konickaja 2011 etc.);

- to address the material of the Baltic languages from the perspective of various theoretical and methodological frameworks and to show how particular theories may shed new light on the Baltic data, and how analyses of these data can advance linguistic theory (cf. such recent work as Berg-Olsen 2004, Franks & Lavine 2006, Holvoet 2007, Lavine 2010);
- to give insight to some of the sociolinguistic processes ongoing in the Baltic linguistic area with the presence of language minorities and multilingualism and possible tensions this can provoke;
- to describe Baltic linguistic phenomena from various theoretical points of view with reference to better studied European languages;
- last but not least, to advance contrastive linguistic studies involving Baltic languages, which has been recently gaining popularity in the Baltic states, cf. Kalėdaitė 2002, Giparaitė 2010, Usonienė & Šolienė 2010 etc.

This means that the workshop will cover the following major research areas with reference to the Baltic languages:

- contact linguistics and areal typology;
- broader typological studies with focus on Baltic languages;
- contrastive linguistics;
- theoretical approaches to Baltic languages.

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#### WS8. The origins, motivations and definitions of intersubjective perspectives in grammar.

Convenors: Henrik Bergqvist (Stockholm University) &  
Lila San Roque (Max Plank Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen).

It is a known fact from descriptions of epistemic marking in individual languages, that there are grammatical elements, such as particles, clitics, and affixes that signal the perspective of the addressee in qualifying a proposition (e.g. Palmer



1986; Chafe & Nichols 1986). Forms that feature such semantics have, however, largely been regarded as peripheral and for lack of other options, housed under the roof of related, but semantically distinct notions and categories (e.g. epistemic modality).

The proposed workshop is a first attempt to explore the defining semantics and grammatical properties of such markers drawing on the notion of *complex perspective* as formulated by Nick Evans (2007) in a wider conceptualization of “multiple perspective” in grammar. A complex epistemic perspective is (minimally) defined as *the speaker’s assumptions regarding the status of information/experience as being either shared or non-shared between the speaker and the addressee*. Crucially, however, it features the speaker’s assumptions of the addressee’s perspective while *simultaneously* expressing the speaker’s own perspective. This contrasts to subjective expressions (i.e. modality) and e.g. *double perspectives* found in demonstrative systems where the addressee’s position with regard to an object is calculated directly without any assumptions on behalf of the speaker. A surging amount of work in recent years has confirmed Evans’ observation that the expression of complex perspectives in epistemic categories is a rich area of investigation, but also one that is severely under-researched (ibid:106). An example from Kogi (Arwako-Chibchan, Colombia) illustrates the basic semantic contrast between shared (1a) and non-shared (1b) information:

- (1) a. *ni gwángwashi ninuko*  
       ‘I’m boiling water (as you can see).’  
       b. *ni gwángwa-shi nanuko*  
       ‘I’m boiling water (I’m informing you).’  
       (Kogi field notes Bunkwa\_24\_8\_09)

Complex epistemic marking places the distribution of knowledge and the speech participant’s (a)symmetric access to knowledge, at center. As such, it expresses a basic grammatical resource in language. In English, intonation and syntax (e.g. in focus, topicalisation, interrogation) is used to signal speaker-stance and the speaker’s expectations on the knowledge-state of the addressee with regard to some state-of-affairs, suggesting the improbability of natural languages lacking the means to account for the assumed perspective of the addressee from the point of view of the speaker, in some way.

Following this, there are close conceptual ties between complex perspective and *stancetaking* (Goffman 1981; Du Bois 2007; Kockelman 2004; Mushin 2001), *speech-act theory* (Croft 1994; Searle 1969, 1979; Givón 1990; König & Siemund 2007), *presupposition*, the expression of *subjectivity* (Benveniste 1971 [1966]; Lyons 1977; Traugott 1989a; Traugott & Dasher 2002) and *intersubjectivity* as a fundamental feature of language as opposed to non-human forms of communication (Verhagen 2005, 2008; cf. Zlatev et al. 2008), all of which constitute aspects of the functional motivations of complex perspective marking.

Some languages have paradigmatic sets of markers that parallel other well attested categories such as evidentiality and tense/aspect in marking information access between the speech participants. Examples of languages where paradigms of complex epistemic perspective marking (by other names) have been described in some detail are Andoke (Landaburu 2007), Southern Nambikwara (Kroeker 2001, Lowe 1999), Kogi (Olaya Perdomo 2000; Ortiz Ricaurte 1994), and Duna (San Roque 2008). An analysis and comparison of these systems is found in Bergqvist (forthcoming a.). Despite being a distinct conceptual domain, languages may formally house markers of complex epistemic perspective together with related categorical expressions, most prominently evidentiality (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004). There are a number of examples of such languages, e.g. Aymara and Jaqaru (Hardman 1986, 2000), Kwakiutl (Boas 1911), Washo (Jacobsen 1964), Yurakaré (Gipper 2011), *inter alia*, that are partly contrasted to languages where complex perspective semantics are expressed by (nonevidential) particles, such as Cantonese. This difference represents an intersection between grammatical resources such as modal particles, prominently found in Germanic languages, and more grammaticalized and systematic ways of signaling complex epistemic semantics. Because of the preliminary stage of exploration and the diverse means that are used to express this notion in grammar, the workshop places a focus on languages where a grammaticalized expression of complex epistemic perspective marking is found, as opposed to starting at the other end to look at how crosslinguistically common resources such as e.g. intonation, definite/indefinite reference, discourse markers, and syntactic strategies achieve similar functions.

The workshop brings together researchers working on first-hand data from a variety of languages where grammatical forms of complex epistemic marking and related strategies such as egophoric marking, have been attested and investigated. The workshop will strengthen and diversify the cross-linguistic perspective on this notion by mapping out its central properties by comparing data and analyses in languages coming from different language families as well as from different parts of the world. This proposal is situated in the context of a recently funded project, “Complex perspective in epistemic assessment: exploring intersubjectivity in language”, funded by the Swedish Research Council

(2012-2014, dnr. 2011-2274) and directed by Henrik Bergqvist (Stockholm University) and Lila San Roque (Max Planck Institute, Nijmegen).

Topics for discussion:

- Semantics of complex epistemic marking: what role does the speaker's 'perspective'/'involvement'/'authority'/'knowledge', play in providing a semantic template?
- Does egophoric marking encode complex perspectives (e.g. Creissels 2008; Curnow 2002; Loughnane 2010)?
- What is the precise relation between established notions such as 'shared knowledge' (Gundel 1985); 'common ground'; 'given/new information' (Halliday 1967; Prince 1981) and complex perspective semantics (Bergqvist f.c. a., b.)?
- How is the (assumed) perspective of the addressee expressed in complex epistemic marking?
- Typological or comparative issues of complex perspective semantics and intersubjective notions in grammar: scope and interaction with TAM marking, negation and interrogation.
- What are the areal differences/similarities between systems, e.g. between highland Papua, the Caucasus, and the Andes?
- Level of semantic analysis: propositional or illocutionary (e.g. Murray 2010; Nuyts 2008; Faller 2003)?
- What is the distribution of complex perspective marking and related strategies in discourse and conversation?
- Complex epistemic marking as expressed by intonation, morphology, syntax; what are the similarities and what are the differences to more grammaticalized systems?
- The relation of complex perspective to other categories such as evidentiality and epistemic modality: are these categories stops along a path of grammaticalization?
- The grammaticalization of complex perspective semantics; subjectivity to intersubjectivity to objectivity (Fitzmaurice 2004; cf. Dasher & Traugott 2002)?

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#### WS9. Parallels between the clausal and nominal domain.

Convenors: Lobke Aelbrecht, Anne Breitbarth, Liisa Buelens, Karen De Clercq, Lieven Danckaert, Liliane Haegeman, Will Harwood, Eric Lander, Rachel Nye, Amélie Rocquet, Aleksandra Vercauteren and Reiko Vermeulen (GIST, Ghent University).



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In an endeavour to explain how language is structured, linguists attempt to find patterns and account for generalisations. In formulating such generalisations, many syntacticians have been exploring the parallels between clauses and nominal expressions.

One of the first explicit formal proposals is Szabolcsi's (1983) work on Hungarian noun phrases, where she likens the possessor in the nominal to the sentential subject. Abney's (1987) dissertation pushes the parallelism between nominals and clauses even further by assuming a similar functional structure for both. Subsequently, more evidence was brought forward supporting a parallel approach towards the nominal and clausal domain, from a typologically diverse range of languages (Alexiadou & Stavrou 1998; Cardinaletti & Starke 1999; Bernstein 2001; Grimshaw 2005; Koopman 2005; Rijkhoff 2008, among others).

Parallels can be found by examining these domains from two angles. Properties which are typically attributed to clauses, such as the expression of tense and aspect, have been argued to have a counterpart in nominals (Kratzer 1998, Wiltschko 2003, Giusti 2008 and Lecarme 2008, see also Alexiadou et al. 2007). Conversely, several characteristics typically associated with nominals have been linked to clauses, such as referentiality, definiteness, familiarity and factivity.

This workshop aims to bring together the empirical evidence for – or against – parallels between clause and nominal domain, and to explore the different viewpoints on how they can be encoded in the grammar. We hope to include both formal and functional perspectives, as well as new data from experimental or acquisitional research, for instance, and welcome contributions dealing with any natural language. Questions we would like to see addressed include, but are not limited to:

**(1) Do nominal expressions have clausal properties?** What would be empirical evidence for such a claim? If it is true, do nominals *always* exhibit ‘clausal’ structure? For nominalisations such as *the destruction of Rome*, the motivation for claiming they have verbal roots may be clear (cf. Chomsky 1970; Grimshaw 2005), but parallels have also been drawn for other nominals, based on several properties:

- Giusti (2008) discusses **agreement and concord phenomena** in nominal expressions with respect to similar mechanisms in the clause. Subject agreement, for instance, is not limited to clauses but also occurs with possessors in noun phrases, as shown for Romance and Bantu languages. See also Bittner & Hale (1996) for a link between case and clausal agreement.
- Notions such as **topic and focus**, which are typically associated with clausal structure, have received counterparts inside the nominal domain (cf. Giusti 1996, Horrocks and Stavrou 1987; Aboh 2004, among others). There is debate, however, as to whether there are designated topic and focus positions within nominals mirroring those proposed for clauses (Aboh 2010).
- Patterns such as *How/So important a decision...* suggest that wh-movement applies inside the nominal phrase (Bennis et al 1998, Haegeman 2008).
- **Predication** is also argued to take place within the nominal domain. Den Dikken (1995, 1998) shows that copular verbs as in *Ben is a doctor* are parallel to ‘nominal copulas’ such as prepositional *of* in *a jewel of an island*, where *a jewel* is predicated of *an island* (see also Campbell 1996; Bennis et al 1998; Den Dikken 2006).
- Sentential **negation** has also been argued to have its counterpart in the nominal domain (cf. Troseth 2004).
- Even **Verb Second**, a phenomenon that seems exclusive to clauses, has been argued to have a parallel in nominal expressions (Haegeman 2004; Bennis et al 1998).
- Wiltschko (2003), Nordlinger & Sadler (2004) and Lecarme (2008) extend **tense** and **modality** to the nominal domain and Roehrs (2009) does the same for **auxiliaries**. See also Pesetsky & Torrego 2004; Matthewson 2005 and Alexiadou 2010 on the debate on whether or not there is tense in nominals.

**(2) Do clauses have nominal properties?** Many properties traditionally attributed to noun phrases are also used to distinguish between clause types:

- Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1971) analyse **factive clauses** as being introduced by *the fact that*, making them noun phrases in terms of structure. This started an ongoing debate as to how one can – and whether one should – encode factivity in the syntax of a complement clause (Melvold 1991; Aboh 2005; Kallulli 2006; De Cuba 2007; De Cuba & Ürögdi 2009).
- Subsequently, the distinction between types of complement clauses has been construed in terms of other nominal properties such as **referentiality** (Haegeman & Ürögdi 2010), **familiarity** (Hegarty 1992) and **definiteness** (Melvold 1991, Roussou 1993). See also Han (2005) and Takahashi (2010).
- Free relatives show a surface resemblance to embedded interrogatives. Only the former however, have frequently been analysed as involving a nominal layer in their structure (Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Caponigro 2002), although this has been disputed (Rooryck 1994).
- Recent discussion of relative clauses has given rise to new viewpoints on the link between clauses and nominals (Aboh 2005, Arsenijevic 2009, Manzini 2010).

(3) If there is a parallel between the clausal and nominal domain, **how can this be encoded in the grammar?** Several analyses have been proposed (see references above, cf. Alexiadou et al 2007 for an overview).

(4) Entering more formal approaches towards these parallels, following Van Riemsdijk (1978), Starke (1993), Koopman (2000, 2010) and Den Dikken (2003, 2010) for work in the adpositional domain, Grimshaw (2005) proposes a link between DP (the nominal phrase including the determiner, i.e. the referential layer) and TP (Tense Phrase, including the

finite verb), and between PP and CP (Complementizer Phrase, including e.g. complementizer and illocutionary force). Not everyone agrees with this parallel, however: other work has, for instance, linked DP and CP together. So another question to be addressed is, **are we drawing the right parallelisms? What in the clausal domain is it that the nominal domain is parallel to?**

(5) Perhaps more fundamentally even: **how real are the parallelisms** and **how far do the parallelisms go?** In trying to find generalisations, one should always be wary of imposing patterns on the data. For instance, many linguists have drawn parallels between clauses and nominals based on referentiality or presupposition, but are we actually looking at the same thing, or is the link 'created' by the way we look at phenomena?

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#### WS10. Sensory Perceptions in Language and Cognition.

Convenors: Rosario Caballero (University of Castilla-La Mancha)  
and Carita Paradis (Lund University).

While activations of sensorial experiences are considered to be of crucial importance for symbolization involving high-order cognitive processes (Oakley 2009:125), they are also part and parcel of our daily experiences, including language. For instance, the knowledge and skills of architects, perfume makers, potters, piano tuners, chocolatiers or oenologists require that they are 'tuned' to various sense modalities and sensory literacies—from single sense modalities to



multiple ones. Even such mundane tasks as choosing a particular brand of toothpaste, soap, clothes or stationary, booking a table at a restaurant, or downloading mobile ring signals reflect our inclinations towards certain colours, smells, textures, tastes or sounds, and our decisions are the result of—conscious or unconscious—operations involving several senses. In other words, we are born synaesthetes, i.e. intrinsically cross-sensory beings, even if cultural factors often shape our sensory literacy in fundamental ways.

Regardless of the basic and ubiquitous nature of sensory perceptions and experiences, the subject still remains under-explored in linguistics—in contrast to what happens in other disciplines within the humanities such as anthropology, psychology, or philosophy (Dutton 2009; Howes, 2003; Merleau-Ponty 1945/1962; among others). Howes (2003: 16) points out that cultures are not only “ways of sensing the world”, but, more importantly, “the sensory profile of a culture [...] can mold not only how people interact, but the very form in which they think”. In the framework of Cognitive Semantics, Leonard Talmy (1996: 244-245) has proposed the notion of *ception* as a possible construct to overcome the scholarly tendency to deal with “discrete categories and clearly located boundaries” through “a cognitive domain encompassing traditional notions of both perception and conception”. If we want to gain further insights into the ways we construe the various worlds at our disposal, the intimate relationship between our sensing, thinking, and communicating the world(s) cannot be neglected.

The overall objective of this workshop is to contribute to our understanding of how various cultures and communities sense the world by paying attention to one of its more accessible manifestations, namely language. The workshop attempts to bring together scholars working on various aspects of how sensory perceptions are verbally manifested and using different methodologies—experimental as well as discourse-based. This involves paying attention to how our lexical resources as well as our discourse, or genre resources shed light on how sense perceptions might be organized in our minds and how we communicate our sensing the world. The general questions addressed in the workshop are the following:

- How do we talk or write about sight, taste, smell, touch and sound (lexical/grammatical resources)?
- What are the concepts and figurative mechanisms that are most often used in describing these sensory experiences?
- How do cultural and disciplinary factors influence the way we describe sensory perceptions in text and discourse? How does discourse interaction respond to or reflect those?

The contributions listed below cover the aforementioned questions by paying attention to a wide range of languages, e.g. English, Spanish, Italian, French, Swedish, Finnish, German, Romanian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Mandarin, Ewe, Chinese and Lithuanian, some using corpus tools, others approaching the topic from a more experimental perspective. Thus, some contributions focus on how sensory perceptions are conceptualized as suggested by lexicalization patterns, and the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic aspects of perception verbs.

Other contributions explore more specific sensory experiences and discuss the linguistic encoding of taste, sight and hearing in various languages and genres. Some papers discuss lexical and syntactic aspects of synesthesia and the translation issues involved, while others are concerned with how sensory expressions contribute to aesthetic evaluation across languages. Finally, the more experimental approaches deal with the psychological factors involved in the construal of sensory categories across languages and cultures.

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**WS11. Language, History, Ideology. The Use and Misuse of Historical-Comparative Linguistics.**

Convenors: Camiel Hamans (European parliament) and  
Hans Henrich Hock (University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign).

A common perspective of historical-comparative linguistics is that it is a field for harmless drudges and antiquarians, with no consequences in the “real world”. Accusations like those of Poliakov (1971) that comparative Indo-European linguistics was responsible for the rise of the “Aryan Myth” should raise at least some questions regarding this view.

The workshop addresses a broader, generally insufficiently appreciated range of issues regarding the use and misuse of historical-comparative linguistics and, in the process, shows that historical-comparative linguistics — just like general history and prehistory — matters tremendously in the “real world”, especially for ideologically inspired movements. One does not have to go back to the days of Weisgerber (1935) and his ideas of language as an expression of “Volk” (and vice versa) to see how linguistic and political views may interfere. One only has to take a look at the language policies of the Baltic states and the Ukraine to realize the continuing vitality of this ideology. (Rannut 2004, Belitser & Gerasymchuk 2008).

In some cases, the ideologically inspired agenda may simply be to establish a separate linguistic and ethnic identity. Well-known, and generally welcome examples are traditionally marginalized minority languages such as Basque in Spain and France or Limburger in the Netherlands. This issue is considered by Camiel Hamans in his contribution to the proposed workshop which addresses the recent initiatives of supranational bodies to guarantee linguistic rights to speakers of minority languages. But there are also cases where ideologically inspired groups try to establish a separate political and ethnic identity by manipulating linguistic history; consider for instance the case of Moldavian, argued to be distinct from Rumanian during the time of the Soviet Union, or the deliberate differentiation of Serbian : Croatian : Bosnian : Montenegrin in the successor states of former Yugoslavia. The first of these issues is covered in the contribution of John Charles Smith; the second in Ranko Bugarski’s presentation.

In other cases, the goal may be to claim title to a particular historical tradition and to exclude others from that tradition, similar to Weisgerber’s approach of 1935. Consider the dispute between Greece and the “Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia” over ownership of the name “Macedonian”, where both sides are manipulating linguistic history in order to establish ownership. This issue is dealt with in Brian D. Joseph’s contribution. A similar case is that addressed in Johanna Laakso’s contribution, which deals with attempts by Hungarian nationalists to deny linguistic relationship to other Uralic languages in order to claim a separate identity. A case that should be especially important to the linguistic community is the attempt of Hindu nationalist to deny the so-called Aryan Invasion Theory, i.e. the view that the speakers of Indo-Aryan came to India from the outside. For the extremist movement of “Hindutva”, this denial is crucial because it serves as foundation for the claim that Hindus are indigenous to India, unlike Muslims or Christians. In 2002 this extremist ideology fueled a brutal pogrom against Muslims in the state of Gujarat.

In many of these cases (and others like them), proponents either are ignorant of proper historical-comparative and general linguistic methodology or in fact claim that this methodology is baseless or even biased, deliberately designed to obstruct the aspirations of their movement. Both of these claims appear in publications supporting the Hindutva position, such as Jha & Rajaram 2000. To support their claims, supporters of this movement tend to appeal to publications such as Berlant (2008) and Marcantonio (2009) that question established methodology even if they are not necessarily inspired by the same ideology. This issue is discussed in Hans Henrich Hock’s contribution, who shows that Berlant’s and Marcantonio’s claims are without foundation.

At the same time, it must be admitted that bias can exert an influence even among historical linguists, in terms of which of two (or more) conflicting interpretations of the historical evidence they privilege. This issue is addressed in Nikolaus Ritt’s contribution.

The lesson to be drawn is that scholars working in this field have a responsibility to at least try to counter misuses of their findings and to show that attempts to question the methodology of historical-comparative linguistics, whether ideologically inspired or not, are highly questionable. Similarly, where recent nation formation has given rise to a renewed popularity of language policy historical linguists should be aware of, and address, the possible use and misuse of their theories. Not that speaking out will convince the zealots; but it may have the beneficial effect of alerting people whose mind is not already made up to the fact that there are alternative views and that these are grounded in a well-established methodology. At the same time, given the importance of historical linguistic claims in the “real world” (and even for other reasons), it is imperative that historical-comparative linguists be careful to avoid potential bias in their own work.

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## WS12. Contrastive studies of verbal valency in European languages.

Convenors: Johanna Barðdal (University of Bergen); Lars Hellan (University of Trondheim); Anna Kibort (Cambridge University); Andrej Malchukov (University of Mainz/Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, St-Petersburg/Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig); Michela Cennamo (University of Naples).

In recent years, issues of verbal valency, valency alternations, and verb classes has seen a new upsurge of interest from a variety of perspectives (cf. Abraham 2006, Barðdal 2007, 2008, 2011, Barðdal, Kristoffersen & Sveen 2011, Bayer 2004, Bickel & Nichols 2009, Cennamo 2003, 2010, 2011, Cennamo & Sorace 2007, Cennamo & Jezek 2011, Donohue & Wichmann 2008, Fried 2005, Haspelmath 2007, Kibort 2008, 2009, Kittila & Zúñiga 2010, Kulikov & Lavidas 2012; Levin & Rappaport Hovav 2005, Levin 2008, Malchukov, Haspelmath & Comrie 2010, Malchukov & Siewierska 2011): in lexicographic studies, corpus studies, as well as current projects taking cross-theoretical (Syntactic Government and Subcategorisation project), historical-comparative (IECASTP/NonCanCase project), contrastive (CONTRAGRAM, e.g., Coleman 2002), and typological perspectives (Leipzig Valency Classes project and Construction Labeling project – cf. Hellan and Dakubu 2010, Hellan 2008). Yet, systematic comparative studies even for the better studied European languages are still missing, so one still lacks work which could be sensibly compared to Levin's well known study of English verb classes and alternations. Thus, in spite of a long tradition in valency studies in European (especially, German) scholarship and recent progress in corpus studies and computational approaches to lexicography (cf., e.g., Herbst et al. 2004, and Korhonen & Briscoe 2004 on English, Schulte im Walde 2003 on German, contributions in Feuillet (ed.) 1998 dealing with different European languages, as well as earlier classic studies by Levin 1993, Apresjan 1969, Lehmann 1991, Lazard 1994/1998), the field has not yet yielded many generalizations in this domain, partly due to complexity of the topic, but also to a variety of perspectives which are not always compatible. Some topics concerning matching of semantic properties with syntactic/distributional properties, and to what extent such correlations hold for different languages still remain a matter of controversy (cf. Faulhaber 2011).

The workshop brings together researchers interested in contrastive studies of valency patterns in European languages from a variety of perspectives:

- areal-typological
- contrastive descriptive
- variationist
- corpus studies and computational lexicography
- theoretical

The workshop topic is not confined to certain verb types/valency classes, and addresses both valency frames and valency alternations, which are both relevant distributional properties of verbs.

It is expected that workshop contributions, including those taking a more descriptive perspective, attempt generalizations as to what are the differences in certain domains across European languages, as well as venture accounts as to how to explain the attested differences and similarities. On the other hand, it is equally crucial that contributions, including those taking a more theoretical approach, will marshal new empirical data. In this way it is

expected that the workshop will contribute to and synthesize different strands of research based on valency patterns in European languages.

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### WS13. Noun valency.

Convenor: Olga Spevak (University of Toulouse 2).

The valency of nouns is a topic that still remains in the shadow of the valency of verb. This workshop aims at confronting the existing approaches to the description of valency frames of nouns in various languages and to discuss both methodological and theoretical questions related to this topic.

There are several systematic accounts of noun valency. Firstly, work that has been done by German scholars (G. Helbig, H. Happ), leads to an overall description of valency frames of etymologically related verbs, nouns and adjectives (Sommerfeldt-Schreiber 1996). Secondly, systematic annotations of concrete corpora, especially these by the research group working on the *Prague Dependency Treebank*, provide us with an overall account of questions related to the noun valency that are of a more general interest (Mikulová *et al.* 2005). In particular, (i) in the case of derived nouns the concept of semantic roles incorporation (for example, *expense* incorporates the patient, "money"); (ii) the "transitional" category of nouns that can be used as action nouns or as resultative nouns (such as *work*), and (iii) distinctions made between argument and satellite complements.

#### Issues to address:

##### (i) Noun vs verb valency

The valency frames of nouns are often regarded as "copying" the valency frames of verbs. However, instances of obligatory noun complements can be found, such as Latin *amor in* "the love for" that are not used with verbs (with several verbs, they can be used as satellites). Furthermore, there are exclusively adnominal complements (Latin *erga* "for") functioning as arguments. The research question is what is the source of the syntactic form of the noun complement and whether this can be related to semantic fields to which nouns belong to (cf. Sommerfeldt-Schreiber 1996). Additionally, restrictions seem to apply to effected objects that do not select the same complement as affected objects (Bolkestein 1989: 16).

##### (ii) The number and the syntactic form of noun complements

Languages seem to behave in a different way as for the number of the complements expressed and their syntactic form. For example, whereas Latin is rather reluctant in expressing two complements governed by one noun (especially, subjective and objective genitives), such complex noun phrases are common in Czech (Kolářová 2006) but show formal differentiation of the second complement that is encoded in a case other than the genitive or in a prepositional phrase.

- |                                                 |                 |               |                  |
|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| 1. obdiv                                        | diváků          | *herců /      | k hercům         |
| admiration                                      | audience-GEN.PL | actors-GEN.PL | to actors-DAT.PL |
| "admiration of the audience towards the actors" |                 |               |                  |

The number and the syntactic form of complements allowed can be due to the degree of nominalization of verbal nouns and/or to the phenomenon of reduced valency frame that concerns especially verbal nouns derived from trivalent nouns.



## (iii) The typology of valency nouns

The question of noun valency is closely related to the typology of nouns. Several approaches can be envisaged there: a morphological approach in the sense that valency nouns are mostly derived from verbs or from adjectives (cf. Kolářová 2006), or a semantic approach, based on the concept of orders of entities established by Lyons (cf. Rijkhoff 2002: 19 and Hengeveld 2008). Non-prototypical first order entities (*father*) as well as second (*arrival*) and third (*reason*) order entities are valential in contrast with prototypical first order entities (*girl*).

## (iv) Expression and non-expression of arguments of nouns

Arguments of nouns can remain unexpressed more easily than arguments of verbs. Conditions under which arguments are left out as well as the ratio between the expressed and unexpressed arguments are to be investigated.

## (v) Argument vs satellite complements

Even if many types of complements can be described are without difficulties, the distinction between obligatory and facultative complements is far from being an exhausted subject.

**Goals of the workshop**

The aim of this workshop is to bring together linguists working on different languages in order to discuss theoretical approaches, descriptive models and data that contribute to a more systematic approach to the noun valency.

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**WS14. Functionally motivated computational approaches to models of language and grammar.**

Convenors: Brian Nolan (Institute of Technology, Blanchardstown, Dublin) & Carlos Perrián Pascual (Universidad Politécnica de Valencia).

The **purpose** of the workshop is to examine and discuss recent and current work in the use of functional, cognitive and constructional approaches to the computational modelling of language and grammars.

The workshop will address the following main **topics and research issues**:

- The deployment of functional models in parse and generation
- The architecture of the lexicon
- Motivating the linking system between semantics, lexicon and morphosyntax
- Interpretation of the linguistic model into an algorithm specification
- Issues for the layered structure of the clause, NP and word
- Complexity issues



- Concept formation
- Linguistically motivated computational approaches to sign languages and gesture in language

While recognising that in recent times much work has concentrated on statistical models, we wish to examine in particular computational models that are linguistically motivated and that deal with problems at the interfaces between concept, semantics, lexicon, syntax and morphology. Many functionally oriented models of grammar, including Functional Grammar, Functional Discourse Grammar and Role and reference Grammar have lent themselves to work as diverse as lexically motivated machine translation from Arabic to English (Nolan and Salem 2009, Salem and Nolan 2009a and 2009b) to the conceptual ontological work on FunGramKB (Periñán-Pascual & Arcas-Túnez 2005, 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Periñán-Pascual & Mairal Usón 2009) plus recent work undertaken within the Lexical-Constructional Model (Mairal Usón, R. & Francisco Ruiz de Mendoza. 2008 and 2009, Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José and Mairal, Ricardo. 2008, Guest, Nolan & Mairal-Uson. 2009) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997).

Indeed, similar work has been ongoing quietly within the domain of Sign Linguistics where various initiatives based upon variations of the original Mental Spaces Model (Fauconnier 1994) have been productively used in the creation of digital intelligent avatars to translate spoken/written languages into several Sign Languages (Morrissey & Way 2006, Cassell et al 2000, Prendinger & Ishizuka 2010). Sign Languages, as visual gestural languages, pose interesting problems for functional models of grammar (Leeson & Nolan 2008, Leeson et al 2006).

The organisers of this workshop are a European group of linguists, computational linguists and computer scientists who, since the 2004 Role and Reference Grammar International Conference in Dublin, have formulated computational proposals in different areas concerned with the lexicon and concept ontologies, and the computational processing of the syntax, morphology and semantics of a variety of languages. Thus far, these actual computational projects have encompassed 1) rule-based lexicalist interlingua bridge machine translation, 2) ontological engineering of concepts that enhance and enrich logical structures in a machine tractable way, 3) the implementation of a unified lexical meta-language in software, and 4) the parsing of complex sentences. The languages that have undergone a computation treatment in RRG have included English, Arabic and Spanish, and others.

A consequence of this computational work has been the enrichment of the theoretical elements of the RRG theory, especially in its semantics and lexical underpinnings where they connect with concepts, and the building of frame based applications in software that demonstrate its viability in natural language processing. Furthermore, this computational work provides compelling evidence that functional approaches to grammar have a positive and crucial role to play in natural language processing. We claim that a functional approach to grammar delivers a credible and realistic linguistic model to underpin these kinds of NLP applications. We would like to present a forum for a functional and cognitive linguistic, computational research agenda, based around an inclusive model consisting of the various cognitive and functional approaches to grammar. In sum, the aim of this workshop is to offer a forum for discussion and critical evaluation of the full gamut of research projects concerned with a broadly functional computational linguistics and that also contributes to our understanding of languages in a functionally oriented way.

#### **WS15. Exaptation in Language Change – Constraining the Concept.**

Convenors: Freek Van de Velde (University of Leuven) and  
Muriel Norde (University of Groningen).

Exaptation is a concept that was first used in evolutionary biology (Gould & Vrba 1982), to refer to co-optation of a certain trait for a new function. A typical example is the use of feathers, originally serving a thermo-regulatory function, for flight. The term was borrowed into linguistics by Roger Lass (1990) for a specific type of morphological change in which “junk” morphemes come to serve different function. In Lass’s own words, exaptation is “the opportunistic co-optation of a feature whose origin is unrelated or only marginally related to its later use. In other words (loosely) a ‘conceptual novelty’ or ‘invention’.” In order to meet this definition of exaptation, a change thus needed to satisfy two criteria: the source morpheme had to be functionless “junk”, and its new function needed to be entirely novel.

Both criteria have been criticized. With regard to the first criterion, Vincent (1995: 435), Giacalone Ramat (1998), Smith (2006) and Willis (2010) pointed out difficulties with regard to the notion of junk. And indeed, Lass later stretched his notion of exaptation, admitting that linguistic exaptation - just like biological exaptation - could also affect non-junk morphology (see Lass 1997: 318), to the effect that the old and the new function may co-exist. Doubt has also been raised with regard to the second criterion, the novelty of the new function, which is central to the notion of

exaptation according to Lass (1990: 82) (see also Norde 2001: 244, 2009: 117 and Traugott 2004). Some scholars have argued against the purported novelty of the function after exaptation (Vincent 1995: 436; Giacalone Ramat 1998, Hopper & Traugott 2003: 135-136). If this criterion is jettisoned, we arrive at a fairly broad definition of exaptation, like for instance in Booij (2010: 211), who defines it as “[t]he re-use of morphological markers”. Such a broad conception of exaptation is in line with the notion in evolutionary biology, where neither of the two criteria is decisive for the application of the term to shifts in function, but the question then arises whether this does not make the concept vacuous (see De Cuypere 2005).

Despite these criticisms, exaptation has been used as a convenient label for morphological changes that at first sight seem to proceed unpredictably, e.g. by running counter to grammaticalization clines (see Norde 2009: 115-118). It has been applied to various cases of morphological change, discussed in Lass (1990), Norde (2002), Fudeman (2004), Van de Velde (2005, 2006), Narrog (2007), Booij (2010, ms.), Willis (2010) among others.

In this workshop, we aim to explore if exaptation is a useful concept in language change and if it is, how it can be constrained so as to avoid over-application. Apart from specific case studies drawing on original data, we welcome papers that address the following issues:

- (1) Do we need the concept of exaptation in historical linguistics, or does it reduce to more traditional mechanisms such as reanalysis and analogy (De Cuypere 2005)?
- (2) What is the relation between exaptation and grammaticalization? Do they refer to fundamentally different kinds of changes (Vincent 1995), is exaptation a final stage of grammaticalization (Greenberg 1991, Traugott 2004), or are exaptation and grammaticalization just two different labels for the same type of change? After all, both processes involve reanalysis (Narrog 2007), both processes can come about through pragmatic strengthening (see Croft 2000: 126-130). Furthermore, if the old and new function of the exaptatum co-exist (see above) and if the new function is related to the old one, then exaptation involves ‘layering’ and ‘persistence’, respectively (see Van de Velde 2006: 61-62), which are also key features of grammaticalization (see Hopper 1991).
- (3) What is the relation between exaptation and degrammaticalization? Does exaptation always entail some sort of ‘degrammaticalization’ (as argued by Heine 2003 and arguably Narrog 2007: 9, 18), or does exaptation often, but not always, go together with degrammaticalization (Norde 2009: 118)?
- (4) Does exaptation only apply to morphology (Heine 2003: 173), or is it relevant to syntactic change as well, as Brinton & Stein (1995) have argued?
- (5) Is exaptation language-specific (as argued by Heine 2003: 173, but see Narrog for evidence to the contrary)?
- (6) Does exaptation happen primarily in cases of ‘system disruption’, such as typological word order change or deflection (see Norde 2002: 49, 60, 61)?
- (7) How should we define the concept of ‘novelty’, and is it a useful criterion for a change to be qualified as exaptation? Currently, there seem to be different views in the literature on what is exactly understood by a ‘new’ function. Does this mean (a) an entirely new category in the grammar, (b) a function unrelated to the morpheme’s old function, or (c) a different though perhaps not totally unrelated function from the old function?
- (8) Is exaptation infrequent (Heine 2003:174, Traugott 2004) and non-recurrent (as argued by Heine 2003: 172)? Or can one morpheme undergo several successive stages of exaptation (as argued by Giacalone Ramat 1998: 110-111 with regard to the *-sk-* suffix and by Van de Velde 2006 with regard to the Germanic adjective inflection)?
- (9) Is exaptation the same thing as what Greenberg (1991) understands by ‘regrammaticalization’ and as what Croft (2000) understands by ‘hypoanalysis’, or are there significant differences between these concepts? And what is the overlap with related concept such as ‘functional renewal’ (Brinton & Stein 1995)?
- (10) Morphosyntactic change is often *constrained* by the overall grammatical structure of a language, in particular when a grammaticalizing element provides a new way of expressing an older formal arrangement (see Heath 1997, 1998). Does this also hold for exaptation? To what extent are exaptation processes triggered, influenced, directed or constrained by the overall structure of the language in which they take place? Can exaptation generally be considered as restorative change, whereby language users opportunistically seize on available morphology to preserve the system, or is it the other way around, and do language users try to attribute meaning to functionless morphology, irrespective of the question whether this new meaning aligns with the older grammatical system?

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#### WS16. Meaning and form of vagueness: a cross-linguistic perspective.

Convenors: Francesca Masini (University of Bologna); Caterina Mauri (University of Pavia); Lucia Toveni (University of Paris VII); Miriam Voghera (University of Salerno).

"Is it even always an advantage to replace an indistinct picture by a sharp one? Isn't the indistinct one often exactly what we need?" (Wittgenstein 1953). Indeed, vagueness is a basic property of human languages, which manifests itself at all level of signification and in a number of different ways (Channel 1994).

The notion of vagueness is part of different scholar traditions and has received numerous definitions. For philosophers and formal linguists, a sentence is vague when it does not give rise to precise truth conditions, and the

vagueness of an expression originates in imperfect discrimination (Sorensen 2006, van Rooij 2011), e.g. gradable adjectives or quantity adjectives. In this tradition, a vague expression is not well defined with respect to the specific entities in its domain of application, or when truth is not preserved when moving from a case of which it is true to qualitatively very similar cases (sorites) (Hyde 2005), or when the cutoff point of a series is not known. However, the coverage of the term can be broadened, since vagueness may also concern the information that is communicated, i.e. be “intentional”, and may affect the identification of the referent, be it a class or an entity. Therefore we can recognize two different levels of vagueness: a systemic vagueness, closely related to the notion of indeterminacy, which responds to the general need of multiplicity of meaning in linguistic expressions, and a contextual vagueness, which refers to the multiple determinability of the meaning and function of words or expressions depending on specific speakers’ choices and situational needs.

The aim of the workshop is to gather together scholars working on the form and meaning of intentional vagueness, namely on the fact that some constructions (at whatever level, of whatever type) are used by the speakers precisely to encode a vague referent or state of affairs. Intentional vagueness can be conveyed by a variety of forms at different levels of encoding, which, as a consequence, are often studied by distinct subfields and linguistic traditions:

a) syntax: see binominal constructions with approximators of the *sort/kind* type (cf. Tabor 1994, Denison 2002 for English; Mihatsch 2007, Masini 2010 for Romance languages), some of which have developed into hedges with a more metalinguistic function (Lakoff 1972, Kay 1997), but also some kinds of list constructions, which have been proved to have an approximating function (Bonvino, Masini & Pietrandrea 2009);

b) lexicon and semantics: see the relationship between the coding of vagueness and a specific type of lexical source which is recurrent in different languages, e.g. the class of taxonomic nouns, such as Italian *tipo* (Voghera to appear), Swedish *typ* (Rosenkvist & Skärlund to appear), French *genre* (Fleischmen & Yaguello 2004);

c) pragmatics: discourse studies have a special role in the investigation of vagueness, since a number of expressions encoding vagueness (e.g. adverbs, connectives, general extenders, cf. Channel 1994, Overstreet 1999, Mihatsch 2009) have been mainly examined in terms of their function in discourse, rather than as markers that bear a grammatical meaning (cf. Dubois 1992, Dines 1980, Aijmer 1985 who assimilate these constructions to discourse markers);

d) and, recently, intonation: it is generally recognized that vagueness is more frequent in spoken discourse than in written language (Biber *et al.* 1999) and that prosody can play a crucial role in conveying a vague interpretation of a chunk of speech (Warren 2007). What emerges from this picture is a great specialization in individual areas, but very little communication between the various subfields and methodologies. Moreover, we observe a lack of a true cross-linguistic perspective.

This workshop aims at investigating the following three lines of research:

### 1) Cross-linguistic variation and diachronic paths in the coding of intentional vagueness

- How are the various types of vagueness encoded in the world’s languages? Is it possible to identify recurrent patterns? Are there significant typological differences?
- On what levels may vagueness be encoded (intonation, lexicon, morphology, syntax, discourse)? Do different levels match with different types of vagueness (e.g. vagueness conveyed syntactically vs. vagueness conveyed phonetically)?
- Are there recurrent diachronic patterns leading to the coding of vagueness?
- Are specific categories more apt to be reanalyzed as vagueness markers (e.g. connectives, generic nouns, epistemic adverbs)?

### 2) Intentional vagueness and other functional domains: delimitation issues

- How is intentional vagueness connected with phenomena such as indefiniteness, indeterminacy and non-factuality/irrealis that have been discussed in the literature (cf. Lyons 1999, Jayez & Tovenà 2006, Mauri & Sansò to appear)?
- If vagueness is a category of its own, how can we tell it apart from the above-mentioned domains? If not, can we say that there are different types of vagueness that typically trigger different encoding strategies across the world’s languages? In either case, is a functional map, a semiotic hierarchy or another representation the best way to capture the relation between all these expressions and their distribution in the languages of the world?

### 3) Theoretical and metalinguistic issues: how to talk about vagueness?

Given the great intra- and cross-linguistic variation in the coding of vagueness, and the lack of a systematic analysis of intentional vagueness, there is a tendency to overproduce ad-hoc categories for given strategies, e.g. *general extenders* (Overstreet 1999) are *set marking tags* (Dines 1980), *utterance-final tags* (Aijmer 1985), *extension particles* (Dubois 1993), etc. Terminological variety may be due, for example, to the unsuitability of the same grammatical categories for old and new uses, e.g. the Italian connective *piuttosto che* has recently developed the value 'or something like that' in syntactic contexts where it does not link anymore (Mauri & Giacalone Ramat 2011). In short, an effort on the metalinguistic side would contribute to a better understanding of the phenomenon and enhance descriptive adequacy as well as explicative adequacy.

The topics of interest of the workshop therefore include:

- identification and description of specific constructions encoding intentional vagueness (at any level of analysis) in one or more languages;
- identification and description of strategies (e.g. connectives, adverbs, etc.) used for coding vagueness intra- and cross-linguistically;
- typological studies describing recurrent patterns in the coding of intentional vagueness;
- synchronic and diachronic analyses regarding the relation of vagueness with (what seem to be) functionally related domains (such as indeterminacy, indefiniteness, nonfactuality/ irrealis);
- diachronic analyses regarding the emergence of constructions encoding intentional vagueness in the languages of the world;
- cognitive or formal representations of intentional vagueness, as part of the meaning encoded by a linguistic expression.

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#### WS17. Globalisation as catalyst for new discourses and genres.

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Our world is constantly in change, due to processes of globalization and migration, changes in political systems, the era of web 2.0, and other, broader socio-cultural trends. This is for example visible in organizations, in which, among other factors, the constant pressure of professionalization also results in changes on an institutional level which can permeate into many different levels within the organization. From a linguistic, social constructionist perspective, the role of language and communication is essential in this process of change, since it is through language that change is talked or written into being, that genres gradually change or drastically alter, that evolving, general societal discourses are voiced.

Due to the new technological era, the 21st century is a particularly fertile ground for change. Thus, we are currently witnessing the emergence of a wide variety of novel discourses such as those of the social media and networks (Facebook, Twitter, discussion forums, postings, and so forth), the new frontstage performances of politicians (who use new social media), or the discourse of "New Age" spirituality – in contrast to the more traditional but also evolving discourse of science, just to name a few.

In this workshop, we aim to take a discursive perspective on change and zoom in on the topic of **changing genres** and the (possibly) related **change of discourses and discursive practices**. This topic can be approached from a number of different angles, as for example, but not exclusively, the following:

- Relating diachronic approaches to written genres to more general changes on all levels of language and communication;
- The emergence of new genres to meet the demands of social needs and trends;
- Analysing genres on a micro-level in respect to its particular societal context;
- New modes of intercultural communication and its impact on genres and discourses;
- Changes in the use of evaluative language, or in the stances taken by institutions, groups or individuals in different genres and at the different levels of linguistic description;
- (New) genres that social groups or individuals make use of in order to construct their identities.
- Diachronic changes of CMC (computer mediated communication), from its origins up to the present time.



- Difficulties in defining, classifying and/or typifying genres, considering their constant changing/hybrid nature.

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