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Book of abstracts
General Session

Plenary lectures:

Some challenges in the language technology of less-resourced languages

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I plan to address the following topics in my presentation

Arguments for and against trying to preserve linguistic diversity

Why should we try to document and try to maintain the languages and cultures of Earth? Is it not a hopeless quest? In the long run, what languages and cultures survive will be decided by military and economic power. Why try to maintain a multiplicity of languages and cultures, which are just a hindrance for free communication, trade in cooperation? In the talk, I will discuss some of the reasons for and against the maintenance of linguistic diversity on Earth.

The creation, maintenance and use of multimodal corpora in documenting languages and cultures

If we want to document the language and cultures of Earth, one question that arises is the question of how this documentation best should be accomplished? Today it is possible to achieve such documentation by the creation of corpora. Multimodal corpora are corpora that preserve information in more than one sensory modality (sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste), so far mainly the modalities of sight and hearing (using text, audio recordings, pictures and video recordings).

A multimodal corpus can contain other kinds of data than just multimodal communication, e.g. pictures of artifacts, natural scenery etc. and are thus well suited to be used for a broad documentation of cultures and languages.

“Crowd sourcing”, “Wiki”-like platforms and relations to the semantic and pragmatic web.

A further question which now arises is the question of how this documentation best should be accomplished. Should it be done the traditional way, where a linguist visits a community and works with one of more informants in order to describe the phonology, morphology, syntax of the language or are there other alternatives? Developments of the internet point to a new possibility – the creation of collaborative electronic platforms which can be used by members of small language and culture groups to participate in the documentation of their own language and culture.

Some examples of problems arising in language documentation. One example is the problem of language mixing.

In South Africa, we attempted to document the indigenous languages, mainly Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho. In doing this, we recorded natural communication in different social activities (like preaching, trading, discussing etc.). After having recorded and transcribed, a corpus containing the transcriptions and recordings was created. In analyzing a corpus of Xhosa, we noticed that 30% of the words were not Xhosa but English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho etc. The problem is typical of the linguistic situation for many small languages in the world. How should this situation be handled? Should the corpus be purified and everything non-Xhosa thrown out or should the actual state of language mixing be documented?

The morphosyntax of nominals in Ayoreo (Zamuco)

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Ayoreo, the language spoken by a former nomadic population spread in small communities between Bolivia and Paraguay, presents interesting features as for nominal morphology. Nouns and adjectives come in two forms: a 'base' and a 'full' form. The former one is used for all sorts of morphosyntactic 'incorporations'. In particular:

- in the formation of derivatives and compounds
- as first member (a noun) of adjectival phrases
- in the creation of predicative nominals (presumably with incorporation into an invisible copula).

The paper will present a sketch of the usage of Ayoreo nominal morphology, mainly with descriptive purposes (the theoretical analysis will have to wait until enough data are collected).

Suffice it to say that the 'base' form should not be identified with the root, for it may also inflect for plural (in a form which is different with respect to the one to be found in the case of the 'full' form plural). Although this only occurs in the last of the situations listed above, this is enough to claim that the 'base' form has independent syntactic status.

The situation will also be described in relation to the status of the Zamuco language described by the French jesuit Ignace Chomé in the first half of the XVIII century. Interestingly, the evolution that took place in Ayoreo seems to contrast with the one that took place in the cognate language Chamacoco.

European languages in post-colonial Africa: the Portuguese lexicon in Mozambique

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In contrast with the expectations of politicians and intellectuals who, by the independence of Mozambique (1975), predicted a strong and fast enrichment of the Portuguese lexicon, Mozambican speakers have not been particularly productive in this area. Furthermore, they have also not been showing any special commitment to preserving and spreading the new words created by its own members. Therefore, during the last 35 years of independence, we have witnessed an ongoing appearance and disappearance of a wide range of new words, most of which were forgotten and have not been transmitted to new generations. The fleeting existence of lexical innovations makes it almost impossible to establish strong and reliable generalizations about the lexicon of the Mozambican variety of Portuguese.

During this period, and as the short-lived and scattered nature of the new words became more apparent, I have been particularly attracted not so much by the morphological or semantic processes involved in the creation of new words, but rather by the possible reasons that might explain why those words have such a short lifespan. This is why, although I recognize the necessity and the relevance of undertaking a systematic descriptive research on these processes, I have been considering a number of issues related to the underlying logic of this behavior of Mozambican speakers, namely:

- What could be the motivations (individual, economic, political) for the creation of the new words?
- What are the reasons why speakers do not value the new words as part of a Mozambican linguistic asset that could contribute to build and strengthen national identity?
- Does the fact that the majority of Mozambicans are L2 speakers of Portuguese play any special role in the apparent lack of interest about their own lexical innovations?
- How do Mozambican speakers perceive their own linguistic productions? To what extent are they aware of their important role in the genesis of a new variety of Portuguese?

- In this conference, I will discuss these issues, trying to put forward arguments which may contribute to the development of a general and dynamic approach to the genesis of the Mozambican variety of Portuguese.

Between *Ausbau* and *Abbau*: Dynamics and Discourses in the System of Globalized Languages

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We are at present witnesses to a process where, on the one hand, English is advancing globally (e.g. in the natural sciences), leading to a reduction of available communicative ranges (or *Abbau*, in free alternation of Kloss' terminology) in other languages – including languages formerly considered as preferred ones for scientific purposes, such as German, or global languages such as Spanish, French or Portuguese. On the other hand, Spanish and Chinese are expanding as 'alternative' global languages, and several so-called *lesser used languages* are being elaborated as instruments for new *Ausbau*-areas. This external evolution is reflected in internal processes: English linguistic structures penetrate into those of other languages, and within the English-speaking world, focuses of irradiating discourse traditions can be located. Simultaneously, local forms expand, regional spheres of alterity are enlarged, *third spaces* are established, and communities around the globe discover or construct their identities in common discourses.

The relationship between linguistic universalism and particularism has frequently been interpreted as a balanced process in which the one conditions the other, as has been observed repeatedly in the history of European languages. But is the adoption of this idea of balance a hypothesis that can be theoretically and methodologically sustained in the case of the present antagonism between globalized languages and emerging local ones? Which are the factors to be taken into account when analyzing the global system of languages?

Papers of the general session:

The psycholinguistic dynamics of agreement in English and Spanish

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As Corbett (2006: 3) puts it: “agreement is arguably the major interface problem between morphology and syntax, and hence appears particularly difficult when viewed from the heartland of either component” (also Eberhard et al. 2005). The research question we pose here is: what does agreement *do* to the internal dynamics a language system? We intend to approach this question by studying agreement ‘operations’ in a morphologically-rich language such as Spanish and in a morphologically-poor language such as English. By ‘operations’ we mean the on-line computation of agreement ties between different *controllers* and *targets*, as this is evident from psycholinguistic research. Since agreement is a clause-building device, it interacts with word order (another clause-building device), and since languages differ in both word order rigidity and morphological redundancy (Jespersen 1922: 352 ff.; Taylor 2002: 332 ff.), a comparison between English and Spanish casts valuable light into the internal dynamics of cross-linguistic self-regulation biases. An outstanding feature of agreement processes is *distance*, in the sense that, say, co-indexings inside the NP are in principle more encapsulated from semantic interference than co-indexings between NPs and pronouns. This is captured in Corbett’s *Agreement Hierarchy* (Corbett 2006). But again, the AG interacts with whether agreement is implemented in production (where meaning comes first) or in comprehension (where meaning comes after form), in the sense that semantic interference is hypothesized to be stronger in the former (Berg 1998). We predict the AG to work in much the same way in both Spanish and English. However, since these two languages differ in how robust their morphology is, we claim that semantic interference is most likely with English pronominal ties and least likely with Spanish noun phrases (Acuña-Fariña 2008). Recent behavioural and electrophysiological data might be showing just that.

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The conceptualisation of impersonals

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Taking impersonalisation as a functional category which demotes or suppresses participants from the event scene, this study seeks to explain conceptually the existing variation in impersonalising devices in European Portuguese. In particular, I will focus on the demotion or suppression of participants which rank higher in the semantic role hierarchy.

Upon the investigation of a transcribed oral corpus of European Portuguese (*Museu da Pessoa* (Almeida et al. 2000)), the following impersonal constructions, as conventional pairings of form and meaning (Croft 2001 *inter alia*), were identified: *se* constructions (anticausative, passive, desubjective and potential *se* constructions), the periphrastic passive construction, nominalisations (action and de-adjectival nominals) and infinitival constructions, *haver* constructions, lexical constructions, and personal- and indefinite-pronoun constructions.

With quite an extensive repertoire of constructions in EP that the speaker can employ to impersonalise, and admitting the principle of non-synonymy in language, the question arises as to how the above constructions relate to each other.

Discourse factors aside, the variation can be explained conceptually insofar as each construction evokes a different conceptualisation of the event, based on the construal operations activated in each case (Afonso 2008). Construal is related to how the speaker conceptualises the world: a particular situation can be described in various ways, depending on the perspective taken by the speaker. The alternatives constitute according to Langacker (1987: 110–111) a difference in imagery that is, they “embody substantially different images (and hence are semantically distinct) which are enabled linguistically by the array of expression possibilities”.

I will show on the one hand which construal operations are involved in each individual construction. As an example, consider the anticausative and desubjective *se* constructions. In each case more than one construal operation is activated and comparatively, they evoke different images on the same event. In the anticausative *se* construction (1) the focus of attention is the process and change of state of the participant, and force-dynamically there is no transmission of force. There is also a metonymic mapping involved (ACTION for PROCESS). The desubjective *se* construction (2), on the other hand, evokes a different image; in terms of perspective, the vantage point is at the onset although the instigator is non-specific regarding the qualitative scalar adjustment construal operation, and transmission of force is present.

(1) Portanto foi assim que a questão **se** foi **resolvendo**
hence be.PAST.3sg this_way that the question MM be.PAST.AUX.3sg resolve.GER
 ‘Hence, it was this way that the question was getting resolved’

(2) **Vendia-** **se** muito a crédito, nesse tempo
sell.IMP.F.3sg-IMP very_much on credit at_that time
 ‘One sold frequently on credit, at the time’

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Filling the lexical gap: A longitudinal study of L1- and L2-based lexical gap-filling mechanisms in foreign language writing

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This study intends to find out the patterns of gap-filling behaviour in vocabulary production across grades. When mismatches arise between learners’ communicative needs and the lexical tools available, they have to resort to different mechanisms to cover that lexical gap and compensate for the breakdown due to insufficient competence (cf. Poullisse 1993, Dewaele 1998, Rababah 2002, González Álvarez 2004, Celaya 2006). In the present paper, we set out to study the ways in which learners deal with the difficulties they encounter during the course of communication when their lexical resources are inadequate. The native language and the already existing lexical resources of the target language serve as sources for those lexical gap-filling mechanisms. More specifically, our research questions are:

1. Are L1-based mechanisms more frequent than L2- based mechanisms to fill the lexical gaps of 4th graders when writing in the foreign language?
2. Are L1-based mechanisms more frequent than L2- based mechanisms to fill the lexical gaps of 8th graders when writing in the foreign language?
3. Are there differences across grades and proficiency levels concerning L1- and L2-based mechanisms to fill lexical gaps when writing in the foreign language?

The writings of 203 EFL learners are followed over a five-year period and scrutinized for L1 and L2-based mechanisms of lexical gap-filling with two measuring moments along their language acquisition process. First, data were collected when learners were in 4th grade of primary education and had received around 419 hours of instruction in English. Four years later, when learners were in grade 8 and after 839 hours of instruction, we proceeded to collect our second data set. We identified three types of mechanisms based on the L1, namely borrowing, foreignizing, and calque, and other four types based on the L2: formal approximation, semantic approximation, use of all purpose words and circumlocution (cf. Rababah 2002). Results revealed that learners at different grades follow different mechanisms to fill their lexical gaps in written production with a remarkable decline of general L1-based influence at the second measuring time and a slight increase of general L2-based resources. Secondly, L2 proficiency interrelates with L1 and L2 influence in different ways depending on the specific mechanism used, so that some mechanisms which are frequent at 4th grade decrease their presence, basically borrowing, and some other tend to increase considerably, basically formal and semantic approximation. This result is in line with previous research findings, L1 influence in writing reduces as learners’ proficiency increases, but it is pervasive all through the lexical acquisition process (Celaya and Torras 2001, Celaya 1989).

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On the effects of global languages of science on local practices of 'doing science'

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The spread of English as the lingua franca of the information age is viewed as the linguistic counterpart to the process of neo-liberal, corporate or economic globalization and the accompanying crises this entails (Author 2003). The multitude of legal, commercial and socioeconomic changes are leading to observable environmental degradation and ecological disasters (Author 2008).

Despite the liberationist claims in favour of world languages as neutral channels of information dissemination, the internationalizing context of culture in which (non L1) English-users are increasingly involved is far from neutral and certainly not 'universal'. Under the banner of English as an auxiliary international language to 'ease' commerce and even academic and educational 'mobility', millions of individuals are being 'channelled' into the process of 'englishization'. The repercussions for European scientific and scholarly traditions, conventions and cultural models of research are seldom made explicit. (See Gnutzmann's study of German academics and their attitude to using English (2006) and Guardiano et al's study of Italian academics (2007).

While, linguistically, English as a lingua franca appears to have partially disembedded itself from English-speaking countries, the tie-in with corporate globalization entails the 'integration' of local practices of 'doing science and scholarship' (Carli and Ammon 2007) which in turn leads to linguistic inequality, such as domain loss and the externalization of both personal and social costs (Gazzola and Grin 2007).

The inevitability discourse of globalization (Pearce n.d.) serves as a partial analytical background for this discussion. It is claimed that the notion of the 'inevitability' has begun to colonize the discourse about English as a lingua franca and intercultural communication.

The paper sets to interrogate how far intercultural scientific and scholarly communication may be being largely replaced by supracultural communication. The latter is morphing into a new-world overarching supraculture; whether the resultant monolingual monoculture is desirable remains debatable. Especially in the sphere of written work for publication by scholars and scientists the adoption of Anglo-American interaction norms is setting limits to interculturality.

The related issue of how close the link is between the use of English at non-English-speaking universities and corporate globalization (Ehlich 2005) is addressed. The implications of engaging in English-medium research and teaching for non-English speakers are theorized. Both the role of englishization and organizations like the OECD in furthering marketization processes in higher education are analyzed. Where once other national languages dominated, the increasing use of English is a powerful lever affecting these socio-economic processes.

How academics are coping with the situation is investigated. The detrimental effects for various national science languages are reviewed. Lévy-Leblond (1996) emphasizes the fact that an essential part of scientific discourse takes place in and through the mother tongue of the scientist(s). Mocikat (n.d.) shows how doing science relies on language: "Das kreative Denken, welches den entscheidenden Schritt zur Auffindung einer Hypothese tut, ist muttersprachlich verwurzelt." Canagarajah (2002) documents the consequences for academic scientists and scholars wanting to get published in reputable (aka English-speaking) academic journals (see also Hamel 2007).

A critical evaluation and theorization of this state of affairs is attempted.

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***E os da banda d'alá son máis estranxeiros ca os de Madrí?** Comparative study of Galician and Portuguese designations for the semantic field of cattle**

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Esta comunicação apresenta um projecto, iniciado recentemente, que tem como objectivo a representação conjunta, sob um foco contrastivo, das designações existentes em território galego e português para determinados campos semânticos. O trabalho em conjunto com os materiais destas duas ramificações do diasistema linguístico galego-português permitirá analisar a distribuição das áreas lexicais de Norte a Sul da Península Ibérica, sem interrupções, com vista a poder compreender a circulação das palavras, a sua repartição no decorrer do tempo, a vitalidade de determinados mecanismos de formação, etc.

O material de partida para este trabalho serão as designações recolhidas para o *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico de Portugal e da Galiza* (ALEPG) e o *Atlas Lingüístico Galego* (ALGa). A primeira das obras assinaladas conta com um questionário de cerca de 2000 perguntas, ligadas maioritariamente a léxico vinculado às tecnologias tradicionais e a actividade agropecuária; a sua rede conta com 212 pontos de inquérito, dos quais 12 estão situados em território espanhol limítrofe com Portugal. O ALGa conta com 167 pontos, distribuídos por todo o território linguístico galego (152 dentro da Galiza e 15 para o *galego exterior*), com um questionário de 2711 perguntas. Com esta finalidade comparativa, está-se elaborando uma listagem que recolhe as questões coincidentes em ambos os dois atlas, que se estima superem o milhar de itens, especialmente lexicais.

Porém, não nos limitaremos ao material do ALGa e do ALEPG, mas serão também invocados dados procedentes de glossários e informação lexicográfica existente em diferentes *corpora* e dicionários das duas línguas. Do mesmo modo, o trabalho não se limitará apenas à simples exposição e cartografia das formas, mas oferecer-se-á um comentário geolinguístico – com especial atenção para a distribuição dos diferentes tipos designativos nas zonas de fronteira e à visibilidade das diferentes áreas lexicais existentes – e notas etimológicas e de história da palavra referidas às principais respostas existentes para os conceitos estudados.

De entre todos os conceitos disponíveis para este estudo contrastivo, que se analisarão em sucessivas fases, nesta comunicação apresentaremos uma selecção de conceitos referidos ao campo semântico da vaca, um animal de grande importância sociocultural –mesmo totémico- nesses dois países.

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From instrument to manner to tense/ aspect: a diachronic scenario from Adyghe

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In Adyghe (West Circassian) there is a peculiar biclausal construction where the dependent predicate is marked by prefix *zere-* on a par with the general adverbial suffix *-ew*. The interpretation of this construction depends on the telicity of the predicate such marked. With atelic predicates, this construction denotes simultaneity of events (1), while with telic predicates it signals immediate succession of events (2).

- (1) *č'ale-r zere-səmaž-ew školə-m k_wa-ke.*
 boy-ABS ZERE-ill-CNV school-OBL go-PST
 'The boy went to school while still being ill || *... as soon as he became ill.'
- (2) *šak_we-m pšaše-r š_wə zer-jə-λeg_w-ew qəš'a-Ɂ.*
 hunter-OBL girl-ABS good ZERE-3SG.A-see-CNV marry-PST
 'The hunter married the girl as soon as he fell in love with her || *still being in love.'

Some predicates independently characterisable as allowing both telic and atelic readings allow for both kinds of interpretation of the *zere-...-ew* construction, the choice being dependent on broader context (3).

- (3) a. *qə-zer-ješ'x-ew sabəjə-xe-r žeg_wə-š'tə-ke-x.*
 DIR-ZERE-rain-CNV child-PL-ABS play-AUX-PST-PL
 'While it was raining, the children still were playing.'
- b. *qə-zer-ješ'x-ew čəʔetake χ_wə-ke*
 DIR-ZERE-rain-CNV coolness become-PST
 'Just as it started raining, it became cooler.'

Our study focuses on diachronic sources of the construction exemplified in examples (1)–(3). While the diachronic scenario we propose may be of interest from the point of view of typology of syntactic change and grammaticalization theory, it also contributes to the better understanding of the grammatical system of Adyghe, since the prefix *zere-* is highly polyfunctional, and so it is tempting to try to figure out possible systematic relations between its different uses.

First of all, the temporal construction in (1)–(3) bears striking formal resemblance to a comparative construction, which employs identical marking on the subordinate predicate:

- (4) a. *blek_wežə-r zer-a-wəpč'eta-Ɂ-ew š_we š_w-a-wəpč'ete-n.*
 DEM dragon-ABS ZERE-3PL.A-chop-PST-ADV 2PL 2PL.ABS-3PL.A-chop-POT
 'As that dragon has been hacked to pieces, they will hack you all, too'.

We propose that the temporal *zere*-construction is derived from the comparative *zere*-construction by a fairly common semantic shift from reference to Manner to reference to Time. While (4) states that the way the subordinate situation takes place is similar to the way the matrix situation takes place, so (1)–(3) state that the temporal interval during which the subordinate situation or its poststate (in case of telic predicates) takes place is overlapping with the one during which the matrix situation takes place.

The comparative *zere*-construction, involving reference to Manner, can be shown to descend from relativisations of Instrument, *ze-* being the general relativisation marker and *rethe* preverb introducing instruments. We can therefore sketch the following path of semantic development of *zere*-constructions:

(5) Instrument > Manner > Temporal Location

Adyghe also possesses an intriguing monoclausal resultative construction also involving the prefix *zere-*, which shares a number of properties with other *zere*-constructions. Its place in the above-sketched scenario is somewhat disputable, and several options are possible.

On Phonological Intelligibility, Comprehensibility and Interpretability across Cultures: Interaction between Non-Native Speakers of English

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Until quite recently, studies on English language teaching and communication focused almost exclusively on getting as close as possible to the native speakers' model, on the one hand, and on mutual understanding between non-native and native users, on the other (see Bamgbose 1998). In terms of pronunciation, this meant an attempt to reproduce a native accent or dialect, mainly RP and GA, and to understand those and other native varieties. However, in the 1990s scholars began to be aware of the use of English as an international or global language, that is, as *lingua franca*. They noticed an increasing number of users of English were non-native speakers and that most of the English spoken and written daily is produced by non-native speakers. This meant, as James (2000: 4) claims, "a serious reassessment of some of the more macro-level categorisations" in English. Amongst others, non-native/native interactions were then given the same importance as other types of communicative interaction. Thus, Kachru (1992) identified and classified 'the' users in terms of a model consisting in three concentric circles representing the 'world Englishes': the 'inner circle', the 'outer circle' and the 'expanding circle'.

Considering this 'new' approach, we explore the degree of understanding between Spanish and other users of English belonging to the 'expanding circle'. Our study consists in analysing the intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability (understood as Smith and Nelson 1985, and Smith 1992) in oral productions between Spanish users of English and speakers of English from different nationalities (Chinese, Japanese, Belgian, French, Russian, Romanian, Croatian, German and Italian). More specifically, we will examine: 1. the degree of and problems in word and utterance recognition between non-native speakers; 2. the conveying of word and utterance meaning in non-native users; 3. the grasping of the speakers' intention in non-accurate utterances by Spanish listeners; 4. whether the greater the differences between the native speakers' mother tongues means also more difficulty in understanding and less intelligibility; 5. whether the degree of acquaintance with the other speakers' native language is directly proportional to the degree of understanding, comprehensibility, interpretability and intelligibility, despite dissimilarities between languages; 6. whether problems of intelligibility are caused by segmental mispronunciations or suprasegmental inaccuracy in relation to the (native speaker) model; 7. what type of either segmental or suprasegmental 'phonemes' caused more difficulties for effective communication between users of English as a *lingua franca*. Furthermore, this study allows us to pay attention to some of the seven areas in which, according to Jenkins (2000), it is essential to eliminate error in learners' pronunciation (vowel quantity, consonant confluences, phonetic realisations, consonant cluster simplification, prominence and weak forms, tone groups, nuclear/contrastive stress). For these purposes, we provide Spanish users of English with oral productions by non-native speakers of English of nationalities other than Spanish and by means of an interview the questions above are analysed. We conclude that it is necessary to develop both speakers and listeners 'accommodative processes' (Jenkins 2000) facilitating mutual intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability among users of English from different nationalities and cultures.

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The PATH schema in spatial and non spatial metaphors

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Our conceptual world is grounded in our kinesthetic experience of moving our bodies through space. When expressing the motion of our bodies linguistically, we tend to resort to the PATH schema. The present paper, reporting on a study that is based on a journalistic corpus composed of six motion verbs (*go/come, fall/rise, run/move*), aims at focusing on the seemingly various events underlain by the PATH schema.

This FROM-TO schema can be manifested to depict nonveridical phenomena – especially forms of motion – both as they are expressed linguistically and as they are perceived visually. The framework posited here covers the linguistic instances combining fictive motion with factive stationariness. The demonstrations of constructional fictive motion will rely on linguistic forms, with real-motion referents such as motion verbs like *go*. The cognitive representation of this nonveridical phenomenon is due to the “overlapping systems” model of cognitive organization. This model sees partial similarities and differences of the cognitive systems : language and visual perception. Fictive motion in language encompasses a number of distinct categories which display various kinds of paths : they will be minutely compared to each other.

The ratio of occurrences underlain by the PATH schema will also be examined on the basis of the syntactic arrangement that follows the motion verbs of the corpus. Those requiring to be followed by prepositions, nominal or adjectival units do not display the same spatial (or nonspatial) paths as the motion verbs that do not need to be followed by any lexical units. The syntactic arrangement following the verbs will contribute to distinguishing the occurrences underlain by the PATH schema from those highlighting the notion of movement only. Instances whose semantic meaning neither display the notion of path nor that of movement emphasize the deletion of the theme of movement. The instances analysed will reveal verbal occurrences depicting motion, related to the striking absence of any physical idea of movement.

The present study on factive paths will be extended to non-spatial senses when the PATH schema applies to activities which are conceptualised as movable elements. Attention will be paid to the abstract paths that we tend to visualize interiorly. They allow us to perform high-order reasoning, and hence to mentally conceptualize the information we find out in newspapers. The binary process gaze/movement will also be highlighted, as it corresponds to the correlation of our visual focusing ability and our grasping the meaning of a topic.

When reporting processes or actions linguistically, one tends to refer to the human body as moving through abstract paths. But the mere concept of motion must be questioned.

Is there a correlation in language between motion, as conceptualised through the perception of movable images engendered by any effective movement in space, and motion, as experienced through our internal kinesthetic experience ? This examination will tackle the issue of English-speaking people’s interpretation of kinesthetic experience, and will also raise the question of the Western vision of the body.

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Selection in Grammaticalization Processes

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Processes of grammaticalization often are presented as smooth developments whereby a given autonomous lexical element gradually develops grammatical value and eventually becomes a full-fledged grammatical element, going through stages such as generalization, decategorialization, semantic bleaching, divergence, and so forth. Yet when we examine the actual data tracing a process of grammaticalization, we often notice that the process is not as smooth as studies may suggest. A complex aspect that has received relatively little attention, for example, is the selection of the element that is going to be the grammatical marker. At some stage in a grammaticalization process we find a variety of elements that are potential morphological markers. The Latin noun *mente*, for example, fore-runner of the quasi Pan-Romance adverbial suffix *-ment(e)*, was one variety among many alternatives (e.g. *timida mente* 'timidly'). In Latin several nouns combined with a preceding adjective to convey adverbial value, cf. *pede* 'foot', *ore* 'mouth', *animo* 'spirit', *opere*, *modo* 'way', and so forth (e.g. *libero ore loqui* 'to speak with frankness' or *aequo animo* 'calmly'). The linguist has to account for the selection of *mente* over its alternatives (specialization). This task is the more delicate because in this specific instance adjective + *mente* constructions were relatively late and predominantly had lexical value. In fact, several of *mente*'s alternatives up to the 4th century A.D. were more common and had predominantly adverbial value.

In this paper I will discuss a number of grammaticalization processes in Latin/Romance, focusing on the selection of the grammatical element to be. I will examine the development of each prevailing element and its alternatives, using data from Latin and Romance texts and from data-oriented analyses of the grammaticalization processes in question. The aim of my paper is to determine why a given element eventually became the grammatical marker: why did *mente*, for example, become the adverbial suffix, and not *animo*, why did the Latin demonstrative *ille* become a definite article and not its alternatives *iste* or *ipse*, or why did *cantare habeo* and *habeo cantatum* survive in Romance as future and compound tenses respectively and not *habeo cantare* and *cantatum habeo*?

National Languages vs. Minority Languages in Romance-Speaking Countries: Examples of Antagonism and Symbiosis

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Starting from the second half of the 20th century the representatives of a number of non-national languages in Spain, Italy and to a smaller degree in France (cf. Catalan, Galician, Friulian, Sardinian, Corsican, Catalan in Languedoc-Roussillon etc.) launched a process of linguistic standardization which lasts until now. The final aim of the efforts is the insertion of the correspondent minority language in all the sectors of the public life and its equal status with the national language. The current results of the linguistic *Ausbau* differ from country to country and from region to region.

The paper aims to analyze the attitudes towards the national languages in the process of standardization from a comparative point of view. Two controversial tendencies – on the one hand the desire to emphasize the distance between the two languages and on the other hand the necessity to follow a well-known linguistic model – can be revealed in various fields of linguistics. To take orthography as an example, the institution *Scuele libare furlane* proposed in 1957 the obviously non-Romance letters <č>, <š> and <ž> for the Friulian writing system. However the authors of the 1996 officially recognized orthography opted for italianisation. At the level of lexicology the revival of archaisms in order to substitute lexical loans from the national language can be considered another example of linguistic antagonism.

The preliminary analysis of various orthographical, morphological, syntactical and lexicological examples will be followed by a historical overview of the linguistic nationalism. Specific situations, e.g. antagonism between two non-national languages as in the case of Valencian towards Catalan or the existence of an alternative norm based on the national language of another state as in the case of the Galician *reintegracionista*-movement will be considered as well.

Finally special attention will be paid to the position of the Romance minority languages in the age of globalization. Whereas even the world languages like Spanish, French or Italian feel themselves endangered by English, some smaller idioms seem to be improving their status. The thesis of a direct interdependence between the linguistic expansion and the growing political autonomy will be critically verified.

A phonotactic correlation and semantic link between strong verbs and separable prefixes in modern German

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In Beedham (2005:107-133) it was shown that the Vowel + Consonant sequences (VCs) and Consonant + Vowel sequences (CVs) of the German strong verbs, e.g. the VC [INk] and the CV [trI] of *trinken* 'to drink', tend not to occur on structurally comparable weak verbs, and thus serve as phonotactic markers of strong conjugation. Furthermore, it was shown that the VCs of the German strong verbs - though not the CVs - now seen to be characteristic of the strong verbs, have a higher than expected rate of occurrence on monosyllabic function words, e.g. pronouns and prepositions. A preliminary look at two grammars also revealed that in Helbig and Buscha (1989:223) 18 out of the 20 examples (= 90%) of separable prefixes they give contain a strong verb VC, and in the *Duden-Grammatik* (2006:705-710) 43 of the 59 (= 73%) separable prefixes they give contain a strong verb VC. An example is the separable prefix *an-* of the verb *ankommen* 'to arrive'. It was decided to investigate further, on the basis of a larger set of data. A study is described in which the prefixes of all the verbs listed in Mater 1970 – 11,356 verbs – were examined to see how many of them contained a strong verb VC. The inseparable verbs did not reveal a significant correlation. But for the 7,290 separable verbs 74% of the prefixes contained a strong verb VC, and 79% of the verbs listed had a prefix with a strong verb VC. This is considered to be a higher than expected proportion, and to indicate a formal link between strong verbs and separable prefixes. In the course of the study it was found that the correlation applies to polysyllabic prefixes as well as monosyllabic ones, whereby the stressed syllable of a polysyllabic prefix was taken as the basis for the search for strong verb VCs, e.g. in the prefix *weiter* (as in *weitergehen* 'to go on') the syllable *weit-*.

Given the indivisibility of the linguistic sign, i.e. the inseparability of form and meaning, the next step is to ask what meaning the strong verbs might have, and what meaning might be suggested by the link with separable prefixes. It is often said in German grammars that a prefix adds a perfective or telic nuance to a verb: see e.g. *Duden-Grammatik* (2006:415). It is therefore suggested that perfectivity might be the meaning carried by the strong verbs. This would fit in with the 'effective' meaning proposed by Quirk 1970 for a subset of the English strong verbs, and with the resultative meaning proposed by Tobin 1993 for the English strong verbs. However, it is only a tentative suggestion as yet, since formal proof of perfectivity in German separable verbs is still needed, as well as other indications that the strong verbs might be perfective, i.e. indications other than the link with prefixes.

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Pragmatic strengthening in local varieties of Polish – The Eastern Polish preposition *dla* 'for' as a case of "linguistic nest-building"

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Local varieties along the eastern Polish border, genetically classified as Polish in dialectological research, are marked for their extensive use of the prepositional element *dla* 'for' in dative contexts, e.g. *mam xwała Bogu kačuk'i uo, dvadz'es'c'a ešy, [...] tu moža dla synov ei dam* 'I have ducks, thank God, twenty three, here perhaps I give them **for the sons**'. The occurrence is perceived as an uninhibited and rather chaotic expansion. However, an areal perspective that includes the neighbouring varieties Byelorussian and Russian, reveals a fairly systematic distribution of dative and prepositional markers. This study, based on a corpus of about 2500 Eastern Polish dialect utterances from speakers of the older generation with dative- and/or prepositional phrases, tries to capture this regularity in a functional framework.

While some dative phrases in genetically Polish varieties can be classified as the result of contact-induced change, *dla*-phrases seem to be an Eastern Polish (in an areal sense) local innovation with no parallel outside the area. This typological markedness is mirrored by a usage-based markedness of the *dla*-constructions within the areally defined system. In contrast to structural convergence of the two markers one can observe a functional differentiation in pragmatic terms. Whereas datives seem to be pragmatically neutral, *dla*-phrases prefer contexts and cotexts whose common denominator

expresses the speakers's higher degree of familiarity towards the referent talked about: the extension of the group of *dla*-lexemes comprises about all referents constitutive for the speaker's familiar small-scale micro-society; in addition, *dla* prefers contexts where it can mark complete sets of group members rather than individual referents (i.e., when *dla mamy* 'for mama' occurs, it seems to open a slot for *dla taty* 'for papa' as well); it is equally licensed in contexts of "empathetic deixis" (Lyons 1977). In texts, *dla* seems to prefer to occur in groups, marking whole text fragments rather than isolated sentences or constituents, thus forming "*dla*-nests" within the text; within these fragments it prefers text passages where the given lexeme is not subject to substitution, thus marking off the fragment through special cohesive means (Halliday & Hasan 1976). This set of data is interpreted as a symptom of a pragmatically strengthened (cf. Traugott 1988) use of the preposition as a stage within its grammaticalisation process. Later stages reveal a further stage leading either to the complete substitution of dative phrases or at least a higher degree of uncertainty as to the correct choice between the two markers in the speech of younger speakers. With its focus on older speakers the study captures an observable transitional stage within the grammaticalisation process.

The common denominator of all the *dla*-friendly features is subsumed under the term "domestic" (according to Tatlock 1921). The interplay of features within this fairly heterogeneous group finds a parallel in other, independent speech situations marked for a high degree of intimacy between speech participants, e.g. in child-directed speech. The question arises if *dla* can signal the feature domesticity on its own or if it is a mere co-signal of other well-established "nest-markers".

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The Diasporic Dimension of Liturgical Language Policy: The Case of Russian Orthodoxy

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Missionary religions like Christianity, Islam, and Buddhism are transnational phenomena with global aspirations. At the same time, they are always embedded in local contexts, giving rise to striking diversity (Juergensmeyer 2003). The tension between the global and the local is evident in their sacred languages as well. To take one example: Pali, the sacred language of Theravada Buddhism, is written using Thai, Burmese and other national scripts. For its part, Church Slavonic has long been pulled between local and the trans-local discourses and practices. Originally developed by Byzantine missionaries for converting the unlettered Slavs, it would become the 'Latin' of the East, a literary and liturgical language linking Russians, Bulgarians, Serbians, and others in a classical religious community (cf. Anderson 1991). Over time the language underwent local modification, giving rise to a Russian recension, a Serbian recension, etc. This, in turn, generated reform movements aimed at standardizing the regional varieties.

This paper attempts to chart another aspect of the global-local relationship: namely, the 'flow' of liturgical language practices and discourses between Russia and America. In the early twentieth century, there was a debate within the Russian Orthodox Church over whether Church Slavonic should be replaced by Russian in the liturgy. After 1917 the debate was but brought to America. The Bolshevik Revolution spawned a number of religiously and politically conservative émigré churches that mixed and overlapped, often uneasily, with existing Orthodox congregations. A variety of language policies were pursued, with some groups maintaining Church Slavonic and others switching to English (Meyendorff 1996). After the demise of the Soviet Union, the old debate between Church Slavonic and Russian was reopened (cf. Blommaert 1999) and the diasporic positions were exported *back* to Russia. The post-Soviet reformers who wished to vernacularize the liturgy found a measure of support in the Orthodox Church in America (OCA). Recently the Moscow Patriarchate reconciled with the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR), a conservative group headquartered in Jordanville, New York, which has maintained Church Slavonic in the liturgy. The move was facilitated by Putin himself, who is said to believe that a global superpower like Russia deserves a global 'superchurch.' The traditionalist credentials of the ROCOR were strengthened in some quarters by its opposition to the 'accommodationist' posture of the Moscow Patriarchate to Soviet power. This trans-Atlantic connection may bolster traditionalist tendencies in the Moscow Patriarchate. The case study demonstrates how liturgical language practices and discourses can move to the diaspora, where they are transformed at the local level, and then act back on the point of origin.

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Comments on the History of Portuguese Infinitive and Participle Structures

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The aim of this lecture is to show that during the development of the Portuguese verbal structures constituted by an auxiliary + participle and auxiliary + infinitive type *tinha escrito* and *devo escrever* the very same syntactic change took place, the result of which is the higher or lower level of grammaticalization of the mentioned structures. The two types of structures have rather been examined independently and separately; thus the analysis of both structures containing the same syntactical parameters within the same texts can be considered a novelty.

The statement phrased above is based on the examination of two such parameters according to which a significant difference can be established between the medieval and the latter-day variations of the Portuguese language.

The first of the mentioned syntactical parameters we analyze during the course of this research is the placement of the uninflected main verb compared to the auxiliary of such verbal compounds. Medieval texts contain structures with a main verb in front of or behind an auxiliary verb like *escrito tinha* or *tinha escrito* and *escrever devo* or *devo escrever*, while nowadays only the postposition of the main verb is considered to be normal. The other parameter is connected to the immediate juxtaposition of auxiliary and main verb forms; the analysis of several texts proves that while the wedging of different components between the two verbs was possible in medieval language variations today it is not or is a phenomenon marginally acceptable, which probably refers to the grammaticalization of the structures.

We consider that in these structures the participle and the infinitive behave like complements governed by the inflected auxiliary. Up until medieval times, due to the existence of the V2 system, these complements could be positioned on either side of the verb. With the course of time and after the Middle Ages this system declined and thus the infinitive and the participle along with the other complements could only be placed to the right of the inflected verb.

This lecture illustrates the difference between the two language variations as well as the parallels of the two structures by presenting medieval and modern Portuguese examples borrowed from a corpus constituted by texts that represent different genres and periods of the history of the Portuguese language. Thus it becomes possible for us to compare the evolution of the statistical proportion of old and modern structures and the chronological extension of the change can be seen. Finally, we endeavor to situate the case of Portuguese comparing the evolution of this language with that of the other Iberoromance languages, Spanish and Catalan.

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A Simpler Syntax for Elliptical Constructions: an Analysis of Gapping in Romanian

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Non-constituent coordination phenomena (e.g. Right Node Raising, Argument Cluster Coordination and Gapping) remain a challenge for both derivational and non derivational framework relying on phrase structure, the most widespread view being that apparent 'non-constituents' involve some 'elliptical' process (conceived either as a full (syntactic) reconstruction, i.e. coordination taking place between two full sentences – cf. Hartmann 2000, Merchant 2004, Chaves 2005 –, or as a 'semantic' reconstruction with syntactic parallelism, i.e. coordination of a full sentence with a fragment – cf. Ginzburg & Sag 2000, Culicover & Jackendoff 2005).

The basic issue raised by gapping constructions such as (1) (where a complete sentence is coordinated with some elliptical one missing its head verb and possibly some other dependents) is the one raised by ellipsis in general, namely to determine at which level the missing material is to be reconstructed.

- (1) a. [John ate an apple] and [[Mary] [a banana]].
 b. [Jim flew to London on Sunday] and [[Mary] [to Paris] [on Thursday]].

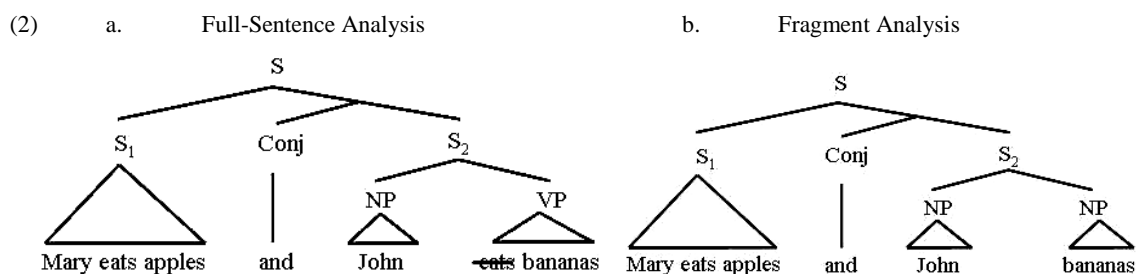
c. [John tried to begin to write a poem] and [[Bill] [a song]].

d. [John will bring some flowers to Mary] and [either [[Bill] [some wine]] or [[Jane] [some whiskey]]].

Focusing on some important divergences between elliptical constructions and their sentential correlates (mainly, facts showing that the gapped clause is not a finite sentence and the missing material is not a literal copy of the source), we provide new data from Romanian against approaches that rely on syntactic reconstruction with deletion (or some null proform) in the ellipsis site, as schematized in (2a).

We then show some problems with accepting parallelism as a strong constraint: the constituents of the fragment may vary from their antecedents, according to grammatical category, case, number of valents or word order, but every constituent of the cluster must obey subcategorization rules imposed by missing predicate. We need a ‘semantic’ parallelism (i.e. Kontrast relation between constituents of the full sentence and elements in the cluster, cf. Hartmann 2000), but not necessarily syntactic symmetry.

We argue for an analysis of the gapped conjunct as a verbless fragment, showing how a fragment-based analysis such as (2b), with semantic reconstruction, can be handled formally within a construction-based HPSG framework: (i) fragments as a subtype of non-headed phrase with [HEAD fragment] feature and (ii) gapped phrases as clausal fragments with a substitution defined on the DOM feature. Finally, constructional properties of non-constituent coordination phenomena are integrated in a three-dimensional hierarchy of phrasal types, defined in relation with headedness, content-type and context-dependency.



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On the ‘affix’ hypothesis and the pragmatic status of doubled subjects in French: a corpus-based study

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In Romance languages that do not have subject clitic pronouns (Italian, Catalan) only non-subject arguments are resumed by a clitic when fronted outside the clause, with the fronted argument assuming the status of ‘topic’. Because French *has* subject clitics (SCs), it should a priori be trivial to detect when a subject has been fronted/topicalized. However, a controversy exists in the literature. Some claim that in colloquial Spoken French (SF), SCs do not occupy an argument slot, but rather have become inflectional affixes (Auger 1994, Zribi-Hertz 1994, Fonseca-Greber and Waugh 2003, Culbertson and Legendre 2008). This would suggest that subjects doubled by an SC are not necessary fronted, rather they trigger the appearance of an SC parallel to the triggering of other agreement morphology on the verb. The problem with these proposals is that not *all* subjects are doubled. Culbertson (2009), adopting Suñer’s (1988, 1992) Matching Hypothesis, proposes that doubling depends on the matching of features between SC and lexical subject, and that SCs in French are specified for the features [+definite,+specific]. She correctly predicts lack of doubling with indefinites/quantifiers and with subject interrogative *qui*.

We analyze data from a corpus of spontaneous SF (*Corpus of Interactional Data CID*, Bertrand et al. 2008) to support the ‘affix’ hypothesis and, in particular, Culbertson’s version of it. First, we confirm with new data that indefinites and quantifiers are *not* doubled. Second, we provide a new type of empirical evidence from a corpus which has properties making it ideal for the investigation of the affix hypothesis — the CID corpus.

Proponents of the affix hypothesis typically claim that SCs have become affixes as a result of morphological change. Affix-like behavior is said to be more visible in more colloquial, less conservative varieties of SF. The CID corpus is precisely characterized by this register of speech, and provides us with information concerning the sociolinguistic background and

degree of familiarity between speakers. This makes it possible to observe whether these factors play a role in the frequency of subject doubling. We find indeed that in the dialogues we analyzed, the rate of doubled subjects increases depending on the familiarity of speakers and of the conversation.

Furthermore, the corpus gives us the possibility of observing sentences in their real context of occurrence, and therefore accounting for the pragmatic status of subjects. That is important because, if SCs are affixes, they are no longer markers of a dislocation and consequently, of topichood. The data show indeed that non-doubled subjects are largely present in sentences with individual-level predicates, namely sentences whose subject has been claimed to be inherently topicalized (Erteshik-Shir 1997, De Cat 2007). This is the opposite of what would be expected if SCs marked a dislocation. Furthermore, *contrastive* (non-focused) non-doubled subjects are found in the corpus. Assuming that contrast implies that the subject is not part of broad-focus, the data again verify the independence between doubling and topichood.

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Basque and Spanish in a 19th Century City: San Sebastián

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San Sebastián, located in the middle of the Spanish Basque Country, is nowadays a dominant Spanish-speaking city. But in the first half of the 19th century it had an overwhelming majority of Basque-speaking inhabitants, and so had its large surrounding *hinterland* (Camino y Orella 1780, Velasco 1879, Gorósabel 1899-1900, Murugarren 1987). San Sebastián was already the leading economic and cultural centre of Guipúzcoa and soon became its administrative capital. Therefore, despite the majoritary presence of Basque in this province and in its main city, the official civilian and religious life of San Sebastián was totally driven in Spanish. This meant that documents that ruled and organized this little urban society (10,000-15,000 people) were written and transmitted exclusively in this language. A diglossic coexistence between the local but well established Basque and the prestigious and world extended Spanish had apparently been stable through the previous centuries, with no significant changes (Ugartebeare & Madina s.d.). But a language shift took place between 1875 and 1925: at the time of Civil War (1936-1939) Spanish had already become the only spoken language for most of San Sebastián upper and middle class citizens.

The explanation for such an important change must begin with a detailed sketch of the exact sociolinguistic situation of 19th century San Sebastián, which is not, as far as we know, well described and understood. Two main points need to be investigated:

- a) First of all, apart from written usage, always in Spanish, what was the everyday spoken usage according to variables such as social class, occupation, age or sex group, communicative situation...?
- b) Once established the possible answer to this question, we need to define the effective status of both competing languages in 19th century San Sebastián. In order to deal with this complex scenario, we will have to discuss terms such as mother tongue, first or primary language, familiar language, bilingualism, semi bilingualism... and prove their explanatory adequacy in multilingual contexts. These descriptive labels and other related concepts will be taken into account in the frame of actual sociolinguistic perspectives (Fishman 1964, Seliger & Vago 1991, Montoya 1997).

We hope to contribute with this preliminary research to a better comprehension of this specific urban society in 19th century Spain that could help to describe similar situations and learn more about subsequent language shifts when occurred. We should not forget that this could have been the case of many cities of medium size not only in Spain (in Galicia and Valencia; see Montoya 1996) but also in other European countries (France, Netherlands, Finland...)

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Tense, Aktionsart, Aspect and the Portuguese Tense System

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The aim of this text is to present an analysis of four Portuguese tenses (Presente, Pretérito Perfeito Simples, Pretérito Imperfeito e Pretérito Mais-que-Perfeito do Indicativo) that accounts for their interpretation when associated with different aktionsart classes, in examples as these:

- 1 A Maria almoça no restaurante.
- 2 A Maria almoçava no restaurante.
- 3 A Maria almoçou no restaurante.
- 4 A Maria tinha almoçado no restaurante.
- 5 A Maria está doente (*durante uma semana).
- 6 A Maria estava doente (*durante uma semana).
- 7 A Maria esteve doente (durante uma semana).
- 8 A Maria tinha estado doente (durante uma semana).

According to Peres (1993), the Presente locates situations as overlapping the time of speech, whereas the Imperfeito presents them as overlapping a past Temporal Perspective Point that is established by the context. The Perfeito and the Mais-que-Perfeito locate situations in intervals that precede a given Temporal Perspective Point: in the case of the Perfeito, that point is the time of speech, and for Mais-que-perfeito, it is a contextually determined time in the past.

As a consequence, one can say that the Perfeito and the Mais-que-Perfeito locate situations as whole, including their boundaries, in an interval that precedes the relevant Temporal Perspective Point (cf. (3) and (7), (4) and (8)). In fact, the states it (7) and (8) are interpreted as bounded, supporting a description of Perfeito and Mais-que-Perfeito as tenses that locate bounded situations. On the contrary, the combination with the Presente and the Imperfeito makes the situations' boundaries irrelevant, since it is only stated that they hold at the given Temporal Perspective Point, irrespective of their beginning or end. These tenses can therefore locate atelic situations, by stating that they hold at the given Temporal Perspective Point (cf. (5) and (6)), but they cannot do the same with telic situations, since they are unable to locate their inherent final boundary. This accounts for the habitual reading usually received by sentences such as (1) and (2), since the event is interpreted as a habitual state, which is an atelic situation. In fact, even in sentences with atelic verbs, Presente and Imperfeito seem to be incompatible with the specification of the situations' external boundaries or exact duration (cf. (5) e (6), which leads me to describe them as locating only unbounded situations.

The analysis just sketched goes beyond a description of the difference between the Perfeito and the Imperfeito as an instance of the contrast between perfective and imperfective aspect (cf. Comrie 1976, Schwall 1991) and accounts for the parallel behaviour of the four mentioned tenses. Note also that this analysis differs from that of Swart (1998) for the French tenses *Imparfait* and *Parfait* as aspectually sensitive tense operators, the former locating only events and the latter only states. Since the combination of Perfeito and a state predicate is not an event with an intrinsic boundary, I chose to keep the concept of boundedness apart from the distinction between 'aktionsart' classes (cf. Declerck 1991 Depraetere 1995) and describe Perfeito and Imperfeito as locating bounded and unbounded situations, respectively.

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Managing foreign language acquisition in a bilingual community.

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Worldwide communication is possible nowadays using English as an international language or lingua franca. It is used in countries with different cultural backgrounds, a fact which affects in the use of communicative strategies. Authors who communicate in English sometimes cannot avoid the use of structures that are more common in their mother tongue (L1) therefore errors and variations due to the influence of L1 are common.

Furthermore, foreign language acquisition is more complicated when two languages are officially spoken. The linguistic status of three languages in contact is not the same, consequently ideological, linguistic and social factors could influence in language commandment. The objectives of this article were to find out if the strategies designed to support the use of three languages in Higher Education at Universidad Politécnica de Valencia were appropriate considering a pedagogical approach. Also, we wish to demonstrate that just learning global languages, i.e. English, can encourage some students to go abroad, but it causes a high percentage of students to consider local or national languages not important to develop professional skills. In this article, we contrasted English language and Spanish language acquisition as global languages with Catalan acquisition as a local language in the Universidad Politécnica de Valencia (Spain). We analysed the hours that students dedicated to learn a global language and contrasted the results with the number of graduates working abroad or in international companies.

As a result, we observed that students obtained communicative skills in a global language but on the contrary they did not obtain an adequate commandment in their local languages. University policies instigated the acquisition of the global language, reducing the subjects dedicated to improve local languages. As a consequence, students did not develop local language acquisition, but centred on English improvement. The most locally used language (Catalan) was spoken in an informal way of communication, the national language (Spanish) was considered relevant to study and communicate and the global language (English) was taught in small groups to students with international job perspectives, but few students took advantage of learning a global language.

English as a global language and simultaneous monoethnic childhood bilingualism

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English as a global language has become one of two languages that are acquired alongside with their native ones by children all over the world. This phenomenon is even more evident in monoethnic families where parents are non-native speakers of English, yet their children acquire English simultaneously with their native language.

Such situations of bilingual upbringing have been described in several works by the authors in different countries (Stephens 1952; Dimitrijevič 1965; Aidman 1994; 1999; Stefanik 1997; 1999; 2000; 2001, among others). The number of families where children acquire English has been increasing in Russia for the last twenty years (Nataljin & Natalijina 1989; Chirsheva 1992; 1996; 2000; 2004; 2007; 2008; Totjmjanina 1998; 2000; Moshnikova 2007).

The research question is to find out how English as a global language influences children's bilingual development. The questions to be answered in order to approach to the main one are: how children who are exposed to English, the language that is not native to any member of the family, use it in their everyday communication and how their attitudes to their native and non-native languages change over time. It is also important to find out at what age the children realize that their non-native language have the status of a global and what they feel about this fact. The reasons why their Russian parents choose English as one of the means of communication with their children from birth are also to be considered.

The cases of bilingual upbringing for this paper are eight children in six families living in Russian cities. All the children were brought up according to the principle "one parent – one language", i.e. one of the parents addressed their child only in Russian, the other – only in English. In five of these families parents spoke Russian to each other at their children's presence, in one family parents used the same languages they used to communicate with their children, i.e. mother spoke Russian and father spoke English.

The evidence for the study has been taken from the children's utterances about the English language and English-speaking countries at the age of four, six, eight, eleven, and fourteen. Besides, supporting are their parents' ideas about the importance of Russian-English simultaneous bilingualism for their children and for the whole family.

Though all parents in monoethnic families face a number of problems that include their non-native competence in English, non-balanced bilingual input, absence of English-speaking relatives, monolingual social activities, absence of bilingual education in Russia to develop bilingualism further, monoculturalism and some others, they are quite sure about positive outcomes of such bilingual upbringing. The children treat both their native and non-native languages as natural means of communication.

The fact that English as a non-native language has become the most frequent component of childhood simultaneous bilingualism and has been acquired in a natural way from birth strongly supports its status of a global language.

‘Eskimo’ words for ‘snow’ and Cherokee verbs for ‘wash’: Two case studies in the life of anthropological examples

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In this paper we consider two examples of misconceptions concerning American Indian languages in order to examine their dependence on the social context in which linguistics and social sciences are embedded. We focus on the familiar ‘Eskimo’ words for ‘snow’ and the less widely known case of the verbs related to ‘washing’ in Cherokee (Iroquoian). When Martin (1986) exposed the belief in the extraordinary plenitude of ‘Eskimo’ words for ‘snow’ as a linguistically unfounded prejudice, she believed that it would suffice to explain why this conviction is based on false premises and how the mistake originated. Contrary to her rational beliefs, however, this exposition of the genesis of the misconception did not bring about its immediate decay. Our aim is to demonstrate the reasons for the prevalence of the ‘Eskimo’ example and compare it with the history of the description of the Cherokee verbs.

Both ‘Eskimo’ languages and Cherokee are polysynthetic, as a result of which they express lexical and grammatical meanings in ways seemingly ‘exotic’ from the point of view of the speakers of European languages. The undifferentiated ‘Eskimo’ languages were first credited with having a number of unique words for ‘snow’ by Boas (1911), but the claim was popularised by Whorf (1940 [1956]). This lexical property was considered to constitute a strong support for the thesis of linguistic relativity. Like several other polysynthetic languages of North America, Cherokee possesses a system of classificatory verbs which classify an argument in S or O position, where the choice of a classificatory stem depends on inherent properties of the noun’s referent, i.e., shape, animacy or consistency. Examples of verbs related to ‘washing’, first cited in print by Pickering (1820), were used between the 1870s and the 1960s as evidence for the lack of abstract and generic terms in ‘primitive’ languages (Kilarski in press). This supposed deficiency was attributed to cognitive and cultural deficiencies among the speakers of ‘primitive’ languages, in particular the inability to abstract or generalize and their moral decadence.

We examine the ways in which the above examples were used in linguistics and social sciences, based upon a content analysis of a sample of studies in linguistics, sociology, cultural anthropology and philosophy. Historically speaking, the ‘Eskimo’ words for ‘snow’ have gained their popularity almost exactly at the same time when the Cherokee verbs for ‘wash’ lost their appeal. This shift was expressive of the newly fashionable belief in the inherent value of cross-cultural diversity. In our paper we compare the uses made of the Cherokee case by the proponents of the Western modernist ethnocentrism of the 19th and early 20th centuries with the ways in which the followers of the Western post-modern anti-ethnocentrism used the ‘Eskimo’ case in the second half of the 20th century. On the basis of the two examples we demonstrate that the genesis and eventual decay of linguistic examples is largely determined by their normative rightness rather than factual correctness.

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Diachronic Change and Verb Complementation: Testing the Unidirectionality Hypothesis.

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It has (recently) been suggested (Lehmann 1988; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Givón 2006) that clause linkage processes and in particular the development of complementation patterns can also be seen as a grammaticalization process, in that verb complements may be subject to a process of ‘decategorialization’ (in a way similar to the decategorialization of lexical items) when being integrated with a main clause. As such, verb complements may show a path of development “from a loose, paratactic concatenation via syntacticization into non-finite embedding” (Givón 1979: 214), whereby the non-finite shows a reduction in tense-aspect morphology [and] lack of subject agreement, may (at least for English) have become reduced to a *to*-infinitive or gerundive *-ing* clause, and thus shows more unified/bonded clause combining (cf. Hopper & Traugott 2003).

The purpose of this paper is to show that the unidirectional, diachronic path presumed by this grammaticalization hypothesis is not wholly unproblematic. To that effect, we investigate change and variation, from Middle English to Present-day English, in verb complementation patterns, i.e., the finite *that*-complement clause (*that*-CC) and the non-finite gerundive *-ing* clause (*-ing*-CC), with factive verbs such as *regret*, *admit*, *agree*, *resent*, *be sorry*. This set of verbs is particularly suited because over time, it shows a shift from a relatively higher proportion of finite complements to a higher proportion of non-finite complements, and as such is an excellent candidate to test the aforementioned hypothesis.

Our corpus-based analysis reveals that:

- (i) as well as through integration, verb complementation develops through expansion of a nominal slot (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2007, Heine 2008), whereby complements may expand, rather than reduce, to a structure very similar to a finite (compare, e.g., *Her friends all regret her not coming with her father and mother* with *Her friends all regret that she did not come with ...*).
- (ii) over time, the share of *-ing*-CC tokens vs. *that*-CC tokens increases; in light of the co-existence of *that*- and *-ing*-CCs, it is argued that this relative increase does not represent a path of gradually stronger integration of the complement clause into the matrix, encoded by a shift from a finite (looser) *that*-CC to a more bonded/decategorialized *-ing* pattern. Rather, it seems to point to *replacement* of one pattern by the other (for instance, because of semantic similarity between the patterns);
- (iii) at the same time, throughout the period investigated, *that*-CCs retain an important share of all complement tokens; they even develop new uses from LModE onwards (e.g., the metalinguistic uses as in *My lady and Miss Rachel regret[= regret to say] that they are engaged, Colonel, and beg to be excused...*]

The problems with the diachronic path ‘finite > non-finite’ that this study brings to light tie in with Joseph’s (1983) observations, who has pointed to the Balkan loss of the infinitive and its replacement by finite forms, and with Deutscher’s (2000) research on the development of sentential complementation in Akkadian, which is seen to take over the function of earlier non-finite infinitival complementation. Finally, this research appears to lend support to Fischer’s concerns regarding the (alleged) grammaticalization path from *that*-CCs to non-finite *to*-infinitives with verbs of volition (cf. Fischer 2007: 221).

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CORPORA USED

HC = Helsinki Corpus—CEECS = Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler—CEMET = Corpus of Early Modern English Texts—CLMETEV = Corpus of Late Modern English texts (extended version).—CB = Collins Cobuild Corpus

„Why do they all write 'tipo'? Is it cool?“ - Quotative markers in Russian

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In an unpublished Moscow dissertation of 1962 (Molotkov; quoted in the also unpublished dissertation of Bentele 1993) it has already been assumed, that the so-called „jako recitativum“ (яко) of Old Russian does not mark the beginning neither of direct nor of indirect speech but instead marks the beginning of a non literally but according to its meaning reproduced speech of a third person. Both dissertations remained unnoticed, seemingly because they are quite contradictory to the common opinion (also in Collins 2001), which states until today, that Old Russian's „jako recitativum“ is only the symptom of a transitory stage in the evolution of Slavic syntax which would yet not expose a clear distinction between direct and indirect speech.

On the base of statistic data Daiber 2007 has shown that „jako recitativum“ is a quotative marker, which signals the recipient that the speech of a third person will be reproduced typically: The quotative marker introduces direct speech in a form the narrated third person would have typically spoken in the given situation.

A similar function could be shown (Daiber 2009) for a relatively new quotative particle of Russian: *mol* (мол). This particle, etymologically a shortened verbal form of Proto-Slavic „*moliti* = to say“, for a long time was part only of the oral variety of Russian but entered the conceptual written language after 1990. The particle „*mol*“ is found in all texts from the 14th c. up to 1990 only around 400 times; after 1990 up to 2005 it shows up in newspapers, magazines and internet media over 2000 times. In other words: The quotative particle „*mol*“ made an impressive career from a particle, formerly restricted to pure oral language, to a particle which slowly becomes part of written conceptuality.

In the last years a new quotative particle in today's Russian shows up, namely „*tipo*“ (типо). „*Типо*“ seems to be the successor of „*mol*“, unlike the latter not being of verbal origin. Until now there is no investigation of it. Native speakers of Russian - cf. the title of the paper (the quotation is from forum 2005) - are not used to see it in written form.

We propose to do a corpus based research on the use of „*tipo*“ in contemporary Russian (not represented in Güldemann 2002), compare it to the use of „*mol*“ and „*jako*“, classify the particles according to the terms of Güldemann (2008) and analyze their mediality and prototypical meaning. Our theoretical goal is to analyze the communicative and cognitive reasons for the use of quotative particles.

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The referential spectrum of *on* and *a gente*: a corpus-based study within the framework of grammaticalization

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Our study aims at a bipartite contrastive analysis of the grammaticalization process of two indefinites: *on* and *a gente*. First, we will consider the differences between French *on* and Portuguese *a gente*. Secondly, we will examine the contemporary uses of *a gente* between two varieties of Portuguese, i.e. Brazilian and European Portuguese.

On and its Portuguese equivalent *a gente* distinguish themselves from other pronouns by their vast referential polysemy (e.g. Blanche-Benveniste 2003; dos Santos Lopes 2003; Flottum 2007; Narjoux 2002; Zilles 2005). Although the use of these indefinites is often dissuaded because of their so-called ambiguity, there are surprisingly few misunderstandings as to their referents, as though some implicit rules for their interpretation existed.

Their polysemous nature led to the typology established for both *on* and *a gente* in a prior morphosyntactic, semantic and discursive study. So far, *a gente* seems less receptive to semantic widening than its French equivalent, even though its referential range is growing.

In our opinion a differentiation should however be made between Brazilian and European Portuguese. Whereas in the latter *a gente* is commonly accepted as a substitute for *nós*, the other references are still regarded as peculiar. In the former, *a gente* seems to have been completely integrated in the pronominal system, enabling it to assume several personal references.

It is our hypothesis that the polysemy of *on* and *a gente* can be explained throughout the grammaticalization process (Wischer 2002; Hopper 1993). Both pronomina have known the same evolution from generic noun to pronoun (Haspelmath 1997). Originating from the Latin noun *homo*, *on* has been subject to grammaticalization on all levels. It has been lexicalized (cf *le qu'en dira-t-on*, *un on-dit*) as well as pragmaticalized (cf *comme on dit*, *on dirait (que)*). For *a gente* the process is less developed, cf its vague pronominal value and its very recent reduction to *a'ente* (Zilles 2005). The fact that *a gente* has not reached the final stage of grammaticalization, may explain its less developed semanticism. All criteria taken into consideration, we expect to find that *on* and *a gente* are situated at a different stage on the grammaticalization axis and that *on* might reveal itself a good predictor of what can still be expected for *a gente*, both pronomina being so closely related for many other aspects.

Our approach is a corpus-based one using a number of synchronic French and Portuguese corpora. Written as well as oral data were taken into account and various language registers examined, offering a broad perspective for a further analysis of structural and semantic-pragmatic features.

To evaluate the integration of *a gente* in the pronominal system accurately, the Portuguese component will consist of a contrastive chapter on Brazilian versus European Portuguese.

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The Production and the Syllabic Nature of Word Initial sC- Clusters in European Portuguese Speakers

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Words written with the initial graphic sequences “es+C” and “ex+C” are definitely a controversial topic in the phonology of European Portuguese, as in other Latin languages, especially when the syllabic status of the cluster has to be defined. The difficulty arises when the speakers have to identify the syllabic constituents, since the word initial *sC* clusters cannot be accepted, according to the Sonority Principle.

Elaborating on the analyses available in the literature for European Portuguese and for other languages (especially, for Italian), this study focuses on the segmental and syllabic properties of the members of this cluster in European Portuguese.

This study was orientated with the following aims: i) to analyse the mental representation in the phonological knowledge of the subjects, proving that the intuitive knowledge of the speakers shouldn't be disregarded by linguistics; ii) to find evidence that learning to read and write interferes with the phonological knowledge; iii) to determine if there is an initial vowel in these sequences; iv) to find out if these sequences have the same underlying structure; v) to determine if we can talk about variation in case these structures may be considered tautosyllabic by the speakers.

Having these purposes in mind, we selected some speakers from different age groups and from different dialectal origin. We chose 10 speakers who attended nursery, the 5th grade and the 9th grade. The speakers were asked to produce the words and divide the syllables of those words after some images were shown. The speakers were originally from the area of Oporto and Lisbon, to test the influence of the dialect.

Some of the data showed that these sequences may have a different underlying structure and the dialectal traits may be disappearing due to the influence of learning to read and write.

We believe that this work can be a contribution to the importance of the oral language and the linguistic awareness of the speakers in the tasks of learning to read and write. We also intend to evaluate the influence of learning to read in the development of phonological knowledge.

Old Spanish *ahé* ‘behold’ as a Pragmatic Operator

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The historical study of linguistic variation and change through written texts involves some well-know challenges. One of them is establishing the precise meaning and function of discourse markers as these are typically context-dependent and in historical texts access to contextual properties is necessarily limited. Moreover, it is rather difficult to identify all the occurrences of linguistic phenomena that may be expressed in a variety of ways, or even zero marked, as corpus linguistics methodology typically gravitates towards the search of explicit markers considering a limited number of options.

The adverse consequences of such problems are reduced when the linguist has access to a *parallel corpus*, that is, texts which are translational equivalents of a single original and which therefore have the same underlying content. An advantage of parallel corpora is that, because we have access to the underlying text and are familiar with its meaning, it is possible to search selectively for passages in which the studied structure is most likely to appear.

This study takes advantage of the existence of an aligned parallel corpus of Old Spanish biblical texts (Enrique-Arias 2008) to achieve a better understanding of the meaning(s) and function(s) of the Old Spanish discourse marker *ahé* (and its variant *hé*), used to translate Hebrew *hinneh* (Latin ‘ecce’, English ‘behold’). In narrative biblical texts *ahé* has two main functions: (i) to introduce direct discourse, as in (1), and, less frequently (ii), to introduce events or objects in the narration, as in (2):

- (1) E dixo el Señor a Moisés: “**he**-te que dormirás con tus padres...”

And the Lord said unto Moses: “**Behold**, thou shalt sleep with thy fathers...” (Deuteronomy 31:16)

- (2) E fue como se ponía el sol e grant tiniebla fue, e **ahé** un forno de fumo e de fuego

When the sun went down, and it was dark, **behold** a smoking furnace, and a burning lamp (Genesis 15:17)

This investigation includes an analysis of over 500 occurrences of translational equivalents of Hebrew *hinneh* in the corpus. The data and analysis reveal that Old Spanish *ahé* is a Pragmatic Operator (PO) (Martí Sánchez, 2008). POs are pragmatogramatical units which function as external modifiers of linguistic utterances and at the same time have procedural functions. As the contents of POs are subjective for the speaker, their meanings do not convey a stable semantic value; as such they are interpreted as generalized implicatures. Thanks to the parallel nature of the corpus, it is possible to appreciate how, as a quotative marker, Old Spanish *ahé* competes with expressions like *cata que* ‘see that’ and *sepas que* ‘know that’, among others, while in its narrative function, it alternates with forms of perception verbs like *ver* ‘see’ and *fallar* ‘find’. In the later case, zero marking is more likely to occur.

This paper illustrates the advantage of working with a parallel corpus for the study of the historical evolution of phenomena that can be expressed in various ways and do not always carry an explicit marker.

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A modal verb expressing quotativity: the Estonian *pidama*

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Estonian has developed a number of ways to express the quotative (cf. Kehayov 2002, Ereht, Metslang, Pajusalu 2006). In addition to the use of participles and infinitives as the predicate and the finite quotative, which developed from the present participle (e.g. *Ta kirjutavat kirja* 'S/he is said to write a letter'), there is also an analytical construction where the indicative imperfect of the modal verb *pidama* 'must, have to' functions as an auxiliary verb.

pidama is a verb expressing agent-oriented necessity. Its functional shifts reveal, on the one hand, the development towards epistemic modality and from there to inferential evidentiality and, on the other hand, the development towards intentionality, which, in turn, gave rise to reported (quotative) evidentiality. All the previously mentioned semantic variants can be found in the contemporary language, e.g. *Peeter on haige ja peab kodus olema* 'Peeter is ill and has to stay at home' (agent-oriented modality), *Peetri aknas on valgus, ta peab kodus olema* 'There's a light in Peeter's window, he must be at home' (epistemic modality, inferential evidentiality), *Peeter pidi peole tulema, aga kukkus ja murdis jalalu* 'Peeter was to come to the party, but he fell and broke his leg' (intentionality), *Peetril pidi uus sõbratar olema* 'Peeter is reported to have a new girlfriend' (quotativity). The interpretation depends on the meaning of the sentence, the context, and partly on the verb form and the temporal plane (Ereht 2001). It is likely that the development of the quotative use may have been supported by the quotative use of the German verb *sollen*. German is a historical contact language of Estonian.

When used quotatively, the imperfect form of *pidama* has lost its past meaning and has become a quotative auxiliary with a non-past tense meaning (including the future, e.g. *Homme pidi ilus ilm olema* 'It is said that the weather will be fine tomorrow'). In some dialects and in the older written language also the indicative present of the *pidama*-verb was used in the quotative meaning. The compound tense forms of *pidama* do not reveal any quotative interpretation.

One can find instances where the quotative meaning is doubled (in Estonian doubling can be found also elsewhere in the use of grammatical devices): the quotative auxiliary can at the same time take the form of the morphological quotative, e.g. *See auto pidavat kolmeaastase garantiiga olema* 'This car is said to have a three-year warranty.'

In spoken language the *pidama*-construction is the predominant means of expressing quotativity in the case of the non-past temporal plane. The background factors may include the tendency towards analyticity of spoken language and the perception of the synthetic *vat*-marked form as a literary standard (Toomet 2000).

The presentation discusses the quotative use of the *pidama*-verb and its previous functions in Standard Estonian from the German-influenced language of the 17th century to the present-day language on the basis of the language corpora at the University of Tartu. The aim is to detect trends in grammaticalization and usage dynamics against the background of internal and external influences. It is observed whether the material placed on the time scale reveals any semantic shifts of the *pidama*-construction leading to the quotative and whether there is any direct or indirect link with German and other contact languages and attitudes in language planning.

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Dialect categorization and its implications for the study of linguistic variation

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Recent studies within the cognitive grammar framework reveal the importance of categories in language processing. As Langacker (2000) argues, language is acquired through exposure to linguistic input and general cognitive principles of categorization and abstraction. Connectionist models, especially exemplar theories (Bybee 2001 & 2007, Johnson 2006, Pierrehumbert 2003), take into account the role of frequency in language learning and processing and thus represent an interesting approach to the interpretation of the perception-production interface. I will argue that bringing together this theoretical framework and recent insights from language attitude and dialect classification studies (Clopper/Pisoni 2007, Preston 2002, Preston/Robinson 2005) should help us to model linguistic variation and to account for the role of prototypes in linguistic classification. Special attention will be given to expert vs. folk categories (Taylor 2003). Examples drawn from a corpus of Acadian French should help us to understand what language attitudes reveal about non-linguists' view of

(linguistic) categories and dialect boundaries. Moreover, this study should give an idea of the relationship between linguistic classification and extra-linguistic knowledge.

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Reconciling the global and the local: language evolution and the nature of the language faculty

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According to Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch 'animal communication systems lack the rich expressive and open-ended power of human language [...]. The evolutionary puzzle, therefore, lies in working out how we got from there to here, given this apparent discontinuity' (2002: 1570).

The paper referred to above saw the first significant contribution from Chomsky to the topic of language evolution and sparked a debate within generative linguistics, most notably with Pinker and Jackendoff (2005). In this current paper it is argued that, despite many interesting contributions from generative theorists, there is a fundamental obstacle to arriving at a clearer understanding of the origins and evolution of language. That obstacle arises from the logical necessity of establishing precisely *what* evolved, prior to investigating *how* it evolved. It is the perception of language inherent in the Minimalist Program, and variants such as Jackendoff's (2002) Parallel Architecture, that prevents us from arriving at an understanding of the origins and evolution of language.

I contend that the controversy over whether language spontaneously emerged as a (largely) fully developed system as a result of a genetic mutation (Chomsky) or whether it followed a traditional Darwinian path

developing as a gradual adaptive system (Pinker and Jackendoff) can only be resolved if an alternative view of language is taken. It is claimed here that the Representational Hypothesis of Burton-Roberts (e.g. 2000) provides such a framework.

The view of language in the Representational Hypothesis rejects the Saussurian double interface objects of traditional generative grammar in favour of a purely linear, conventional, phonological system that stands in a semiotic relationship to a wholly internal syntactico-semantic language of thought (Fodor, 1975). Consequently, if we posit two entirely separate systems existing under the traditional label of 'language', then we also allow two evolutionary histories. One for a global-universal language of thought, and an alternative for local-specific conventional systems for externally representing that internal language. Such a model of 'language', it is argued, is both simpler and more elegant than the multi component / interface features of alternative generative accounts and enables us to account for the known data of human evolution.

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Frequency Effects in Differential Object Marking

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It is a well-known fact that in a number of languages with overt case marking, not all direct objects are marked in the same way. Direct objects ranking higher on a relevant scale, e.g. the animacy scale or the definiteness scale, are more likely to be overtly case marked. Bossong (1985) termed this phenomenon differential object marking (DOM). For explaining this phenomenon three main hypotheses are proposed in the literature:

- (1) The Ambiguity Hypothesis (e.g. Comrie 1975, Bossong 1985): Languages tend to mark direct objects if they are too similar to typical subjects.
- (2) The Transitivity Thesis (e.g. Hopper & Thompson): Salient direct objects are overtly marked.
- (3) Economy-based explanations (e.g. Hawkins 2004, Fenk-Oczlon & Fenk 2008, Haspelmath 2008): The more frequent inanimate direct objects are zero-coded for economic reasons.

In this paper we also argue in favour of frequency- and economy-based explanations, but even more decided and in a broader range of phenomena. One of the principles of DOM is that, if any patient is overtly case marked, then all patients ranking higher on the animacy scale are at least marked to the same extent (cf. Haspelmath 2005). We present counterexamples to such principles of DOM and try to show that these counterexamples can be explained by frequency distributions in the respective language system:

In Russian, feminine and neuter animate objects in the plural are zero-coded, while inanimate direct objects are overtly coded. This can be explained by the high frequency of the genitive plural that is used to code animate objects. The counterexamples from German show a determination of DOM by gender: In the singular only masculine direct objects are overtly case marked, irrespective of whether they are animate or inanimate, definite or indefinite. And though females are not less animate than males, the frequency distributions of personal pronouns and definite/demonstrative articles indicate that the feminine tends more often to be patient or object than agent or subject. Again the split between overtly case marked masculines and zero-coded feminine's can be attributed to different frequency distributions. The masculine is less frequent in the accusative and therefore overtly case marked. Since the masculine seems to have a greater overall frequency, the principle of a higher degree of differentiation in more frequent paradigms might be effective as well.

Frequency also seems to play a crucial role in the *emergence* of DOM (authors, in preparation): In some Austro-Bavarian dialects, for instance, different object marking can be observed in the personal pronouns. Dative pronouns such as *eam* (him), *ihra* (her) are used for animate direct objects, and the accusative pronouns *ihn*, *'n* (him), *sie*, *'s* (her) are used for inanimate objects. In German the dative is a very frequently used case for animates (c.f. Wegener 1985). Important classes of verbs such as interaction verbs, possession verbs or communication verbs require the dative. Therefore the use of dative instead of accusative pronouns for animate direct objects is a consequence of their frequent use and of the high familiarity of the association between animacy and dative pronouns.

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Some discoursal features of non-native conference presentations in English

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Much research in English for Academic Purposes from a contrastive perspective (Clyne, 1987; Mauranen, 1993; Connor 1996 & 2004; Mur Dueñas 2007; Moreno & Suárez 2008) has pointed out a number of peculiar features characterising the

English used by non-native speakers from different language backgrounds. This research generally stresses the negative effects of the presence of foreign linguistic and rhetorical features in the English texts produced by non-native speakers, which puts them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis their native colleagues. Most current research focuses on written production, but to this date little has been done on non-native oral discourse in academic contexts (but see Ventola et al., 2002; Rowley-Jolivet, 2002; Swales, 2001; Swales & Malcewski, 2001; Mauranen, 2001, 2004; Hood & Forey, 2005 or Webber, 2005). This neglect is the more surprising given the important part of oral communication in English in the lives of many academics worldwide and the obvious special demands associated with oral face-to-face communication. Our aim in this paper is to offer a preliminary analysis of the features, both linguistic and paralinguistic, which typically characterize the English presentations of non-native scholars at conferences, particularly as distinct from native-speaker observed patterns. The data used in the analysis are drawn from a corpus of 12 paper presentations recorded at three different conferences, of both national and international scope, held in Spain in the last two years. The topics of the conferences were applied linguistics and English language and literary studies. The corpus contains a balanced representation of both native and non-native speech. In the case of non-native speakers, care was taken to include samples from different L1 language backgrounds that would allow us to identify general, not culturally biased patterns. The presentations were video-recorded and transcribed in detail so that multimodal analysis of the data could be carried out. The analysis focuses on some metadiscourse features of the presentations, both textual and interpersonal, but also on general presentation strategies -including the use of audiovisual support- and on a series of paralinguistic features, such as gesture, gaze, movement or position of the speaker. We expect the analysis to reveal in the non-native speaker group's presentations the presence of linguistic and gestural manifestations of a "conservative" strategy of presentation, that minimizes the risks but is also likely to compromise the relationship with the audience and to undermine the effectiveness of NNS's presentations.

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Global and local perspectives on the Irish dialects of English

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The Irish dialects of English – usually grouped under the term Hiberno-English or Irish English (henceforth abbreviated as IrE) – have emerged as a result of long-standing coexistence and contacts between English and Irish (Gaelic). From a socio-historical point of view, they can therefore be compared with other 'extra-territorial' or 'colonial Englishes'. What distinguishes IrE from these other varieties is, first, the significant input to its grammar, sound system and lexis from the Irish substratum. A second distinguishing factor is retention in IrE of many conservative linguistic features that are either extinct or have become archaic in other varieties. Thus, IrE, especially in its vernacular forms, presents an interesting mixture of features due to contact and 'post-colonial lag'. From a present-day perspective, however, IrE must be considered one of the L1 Englishes, on a par with other 'national' (standard) varieties of English such as British English or American English.

In this paper I will focus on an aspect of IrE which has so far received little attention, viz. its *innovative* role amongst World Englishes. Despite its conservativeness, certain syntactic features have evolved in IrE that are currently on the increase not only in many other colonial Englishes but in BrE itself (Mair and Hundt 1995; Filppula 2003; Smith 2005; Mair 2006). These features include certain uses of the modal auxiliaries and of the so-called progressive form of verbs. As my databases, I will use a corpus of vernacular IrE (see Filppula 1999 for details), on the one hand, and the newly-completed International Corpus of English – Ireland (ICE-Ireland), on the other. Although it is too early to pin down the exact cause(s) of these developments, it is interesting to note that a (post)colonial English like IrE can shed light on what future World English will be like.

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Five stages in the development of Cha'palaa Numerals

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South American indigenous languages feature a diversity of numeral system types ranging from Amazonian languages with terms only for “one” and “two” to languages like Quechua with terms into the thousands. A close look at the numeral system of the Barbacoan language Cha'palaa, spoken by the Chachi people in the coastal lowlands of northwestern Ecuador, shows how it gradually developed its current many-term system from a more limited system like those seen in some other lowland South American languages. This paper gives the first in-depth descriptive account of Cha'palaa numerals, based on analysis of audio-visual and elicitation data collected through field research in Chachi communities, and asks to what extent we can trace their historical development. The resulting analysis identifies five separate stages of this process, considers these changes with respect to developments in the other Barbacoan languages, and discusses relevant morphological, phonological and discourse-pragmatic aspects of the current system.

STAGE ONE: Terms greater than “one” (*ma/main*) and “two” (*pallu*) are all at least partially analyzable as complex forms; these two un-analyzable numbers correspond to an early stage when Cha'palaa only had two basic terms.

STAGE TWO: Terms for “three” (*pe-ma*) and “four” (*taa-pallu*) were constructed based on morphemes for “one” and “two”; a similar process occurred in Cha'palaa's closest relative Tsafiki (Moore 1979) and possibly in its more distant relative Awa Pit as well (Curnow 1997:92).

STAGE THREE: Terms for “five” (*man-da*, one-hand), “ten” (*pai-tya*, two-hands) and “twenty” (*mancha' - lura*, one-person-CLASS:standing) were added based on multiples of five (“hand”) and twenty (“a whole/standing person”). Awa Pit is reported to have developed no numbers above four (Curnow 1997:91-92) while Tsafiki developed a hand-based system only up until ten (Connie Dickinson, personal communication); Awa Pit was a separate language at this stage, and Cha'palaa and Tsafiki were probably beginning to diverge as well.

STAGE FOUR: This stage corresponds to the Inca invasion (16th Century), during which time Cha'palaa adopted Quechua terms for multiples of ten above twenty (*chunga*) and for multiples of a hundred (*patsa'*). Tsafiki also independently adopted Quechua terms, but they are different from those adopted by Cha'palaa, which was a separate language by this stage.

STAGE FIVE: The most recent stage is marked by the borrowing of the Spanish word for multiples of a thousand (*mii* from *mil*); this term was adopted in the last 100 years, since Barret ([1909] 1925) recorded as system of “ten hundreds” for multiples of a thousand.

The Cha'palaa numeral system is an interesting case because it remains relatively transparent, making it possible to identify the different stages of its development. After tracing these stages, I will conclude by locating the Cha'palaa numerals within other parts of grammar and discourse, describing relevant phonological processes that occur when numerals combine with other morphology and discussing pragmatic issues like the use of numerals with nominal classifiers for anaphoric discourse reference. This description of Cha'palaa numerals will result in a better understanding of the history of the Barbacoan language family and will contribute to our knowledge of both simple and complex numeral systems, giving an example of how the former can become the latter over time through processes of grammaticalization and borrowing.

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Variation in middle acceptability and the productivity of the construction

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Research on the English middle construction (e.g. *Love stories read easily*) has focused almost exclusively on the grammatical side of the construction, that is, on the operations and movement rules that make it possible for an originally internal argument to appear in subject position, while the Agent argument ‘disappears’ but remains semantically present (Roberts 1987; Fagan 1988). This paper looks out into the broader picture and considers the place of middles in relation to language use and language change. In other words, it addresses an aspect of middles to which hardly any work has been devoted yet: its productivity. This research was triggered by the informal observation that middles seem to be on the increase and that novel and idiosyncratic middle usages seem to be appearing with new verbs. Some of the recently attested examples include: *She interviews well* (said about a politician being interviewed on TV), *Emails with large attachments tend to send with greater difficulty than smaller ones* or *It's drinking beautifully* (said at a wine-tasting event). The present study tries to show how these informal observations can be borne out by a systematic analysis of synchronic data. It answers to questions like: Are middles really spreading? How is this change coming about?

Based on data from the British National Corpus and the Oxford English Dictionary, the working distinction between “core” and “new” or “non-core” middles is established. We then present the results of a survey aimed at eliciting native speakers’ judgements about new middle sentences. In total, 480 judgments were analysed. It is shown that middles are indeed productive, although not all new formations exhibit the same degree of acceptability. By assimilating the pattern of gradualness displayed by the data to the diffusion or S-curve model of change (Joseph 1983, Kroch 1989, Denison 1993, 2003), it is possible to infer that a case of ongoing change is at work. It is argued that middles are spreading lexically, verb by verb. Evidence is given in favour of the verb *sell* (as in *His new novel is selling like hotcakes*) as the “mother” middle verb, a model on which the current expansion of the construction is based. The mechanism of change is discussed next. Half of the speakers in our study belonged to an “older” age group (+50) and the other half were younger speakers (-25). Results show that, on average, older speakers consistently give higher ratings to new middle formations than younger speakers do. These “surprising” results are interpreted as an indication that middles are spreading through use, in a manner that we can presume akin to the model that Bybee (1985) posits for the process of lexical representation or to Langacker’s (1987) notion of “entrenchment”. This usage-based account, in turn, lends support to the constructional (Kay and Fillmore 1999, Goldberg 1995) nature of middles, which is also discussed.

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Frequency, iconicity and clitic host selection in Spanish

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In Old Spanish, pronominal clitics could occur attached to a variety of hosts and between them and the verb other elements could be placed —this phenomenon is usually referred to in the literature as *interpolation* (cf. Chenery 1905)—, as in the following instances:

- (1) *que·s’ le non spidiés o no·l besás’ la mano* (Cid, 1252)
 that se-IMP 3M-ACC no farewelled or no 3M-DAT kiss the hand
 ‘that nobody farewelled him nor kissed his hand’
- (2) *cuando las non queriedes ya canes traidores* (Cid, 3263)
 when 3F-PL-ACC no loved already hounds betrayer

‘when you already did not love them, you betrayer hounds’

The situation changed around the seventeenth century. By that time the host selection by clitics had become extremely constrained: clitics only appeared attached to verbs in what seems to be a shift from a Wackernagel pattern to a Tobler-Mussaffia one. This change of pattern could be accounted for both in terms of iconicity of cohesion and of frequency (cf. Haspelmath 2008). The fact that clitics have become verbal affixes instead of being bounded to other lexical categories seems to support the claim made by Haiman (1983) or Bybee (1985), according to which “the linguistic distance between expressions corresponds to the conceptual distance between them” (Haiman 1983: 782). Clitics, being linguistic forms that refer event participants, seem to be more closely related to verbs than to other categories they occurred attached to in early stages of Spanish, such as conjunctions or complementizers. On the other hand, Haspelmath has recently suggested (2008) that the phenomena regarded as cases of iconic cohesion can be better accounted for in terms of frequency.

The main aim in this paper is to ascertain which of the two approaches fits better as an explanation for the loss of interpolation in Spanish. In order to do that, linguistic data ranging from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries will be provided —data extracted from previous quantitative studies as well as from diachronic corpora such as CORDE. Likewise, other clitic features will be discussed since they might shed light on the subject at hand.

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Quotative markers in use: The case of spoken (dialectal) German

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When analysing reported discourse in spontaneous spoken (dialectal) German, a striking phenomenon is the extensive use of a certain type of expressions signalling an adjacent sequence of reported speech. These expressions comprise a (cliticized) pronoun referring to the reported speaker and the speech verb *sagen* ‘to say’, mostly in perfect tense; their Standard German equivalents would be *hat er gesagt* ‘he said’, *habe ich gesagt* ‘I said’ etc., occasionally also e. g. *sagt er* ‘he says’ (present tense).

The *hat er gesagt*-type expressions occur mostly right before the reported speech sequence, but they can also follow it, signalling the end of the reported discourse; or they occur both before and following it. Interestingly, they are even used recursively, i. e. marking reported speech that is in its turn embedded in reported speech marked by the same means – a hitherto rarely described phenomenon. The expressions occur very frequently in the analysed corpus, though not obligatorily. From a functional point of view, they share the fundamental task of discerning reported from direct discourse with other markers as e. g. prosodic (speech rhythm, loudness) or paralinguistic (changes in voice quality) modification, thus forming a complex system of devices for marking reported speech.

Since the expressions at issue are heavily reduced in terms of their phonetic substance as well, it seems promising to have a closer look at them in order to clarify their status as quotative markers. Of course, quotative markers in a canonical sense, e. g. originating from a participle of a ‘say’-verb, like e. g. the Turkish *diye*, the Biblical Hebrew *lemor*, or the Georgian *metki*, are not considered to be part of the grammar of German, and the expressions at issue are neither fully grammaticalised nor likely to undergo full grammaticalisation in future. Anyway, an in-depth-analysis of these expressions’ uses in context shows that they can be considered as having clear similarities with the above mentioned particle-derived quotative markers. Setting up a hypothetical scale with quotative markers of the above mentioned type at the one pole, and free expressions introducing reported speech by both referring to the reported speaker in some way and realizing a ‘say’-verb at the opposite pole, the *hat er gesagt*-expressions end up near the pole of quotative markers.

What a kerfuffle! The development of intensifying *what*

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In present day English, prenominal *what* prototypically functions as either an interrogative or as an exclamative, as in (1) and (2) respectively.

- (1) a. *What sorrow did he feel at her loss?* (Bolinger 1972: 71)
- b. *What (funny) stories did he tell?* (Quirk et al. 1972: 927)
- (2) a. *‘What a dame!’* (CB Times)
- b. If the publicist is truthful (what a crazy hypothesis!) the response would be: *‘Tough luck, dearie; perfect buttocks are all you’ve got.’* (CB Times)

Diachronically, Bolinger (1972) has argued that the exclamative reading has developed from the interrogative use. “The shift by which a morpheme from the determiner system [such as *what*] passes from identification to intensification is typical of a wholesale migration in that direction” (Bolinger 1972: 61). The observations on which this hypothesis are based are, however, of an exclusively synchronic nature and no in-depth diachronic study has been carried out so far.

It is the aim of this paper to test Bolinger’s hypothesis by reconstructing the development of intensifying *what* in historical and synchronic text corpora. A functional-grammatical analysis of *what* will be carried out using data samples from three diachronic corpora (York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, Corpus of Late Modern English Texts (extended version)) and one synchronic corpus (Collins CoBuild WordbanksOnline). For the contemporary data, extractions will be made from two subcorpora, viz. the Times and UK Spoken corpus, representing formal written and informal spoken British English respectively.

The analysis will focus on the chronology of the rise of intensifying *what*, but also on the restricted contexts in which it developed and expanded, and on the (syntactic and/or semantic) factors facilitating its development. For instance, a fine-grained description of the distinct collocational and structural characteristics of intensifying *what* will be provided. Attention will also be given to the distinct conceptual mechanisms that lie at the basis of the functional shift from identifying to intensifying. Bolinger (1972: 91-92) claims that a metaphorical reinterpretation takes place as “we begin by viewing [something] as pointed to and end by viewing it as worthy of note, hence as enhanced ...; the act of pointing turns into an act of pointing up”.

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Generic quantification in Bulgarian

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The goal of this paper is to examine the distribution of generic expressions in Bulgarian, in which nominal phrases can be constructed as definite singulars and plurals with a postponed article, as bare nouns, as well as indefinite phrases by use of the number word *edin* ‘one’. Based on the classical distinction between kind-referring expressions and characterizing sentences (Krifka et. al. 1995), I will show that definite NPs refer to kinds in Bulgarian (see (1), (2)):

- (1) *Mamuti –te* /* *Mamuti sa izmrjali*. (2) *Velosipedât e bil sozdaten 1850*.
mammoths-DEF / mammoths are extinct *bicycle -DEF was invented 1850*.
‘Mammoths are extinct.’ *‘The bicycle was invented in 1850.’*

The use of the definite determiners is required in characterizing sentences with counts as well as mass nouns in Bulgarian (cf. (3)):

- (3) *Zlatoto* /* *Zlato e cenen metal*.
gold-DEF/gold is valuable metal
‘Gold is a valuable metal.’

As we can see, Bulgarian displays the same pattern of distribution of generic expressions as in Romance languages, Greek or Hungarian.

However, bare nouns, which constitute an opposition to definite nominals in Bulgarian, as well as indefinites with *edin* ‘one’, characterized by some restrictions in their usage in comparison with Germanic and Romance languages, can also be involved

in generic quantification. In this paper I will focus on such environments in which the acceptability of generic bare and indefinite nouns can be improved. I will analyze different modal contexts, in which generics express laws and norms (cf. Cohen 2001, Dobrovie-Sorin 2003, Greenberg 2002, Mari 2008).

The core idea by Greenberg (2002) is the distinction between accessibility relations for bare plurals and indefinite singulars in English. While bare plural generics can express “descriptive” and “in virtue of” statements, indefinite singulars are felicitous only in non-inductive, that is “in virtue of” generalizations. Greenberg contends with her “enough”-presupposition that descriptive generalizations (e.g. *Boys don't cry*) hold in all worlds that are maximally similar to our world and are based on the conclusion which we can draw from a sufficient number of instances of individuals/events in the actual world. “In virtue of” generalizations (e.g. *A boy doesn't cry*) are inferred in virtue of some specific property associated with the property denoted by the indefinite singular, that is, the generalization holds in virtue of this property.

Bulgarian in particular is interesting in this respect because it displays differences between the choice of NP forms as well as the choice of aspectual characteristics of the verb (imperfective vs. perfective aspect) in generics, which supports the claim about different accessibility relations for two kinds of generalizations. In this paper I will argue that in Bulgarian the imperfective aspect and plural NPs are used in descriptive generalizations (4), whereas the perfective aspect and indefinite singulars are preferred in “in virtue of” generics (5).

(4) *Zenite gotvjat vseki den.*
women cook-IMPF every day
 ‘Women cook every day.’

(5) *Edna zena vinagi nameri vreme za decata si.*
a woman always finds-PF time for children REFL
 ‘A woman always finds time for her children.’

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Classifying adjectives in European languages

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Prototypical (general) names are morphologically simple lexical words that arbitrarily denote whatever they are conventionally taken to denote. Prototypical (general) descriptions in contrast essentially rely on compositional semantics in specifying their denotation and are thus as a rule syntactically complex. However, as complexity is a matter of degree so is compositionality, and thus it appears that in terms of form and meaning some descriptions are closer to names than others. Among syntactically complex head-attribute phrases adjective-noun syntagms involving a so-called classifying adjective (alias relational adjective, cf. Bally 1965, Dornseiff 1964) are of particular interest (e.g. ENG *solar energy*, FRN *énergie solaire*, POL *energia słoneczna*, HUN *politikai befolyás* ‘political influence’, GER *politischer Einfluss* ‘ibid.’). First they are arguably – with the possible exception of N+N juxtapositions – that type of head-attribute phrases that involves the least degree of formal complexity. Second, they are close, if not identical, to regular compounds in terms of meaning composition. – In my talk I will discuss this type of construction adopting a comparative perspective on European languages and focussing in particular on English, German, French, Polish and Hungarian. Both German and Hungarian also make extensive use of N+N compounds and these are regularly found in competition with structures involving classifying adjectives (e.g. GER *Apfelbaum* ‘apple tree’, HUN *almafa* ‘ibid.’). In contrast, possessive constructions involving an NP or a PP hardly figure as classifying modifiers in these languages and can safely be treated as marginal cases (cf. Zifonun 2007). For French and Polish the converse holds true. In Polish we find possessive genitives (*kierowca samochodu* ‘car driver’), in French *de/à*-PPs as classifying modifiers (*taches de soleil* ‘sunspots’), while N+N compounds are extremely rare (*mode-homme* ‘men’s fashion’). English, in addition to a rich inventory of classifying adjectives, avails itself of both compounds and possessive PPs to express classifying modification (cf. Klinge 2007).

As regards meaning composition I argue that classifying adjectives are distinguished from qualifying adjectives in that they are not interpreted as ascribing some property to an entity denoted by the head noun. Rather, the overall meaning of an A+N syntagm involving a classifying adjective can more adequately be paraphrased as ‘an N that is somehow related to whatever is denoted by “A”’. Thus, what compositional semantics contributes to the meaning of such a phrase is just that type of abstract relation (in addition to the lexical meaning of the noun and the adjective), and it is up to the speaker to consult his encyclopedic knowledge to figure out any more precise interpretation. Compositionality therefore plays a lesser role in determining the meaning of an A+N syntagm involving a classifying adjective than in determining that of a corresponding phrase involving a qualifying adjective, where the scope of possible interpretations is significantly tighter. On the other hand, as with compounds, if only to lesser degree, particular interpretations may become semantically dominant due to usualization, a process that ultimately leads to lexicalization. In both ways, classifying adjectives give rise to more “name-like” expressions than qualifying adjectives.

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Spanish borrowings in Sierra Popoluca via Nahuatl

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The pathway that lexical borrowings take in multilingual contact situation has been barely described in Amerindian languages in spite of the fact that there is so much to say about it. For instance, in a multilingual contact situation, an intermediary language can play a crucial role in the transfer of lexical items from one language to another. Actually, this is the case of Sierra Popoluca, which has several lexical materials from Spanish that were transferred via Mecayapan Nahuatl instead of a direct borrowing from Spanish. In this presentation I will focus my attention in this kind of borrowings. My main arguments are phonologically based.

In Mecayapan Nahuatl /h/ occurs predominantly in final coda position in native forms. According to Wolgemuth Spanish borrowings in Mecayapan Nahuatl “...ending in vowel acquire –h in most cases” (Wolgemuth 1966:3), which is not surprising, because this means that the /h/ in Spanish borrowings was incorporated by analogy into native Nahuatl forms. Consequently, the incorporation of the glottal fricative into Spanish words ending in vowels is in fact a Nahuatl innovation. Examples:

Spanish	Mecayapan Nahuatl	Sierra Popoluca	English
cristiano	kristia:noh	kristia:noh	‘human being’
botella	limetah	limeteh	‘bottle’
cubeta	kube:tah	kube:tah	‘cask’

Sierra Popoluca has the same Spanish borrowings with /h/ in final coda position just as the neighboring Nahuatl does. This phonological feature would be impossible to explain if it were not from Nahuatl influence.

A second piece of evidence supporting Nahuatl influence in some Spanish borrowings in modern Sierra Popoluca is the substitution of /n/ for Nahuatl /l/. Examples:

Spanish	Mecayapan Nahuatl	Sierra Popoluca	English
padre	pa:leh	pa:nih	‘priest’
silla	xi:lah	xi:nah	‘saddle’

The Spanish loan words above have a lateral /l/ in Nahuatl, which means that they were originally adapted with some regard for the phonology of Nahuatl. At some point during Nahuatl-Sierra Popoluca contact, these words were transferred to the later via the former, but because Sierra Popoluca does not have /l/, this phoneme was replaced by /n/.

In a nutshell, the intent of the paper is to show that in a multilingual contact situation even lexical borrowings turn to be a complex process. The data for this presentation will come from a naturally occurring speech collected in 2006 and 2007 in the Sierra Popoluca community of Soteapan, Veracruz.

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Complex target languages in L2 acquisition

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When acquiring a second language (L2) untutored learners as a rule do not go beyond a certain stage of language command, a phenomenon usually described as fossilization in the pertinent literature (cf., e.g., Selinker 1974). As for adult learners, approximately a third of them stick to the so-called basic variety (cf. Klein/Perdue 1997), an interlanguage defined by a bundle of features, which are to some extent also characteristic of pidgin and creole languages. In contrast, child L2 learners do not develop a basic variety, but appear to be strongly oriented towards the target language right from the moment of getting in contact to it. Moreover, in terms of mastering the core grammar, they frequently prove to be even quicker than their monolingual peers (cf. Dimroth/Haberzettl 2008). However as can be shown they often fail to achieve an appropriate command of certain types of complex grammatical structures that have been claimed to be characteristic of so-called 'mature' languages (cf. Fabricius-Hansen 2003, Dahl 2004, McWhorter 2005). We build this claim on the basis of a large corpus of written L2 production data, elicited from untutored adolescent learners of L2 German by using a language assessment tool ('Schuldeutsch'/'German at school') that has been particularly created for the purpose at hand. As it turns out, the L2 learners - all children of immigrants - appear to avoid certain types of complex grammatical structures, among them relative clauses, complex nominal phrases and passive constructions. The theoretical point to be made is thus that the L2 variety mastered by those learners should not be adequately analyzed in terms of what kinds of mistakes they make, i.e. in terms of *what they produce in a wrong way*, but rather in terms of *what they systematically avoid to produce*. Accordingly, the practical conclusion to be drawn should consist in developing appropriate L2 training programmes that help to achieve complex grammatical structures.

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How unique are blends?

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Morphological processes are usually rule-governed and therefore more or less regular. Blending, however, seems to be rather irregular as is illustrated by some classical examples of blending, or portmanteau words.

(1)	brunch	breakfast	+	lunch
	smog	smoke	+	fog
	Chunnel	Channel	+	tunnel

In these forms the first segment or cluster of the first word is combined with the final part of the second word, although a form like *chunnel* can also be explained as a combination of the whole consonantal skeleton of the form *channel* plus the vowel of the word *tunnel*.

These examples and especially the two possible ‘derivations’ of the form *chunnel* show that the process of blending is not a very regular one. For instance the span of the input segments seems to be unpredictable. Together with the specific meaning of the resulting form this brings Fradin (2000) to claim that blends are unique. It is impossible for a blend such as *chunnel* to become a model for analogical productivity.

In another subcategory of blends such as under (2) the source words seem to have been analysed as quasi-compounds, which are composed of possible words or morphemes that subsequently form the building blocks of new “compounds”:

(2)	Oxbridge	Ox(ford)	+	(Cam)bridge
	stagflation	stag(nation)	+	(in)flation
	advertorial	advert(isement)	+	(edit)orial

Frath (2005) compares these blends with forms such as under (3)

(3)	hamburger	software	Watergate
	tofuburger	netware	Camillagate

On the basis of this comparison he claims a special kind of word formation to operate here: ‘composition with a difference’.

In this paper it will be shown that there is no difference between ‘composition with a difference’ and blend formation as has been active in the examples under (2). Furthermore it will be claimed that there is only one form of blend formation, which may result in a productive morphological process. This implies that blends are no longer unique.

Examples from French, English and Dutch will be produced to support this claim.

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Where frame semantics meets construction grammar: the case of Spanish *escrutar* and *escudriñar* ‘to scrutinize’

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While originally only applied to lexemes (frames of semantic knowledge), **frame semantics** has been expanded to grammatical constructions and has more or less been integrated into **construction grammar**.

In the study of the semantic field of **visual perception** I have come across a large variety of lexemes used to denote visual sensations and acts, which can all be ‘framed’ in a different way, evoking different conceptualizations of active and passive perception. *Escrutar* and *escudriñar* (‘to scrutinize’) is one such pair of verbs that, although traditionally seen as synonyms, can be differentiated on the basis of a number of semantic and syntactic features. While Spanish dictionaries and even the database ADESSE (similar to the Spanish FrameNet) fail to account for the differences between these two less frequent verbs of visual perception, I will show that, in spite of their etymological relation, *escrutar* and *escudriñar* function as two sides of the same coin. More specifically, an in depth **corpus analysis** will show that *escrutar* and *escudriñar* entail a **difference in point of view** that can be captured by the “objective” vs. “subjective” contrast in the sense of “depending on the object, as opposed to the subject”.

By stating that *escrutar* has an objective point of view, whereas *escudriñar* expresses a subjective point of view, I mean that the act of *escrutar* concentrates on and is determined by the object of perception that limits the physical boundaries of perception. *Escudriñar*, on the contrary, highlights the subject of perception, i.e. the observer. This observer interprets his/her visual input and imposes his/her view on the object of perception.

The general concepts of ‘objectivity’ and ‘subjectivity’ encompass more specific perceptual modalities, which can be situated at four levels: (i) the presence vs. absence of expectations; (ii) direct vs. indirect access to the object of perception; (ii) the immanence vs. transcendence of the gaze; and (iv) the attitude of the subject of perception.

A detailed lexico-constructional analysis of the corpus will discuss the contextual elements, such as the type of direct object or the presence of adjuncts or subordinate clauses, etc. that helped me reveal the meaningful differences between *escrutar* and *escudriñar*.

On a larger scale, this study is to be situated within the framework of **Cognitive Grammar**. Unlike traditional grammar, Cognitive Grammar claims that semantics is not to be studied separately from the other components of language (e.g. syntax, morphology, pragmatics). Instead, cognitivists emphasize the link between form and meaning, i.e. they start from the premise that lexico-semantic properties can be induced from syntactic behavior.

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Corpus: CREA, Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual; <http://www.rae.es>

Electronic databases:

ADESSE: <https://webs.uvigo.es/adesse>

Spanish FrameNet: <http://gemini.uab.es:9080/SFNsite>

Visible context shifts: Quotation in Sign Languages

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Assuming that quoting utterances or thoughts is a universal property of natural languages, sign languages are also expected to have (possibly modality-specific) linguistic means to mark quotation. Like spoken languages, sign languages have regular direct and indirect forms of quotation. In addition, they frequently use a third kind of quotation which is called *role shift* or *shifted reference*. Role shift is not simply the sign language equivalent of direct speech in spoken languages but combines properties of both direct and indirect speech. The hybrid nature of role shift is due to the specific modality of sign languages and needs to be addressed within every theory of quotation.

The visual-gestural modality of sign languages offers the unique possibility of shifting into the role and adopting the perspective of the quoted person by slightly shifting the body position, breaking the eye contact, and changing the position of the head. These nonmanual features marking role shift occur simultaneously to manual signs and take scope over the whole embedded clause as is illustrated by the examples in (1) from German Sign Language (DGS). “< >” stands for the nonmanual marker indicating role shift. The shifted context is indicated by the local indices “3a” and “3b”, that is, both examples in (1) trigger a context shift leading to the interpretation that the embedded sentence has been uttered in a context different from the actual context with Peter (i.e. 3a) being the speaker and Mary (i.e. 3b) being the addressee of the utterance. Note finally that the colon represents a prosodic pause and that “y/n” stands for the nonmanual markers of yes/no-questions in DGS, i.e. brow raise and forward head tilt. The lines above the glosses indicate the scope of the nonmanual markers.

- 3a<_____>3b
 _____y/n
- (1) a. PETER IX_{3a} MARY IX_{3b} ASK : IX₂ SAD IX₂
 ‘Peter asked Mary whether she is sad.’
- 3a<_____>3b
- b. PETER IX_{3a} MARY IX_{3b} SAY : TOMORROW₁ HELP₂
 ‘Peter said to Mary that he will help her tomorrow.’

Consequently, 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns such as IX₂ (‘you’) in (1a) and agreement verbs such as HELP in (1b) are interpreted within the scope of the nonmanuals marking role shift. In contrast to pronouns and agreement verbs, temporal and local indexicals such as TOMORROW in (1b) do not necessarily need to shift.

We argue that role shift is triggered by a context-shifting operator RS-Op with scope over the whole quoted clause. The overt morphosyntactic realizations of RS-Op are the nonmanual features described above. These features spread over the whole domain of the RS-Op. Morphosyntactically, RS-Op is an indexical expression whose nonmanual features overtly agree with the speaker/addressee of the shifted context: the body shift agrees with the subject, whereas eye contact agrees with the addressee. In this respect, RS-Op corresponds to agreement verbs showing overt agreement with the subject and object by modifying phonological features such as path movement and/or hand orientation. Semantically, RS-Op binds all indexical expressions in argument position. As a consequence, the interpretation of personal pronouns and agreement verbs is obligatorily shifted to the new context of utterance. By contrast, indexical adverbial expressions occupying non-argument positions can but need not be shifted.

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Old Irish Consonant Quality Reexamined

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Traditional scholars such as Pedersen (1913) and Thurneysen (1946) consider Old Irish to have had three different consonant qualities, *i*-colored or palatalized (before original front vowel), *u*-colored or labiovelarized (before original *u*-vowel), and neutral (elsewhere). The first two of these colors are (not fully systematically) indicated by preconsonantal *i* and *u* respectively, functioning as diacritics and presumably capturing the front or labiovelar onglide of such consonants. It is also acknowledged that by late Old Irish, *u*-color merged with neutral color.

In a series of papers, Greene (1962, 1973, 1976) has rejected this view, based on the following arguments (Greene 1962). 1. Having three different consonant qualities is rare; 2. the alleged *u*-color has little functional load; 3. later Irish only distinguishes *i*- and neutral quality; 4. *u* is not used to indicate *u*-quality. Greene therefore proposes that the *u* which appears before consonants once followed by *u*-vowels constitutes the second element of a true diphthong.

None of these arguments are cogent. First, rarity does not imply impossibility (in fact, languages like Nupe or a number of Caucasian languages have all three “colors”). Second, low functional load may possibly lead to a contrast being lost, but there is no evidence for its preventing a contrast from arising. Third, Pedersen and Thurneysen account for the later Irish absence of *u*-color by assuming that it merged with neutral color. Finally, Greene’s argument 4 rests on the assumption that preconsonantal *u* is not a diacritic of *u*-quality but part of a diphthong. However, without further evidence, the relation between that assumption and argument 4 is circular.

I present arguments that early in its history Old Irish must have had *u*-quality. These include the parallelism of the orthographic evidence (which is lost under Greene’s account); the fact that Greene’s “diphthongal” account is phonetically unmotivated, unless preceded by an earlier labiovelarized stage (see e.g. Hock 1985); and the fact that consonant color assimilations in secondary clusters can be explained by assuming a labiovelarized stage, but require an unnecessarily complex account under Greene’s hypothesis.

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Basque-spanish codeswitching in the young colloquial basque language

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The main aim of this paper is to analyze two aspects characteristic of the colloquial speech of young people when they speak in Basque: code mixing and code switching. Our proposal starts from a little language, the Basque language, a local language which is now in process of recovery. The basque is in contact with another global language: Spanish.

The methodology we use starts from a corpus of colloquial speech, obtained from with autorecordings made by young people between 15-25 years old, made in colloquial speeches and without the presence of the investigator. The main aim is to start from a corpus of colloquial speech to analyze the age mentioned phenomena with have said before.

The great difference between current basque oral speech and the way people spoke a century ago. Basque has grown up in all levels of language. The standardization of the language, the access to the education, the mass-media and the influence of the two global languages which surround it, lead us to a different Basque language. In Navarra (North of Spain), we start from a diglossal bilingual situation where one of two languages, Spanish is dominant, and the other one Basque. Basque is the language of the school, it begins to be learnt at the age of with three years old in the school. That language is not the main language in the family, nor in the city where they live. So, the linguistic transfer, is linked to the school, and later to university, so basque will be linked to the academic environment.

Furthermore, the studies of code-switching in bilingual communities, carried out by Gumperz (1976) and Gal (1978, 1979) respectively, have identified an analogous correlation between types of network and language choice. Social networks do not influence language directly. Their influence is exerted to the extent that network characteristics are likely to shape people's predisposition to identify themselves with a certain social group.

In addition, the language of the young main characteristic is the immediate expression, communicative, real, actual which avoids conventionalism and which uses expressions and structures that are not very normative. That's why grammarians are concerned about the evolution of the Basque, because they practice code switching or loanword translation very often. So that, as the point of view of normativisation, there is a tendency to brake that evolution, because it is not normative.

At the same time, these young people are able to write very difficult texts, they are successful at the writing and formal register without difficulty. But, daily life expression is far from the writing standard. We move therefore in language contact: Basque and Spanish, local language and global language. So, it is true that we have advanced in the way of register educated or cultured; but there is a backward movement in the informal and subjective expressions, as we will show in this paper.

The expected results forecast a typed discourse where both code switching very usual, as well as loans translation. The motivation for codeswitching is due to different reasons, one of them is the wish to provide expressivity or emotivity to one's speech and to point out some features of young identity, and group role. Codeswitching strategies have taken on specific pragmatic meanings, which we aim to analyse. Codeswitching behaviour needs to be examined in its sociohistorical as well as ethnographic context.

Resultative constructions in Portuguese: the case of TER + PP constructions

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Highly productive in English, Resultative constructions generally “code a clausal relation between two events within a single clause” (Broccias 2003) where the direct object denotes a specific element of the real world that gets predicated with a specific property acquired via the verbal action. Consider, for instance:

- (1) Peter hammered the metal flat.

Note that the acquired property *flat* has a delimiting function: it marks the event as telic. This is one of the main reasons why most linguists posit that Romance languages do not possess Resultative constructions (Kratzer 2003). In fact, these languages lack a secondary predicate, using an adnominal adjunct instead. This unables the licensing of *flat* in (1) as a property *metal* acquires as a result of the verbal action, *hammering*. In fact, the literal translation of (1) to Portuguese illustrates this diverse interpretation:

- (2) O Pedro martelou o metal plano.

Although grammatical, (2) is only acceptable in Portuguese as a non-resultative construction, i.e., if we perceive *plano* as an adnominal adjunct. This means that the property *plano* is interpreted as pertaining to the direct object *metal* prior to its having been hammered, which clearly differs from (1).

But what about constructions like (3), (4) and (5), (6)?

- (3) Maria mantém a casa fechada. (Bisol 1975) (Foltran 1999) (4) Tenho a cama feita. (mine)
(5) E se teendo a carta entrega morrer (FR) (6) da terra daale~teio de vos tyui arrendada (CHP039)

While (3) and (4) are contemporary spoken Portuguese examples, (5) and (6) are 13th century Portuguese corpus-extracted ones. The latter are considered to be in the origin of the former at one stage and of compound tenses at a later stage of development of the language. All four are acceptable and semantically interpreted as resultative, but to what extent can they be considered syntactically resultative as well? What are the licensing conditions for these types of constructions in Portuguese? In what do they differ from the English ones?

(5) and (6) exhibit at this point temporal and aspectual values that tease them apart compound tenses. TER expresses imperfective aspect, occurring in a Resultative construction, while HAVEN codes perfective aspect, occurring in a Compound tense construction. Hence, in what way can formal criteria such as a) word order (WO); b) agreement between past participle and direct object; and c) past participle transitivity help us understand this construction's specificities in Romance languages in general and particularly in Portuguese?

In this presentation, I argue that Portuguese has, inherited from Latin, a Resultative construction type of its own, although with some limitations. These can be divided into several categories, namely verb transitivity, verb semantic class, event aspect and adjective class and form. More detail will be given to the TER+PP construction and a more comprehensive explanation of it will be proposed on cognitive grounds, through the **billiard-ball model** and the **reference-point ability** of property suggested by Broccias (2003). I will be using data from *Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval* (CIPM) and Ferreira and Davies' *Corpus do Português* (FDCP) for Old Portuguese, and from *Cetempúblico* for Contemporary EP.

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From speech act verb to ingressive aspect marker: the Lithuanian verb ŽADĖTI ('to promise')

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The paper will deal with structure-dependent semantic variation of the Lithuanian verb ŽADĖTI ('to promise'). For this purpose the contrastive studies of PROMISE- (as well as THREATEN-) type verbs made by Traugott (1997), Traugott, Dasher (2005), Cornillie (2004, 2005), Heine, Miyashita (2008) and others will be followed in the analysis undertaken. Since there is no research on the Lithuanian verb ŽADĖTI ('promise') the aim of the present paper is twofold: 1) to study types of meaning of the verb observed and to survey their structural realizations in Lithuanian; 2) to see whether semantic variation of Lithuanian ŽADĖTI ('promise') corresponds to general tendencies of meaning extension of PROMISE-verbs in other languages. The data for analysis have been collected from the Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian Language (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>) and monolingual dictionaries.

As in English, ŽADĖTI ('promise') is a lexical verb that expresses the speech act of promising. As a main predicate it is a three-place verb that takes an agent argument (encoded in the nominative case), an obligatory theme complement (encoded in the accusative case as well as finite or non-finite sentence) and an optional experiencer, or addressee complement (encoded in the dative case). Semantic and structural properties of the complements of ŽADĖTI ('promise') are considered to be the main criteria for distinguishing meanings of the verb and types of constructions in which the analyzed verb is used.

As a lexical verb ŽADĖTI ('promise') expresses the meaning of speech act (1) and the meaning of intension (2) and takes the widest range of complements (noun phrases, verbal phrases and subordinate clauses). The subject of the lexical verb is only a human being:

- | | | | |
|--|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| (1) <i>Jis</i>
he-NOM
'He promised her [love / | <i>žadėjo</i>
promise-3SG.PST | <i>jai</i>
she-DAT | <i>[meilę /</i>
[love-ACC / |
| <i>,kad</i>
that | <i>mylės</i>
love-3SG.FUT | <i>/ mylėti].</i>
/ love-INF | |
| that he will love her / to love] | | | |
| (2) <i>Jis</i>
he-NOM
'He intends to be a basketball player' | <i>žada</i>
promise-3SG.PRS | <i>tapti</i>
become-INF | <i>krepšininku.</i>
basketball player-INSTR |

The meaning of speech act directly initiates the metaphorically extended meaning and the meaning of intension motivates the meaning of epistemic modality as well as ingressive aspectuality. The object complements of metaphorically extended

ŽADĖTI ('promise') were narrowed to a nominal phrase only and the subject referent was extended to inanimate concepts (3). Moreover, the metaphorical meaning has an additional semantic component of evidentiality:

(2) <i>Apsiniaukęs</i>	<i>dangus</i>	<i>žada</i>	<i>lietų.</i>
cloudy	sky-NOM	promise-3SG.PRS	rain-ACC
'The cloudy sky promises rain'			

The semantic shift towards the meaning of modality as well as aspectuality is accompanied by the change of the categorical status of the verb: the lexical ŽADĖTI ('promise'), as its equivalents in many languages, was decategorizedized and came to behave like a functional word (4):

(3) <i>Oras</i>	<i>žada</i>	<i>pablogėti.</i>
weather-NOM	promise-3SG.PRS	get worse-INF
'The weather might get worse'		

The semantic component of epistemic modality seems to dominate in the semantic structure of the Lithuanian verb. When ŽADĖTI ('promise') is used with infinitival complements denoting inchoativity as well as stativity, the semantic component of epistemic modality combines with the semantic component of ingressive aspectuality.

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The rise and fall of English in a trilingual village in Papua New Guinea

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Two major debates in contemporary linguistics are the fate of thousands of small languages, doomed to disappear by the end of this century, on the one hand, and the spread of English to become the only truly global language, on the other. While both trends – the extinction of small languages and the spread of English – are undeniable facts, far less has been said about the area in between. An implicit conclusion from the two trends mentioned would be that more and more languages will die and ultimately be replaced by English. However, the processes happening in the 'middle field' are much more complex.

I will describe the sociolinguistic situation of a Papua New Guinean village which is currently trilingual. The traditional language of the area is the Papuan language Iatmul; on the national level, the dominant language in education, business, and administration, is English; and the regional, and increasingly national, lingua franca is Tok Pisin.

Currently, Tok Pisin is the language best known among the villagers, as all generations are fluent in it. Next in competence comes Iatmul, which is the native language of most adults, but has been relegated to second-language status for the children, who could be labelled semi-speakers. Finally, English, which is well known by many in the middle generation, who were educated in schools still characterized by the legacy of an English-speaking colonial administration. English is less well known among the elder and the younger generation.

I will then compare the trilingual situation of today with the situation of previous generations, which were ultimately monolingual in Iatmul, reconstruct how subsequent generations became bi- or trilingual, and finally present an outlook into the future, where monolingualism in Tok Pisin is likely to prevail.

Thus, while the Iatmul situation confirms scenario I, the disappearance of small languages, it does not confirm scenario II, the spread of English. Surveys among the Iatmul confirm that English has the highest prestige, but is the least used, while Tok Pisin is the language with the lowest prestige, but at the same time the most widely known, and the one to ultimately oust both Iatmul and English. I will discuss the sociocultural background and environment in which language shift is taking place, to explain the discrepancy between professed prestige and actual use.

My paper is based on intense long-term immersion fieldwork of 14 months, between 2005 and 2008.

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Language as economic and symbolic capital – power relations in a multilingual city

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The multicultural city of Pula (Croatia) represents a complex multilingual reality based on the use of various languages and idioms, which is also reflected in the official bilingualism (Croatian-Italian). On the example of Italian minority, considered the autochthonous, highly prestige-driven minority with specific historical background which influences their present status, and Albanian minority, considered a new minority – migrant community, the article examines the role of their respective languages as economic and symbolic capital. If languages are assigned different status, this may result in asymmetries of social power and, consequently, impact on the degree of economic participation and integration of a specific community. Power relations can also be observed in the language of public signage within the linguistic landscape, serving as an indicator of power and status of language groups in contact (regarding the eventual predominance of one language in a multilingual setting).

The study will address the research questions regarding the different communicative practices at play in specific settings, whether and how status (old/new minority) and language competencies affect economic integration, and how linguistic landscape relates to the status of languages under investigation.

The methodology used will be largely qualitative, using ethnographic approach: semi-structured interviews (with members of Italian and Albanian minority) in order to provide a detailed description and a holistic understanding based on the informant's view of reality, visual data analysis of photographs (regarding the linguistic landscape) and observation.

We expect that the results will confirm our hypothesis that the Italian language, because of various historical influences, disposes of a higher status compared with the Albanian language. This, consequently, is supposed to provide better access to power and mobility within the society, and better integration of Italian language speakers, having in mind language as a form of symbolic capital.

Is that a filler? On the discourse function of the that-complementizer in spoken English

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This paper investigates the use of the that-complementizer with high-frequency matrix predicates such as I think, I suppose, which can also occur as medial and clause-final comment clauses. In clause-initial position they allow for the choice between that-complementizer and zero, as in (1), which raises the question whether these two constructional variants are functionally similar or different.

- (1) I think (that) John has come back from London

A crucial question in this connection is that of the syntactic status of the initial clause: is it a matrix clause, which syntactically governs a complement clause (e.g. Peterson 1999, Stenström 1995, Svensson 1976), or a parenthetical comment

clause, which is in a syntactically supplementary relationship to the following clause (e.g. Kärkkäinen 2003, Thompson 2002, Thompson & Mulac 1991)?

The proposed paper tries to shed some light on this question by examining 200 occurrences of initial I think (52 of which with a that-complementizer) and other lexical predicates in a corpus of spoken English. More precisely, it investigates to what extent the corpus data provide evidence for the relative prominence of the initial clause, which in a cognitive-functional perspective is the underlying principle for distinguishing between main and subordinate clause status (e.g. Langacker 1991, Thompson 2002). In spoken language there are two formal cues for signalling prominence of the initial clause and hence a possible hierarchical difference between the two clauses: (i) the presence or absence of the that-complementizer as an explicit marker of syntactic subordination and (ii) prosodic prominence (cf. also Kaltenböck 2006, 2008). The present study takes a close look at the syntax-prosody interface for different lexical predicates and investigates to what extent these parameters together with an assessment of the typical informational status of these predicates in context can provide evidence for a particular syntactic analysis of such initial clauses.

Analysis of the corpus data shows that a difference on the structural level, i.e. that vs. zero, does not correspond with a difference in prosodic realisation. Both constructional types exhibit a similar distribution of the three prosodic patterns identified: they are both most frequently realised as heads, less frequently as pre-heads, and only rarely with a separate nuclear accent. This means that the two formal signals available for indicating relative prominence of the initial clause, prosody and marker of subordination, do not correlate. The equivalence in actual use of the two syntactic variants, can be explained, however, by reassessing the function of the that-complementizer in spoken language. The corpus data show that it is not so much used as a marker of syntactic subordination but mainly as a filler, which is used to give weight to the initial clause or for rhythmic purposes.

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The discourse of ageing over the lifespan: the Polish context

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The traditional assumption that human development practically closes at achieving adulthood has also affected linguists. Accordingly, linguistics has focused on children and teenagers acquiring and developing linguistic and communicative skills. Yet, modern thinking of development is based on the idea that human development is lifelong and many disciplines have accepted that perspective, notably developmental psychology.

Language has mediated the understanding of the concept of development over the lifespan. One aspect of this mediation is that socio-psychological age is defined, performed and negotiated through discourse. Discourse also reflects and attaches values and ideologies to processes of identity formation. For example, the process of ageing itself has been predominantly understood in pejorative terms, i.e. in terms of decline rather than progress (cf. Gullette 1997, 2004).

In the current study we ask the following questions: Assuming that age-identity is embedded in cultural scripts, what are the markers of the culture-specific discourse of ageing? Further, if there is a universal quality to the perception of ageing, how does it transpire through a local discourse?

The paper reports on a study of age-related issues in language and communication in the Polish context. Its aim is to juxtapose the discursive construction of ageing at two life-stages (middle-age and older age), contextualised in the local (and some global) stereotypes and attitudes. It is a qualitatively oriented discourse study using the tools of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995) and thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke 2006).

The analysis is based on extended interviews with older and middle-aged people about ageing and growing old, about the symbolism of birthdays and New Years, about power and vulnerability, about confidence and anxiety. This main data set is complemented with a corpus of internet forum discussions on ageing.

In the final discussion, special attention is given to the relationship established between the young (22-year-old) interviewer and the older interviewees in interviews that have the qualities of a good conversation (cf. Manderson et al. 2006 for instrumental vs. reciprocal relationships in the interview). We hope to demonstrate how the projection of the ageing process is co-constructed by research participants whose position and life-experience is distinctly different.

The most captivating is, however, the consideration of Gullette's conclusions about American society: "Despite the longevity revolution that began a century ago, we are being aged by culture younger all the time. (...) [A]geing-as-inward-anxiety has become a quintessentially midlife problem" (Gullette 1997: 4). We hypothesize that the comparison of the discourse of the middle-aged and the older participants will bring about an interesting contrast.

The results present the picture of diversity, despite of the relative social homogeneity of the subjects studied. In the local socio-cultural and interactional context, speakers choose to construct their life-stage narratives, as well as their age identities, with refined linguistic and discursive means. Their projections are, however, constricted by the fact that they draw from a repertoire of means which are rooted in the local context and entrenched in local stereotypes.

A consideration of an interplay of age with other social variables and situational factors (such as local cultural stereotyping of old age, local norms for age disclosure appropriateness, etc.) reveals culture-specific and language-specific behaviours. However, it also uncovers patterns that may be universal to human development over the lifespan.

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Non-rhoticity or where is the historical *r* lurking?

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A well-known fact about Modern English is that there are two general patterns concerning the distribution of the approximant *r*. Thus, in the rhotic pattern, generally associated with the United States, Canada, Ireland and Scotland, *r* appears in all of the phonological contexts. In the non-rhotic pattern, which involves southern England, Australia, New Zealand but also some parts of the eastern and southern United States, the contextual freedom of historical *r* is severely limited. Shortly put, in the latter group historical *r*, in half of the contexts, either shows up as a vocalic reflex or disappears altogether. More interestingly, in the non-rhotic dialects there are some *r*-zero alternations. One of them is linking *r*, a typical sandhi phenomenon where the alternating variants depend on whether a vowel or consonant follows, e.g. *far above* [fɑɪə'əbʌv] and *far below* [fɑ: bɪləʊ]. This process has an extension in the form of the so-called intrusive *r*. The process consists in the realization of the constricted *r* in etymologically *r*-less forms again depending on the following context, e.g. *draw it* [drɔ:ɪt] and *draw the* [drɔ:ðə]. Additionally, the set of vocalic contrasts before historical *r* is radically different from that found before other consonants. In other words, we observe a direct influence of the historical *r* on both vowel quality and quantity. Most previous analyses account for the *r*-zero alternations either as case of deletion or epenthesis or both. In this paper we show that neither of them captures all the relevant facts.

The majority of the by now classic accounts both in linear and no-linear models are based on deletion or epenthesis (e.g. Kahn 1976, Gussmann 1980, Lodge 1984, Mohanan 1986). In addition to theory internal flaws (disjunctivity, arbitrariness, resyllabification, extrinsic rule ordering), such accounts suffer from other weaknesses, e.g. *r*-deletion confined exclusively to absolute domain-final position or no local source for the epenthetic *r*. In a more recent approach (Harris 1994, Gussmann 2002) the *r*-related phenomena are explained by means of a floating segment – a segment not attached to a skeletal slot. More specifically, Harris (1994) claims that in dialects with both linking and intrusive *r*, the alternating *r* is lexically present (in the form of a floating segment) in both etymologically *r*-full (e.g. *bar*, *war*) and *r*-less (e.g. *draw*, *Shah*) forms, ready to be captured by the incoming empty onset of the following morpheme (*r*-zero alternations) or merged with the preceding nucleus (quality/quantity effects on preceding vowels). In our analysis we follow the floating segment solution but, in opposition to Harris, we claim that the postulation of *r* in etymologically *r*-less forms unnecessarily burdens the grammar. Such forms, it is shown, participate in *r*-zero alternations (intrusive *r*) because of the vowels they possess (vowels containing the element (A)) rather than a floating *r*.

In the present analysis the explanation of the *r*-related phenomena relies on the historical *r* defusion (weakening), i.e. *r* = (A) > (A_). This resulted in the development of the glide [ɹ] with some later repercussions in the form of different vocalic reflexes. More specifically, in this paper we address the questions concerning the distribution and representation of *r* and its various interactions with the preceding vowels. We explain the mechanics behind the *r*-zero alternations and explore the problem of lexical representation of etymologically *r*-less and *r*-full forms participating in such alternations. We provide the analysis of historical facts which are the cornerstone of non-rhotic dialects. Thus, we argue that the first step in the historical

developments of *r*-full forms was *r* defusion as a reaction to positional plight (before the empty nucleus). The weakened *r*, in order to avoid negative consequences, migrated to the left and invaded the preceding nuclear position (['] development), merged with the preceding vowel or both. These changes gave rise to various vocalic reflexes found in many different dialects. It is claimed here that historical *r* has never been lost from the lexical representation of etymologically *r*-full forms. Quite the opposite, it has existed in many different ways ready to surface whenever the conditions are satisfied. This can be observed in the case of linking *r*. On the other hand, intrusive *r* is analyzed as a separate (but still similar) process in which a part of the elemental make-up of non-high vowels spreads and surfaces under the onset position of the following morpheme.

The analysis of both diachronic and synchronic facts is couched in the recent development of Government Phonology known as the Strict CV model (Lowenstamm 1996, Rowicka 1999, Cyran 2003, Scheer 2004) and the Element Theory which deals with the elemental make-up of phonological segments (Harris 1994, Harris and Lindsey 1995, Cyran 2003).

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Synonymy of Adpositional Constructions: Medial Region Adpositions in Estonian

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The present paper continues the Cognitive Linguistics tradition of researching spatial language. Although over the years, a vast number of important and insightful studies have been conducted on spatial adpositions in various languages, relatively little attention has been devoted to such prepositions like *between*, *among*, *amid*, *in the middle of* and their counterparts in other languages. The aim of the present paper is to give a semantic account of some of the ways the Estonian language expresses the MEDIAL REGION, i.e. locating an entity (Tr) in the intersection of the regions of two or more entities (Lm) (Svorou 1994). The main focus is on the following Estonian adpositions: *vahel* (between), *seas* (among, amid), *hulgas* (among, amid), *keskel* (in the middle, in the centre), and *keset* (in the middle of). The present paper adopts a cognitive and functional approach to the study of spatial language, in line with e.g. Coventry and Garrod (2004), Feist and Gentner (2003), Landau and Jackendoff (1993), Vandeloise (1991), and Zelinsky-Wibbelt (1993).

The paper presents the results of a corpus analysis carried out with these five Estonian MEDIAL REGION adpositions. It also describes the results of an experiment carried out with 47 Tartu University undergraduates. The aim of these studies was to determine the factors that play a role in choosing between the Estonian MEDIAL REGION adpositions listed above – is it the quantity of the landmarks (two vs. more than two), the animacy of the trajector and landmarks, or the centrality of the trajector that influences the use. One of the key issues of the paper is the synonymy of spatial adpositions. The corpus analysis showed (and the results of the experiment verified this) that when we have only two landmarks, the adposition most predominantly used is *vahel* (between). Nevertheless, the picture is not as clear when there are more than two landmarks. In essence, all of these five Estonian adpositions can be used to express a spatial scene, where a Tr is located in the space between more than two landmarks:

- 1) näidendidki lesisid muude paberite vahel
 plays-NOM-EMPH lie-PST.3SG other papers-GEN between
 ‘the plays as well lay between other papers’
- 2) Haldurile antud paberite hulgas ei olnud dokumenti, mis ...
 Haldur-ALL give-PST.PTCP papers-GEN among not be-PST.3SG document-PART which
 ‘There was no document among the papers given to Haldur which...’

- 3) Laual ... kaks poolikut viinapudelit hallide plekk-kruuside seas.
table-ADE two half-empty vodka-bottles-PART gray-PL-GEN tin-cups-GEN among
'On the table... two half-empty vodka bottles among gray tin cups.'
- 4) vaatasime oma jalgu veetaimede keskel
look-PST.1PL our feet-PART water-plants-GEN in-the-middle-of
'We were looking at our feet among the water plants'
- 5) Äkki märkangi sõiduauto radiaatorit absurdses üksinduses
suddenly notice-PRES-EMPH car-GEN radiator-PART absurd-INESS solidarity-INESS
keset hiirelõkse ja poonimisvaha
in the middle of mousetraps-GEN and wax-GEN
'Suddenly I notice the car's radiator in the absurd solidarity among the mousetraps and wax.'

Although the main focus is on the Estonian MEDIAL REGION expressions, passing reference will also be made to the MEDIAL REGION expressions in other languages.

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Sentential Negation, Adverbs and Pronominal clitics in Slavic (and some Romance) Languages – global vs. local tendencies of language contact

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This paper is an attempt to investigate the nature of sentential negation in a larger array of Slavic and Romance languages, including also some local and autochthonic idioms of Slavic in the homelands of Germany (such as Lower Sorbian in Brandenburg's Lower Lusatia and Upper Sorbian in Saxony's Upper Lusatia, cf. e.g. Kosta 2001) and of Molise Slavic in Italy (e.g. in Acquaviva Collecroce, San Felice del Molise and Montemitro, cf. Breu 1997, 2000, 2007, 2008, in print).

The assumption that the position of negation is not identical in all languages, but might vary from language (type) to language (type), raises an interesting question, dealt with, among others, by Zanuttini in her 1994 paper, namely the question of "whether negative clauses which employ different syntactic means for the expression of sentential negation nevertheless share a common syntactic structure at some level of representation" (ibid., p. 427). Zanuttini (1991) proposes a uniform treatment of negative markers across languages. The basic idea of her proposal is that even though the negative markers are base generated in different structural positions in different languages, there is a uniform position in which they are interpreted at LF, namely, the Polarity Phrase (PolP), i.e., a projection in which the polarity value of the clause is established. This projection is located structurally higher than Tense Phrase (TP).

Given the remarks above, it would seem that the term 'sentence negation' is somewhat misleading as sentence negation does not have scope over the entire sentence but rather over the basic proposition restricted more or less to the verbal predicate and its arguments. As mentioned above, interrogative or imperative operators, as well as sentential adverbs, are not included within the scope of sentence negation.

The idea that sentence negation is to be accounted for in terms of Negative Phrase (NegP) has also become popular in Slavic linguistics (but see below); see, among others, Rivero (1991), Borsley/Rivero (1994) for Slavic in general, Brown (1996, 1999), Brown/Franks (1995, 1997), Bailyn (1995, 1999), Junghanns (1995), Harves (2002 a, b), Abels (in press) for Russian, Paslowska (in press) for Ukrainian, Dornisch (1997), Witkoś (1996 b, 1998), Błaszczak (2001) for Polish, Kosta (2001, 2003) for Czech (see also Veselovská 1995), Progovac (1994) for Serbian/Croatian, Leko (1996) for Bosnian, Janeva (2001), Schick (2002) for Bulgarian, Tomić (2002) for South Slavic.

The present investigation tries to close this gap in analyzing not the interaction of clausal negation and morphologically negative constituents (henceforth, NI-words) which are licensed in and only in the scope of overt clause mate negation but rather some other syntactic or morphosyntactic categories which are close related to the issue under investigation, such as negation and V-raising and negation and clitics within the theory of language contact and language typology. We will include the influence of sentential or VP-adverbs on the scope relations of the negative operator at LF since we have worked on it in many publications (cf. Kosta 2001, 2003a, 2003b).

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A Dictionary for a minority language: the case of Ket

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Ket is a language spoken in Central Siberia. Although there are about 1,400 native Kets, only a tiny part of them can speak the language fluently. In the presentation we describe and analyze the problems which have been faced in the course of making the Comprehensive Ket-Russian dictionary. An important aspect of the analysis is revealing the peculiarities in solving a number of lexicographical problems when applied to the material of minority languages. Among the primary questions arising in the process of dictionary making are the following.

1. Identification of the target audience. There are three possible variants: (1) language community; (2) academic community; (3) both communities. The choice depends on what lexicographical work has already been done for a given language and what are the needs and expectations of the communities. The survey of existing Ket dictionaries and the present sociolinguistic situation in the Ket community suggest that the most likely target users of the dictionary will be scholars. This was the determinant factor in deciding various practical questions while compiling the dictionary, as is shown below.

2. Collecting data and compiling the basic vocabulary. The initial wordlist may be based on: (1) translation of the list of the most frequent words from a European language; (2) extraction of the wordlist from a corpus of texts; (3) thematic elicitation from native speakers in order to obtain basic lexical units belonging to a particular semantic field. The peculiarity in compiling a wordlist for the Ket-Russian dictionary was connected with the fact that it was initially created on the basis of a hand-written card file dictionary (made from a big collection of field notes).

3. Creating dictionary entries. An entry includes two important components – a lemma and a commentary. Both components have their own characteristics which, in turn, have some peculiarities in minority languages.


3.1. Lemma.

Since the dictionary is targeted primarily at the academic community, we decided to use notation based on IPA. The next step was to decide how to deal with quite diverse orthographic representations of the Ket data both in the field notes and published dictionaries. For a variety of reasons, we had to decide to represent Ket lemmata in strict phonological transcription, while illustrative contexts are represented in a unified phonetic transcription reflecting dialectal differences (ex. 1).

3.2 Commentary to lemma.

An obligatory and very important component of the commentary to a lemma in a bilingual dictionary is a certain hierarchic arrangement of word meanings reflected in the corresponding translations. Linguists compiling dictionaries usually rely on the totality of contexts in which the given word can be found; and, if they are native speakers, upon their own intuition. Those who compile dictionaries of unwritten languages are generally not native speakers, and therefore it is contexts which become of a great importance. In this case, each single meaning should be confirmed by an appropriate context. The corpus of illustrative examples for our dictionary is based on three sources: (1) the hand-written card file dictionary; (2) current field work; (3) published Ket texts. In many cases, the commentaries have been enriched with encyclopedic information, as it helps to understand certain ethnospecific concepts (ex. 2). We also tried to include idiomatic expressions, however, we managed to find only a small number of them (ex. 3).

Examples:

(1) èd m, edn; (sket. èr^j, cket. èdə, nket. èr^j) соболь//Zobel//sable; kel. er^jda i:l^jaŋs^j пища соболя, sur. kiseŋ etn on^jaŋ здесь соболей много, pak. èdə ta'maks dug'dapteŋ, bŭ qaɖəqo:nə соболь что-то тащит, он стал гонять его  āt daŋoŋon, èr^j tuaul^jtet l'aŋaras^j я стал ловить, схватил соболя рукой (CHCC 76: 5)

(2) imil n, imilaŋ; имиль (кетское лакомство – ореховая масса из желудка белки)//Imil (ketischer Leckerbissen – Nussmasse aus dem Magen eines Eichhörnchens)//imil' (Ket delicacy – nut paste from a squirrel's stomach); kel. āt saqda i:mi:l^j bi:l^j я имиль белки съел, kel. i:mi:l^j i'n tobolut, bi:laq имиль долго лежал, сгнил, kel. ɔr i:mi:l^j daqɖoŋol^jda отец имиль жарил

(3) kūb n, kūn; 1. конец//Ende//end; 2. рот, губы (две губы вместе)//Mund, Lippen//mouth, lips; sur. kedda kūp губа человека/рот человека, kel. tīp kūp dubbo собака губы облизывает, kel. taɣə ar kūp təlqimna я на морозе губы застудил ✧ sum. kūp baŋbes^j dug'daptaŋ он что-то вынюхивает [губу по земле волочит] 3. наконечник, острие//Spitze//tip; 4. клюв, нос, носик//Schnabel, Nase, Tülle//beak, nose, spout;

Process nouns with two NP_{GEN}

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Rozwadowska (1997) and Alexiadou (2001) claim that only result nouns (of the *description* type), but not process nouns (of the *destruction* type) can be followed by two NPs in genitive. They state that there are not process nouns with a theme in the form of a NP_{GEN} and an agent in the form of a NP_{GEN}. This is shown by examples from Greek, Spanish, French, Italian, Polish and Russian. Their point is that these nouns already have a NP_{GEN}, which is their theme argument, and they cannot have another NP_{GEN}, which would be their agent. According to Alexiadou, the default construction for the agent argument in such situations is *by* phrase (in English), or its equivalents in other languages.

This paper gives examples from South Slavic languages (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian) that clearly show that there are process nouns with two NPs in genitive: one is theme, and the second is agent of noun. The default constructions for the agent argument in these languages are phrases like the English *by* phrase (for example *od strane* phrase in Serbian). Still, agents of nouns in these languages can also be realized as possessive adjectives, or as NP_{GEN}. In the most cases NP_{GEN} is possible only with nouns without a phonologically realized theme. However, there are examples in these languages with a phonologically realized theme (in the form of NP_{GEN}), and an agent in NP_{GEN}.

Results of this research show that process nouns followed by two NPs in genitive are possible only if agent of a noun cannot be expressed in the form of a possessive adjective. If agent can be expressed with a possessive adjective, construction with two genitives is not acceptable. The very reasons for the mentioned situation still are not enough clear. A work hypothesis is that genitive with the agent role in South Slavic languages and genitive in languages where this form cannot have the agent role, are of a different nature.

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The acquisition of conditioned and unconditioned vowel nasalization

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The development of nasal vowels over time in languages has been found to involve a series of predictable stages which typically include the following: VN > V□N > V□^N > V□. A language variety that illustrates all these not strictly chronological steps is Standard French (e.g., *bon* [bo~]). U.S. and Australian English, on the other hand, are currently at the contextual assimilation stage, with the beginning of N-deletion in colloquial speech before (unmarked) coronal stops (e.g., U.S. English *can* 't [k~nt] > [k~t] before coronal stops, versus *and* [~nd] or *can(s)* [k~n(s)] elsewhere.

In turn, in some language varieties, vowel nasalization may be followed by denasalization which typically takes the form of a weakening, possibly all the way to the outright loss of nasality. This can occur before N-deletion, as in Middle French before syllable-initial (and thus preserved) nasal consonants, as in Spoken Latin *bona* [b.ɲa] 'good' fem. > Old French [bo~n.ɪ.] > Middle French [b.ɲ.ɪ.]. Or it can happen after N-deletion, whereby phonemic nasality on the vowel can undergo some weakening or disappear altogether (V□ > V≥ > V), which can be accompanied by restructuring to VN sequences (V□ > V□^N > V≥^N / V≥N > VN). An example of the former type would be Latin *ben(e)* > Languedocien *ben* > be~^l > be~ > be. An example of the latter would be Latin *plen(u)* > [ple~ɤ] > ple~ > [ple≥ɤ], and > [plej] after full denasalization, in some dialects of the Landes area in France.

Both forms of denasalization of phonemically nasal vowels, namely simple loss of nasality (V□ > V≥ > V) and additional restructuring to VN sequences (V□ > V□^N > V≥^N / V≥N > VN), also commonly occur in language contact situations that involve borrowing. In particular, it is argued in Paradis and Prunet 2000 that simple loss of nasality is likely to occur when the borrowing language has a constraint against VN sequences; and restructuring is likely to occur when it does not have such a constraint.

The present paper looks instead at the second language acquisition of Standard French nasal vowels by native speakers of language varieties that have only phonemically oral vowels. The predictions to be tested are (1) that the acquisition of vowel nasality involves the same two paths as borrowing, depending on whether adaptation to native V or VN occurs initially; and (2) that acquisition proceeds in the opposite order of denasalization, that is as $V > V^{\geq} > V^{\square}$ or as $VN > V^{\geq}N / V^{\geq}N^{\square} > V^{\square}N^{\square} > V^{\square}$.

Based on published sources, two illustrative examples are looked at more closely. One involves the acquisition of Standard French nasal vowels by native speakers of Southeastern French, where nasality is nowadays only allophonic/conditioned and weaker than in (northern) Standard French ($V^{\geq}N$ or $V^{\geq}N^{\square}$). In these language varieties, the acquisition of Standard French strongly nasal vowels is predicted to follow the path of restructuring to VN followed by conditioned vowel nasalization. The other illustrative example involves the acquisition of French nasal vowels by native speakers of the Alsatian dialect of German spoken in the Alsace region located in France across from the southwestern border of Germany. As discussed in Laeuffer 2009, by the second half of the 19th century, when elementary school instruction had become obligatory and was delivered in French, Alsatians switched adaptation patterns for French nasal vowels from VN to V, a hypercorrect realization. From then on, the acquisition of French nasal vowels is predicted to follow the $V > V^{\geq} > V^{\square}$ path.

Epistemic modality and information structure in embedded clauses

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1. INTRO. In this talk I will argue that (i) contrary to what is often assumed [cf. Komagata 2001/2003, Vallduví & Zacharski 1993], embedded clauses (ECs) have an information structure (IS) articulation independent from that of the main clause and (ii) that the specific way in which IS is expressed in ECs depends on the presence vs. absence of epistemic modality. My claim will be based on new empirical evidence concerning the distribution of a clearly IS-driven syntactic configuration: verb-subject word order (VS) in French. **2. DATA. 2.1.** I will first present the results of extensive corpus research showing that VS in French is subject to different constraints in two groups of ECs. In group 1, VS *only* occurs in the presence of a specific lexicogrammatical indication of the focal (or non-topical) status of the postverbal subject, such as its indefiniteness, the presence of a spatio-temporal topic the whole clause is construed as a comment about, the presence of a focus particle, etc. In group 2, VS is fully acceptable in the absence of any additional factor.

(1) ECs OF GROUP 1 (WITHOUT INDICATION OF FOCAL STATUS POSTVERBAL SUBJECT)

[NO ATTESTED EXAMPLES FOUND IN CORPUS → CONSTRUCTED EXAMPLES]

- A. CAUSAL CLAUSE **??? JE DOIS PARTIR PARCE QUE SONT ARRIVÉS LES ENFANTS.**
 I HAVE TO-LEAVE BECAUSE HAVE ARRIVED THE CHILDREN
- B. CONCESSIVE CLAUSE **??? JE DOIS PARTIR BIEN QUE SOIENT ARRIVÉS LES ENFANTS.**
 I HAVE TO-LEAVE ALTHOUGH HAVE ARRIVED THE CHILDREN

(2) ECs of group 2 (without indication of focal status postverbal subject) [corpus examples]

- A. TEMPORAL CLAUSE **QUAND ARRIVA LA TANTE, CELA SE FIT TOUT NATURELLEMENT.**
 WHEN ARRIVED THE AUNT THAT Reffl DID VERY NATURALLY
- B. COMPARATIVE CLAUSE **PARTIR, COMME PARTENT LES NAVIRES.**
 TO-LEAVE, LIKE LEAVE THE SHIPS.

2.2. I will then show that, similarly to what happens in English (cf. Haegeman 2006, Verstraete 2007), performative epistemic expressions such as *peut-être* ‘perhaps’ and *probablement* ‘probably’ occur in group 1, but not in group 2. **2.3.** These data show that VS is allowed without an additional factor in ECs without epistemic commitment (group 2), contrary to ECs with epistemic commitment (group 1). Hence, the syntactic expression of IS in a clause type depends on the presence or absence of epistemic modality. **3. EXPLANATION. 3.1.** In line with a.o. Palmer (1998), Givón (1982) and Kuroda (1992), I will put forward that ECs which allow the appearance of epistemic modal expressions are clauses whose propositional content is open to challenge, i.e. clauses to whose truth the speaker is committed. **3.2.** I will then argue that the truth or challengeability of a clause is closely related with its IS articulation, to the extent that the truth of a sentence is determined by evaluating the truth of the predicate *with respect to the topic* (cf. Strawson 1964, Erteschik-Shir 1997/1999, Reinhart 1981, Chierchia 1992). Since the grammatical subject is the unmarked, prototypical topic (cf. Lambrecht 1994 and much other work on IS), the truth of the clause is typically determined with respect to the grammatical subject. **3.3.** On the basis of the *lie test* (Erteschik-Shir & Lappin 1979, Lambrecht 1994, Erteschik-Shir 1997), I will show that a postverbal subject (4), contrary to a preverbal one (3), can crucially *not* be the entity with respect to which the truth of the clause is evaluated.

(3)	(4)
<p>- A CE MOMENT, LA PORTE CLAQUA. 'AT THAT MOMENT, THE DOOR SLAMMED.'</p>	<p>- A CE MOMENT CLAQUA LA PORTE. AT THAT MOMENT SLAMMED THE</p>
DOOR	
<p>- C'EST UN MENSONGE: ELLE NE CLAQUA PAS. 'THAT IS A LIE: IT DID NOT SLAM.'</p>	<p>- # C'EST UN MENSONGE: ELLE NE CLAQUA PAS. 'THAT IS A LIE: IT DID NOT SLAM.'</p>

3.4. Given all this, a potential conflict arises when VS appears in a clause type *with* epistemic commitment: such a clause is challengeable (cf. 3.1.) and will prototypically be challenged with respect to the grammatical subject (cf. 3.2.), but the postverbal subject in VS can crucially *not* be the element against which the truth of the proposition is evaluated (cf. 3.3.). No such conflict arises when VS shows up in a clause *without* epistemic commitment, given that such a clause cannot be challenged (cf. 3.1.) and, consequently, a postverbal subject there can never be interpreted as the entity by which the clause is evaluated. **3.5.** I will argue that this potential conflict in clauses with epistemic modality is solved by the introduction of a lexicogrammatical indication of the focal (or non-topical) status of the postverbal subject, indicating that the postverbal subject is *not* the topic with respect to which the truth of the proposition is challenged. This explains the descriptive generalisation concerning the distribution of VS in ECs (cf. 2.3).

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"Les Miserables" (Times, 18.5.07)- The Discourses of Sports Reportage.

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Media are socio-political *institutions* with professional routines to manage, categorize and package the flow information. In terms of communicational function, they are *hyperdomains* as other domains, e.g. politics, law, business, lifestyle, and all topics can figure in them as content providers or topics. In terms of ownership and content control, media are typically, but not exclusively, businesses. In terms of their socio-political role in the wider societal and media context, they are (minimally) *co-orchestrators* of what is 'in the air' in the public arena. More often than not, they have a symbiotic relationship with sources, as in sport whose public image often depends on media coverage. Media need not even be content 'transmitters' or co-orchestrators, they may be creators of 'reality', of events that might not exist without them (as in many non-mainstream sports).

Media output is packaged, marketable, recognizable products that help maintain a media outlet's audience share, and derive their significance from their embedding into the topicality 'of the day'. Language is often the central component (though output is increasingly multi-modal) in the creation of a *public discourse*, appropriately called *public idiom*. It must be a compromise between multiple tensions. The (un-)familiarity of the registers of source domains, the limitations and perspectives of technologies, the expectations of diverse audiences, the (un-)expectedness and level of the situation – all that has to be integrated into a conventional genre or product that creates, transmits and interprets, that shapes opinions or carries ideologies that people 'out there' (can) accept.

The public idiom cannot but be diverse, dynamic, ever changing. So is reporting.

In this talk I will focus on a particular type of (sports) reporting, i.e. soccer and Australian Rules Football. Reportage is a traditional media genre, one that has frequently been described from a multiplicity of angles. The five 'W's (*what, who, when, where, how*) are part of the professional wisdom. The study of its narrativity, the need to impose a sequence where there is none (in relation to 'voices' or reactions) and the 'brutality' of putting all that 'upside down' (the *inverted pyramid*

structure) to make it relevant to the audience reflect more recent sociolinguistic and text type approaches. Their role in the construal of angles and of ideologies has been studied in text linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis and elsewhere.

There is tension between conventional form, with the five Ws dominating, and the ideologies they carry. In this talk I will therefore focus on a recent development in sports reporting that makes them more narrative but on a different ideological plane. (The) interpretation (of the event) creates a hyper-narrative that is cast over and above the conventional report structure. The event becomes an instance of something higher. That transformation of the event, I will argue, is not merely public indoctrination but a response to media's inclination to aggrandize, the public's love of hyperbole and expectation of entertainment. In all of that, one must not forget, media must de-accentuate emotions, counter violence and racism!

Sports is made to fit – through sports coverage!

Past publications

"Mass media and language", 2005, in: Philipp Strazny, ed., *Encyclopedia of linguistics*. London: Routledge, 658-661.

"The sociolinguistics of communication media", in: Florian Coulmas, Hsg., *Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1997, 187-204.

"What do you do with a ball in soccer?". Medium, mode and pluricentricity in soccer reporting", *World Englishes* 15(1), 1996, 83-102. (with Markus Hesselmann)

What to do with 'for' in languages of different types

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This paper concerns nuclear propositions such as 'Do not be anxious about tomorrow' that are followed by one or more strengthening sentences (e.g. 'Tomorrow will look after itself'). In a VS/VO language such as Koiné Greek, the norm is for the strengthening material to be introduced with γάρ 'for' (used once every 132 words in the Greek New Testament). In comparable publications in English (SVO), in contrast, 'for' is much less frequent. In C. S. Lewis' 1942 book, 'The Screwtape Letters', for instance, it is found as a conjunction only once every 1290 words. On numerous occasions, Lewis leaves the nucleus – strengthening relation implicit.

Modern translations of the Greek New Testament into English often omit the 'for' (e.g. 16 of the 36 instances of γάρ in the letter to the Galatians are left untranslated in the New International Version). However, it is sometimes difficult in such translations to recognise that the following sentence(s) are meant to strengthen the preceding material, especially if a section title separates the two parts.

This paper presents factors that seem to determine when Lewis uses 'for' or some other connective such as 'After all', instead of leaving the nucleus – strengthening implicit in his book. Identification of such factors will help translators from VS/VO languages to choose when to leave the relation implicit in English and when to use a connective to make it explicit.

The paper concludes with an overview of strategies that have been found in natural texts in SOV languages for relating strengthening material to a nuclear proposition. They include the following (present author 2006):

- (i) An expression such as 'The reason' introduces the strengthening material (only found when the strengthening material is more important than the nucleus);
- (ii) The relation between the nucleus and the following strengthening sentence(s) is left implicit (most often used when the nucleus is a command);
- (iii) The strengthening sentence is placed before the nucleus and the nucleus is introduced with an inferential conjunction such as 'Therefore';
- (iv) An *inclusio* is used, in which some form of the nucleus that precedes the strengthening the material is repeated after the strengthening material. An example of this strategy, which was the one used most frequently in a published short story in Tamil (Pitthan 2008), is the following:

nucleus: 'Her husband greeted me with much respect.'

strengthening: 'Saying that Shanta had often told him how respectfully and maturely you behaved in the matter of that fool Venu,'

nucleus' 'he greeted me with much respect.'

I conclude that the preferred ways for handling the nucleus - strengthening relation correlate with the language type.

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(present author) 2006. Reasoning Styles and Types of Hortatory Discourse. *Journal of Translation* 2.2.
 Pitthan, Puthumai. 2008. Venu the Fool. *Meaning Creations of Puthumai Pitthan*, 3rd volume, Ainthiani Press; online at <http://www.webulagam.com>) Transcribed in Roman script, interlinearised and translated by Selvi Michael.

Agent argument in Estonian participial constructions

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This paper concerns Agent marking devices in Estonian constructions containing past passive participle. The data comes from the Corpus of Old Literal Estonian (19th century texts), the Corpus of Spoken Estonian and the Corpus of Written Estonian (20th century texts).

Estonian past passive participle (PPP) is used widely in different constructions. Due to the Patient-orientation, most of the participial constructions are more or less passive-like (Comrie 2008). As PPP is Patient-oriented, the Agent of the action is usually not explicitly expressed but it can be expressed by adding some oblique arguments.

Estonian has at least 4 main devices to mark the Agent in these construction:

(1) argument with elative case marking:

Keik nee-d Sanna-d sa-i-d, senni kui ta räk-i-s, Sikkertari-st ülles kirjutud.

all these-PL word-PL get-PST-PL3 until then he/she talk-PST-PL3 secretary-ELA up+write-PPP

'All these words were written down by the secretary while he was speaking.' (1817-Holtz_9)

(2) argument with adessive case marking:

Tegelikult ol-i ne-i-l kõik aegsasti ette kavanda-tud.

actually be-PST:SG3 they-PL-ADE all early ahead plan-PPP

'Actually they had all planned ahead early' (Kroonika 08.10.2002)

(3) *poolt*-('by')-construction:

Naise-d on looduse poolt huvitava-ma-te-ks loo-dud.

woman-PL be:PL3 nature:GENby interesting-CMP-PL-TR create-PPP

'Women are created by nature to be more interesting' (Kroonika 15.04.2003)

(4) genitive construction (genitive NP is not an independent argument but belongs to PPP):

Nemmal-d ep olle mitte innimesseteh-tud, waid

they-PL not be:NEG not man:GEN make-PPP but

'They are not made by man but...' 1818_Masing_60

In the 19th century, the most usual Agent marking device has been the elative case. During the 20th century, the use of the elative case has reduced and the use of the adessive case as an Agent marking device has increased. At the present time, the elative case is hardly used as an Agent marker, but the adessive case is very usual.

In this paper, we discuss these dynamic processes: why is the elative case replaced with adessive case as an Agent marking device?

There are three possible explanations:

- 1) the semantics of elative and adessive case is different;
- 2) adessive argument is a subject-like argument in many other constructions (e.g. possessive construction) and there may be some interaction between different constructions;
- 3) the influence of other languages: the dative case in many European languages is used similarly to Estonian adessive case.

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Grammatical and conceptual variation of metaphorical motion in two typologically distinct languages

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One of the most common and familiar human scenes is a moving object. Motion is used in everyday language to describe events with no physical movement in space, such as “time *flies*”. Here the motion scene prompts for the passage of time. This cognitive mechanism which allows us to use the physical logic to reason about understanding is conceptual metaphor. Metaphorical motion, as seen above, is a widespread conceptual metaphor that structures causes, changes, actions and purposes and which enable us to produce important and rich inferences. Without conceptual metaphor meaning would have an impoverished literal aspect (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999).

Germanic and Romanic languages present each a lexicalization pattern of motion (Talmy 2000). To express the source-path-goal schema, Norwegian, a Germanic language, employs usually manner verbs and directional particles (run down) whereas Portuguese, a Romanic language, typically uses path verbs and manner subordinate constructions (descend running). Due to its accommodative pattern, Norwegian is rich in mentioning manner and path, whereas Portuguese often omits one or the other. The analysis of metaphorical motion extracted from newspapers and novels in the two languages exposed systematic differences in the conceptual structure of quotidian situations and in the meaning conveyed and perceived. Typical descriptions: in Portuguese “Mas os indícios de crimes agora **levantados** poderão abalar a confiança” ‘But the traces of crimes **raised** now can shake trust’; in Norwegian ”Norske Skog er med på å **dra** Oslo Børs **opp** i pluss “ ‘Norske Skog is contributing to **pull** Oslo Børs **up** into the plus’. In both the motion construction evokes action, with prototypical-motion verbs and its syntax, as causation of change of states, where location is a new state. In Portuguese the meaning of “causing something to be known/ seen” is conveyed by down-up motion in the directional verb “raised”. In Norwegian the meaning of “causing something to be more lucrative” is conveyed by the verb and the particle. The force dynamic exerted on “Oslo Børs”, intrinsic in the verb “pull”, involves effort in causing the change, while the directional particle conveys the down-up motion towards a new state. Manner and path accommodate rich information, facilitating rapid and unconscious understanding of situations involving several details. In Norwegian manner and path are used as means of transmitting information. In Portuguese, similar information is often either omitted, suggested by the context or linguistically organized in a different way. This suggests that manner and path have a more salient conceptual dimension to Norwegians than to Portuguese, meaning Norwegians and Portuguese have different patterns of attention towards dimensions of embodied experience, when they express themselves. I feel this research raises the question of whether this difference manifests itself in other kinds of behaviour in cultural context.

My analysis is grounded on Talmy’s motion image-schema and lexicalization patterns, on Lakoff and Johnson’s metaphor theory, on Fauconnier and Turner’s many-space model of conceptual blending and on Langacker work’s on grammar and conceptualization

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Non canonical if-constructions in European contemporary Portuguese

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The main goal of this paper is to analyse formal and functional aspects of a large set of *if-constructions* in European contemporary Portuguese which are not described or even mentioned in the Portuguese reference grammars available at present (cf., a.o., Mateus et al., 2003, Bechara 1999) nor in the more specialised and recent studies on conditionals by Portuguese linguists (cf., a.o., Peres et al. 1999). I will label the constructions that will be focused on in this paper “utterance conditionals”.

My approach is essentially data-driven, mainly based on examples collected in CRPC (Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo, oral sub-corpus, <http://www.clul.ul.pt>) and in Corpus do Português de Davies&Ferreira (<http://www.corpusdoportugues.org>).

As a result of my research, a typology of utterance conditionals has been built. I will argue that utterance conditionals involve conditional clauses (sometimes elliptic) that operate on a pragmatic level, (i) specifying the cases where it is relevant to utter the main clause (“speech act conditionals” in van der Auwera 1986 and Sweetser 1990), as in (1); (ii) commenting on the dynamics of the verbal interaction, as in (2); (iii) expressing metalinguistic comments on the choice of words in the main clause, as in (3); (iv) cancelling a conversational implicature, as in (4); (v) evaluating what is said or presupposed in the main clause, as in (5); (v) functioning as a politeness device, as in (6):

Se tens fome, há comida no frigorífico.

[If you are hungry, there is food in the fridge]

Se não me engano, a capital da Birmânia é Rankun.

[If I’m not mistaken, the capital of Burma is Rangoon]

É um país de fronteira ou de articulação, se quiser.

[It is a border or neighbouring country, if you prefer.]

Estiveram presentes 100 pessoas, se não mais.

[100 people were there, if not more.]

As pessoas, independentemente das suas convicções políticas e ideológicas- se é que as têm -, unem-se para resolver problemas concretos.

[People, independently of their political and ideological convictions - if they have any - unite to resolve concrete problems]

Diz-me as horas, se faz favor?

[Tell me the time, if you don’t mind?]

Contrary to prototypical conditionals, the constructions under analysis can not be analysed within a strict semantic framework. In order to provide a comprehensive description of our data, pragmatic and functional criteria have to be taken into consideration.

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On the complementizer use of comparative subordinators in English: Synchronic and diachronic aspects

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Over the last few years the study of English clause connectives has received renewed scholarly attention (cf., among others, Lenker & Meurman-Solin 2007). In the specific domain of complementation, a particularly interesting area is the study of minor declarative complementizers, that is, connectives usually associated with other types of subordinate clauses, but which have occasionally been used to introduce finite declarative complements at different points in the history of the language. These minor declarative complementizers are the object of our current research project (cf., for instance, López-Couso 2007; López-Couso & Méndez-Naya 2001, 2008a, 2008b). In this paper we will focus on the development of the complementizer function of a number of originally comparative links in the history of English: Old English *swilce* ‘as if’, *as if*, *as though* and *like* (for *as if* and *as though*, cf. also Bender & Flickinger 1999), as well as on their behaviour in the contemporary language. Illustrative examples of the use of these minor complementizers are given in (1)–(4) below.

- (1) [...] *þe wolde þincean f—runga swilce ealle ða anlicnyssa ðe on þ—re byrig to goden geond ealle gesette w—ron ð—t hi ealle —tg—dere oncw—don.* (LS 34.93)
- (2) *It seemed as if all our moral vigor was dying down, and as if nothing could restore it.* (18xxdale.h6b, ARCHER)
- (3) *It was as though, not for the first time, each side had listened to the other’s problem and had realized it was well-nigh insoluble.* (1974cast.j8b, ARCHER)
- (4) *It looks like we’re going to be late.* (OALD s.v. *as*, note)

In particular, we will show that:

- (a) As with other minor complementizers, the selection of the minor links under discussion is constrained to occur with predicates of a specific semantic type, namely those expressing an attitude towards the truth of the embedded proposition (i.e. Propositional Attitude Predicates; Noonan 1985: 113).
- (b) The minor complementizers originating in the comparative domain are strongly associated with particular construction-types and are closely related to the notion of irrealis modality.
- (c) The presence of modally-marked forms in the sub-clause harmonizes with the subjective character of the matrix predicate and with the irrealis modality of the construction.
- (d) These minor connectives convey a lesser degree of commitment towards the truth of the proposition encoded in the complement clause than the major declarative complementizers *that* and *zero*.
- (e) *As if*, *as though* and *like* seem to be favoured in particular text-types and registers.
- (f) Our findings from the history of English allow comparison with those from other languages, such as Spanish, where *como si* and *como que* enter into variation with the default complementizer *que* in certain contexts.

The data for the present study have been retrieved, among other sources, from the standard corpora covering the history of the English language (Helsinki Corpus and ARCHER), Present-day English corpora (e.g. those of the Brown family, ICE-GB and DCPSE), as well as Mark Davies’s corpora of English and Spanish (TIME, COCA and Corpus del Español).

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Local effects of global languages: evidence from language modelling

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Modelling of language dynamics is a recent interdisciplinary approach to the study of sociolinguistic phenomena related to social network structure, population dynamics and language evolution. The pioneers of this approach were Abrams and Strogatz (2003). Their model of language competition set the bases for a type of work which has given rise to an increasing number of publications involving collaboration between linguists, physicists, mathematicians and computer scientists (cf. Baxter *et al.* 2006 and forthcoming, Castelló *et al.* 2007, Minett and Wang 2008, among others). The aim of this paper is to show how language dynamics modelling can indeed serve to understand different sociolinguistic situations of contact between global and local languages. For this purpose, we present a model (cf. Castelló *et al.* 2006) which isolates the main factors operating in this phenomenon: prestige (both overt and covert) and volatility (a term we use to refer to the speakers' willingness to shift languages). By varying the values of these two parameters, we obtain different sociolinguistic situations such as language extinction, language resilience, and emergence of new linguistic varieties. These results are then qualitatively compared to real life situations such as the status of Quechua in Peru, the survival of threatened languages such as Galician under Franco's regime, and the birth and maintenance of Yanito (a Spanish-English code-switching variety) as a result of three centuries of language contact in Gibraltar. The conclusions indicate that the mathematical modelling of language competition helps to shed new light on the study of language contact and thus constitutes an interesting research tool for sociolinguists.

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Lexical-constructional subsumption in resultative constructions in English

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Goldberg (1995) defines constructions as (complex) form-meaning pairings that exist independently of particular verbs. Thus, not only do constructions exist, but also they are capable of adding meaning. In the oft-quoted example *They laughed the poor guy out of the room*, the new caused-motion sense is not derivable from verbal projection (that is, from the argument structure of the predicate 'laugh'), but it is supplied by the construction.

The basic question that arises when dealing with such an issue is: why is it possible for the speaker to say *They laughed/winked/frightened, etc., the guy out of the room*, whereas **They described/owned/perceived, etc., the guy out of the room* is incorrect? There should be some explanation as to how lexical-constructional fusion works and what it is that constraints and/or licenses the incorporation of a lexical item into a given construction.

With that question in mind, we have chosen the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM, hereafter) developed by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal (2008) and Mairal and Ruiz de Mendoza (2008) as our theoretical tool of analysis. The overall architecture of the model contemplates four levels of description: i) core grammar configurations; ii) implicational constructions; iii) illocutionary constructions, and iv) discourse constructions. All constructional levels are affected by both *external* (i.e., high-level metaphor and metonymy) and *internal* (i.e., full matching, event identification condition, lexical class constraint, lexical blocking, predicate-argument conditioning and internal variable conditioning) constraining factors, as well as cognitive processes (i.e., *subsumption* and *conceptual cueing*), which are responsible for licensing or blocking the incorporation of lower-level configurations into higher-order ones.

The present paper aims to analyze the *resultative construction*, which Goldberg (1995) schematizes as X CAUSES Y TO BECOME Z, in which the Z element is an adjectival predicate (e.g., *He hammered the metal flat*). Here, the caused-motion construction is considered a subtype of the canonical resultative since both denote a change in the postverbal element

(state or location). From our point of view two basic interpretation schemas underlie such a configuration: a) whenever we want to specify a resulting state in which the patient is observed as solely gaining a new property, the underlying structure is $A > A'$, which we regard as a “canonical resultative construction” that makes use of an adjectival predicate (e.g., *He shut the door open*). However, b) if as a consequence of the action denoted by the verb, the patient is observed as changing into a new state of being, the structure is $A > B$. This schema is a resultative construction that makes use of the caused-motion configuration (e.g., *He smashed his guitar to pieces*). We examine a large number of examples that fall into one or the other category and discuss their basic properties and constraints in terms of various amalgams of cognitive models and the principles that license their combination.

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The study of semantic alternations in a dialogic Functional Discourse Grammar

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One of the justifications for the development of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) was the desire to achieve greater cognitive adequacy. The current architecture of FDG is accordingly inspired by well-established psycholinguistic models of language production, most specifically that of Levelt (1989). However, FDG remains heavily monologic in conception, which tends to belie its functionalist orientation to the interactive nature of language. An attractive alternative model within psycholinguistics, which shares FDG’s recognition of the multi-levelled nature of linguistic structuring, is the “mechanistic psychology of dialogue” developed by Pickering & Garrod (2004). Their model focuses on the close coupling between the contributions of the interlocutors in a dialogue. They propose that underlying every dialogue there are six representations, which correspond well with the Levels and Components of FDG. Crucially, these mental representations are essentially the same in all dialogue participants, with the similarities arising through continual mutual and automatic alignment of each representation. This alignment results in turn from the occurrence of repetitions, routines and temporary formulae, which they find to be endemic in casual dialogue and which have empirically verifiable priming effects (Pickering & Ferreira 2008). Alignment serves to reduce the complexity of language production and comprehension, with representations used in comprehension being immediately recycled for production purposes, and vice versa. The model helps to explain the rapidity and fluency of dialogic speech by providing shortcuts through the multi-layered sequences of obligatorily activated processes assumed in psycholinguistic work on monologic speech production. The integration of these insights into FDG could therefore substantially enhance its cognitive adequacy.

Against this backdrop, the purpose of this paper is to consider the phenomenon of morphosyntactic alternation in English within a dialogic model of FDG. It has been recognized for some time that which alternant a language user applies is influenced by his/her earlier selection of alternants from the same set (Bock 1986). There is now also a growing literature on priming in dialogue, re-interpreted as an essential aspect of alignment (e.g. Pickering & Garrod 2006); in other words, both interlocutors are equally likely to be primed by each other as by themselves. The priming of alternants shows up both in the laboratory and in transcriptions of spontaneous dialogues (Gries 2005, 2007; Szmrecsanyi 2005).

From an FDG perspective, the last-mentioned work concerns syntactic alternations (passive; dative; etc.). The present paper will focus on the occurrence in transcribed dialogue of semantic alternations in English (*spray X on Y/spray Y with X; provide X to Y/provide Y with X; etc.*). The data will be drawn from conversations in contemporary South-East British English, taken from the on-line broadcasts of the London-based radio station LBC (London’s Biggest Conversation). The aim will be to determine what evidence there is for the persistence in dialogue of selected classes of semantic alternation, with a view to determining the cognitive reality of such alternation classes and, more generally, assessing the relevance of a mechanistic psychology of dialogue for a new understanding of cognitive adequacy in FDG.

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From Helvetian Villages to a Windswept Midwest: An Analysis of Migrant Vowels

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This paper is about a community of Swiss immigrants in the Twin Cities area of Minnesota and the survival of Alemannic, their mother-tongue, in a predominantly English environment. From a sociolinguistic perspective, the various forms of Alemannic provide insight into how a language which has a small population of speakers and does not have a standard writing system can sturdily survive globalization.

The field research was conducted in Minnesota. The participants are from a community of Swiss-German immigrants who have lived in the Upper Midwest for a period of time ranging from five to fifty years. The scope of the project is quite broad, as it includes a number of Alemannic dialects and diverse experiences. Due to the methodology of the research (open conversations punctuated by specific questions from the researcher), the approach is open as well, though the main theme follows the thread of “local” languages going global and a “global” language affecting the local. The guiding question is to what degree or to what extent has English, the dominant daily language of the participants, influenced their mother-tongue. While participants were asked for their opinions about this phenomenon; the phonology of each response is the primary emphasis of this project.

The point of departure revolves around the curious point of English language change in this geographical area, known as the Midwest/ Northern Cities Vowel Shift. Although widespread it has not been recorded as crossing racial and ethnic lines (meaning it has not been heard in variants of English spoken by African American, Hispanic, and Native American communities). The purpose of this project is to find out if this same vowel shift has developed in the Alemannic of the Swiss-German community. My thesis is that it has not, which puts dialect-identity on the same page as ‘racial and ethnic’ boundaries or rather, implies that perhaps ‘racial and ethnic’ are not accurate descriptors for a development which is primarily language-bound. In this sense, the topic becomes food for thought in the field of Sociolinguistics. On the other hand, there is a plethora of data which bears evidence for a powerful influence of English upon the native-language of the participants, both in usage and vocabulary. One of the notable changes in all dialects examined is the consistent use of English fillers and clichés in lieu of Alemannic ones; despite the fact that code-switching does not occur otherwise, i.e. with other types of solitary English words or expressions.

The Coda Identification can be Elaborated by a Tree-based Model

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A great number of previous studies (Williams 1977; Bladon and Lindblom 1981; Flege and Hillenbrand 1986; Hume et al., 1999; Hume and Johnson 2001) have shown that people with different language background reveal different patterns in sound identification. One of the important factors is the listeners’ language background. Thus, a perceptual experiment was conducted to examine to what degree the language background affects the coda identification task. Dutch with a final released /p,t,k/ system and Taiwan Southern Min (TSM) with a final un-released /p,t,k,ʔ/, two groups of natives participated in the experiment. All materials varies the onset C (p, t, k, p^h, t^h, k^h), the vowels (/i/, /a/, /u/) and the coda C (/p/, /t/, /k/ and /ʔ/). Only 48 original high tone existent words in TSM (there are three lexical gaps in TSM: /ip/, /ik/ and /uk/) were manipulated by Praat, getting total 96 tokens. 19 Dutch and 23 Taiwan listeners were asked to identify the final consonant shown in either [p,t,k, other] or [p,t,k,h] respectively. The glottal stop was represented in either [other] or [h].

The Tree-based model (Morgan and Sonquist 1963; Kass, 1975; Breiman et al., 1984) statistics was run to categorize the responses which are significantly different. The results indicated that overall responses were determined by the coda at the first stratum. When the coda is /p,ʔ/, the 'onset' and 'vowel' further significantly affect Taiwanese's and Dutch's choices. When the coda is /k/, only the 'onset aspiration' affects Dutch natives' performance. When the coda is /t/, the 'vowel' affects both groups in the second stratum.

The codas of [p, k, ʔ] showed Dutch's performance was significantly better than Taiwan natives. The result of /ʔ/ seems be contradicted to the prediction that the identification can be benefit by the first language. One should note that Dutch has an alphabet writing system but Taiwanese do not. The familiarity of the alphabets makes Dutch be able to map what they heard with what they see. Additionally, the vowels dominating Dutch's identification in [p] and [ʔ] contributes to that the formant transition is crucial to identify those un-released stops. However, Taiwan natives seem to rely on the onset consonants, which is still a puzzle. On the other hand, no language effect shows on the /t/ identification because it is unmarked (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996). The interaction of coda /t/, vowel /a/ and onset /p,t,k/ illustrates a tendency of OCP cross languages. That is the response of coda /t/ is consistently more than other consonants when the onset is /p-/ and /k-/. The coda /t/ is dramatically the least being identified in /tat/ condition.

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Mystification of Responsibility in Political Discourse: Intersubjectivity and Dimensions of Defocusing of Agency

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This paper presents a case study on the use of strategies of mystification of responsibility in political discourse. The paper addresses the following research questions: What are the crucial domains and dimensions involved in mystification of responsibility in discourse? Are there significant differences between speakers and across languages (English vs. Spanish) in the use of linguistic resources for mystification of responsibility?

It will be argued that the evocation of responsibility crucially involves the domain of subjectivity/intersubjectivity. Linguistic resources pertaining to the epistemic and effective domains are indexical of the speaker's subjective and intersubjective positioning with regard to the communicated proposition (Langacker 1991, 2002; Marín Arrese 2007), including the degree to which they assume personal responsibility for the evaluation of the information or whether the assessment is 'potentially' shared by others. information (Nuyts 2001). On the basis of these notions, I consider the interaction of two parameters: degree of 'salience and explicitness of the role of the conceptualizer', and 'personal vs. shared responsibility'.

Mystification of responsibility in the designation of events crucially involves dimensions of defocusing of agency (Langacker 2006). This paper presents a characterization of the middle-spontaneous-passive systems in English and Spanish (Kemmer 1993; Maldonado 1999; Mendikoetxea 1999; Marín-Arrese 2002, 2003, *inter alia*), on the basis of the conceptual features conforming the basic schemas for each of these systems (Enger & Nessel 2001). The paper posits a set of continua involving differences in the construal of the event in terms dimensions such as energy input, distinguishability of participants, and degree of control of the theme participant (Marín-Arrese 2008).

The paper presents results of a case study on the use of these linguistic resources by the then British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, and by Spanish President of Government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, in a series of Parliamentary statements and political speeches involving Iraq and the war on terrorism.

The purpose of the study is twofold: (i) the identification of similarities or differences in the use of linguistic resources pertaining to the epistemic and effective domains as indices of subjectivity/intersubjectivity; (ii) the identification of similarities or differences in the use of linguistic resources pertaining to the domain of defocusing of agency; (iii) the

explanation of the variation in the Parliamentary statements and speeches and between speakers due to differences in the need for mystification of responsibility.

It is predicted that there will significant differences between the Parliamentary statements and speeches in the domain of subjectivity/intersubjectivity and in the domain of defocusing of agency, reflecting different degrees of mystification of responsibility with regard to the communicated information, and to the events designated. It is further predicted that there will be differences between the speakers, which might reflect the differences in responsibility and attitudes with respect to Iraq, but also intercultural differences in the domain of political discourse.

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“Cypriot Greek and the eastern Mediterranean: on the story of a ‘loss’ of a case”

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A well-known peculiarity of Cypriot Greek is the ‘loss’ of the masculine genitive plural and its replacement by the accusative. This development is rather unique among the Greek dialects, and was well in place already by the end of the medieval Cypriot Greek period, i.e. by the 16th century. Consequently, it has attracted the interest of many scholars, and various explanations have been suggested, including phonological similarity and ensuing morphological reanalysis (e.g. Menardos, 1896), language contact between Medieval Cypriot Greek and French speakers (Papadopoulos, 1983) or a combination of the two (Sitaridou & Terkourafi, 2007). This paper investigates this notorious construction, and illustrates quite emphatically that the most important assumptions, on which common wisdom on the subject is based, are erroneous. It argues instead for the following:

- a) The phenomenon was not particular to Cypriot Greek, but was extant in other varieties of Greek spoken in the eastern Mediterranean and elsewhere in the early Byzantine period, and
- b) It is the result of the extensive interplay between genitive, accusative but also crucially dative, an important fact that has escaped notice in the literature.

The new account of this development is based on a detailed investigation of all Medieval Cypriot Greek textual sources, which was clearly lacking in the extant accounts. More importantly, it exploits the largely unexplored evidence found in the inscriptional material from diverse areas, where, surprisingly enough, one finds examples of the allegedly Cypriot genitive construction, such as the following:

- (1) agie Georgie, prosdiksaí tin prosforan k(ai) ton kamaton

Saint George, receive the offering and the work

tous anthropous tis komis tautis

the-ACC.PL. people-ACC.PL. the-GEN.SING village-GEN.SING this

“Saint George, receive the offering and the work of the people of this village”

(IGL Syr., 21.2,100 / 535-6 A.D.)

Finally, the paper explores the various factors that must have facilitated the diffusion of this construction in Cyprus, for instance the language contact situation, and the homophony of forms of the definite article and possessive pronouns, among others.

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Constructional features in the warning and threatening speech act categories

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The present contribution addresses the redefinition of the illocutionary scenarios (Panther & Thornburg, 1998) for the speech acts of warning and threatening from the perspective of a constructional approach. ILLOCUTIONARY SCENARIOS were designed as an attempt to represent our knowledge of illocutionary meanings by means of the information provided by prototypical illocutionary situations. Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi (2007) define illocutionary scenarios as high-level situational models which are constructed through the application of the high level metonymy SPECIFIC FOR GENERIC to multiple low-level models (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi, 2007). Then, these scenarios are applied to concrete situations by means of the converse metonymy, GENERIC FOR SPECIFIC. For instance, in their view, the utterance *I fancy eating out in a Chinese restaurant* can be interpreted by the addressee as a request to eat in a Chinese restaurant, in accordance to the social convention that tells us we should do our best to satisfy other people’s needs. The addressee then applies his knowledge to a specific situation to understand the real purpose of the speaker. This knowledge will be also used to interpret an utterance such as *I am thirsty* as a request for water through a metonymy which links the lack of water with the speaker’s needs. Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi also describe other features that must also be addressed to define the whole range of possible meanings for a single utterance, such as the power relationship holding between the speakers or the degree of formality of the context in which their interaction takes place. However, their proposal is not enough to analyze the huge amount of information that helps language users to identify the illocutionary force of certain speech acts and distinguish the features that characterize specific constructions. From the perspective of Construction Grammar (e.g. Goldberg, 1995, 2005), each function motivates a different form, and so the illocutionary force of each particular construction constrains the speaker’s choices and affects the meaning of the utterance. For instance, the directive use of the modal “must” in *You must be here tomorrow at ten o’clock or you’ll be in trouble* can lead the addressee to understand the utterance either as a warning or as a threat, which are different illocutionary scenarios, but share a common structure and similar realization procedures. In both cases, an authoritative speaker wants to make the addressee aware of a potentially damaging state of affairs; but there is a significant qualitative difference in the degree of involvement of the speaker in bringing about the negative state of affairs, which is lower for the warning interpretation. In this example, the degree of involvement is to be ascertained from the context, which makes the construction intrinsically polysemous. Alternatively, in *You should be here at ten o’clock to avoid any trouble* or *It is important for you to be here to avoid any trouble*, the lexico-grammatical structure favors the activation of the warning scenario. This presentation develops this idea further by analyzing various types of illocutionary constructions belonging to the warning and threatening speech act categories.

Recursos lingüísticos del español de los negocios en la prensa económica

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Objetivos:

Las lenguas de especialidad son cada vez en nuestro tiempo ámbitos más importantes para la investigación lingüística, tanto por la transcendencia que suponen como estudio lingüístico en sí mismas, como por la importancia que poseen en su transferencia de resultados a la sociedad, en particular, a sus usuarios en el desarrollo correcto de su profesión. Por ello, respecto al español de los negocios, como lengua profesional, es necesario que cuente con un riguroso estudio lingüístico y pragmático que pueda ser enseñado por expertos y que pueda ser aprendido por los profesionales del sector. Esta cuestión todavía se hace más interesante y necesaria cuando el ámbito de los negocios deja de circunscribirse a un solo país, o a una sola lengua, y entra en el círculo de la comunicación intercultural.

Partiendo de estos planteamientos y como contribución a esta necesidad descrita, los objetivos concretos de este trabajo sobre el uso de los recursos lingüísticos del español de los negocios en la prensa económica son:

- Describir y analizar los recursos lingüísticos utilizados en español.
- Establecer una clasificación según su carácter.
- Extraer las relaciones socioculturales entre el concepto que expresan y el efecto que pretenden conseguir.
- Valorar el uso de los recursos utilizados.
- Exponer unas recomendaciones de uso en español.

Metodología

En primer lugar se ha creado una base de datos suficientemente amplia de más de 200 titulares de prensa económica española, recogidos de cuatro medios de comunicación diferenciados por su supuesta adscripción política. Sobre este corpus, se han descrito los recursos lingüísticos más recurrentes para, a continuación, clasificarlos de acuerdo a diferentes parámetros lingüísticos (morfosintácticos: categorías gramaticales, formación de palabras, frases y oraciones; léxico-semánticos: tipo de léxico, significados denotados y connotados; pragmáticos: tipos de emisor / receptor, efectos perseguidos / efectos conseguidos).

Posteriormente, una vez descritos, analizados y clasificados, se ha procedido a la evaluación de todos los recursos analizados y a la interpretación socio-cultural de su uso, para finalizar con una valoración y con unas recomendaciones de estilo sobre el español de los negocios utilizado en la prensa económica.

Resultados y conclusiones

En un primer momento, los resultados obtenidos han sido descriptivos del uso del español de los negocios en la prensa económica, muy interesantes para el lingüista, como estudioso de esta lengua de especialidad, y muy prácticos para el profesor que deba enseñar esta lengua profesional.

A partir de aquí, dentro de las conclusiones generales obtenidas, la más importante es la implicación sociocultural española en esta lengua de especialidad que debe ser conocida y aprendida por todos los usuarios de este ámbito profesional, sobre todo por aquellos que no posean el español como lengua materna.

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PP and locative fronting Movement in XV century portuguese

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In this research, we have analysed PPs and locative pronouns fronting in embedding structures of the 15th century Portuguese language.

We have verified that in the 19th-21st centuries, the PPs fronting falls in BP. We ask: Would there be a time when PPs fronting is higher? We assume the hypothesis that locative pronouns (*hi*, *ende*, and others) and PPs coexisted until the 15th century, when PPs supplanted the usage of locative pronouns. Therefore, these last ones might have been the PPs ancestors. Considering this, we have compared the movement of PPs and locative pronouns in the 15th century Portuguese language, since, according to Moraes de Castilho (2001), the basis of Portuguese would have been implanted in Brazil in this period. The chosen document was Dom Pedro de Menezes Cronicle of Zuarara (Brocardo, 1997).

To explain the phenomenon, we set the data in Generative Syntax framework in its Principles and Parameters Theory version (Chomsky 1981, 1986), always considering the PPs position variation.

We have followed the Quantitative Sociolinguistic methodology, marking linguistic facts that could affect the position of PPs and locative pronouns. Statistics have shown high percentages of movement of locative pronouns on one hand, but low percentages of PPs movement on the other. The data has also revealed that PPs and locative pronouns move more when they perform an adjunct function.

Considering Martins (2004), in which the clitic is taken as a frontier, we have found PPs in four positions:

1. Que por nenhua guisa **o** fezesse (CPM/p.198/1570)
2. que **vos** della aveis de ter (CPM/p.205/1760)
3. e assy que **vos** sereis (vos) delles servido (CPM/p.195/1498)
4. que (**vos**) syrvais delle (CPM/p.199/1599)

In (1) we understand that PP is moved to the first position of Topic available in CP (Rizzi, 1997); the clitic would be an adjunct to IP. In (2) the PP occupies the second position of Topic available in CP, interpolated between the clitic (an adjunct to CP) and the verb. For (3), we propose that PP is moved to a lower position in relation to the previous ones, occupying the first Topic available position in IP (Belletti, 2002); the clitic would be an adjunct to CP or to IP. Finally, (4) represents the canonic PP position.

It was evident that PP movement in the 15th century Portuguese language

is more varied than in the 19th century, because it presents more varied positions. In this way, the 19th century Portuguese language represents a change almost concluded in relation to PP position, because the movement is governed by stylistic questions.

Regarding the change of the position of PP, we have concluded that the lack of usage of the PP movement may be related to the nature of TopP and FocP, that would have, according to our interpretation, anaphoric or locative strong features in the 15th century of Portuguese, features that may have weakened during the Portuguese language history until it fell into obsolescence in contemporary BP.

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Obliques and the syntax-pragmatics interface

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In syntax obliques are divided into two subtypes according to whether they are requested from the predicate or not; in the first case they are complements or arguments of the predicate, in the second they are adjuncts or circumstantials. Given this distinction it should be easy to separate out argumental from circumstantial obliques as they should present different syntactic and semantic properties. However, if we consider the syntactic properties associated with the two types of PPs, that is the possibility only for circumstantial obliques to be freely omitted, to determine no kind of syntactic order or selection restrictions within the sentence, and finally to admit free adjunction to any kind of sentence, we realize that these do not help distinguishing between the two categories. Things are not different if we consider the semantic properties associated with the predicate the PP requests or modifies. As a matter of fact, many linguists working on the interface between syntax and semantics have pointed out that there is no neat distinction between argumental and non-argumental PPs (Dik cfr. Hengeveld 1997; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997; Dowty 2003; Prandi 2004).

The aim of this paper is therefore to discuss the status of PPs and to try to verify whether it is possible to find any difference between argumental and adjunct obliques in their syntactic, phonological or semantic-pragmatic behaviour. Our analysis will be based on an approach which considers syntactic behaviour in its interaction with the other components, mainly pragmatics and phonology, as we think that what really characterizes obliques is to be found in the interplay between the structural and discourse-level characteristics of the language under investigation. We will analyse PPs in Italian choosing data from a corpus of spoken language as only actual language use can help us detecting the status of argumental versus adjunct PPs.

We will investigate:

- the syntactic position of argumental and circumstantial PPs in the utterances, whether initial or post-verbal or within the core elements of the utterance;
- the prosodic behaviour of PPs, in particular in relation to the presence or absence of pitch accents within these elements;
- their pragmatic behaviour, that is their role as topic or focus in the utterances.

We will then compare the behaviour of PPs in Italian with those in Chinese, as our approach is also based on cross-linguistic investigation. Italian and Chinese are particularly interesting to compare as they are different not only from the structural point of view but also according to their discourse grammar properties. Italian is subject-prominent while Chinese is topic-prominent in Li & Thompson's (1976) terms. The analysis will single out how, rather than the syntactic distributional properties related to the argument/non argument distinction, the discourse grammar properties are more relevant in characterizing PPs. It will be shown that the kind of marking the PPs show cross-linguistically, which can be phonological and/or morpho-syntactic according to the language analysed, does not differentiate argumental from non-argumental PPs, but rather pragmatically salient from pragmatically non-salient roles.

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Changes in the use of partitive subjects in Estonian

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In Estonian and Finnish, the subjects of the clause are prototypically in the nominative case and the partitive usually marks the direct object. In certain clause types there exists also the partitive subject and this has been considered an evidence of ergativity. Although Estonian and Finnish are closely related languages, they are affected by typologically different tendencies (Erelt & Metslang 2006). There has been noted that the Estonian grammatical system is moving closer to the

prototypical nominative-accusative systems. The current phenomena supporting this view are for instance the facts that the use of partitive subjects has decreased in the past decades, the experiencer and the possessor of the experiential/possessive clauses are increasingly mapped to the A position (instead of the traditionally dominating oblique position), and the impersonal constructions are moving closer to the passive constructions. (Erelt 2008; Erelt & Metslang 2006)

This talk focuses on one aspect among those: the changes in the use of the partitive subjects in Estonian and it compares the results with Finnish. It has been claimed that in Finnish the use of partitive subjects is increasing (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979; Sands & Campbell 2001), unlike Estonian: from the common use in the experiential, possessive and existential sentences even to the transitive sentences. This could show a shift in the alignment system of the language: the subject (A) and the direct object (O) getting indistinguishable case marking in some sentence types. However, the transitive clauses with the partitive A and O often entail a verb with a volitional meaning and a semantically highly agentive subject which make it fairly easy to identify which NP argument is the subject and which is the object. In these clauses the participants are indefinite and cannot be accompanied by a definite pronoun (Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979). The talk will be based on corpus data and look at these phenomena in the context of the main syntactic operations and in a diachronic perspective.

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A contrastive approach of existentials in French, Italian and Spanish

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It is generally known that many languages use existential verbs to introduce referents into the discourse. In French, Italian and Spanish the most frequent existential verb appearing in presentational contexts is respectively *il y a* (1), *c'è* (2) and *hay* (3):

- 1) *Il n'y a plus de forces russes en Lituanie depuis le mois d'août 1993.* (Le Monde, 29/01/1994)
- 2) *Fidel mi ha assicurato: posso morire, ma a Cuba c'è una squadra ed un popolo pronti a fare andare avanti la Rivoluzione.* (Il tempo, 14/08/2006)
- 3) *En España hay 150.000 ecuatorianos, de los cuales 58.000 están empadronados en Madrid.* (El Norte de Castilla, 30/03/2001)

The existing literature proposes several competing syntactic theories of existential sentences. These theories differ among other things as to their assumptions about the argument structure of existential verbs, and more particularly as to the status of the locative PP. Adherents of the *locative hypothesis* (Freeze 1992) assert that existential constructions are a variant of locative constructions and consider the locative PP as an argument, whereas others consider it as an adjunct or a NP modifier (Hazout 2004). According to Fernandez Soriano (1999) impersonal *haber* selects for a locative argument that occupies subject position. Therefore she claims that the unmarked position of the locative with this verb is preverbal.

The purpose of this contribution is to offer a contrastive syntactical description of these existential constructions in French, Italian and Spanish drawing on a systematic and statistical corpus study (written newspaper articles of “Le Monde” for French, “Il Corriere della Sera” for Italian and “El País” for Spanish). My analysis will concentrate on the morphosyntactic behaviour of locatives with these verbs in the three languages. In the first place I will discuss the frequency of locatives in existential sentences and give a brief survey of the different kinds of locatives that can be found in these sentences. Furthermore I will investigate in which position locatives appear most frequently in existential sentences, and this with respect to their grammatical and lexical status. Special attention will be given to the position of (both concrete and abstract) spatial adverbs.

My data suggest that all three existential verbs behave very similarly as to their distribution with locatives. However they clearly differ with respect to the preferred position of these locatives in the existential sentences. Italian *c'è* and Spanish *hay* prefer preverbal position for locatives, as was expected by Fernandez Soriano (1999), whereas the locatives appear systematically after the French existential *il y a*. This difference of word order may be explained in terms of a

different degree of grammaticalization and delexicalization. Our analysis suggests that *il y a* in French functions to a larger extent as a topic-introducing device than Italian *c'è* and Spanish *hay*, which conversely are shown to function more as lexical predicates with existential meaning.

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Collocations and the translation of verb+ noun combinations in EU scientific and technical texts: An English-Spanish electronic dictionary of multi-word combinations as a translation tool

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In exploring the phenomenon of *collocations* – as a category of multi-word combinations – in bilingual dictionaries, this paper delves into the instrumentality of multi-word-combination dictionaries for the translation of verb+ noun collocations, by paying special attention to delexicalized verbs in a comparable pilot corpus of over 50,000 words of scientific and technical texts from the European Union in English and Spanish. By conducting a case study examining the use of these collocations in this bilingual corpora of texts, this contribution will substantiate not only the mistranslations pervading this service but also – and more importantly – the current deficit in tools enabling professionals to translate word collocations accurately and the potential of English-Spanish multi-word dictionaries like the one presented as part of this paper.

After making some initial remarks on the potential of multiword dictionaries as a translation tool, the scope and purpose of the present contribution is delineated along with the methodology herein drawn upon. Some comments are subsequently made on (a) Translation in International Institutions as a domain within translation studies; (b) the notion of collocation as a subcategory of multi-word combinations; and (c) the problems posed by collocations in translation. The lexicographic process guiding the production of the multi-word-combination bilingual dictionary is described, prior to undertaking a case study where the mistranslation of certain collocations in the English and Spanish websites of Science and Technology respectively. The inconsistencies in the translation of such English multi-word expressions into Spanish are accordingly studied in detail, thereby demonstrating how multi-word-combination dictionaries may compensate for this deficit. After considering how our English-Spanish dictionary (Molina-Plaza, in press) approaches the collocations previously examined in the case study, alternative – and improved – translations for such lexical structures will be provided, which will demonstrate, in turn, the benefits of tools like this for the translation of EU scientific and technical texts – chiefly as far as collocations is concerned.

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Conflict resolution in syntactic theory

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Why are there different theories of syntax? This paper suggests a reason: theories are designed to address conflicts, and conflicts may be resolved in several alternative ways. However, since the range of logically-possible conflict resolutions is limited, the variety of syntactic theories can be brought to a small set of common denominators depending on which conflict-resolution strategies they choose.

Two conceptual tools that play a prominent role in conflict resolution are **partonomy** (whole-part relations) and **taxonomy** (type-subtype relations). The paper will illustrate the use of these tools in alternative analyses of double-object constructions.

Double-object constructions are exemplified as follows:

- (a) Bill showed **a picture to Sue**.
- (b) Bill showed **Sue a picture**.

The problem is this: what appears to be a single meaning is expressed by what appears to be two distinct forms. This is in conflict with the principle of isomorphism, which requires a one-to-one relation between meaning and form. As Richard Larson remarks: "(isomorphism) is what we expect, but it is not what we see" (Larson 1988: 339). This statement captures the crux of any scientific problem: a gap between expectation and reality.

Solutions to this conflict across contemporary approaches fall into two classes. Some analysts re-assess the difference between the forms of these sentences and decide that, on some level of analysis, the forms are the same. Others in turn re-assess the likeness of the meanings of these sentences and show that, in some sense, the meanings are different. Both analyses make crucial use of partonomy and taxonomy: cutting a whole into parts and subdividing a type into subtypes.

Double-object constructions have been prominent in recent literature; cf. an entire issue of *Functions of language* devoted to the topic (2006, 14:1). The approaches to be surveyed include various versions of Transformational Grammar, Relational Grammar, Functional Grammar, Cognitive Grammar, and Construction Grammar.

The general concerns of this paper are akin to some trends of thought in contemporary linguistics. The centrality of conflict resolution in syntactic theory has recently been highlighted in Francis and Michaelis (ed.) collection of papers (2003), in Optimality Theory, and elsewhere. Talking about the discrepancies between sound and meaning, Jackendoff remarked: "Much dispute in modern syntax has been over these sorts of mismatch and how to deal with them. (I don't think most linguists have viewed it this way, though.)" (2002: 15)

By showing that theoretical problems amount to conflicts and that theoretical solutions boil down to conflict resolution, this paper expands on Jackendoff's idea. The analysis proposed here

- (a) provides a basis on which **alternative theories of syntax can be compared** and their differences **reduced** to a few alternative avenues of conflict resolution;
- (b) opens the way to recognizing conceptual similarities **between theories of syntax and theories in other fields of inquiry** within and outside linguistics; and,
- (c) given that partonomy and taxonomy are part and parcel of how ordinary people grapple with conflicts, the proposed framework highlights the similarity between **scientific argumentation and everyday thought** (cf. Giere 1988).

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“Intraparadigmatic variability” and the selection of the perfect auxiliary in Italian and Dutch

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The empirical problems and their theoretical scope

Dutch and Italian display, along with another subset of European languages, variation in the selection of the perfect auxiliary. While the majority of verbs take an A-aux (auxiliary related to HAVE), a group of verbs take an E-aux (auxiliary related to BE):

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|-------------------------|
| (1) | a | Jan is / *heeft net vertrokken (“John has just left”) | DUTCH: E-aux / *A-aux |
| | b | Gianni è / *ha appena partito (“John has just left”) | ITALIAN: E-aux / *A-aux |
| (2) | a | Jan heeft / *is net geniesd (“John has just sneezed”) | DU: A-aux / *E-aux |
| | b | Gianni ha / *è appena starnutito (“John has just sneezed”) | IT: A-aux / *E-aux |

The literature on the mechanism(s) determining the auxiliary selection is immense, and diverse. We will only refer to Aranovich (2007) and the references cited there.

In Dutch and Italian, the verbs of “change of location” (cf. Sorace 2000) are rather steadily selecting a form of “BE” as their perfect auxiliary (as seen in [1]). This is generally taken as evidence in favour of a lexical/aspectual analysis of auxiliary selection, whereby the lexical-aspectual properties/readings of the lexical verb (almost) entirely determine auxiliary selection (again: Sorace 2000, Legendre & Sorace 2003, Legendre 2007). As such, auxiliary selection can then be considered as a case of intraparadigmatic variability (we use the term in Lehmann’s 2002 sense) where the alteration is constrained/determined by the (monadic/lexical) main verb.

A more detailed corpus analysis on both languages (Dutch and Italian) suggests, however, that the data are more murky. It can indeed be observed that as a complement to a modal auxiliary (kunnen/willen/moeten in Dutch; potere/volere/dovere in Italian [“can/want/must”]), the verbs of “change of location” do not have a uniform behaviour with respect to auxiliary selection.

In principle, auxiliary selection in such cases could be made dependent on three options and still realise “intraparadigmatic variability” (as opposed to free variation):

- the selection of the perfective auxiliary depends on the modal (in that case: A-aux)
- the selection of the perfective auxiliary depends on the main lexical verb (the change of location verb, in that case E-aux)
- the selection of the perfective auxiliary depends on (semantic) properties that combine with the complex “modal auxiliary + past participle of the lexical verb”

The paper

In this presentation, we will construct empirical arguments in order to investigate the nature (constrained alternation vs. free variation) of the auxiliary selection and try to pinpoint the factors that (help) determine the alternation.

Method & data

The data are sampled via corpus research (newspapers) and include (sufficient) contextual information. For a specific set of change of location verbs (enter/exit, arrive/leave) we check the auxiliary with the modal auxiliaries.

Approach and results:

We will combine minimal pairs (as in 3/4 below) and try to determine which factors could be favouring selection of A-aux or E-aux.

It will be shown that there is no uniform mechanism available to explain the variation for Dutch and Italian, and that even within one language, syntactic factors (presence/absence of clitics, the “distance” between auxiliary and modal); semantic factors (type of subject, metaphorical readings, type and meaning of modal verb) or aspectual factors (presence/absence of negation, of explicit telicity delimiters) cannot be said to fully determine the selection of the auxiliary (for Dutch, cf. also Hofmans (1981/1982):

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (3) | a | nessuno dei protagonisti è per il momento voluto uscire allo scoperto |
| | | “no one of the protagonists “IS” for the moment wanted to leave into the open” |
| | b | quasi nessuno ha allora voluto uscire allo scoperto |

- “almost no one “HAS” then wanted to leave into the open”
- (4) a (...) waardoor één van de families heeft moeten vertrekken naar een andere woning
 “by which one of the families “HAS” had to leave to another house”
- b Zij is moeten vertrekken naar Chiapas ook door het corrupte bewind
 “She “IS” had to leave to Chiapas because of the corrupt government”

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'Core' discourse markers: cognitive and pragmatic considerations

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This paper addresses the conceptualization of a set of discourse markers with meanings of 'in fact', 'in reality' and 'in truth' from a corpus-based and contrastive viewpoint and by taking into account cognitive and pragmatic considerations relevant to their description.

I will argue that French *en fait*, *en réalité* and *en vérité*, as well as their derivatives (e.g. *effectivement*, *réellement*, *véritablement/vraiment*) and cross-linguistic (in casu Dutch) equivalents, can be integrated into a single semantic map, not only because of the common meaning component of 'core' or 'essence' governing their use, but also on cognitive grounds, i.e. by invoking similarities in the conceptualization of these markers in terms of *primary metaphors* (Lakoff 1999).

Drawing upon Mortier and Degand (submitted), I will first suggest that back-and-forth translations of such markers uncover a more or less strong correlation between the meanings of *reality*, *factuality* and *truth* (cf. also Aijmer and Simon-Vandenberg 2004; Willems and Demol 2006). Evidence pointing in the direction of a common status for these markers also comes from their cognitive representation, for which we will propose an analysis in terms of the primary metaphors CONTAINMENT, IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL and ESSENTIAL IS CENTRAL (Lakoff 1996, Lakoff and Johnson 1999).

I aim to show next that an analysis in exclusively cognitive terms, however useful, fails to do justice to the complex status of these markers in concrete language use, i.e. in written and spoken discourse. More precisely, while it can be argued that part of their adversative, i.e. oppositive, nature is warranted by their cognitive structure (viz. by inherent contrasts such as *in >< out*, *center >< periphery*), a large set of other meanings are not accounted for.

Here, I will focus on the apparently subtle use speakers make of core discourse markers: rather than postulating strict oppositions of the sort *reality >< appearance*, they express a more or less strong deviation from an original proposal (Mortier and Degand, submitted) and, as I will argue, an (attempt of) approximation of what is 'really true' or 'truly real'. For example, in *Ik ontmoette een jongen die zich Jan noemt, maar in feite David heet* 'I met a boy who calls himself Jan, but whose name is actually David', *in feite* 'in fact', other than strictly oppositive *maar* 'but', softens the opposition by focusing on what is 'more' real and thus closer to the truth, in spite of the character's reasons for assuming another identity. A corpus-based analysis, taking data from written and spoken comparable corpora, will thus describe the value of *opposition* and its gradual interpretation along a cline of *adversativity*, as it stands for core discourse markers.

In all, this paper hopes to shed new light on the description of widely studied discourse markers such as *really* (e.g. Powell 1992) and *in fact* (e.g. Oh 2000, Traugott and Dasher 2002), by combining insights from cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis.

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Illustration of New Persian Development into a more analytic language in the light of grammaticalization

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Typological classification of languages of the world based on analytic-synthetic dimension in morphology dates back to August Schlegel in early decades of nineteenth century (Lehmann 1992:97). This interest was revived by Greenberg (1959) and other scholars like Altmann and Lehfeldt (1973:108-12) who tried to develop some ways to measure the index of synthesis. The most cited measurement is called degree of synthesis, namely, the ratio of morphemes per word. Computing the degree of synthesis is not an easy task, since there are many problems in identifying morphemes of language. In those diachronic studies which aim at determining the degree of synthesis in different periods of a given language, this problem gets even more complicated. This is also the case when one is comparing the degree of synthesis of early centuries of New Persian with that of Modern Persian. To solve this problem, I have used the ideas presented in theory of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization is considered as a process by which lexical items acquire some grammatical function, or grammatical units become more grammatical. In this process, linguistic items pass through a certain channel, which is known as *cline of grammaticality* (free lexical unit > function word > clitic > inflectional affix, Hopper and Traugott 2003:7). In this article, I exemplify each stage of this cline by appropriate linguistic items identified in extant texts of New Persian. It is stated here that some of the inflectional affixes of early centuries of New Persian have gone out of use and no single inflectional affix has been added to this language for many centuries. On the other hand, it will be shown that the stage of function word is more favored in the long history of New Persian Language. This trend is intensified in Modern Persian. Therefore, the conclusion is made that Modern Persian, at least as far as grammatical items are concerned, is now more analytic than New Persian of early centuries of Islamic period.

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The English Present Perfect. A challenge for Hungarian (bilingual) native speakers

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The paper points out some of the difficulties Hungarian native speakers may face when learning the English Present Perfect tense. The study has in mind Hungarian native speakers who are Hungarian-Romanian bilinguals (live in a region where besides Hungarian Romanian is also spoken, like in parts of Transylvania, Romania).

The primary task of the paper is to present the values attributed to the Present Perfect tense and the way they are expressed in Hungarian and Romanian. The main uses of the Present Perfect Tense are the Continuative, the Resultative, the Experiential and the 'Hot news' value (McCawley 1971).

A major difficulty for Hungarian students when studying the present perfect tense results from the fact that the values of the present perfect tense are expressed in Hungarian mostly by contextual means. Hungarian lacks a present perfect tense, so that it is often the context (i.e. by the addition of adverbials) which disambiguates between a simple past reading and a present perfect reading. This is especially true in the case of the resultative, and experiential values of the perfect which in Hungarian are expressed by the same tense form. In order to differentiate between a simple past and a present perfect reading a temporal adverbial is needed (consider sentences 2) and 4) the addition of the past time adverbials (*tegnap* and *tavaly* respectively)); in certain cases word-order and stress also play an important role (i.e. sentence 3) can have both an experiential and a past simple value).

The continuative value of the present perfect, by contrast, is expressed in Hungarian by the Simple Present Tense (sentence 5)).

1) *Eltörtem egy poharat.* (I broke/ have broken a cup)

2) *Tegnap eltörtem egy poharat.* (I broke a cup yesterday)

3) *Párizsban voltam.* (I was in Paris/ have been to Paris)

4) *Tavaly Párizsban voltam.* (I was in Paris last year)

5) *Két órája van itt.* (*He is here for two hours)

Besides the data from Hungarian, the paper also presents data from Romanian. This is considered as important, since the study of Romanian is obligatory for all Hungarian natives from a very young age in this region. In Romanian we can speak of several past tense forms (Perfectul Simplu (past simple tense), Perfectul Compus (having both past simple and present perfect values), Mai mult ca Perfect) (Past Perfect tense). The PC tense often alternates with the PS when it has an eventive reading (as in sentence 6)). Besides its narrative value PC also expresses resultative and experiential meanings which acquire a past tense value when a past time adverbial is added.

6) *Veni (PS)/ A venit (PC) acum două zile/ ieri.* (He came two days ago/ yesterday)

Similar to Hungarian, in Romanian the Simple Present Tense is required when the sentence contains a state verb. Besides the present tense, the PC may also possible as sentence 7) shows:

7) *Mă iubește/ m-a iubit de mic copil.* (*He loves me/ has loved me since I was a child)

Semantic restrictions on degree adverbials

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In a short squib, Zwicky 1970 wonders what could explain the assignment of certain adverbial functions. He notices that whereas positive adverbials tend to operate on sentence level, their negative counterparts function as degree adverbials:

(1) The children are usually noisy. (Zwicky 1970)

(2) The children are unusually noisy. (Zwicky 1970)

Other positive-negative adverbial pairs behave similarly. Zwicky furthermore notices that psychological predicates (*surprising*, *amazing*, etc.) form adverbials that behave like the negative adverbials. That is, such adverbials generally act as degree modifiers:

(3) The children are surprisingly noisy.

In this paper, I claim to have found an explanation for Zwicky's observations. I will argue that there is a (pragma)semantic basis for the reported observations.

The reasoning is as follows. Gradable predicates are monotonic with respect to degrees (Heim 2000). That is, if something is noisy to some degree, it entails that it is noisy to lesser degrees. If the adverbials in (1) and (2) are taken to be predicate modifiers, then these examples are paraphrased as *the children are noisy to a degree that is (un)usual*. To say of some children that they are noisy to a degree that is usual is a tautology, for there will always be some minimal degree to which all children are noisy. In the negative case, the paraphrase makes sense. To be noisy to a degree that is unusual, is to be noisier than (say) most other children.

In other words, I claim that were *usually* a degree modifier, it would never result in an informative statement. Any occurrence of *usually* as a modifier of a degree predicate results in an unacceptable interpretation. In such cases, the alternative reading where *usually* is construed as a sentence adverbial would yield a sensible interpretation, which is why this is the only one that surfaces. Given the fact that all degree predicates are monotone, a similar reasoning would exist for any non-negative adverbial.

A similar explanation also holds for what Zwicky calls ‘psychological’ predicates. Note that these predicates are also negative in a certain sense: *expectedly* is not a degree adverb, but *surprisingly*, which could be seen to involve the negation of expectancy, is. To be *expectedly tall* is to be tall to a degree that is expected. This makes everyone *expectedly* tall, since there exists an expected minimal degree such that everyone is tall to that degree. This explains why *expectedly* cannot function as a degree adverbial. In contrast, applying *surprisingly* to a degree predicate like *tall* yields a non-trivial property, which is why *surprisingly* does belong to the class of degree adverbials.

The account is simple and independent of any new assumptions. The assumptions, moreover, are not controversial: (i) that degree predicates are monotone can be seen from their scopal behaviour; and (ii) that psychological predicates are negative can be seen from their role as negative polarity item licensors (Kadmon & Landman 1993).

The full paper will discuss whether other semantic constraints further delimit the set of degree adverbials.

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Swiss German and Standard German at Universities and Churches of German-speaking Switzerland

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This paper deals with Swiss German and Standard German at universities and in churches, particularly the use of language and the language attitudes of university teachers and ministers native of a Swiss-German dialect. In German-speaking Switzerland, Standard German is used by speakers of Swiss German dialects in certain professional sectors and situations (media, politics, schools, churches). But as far as variational linguistics is concerned, the church and the universities remain blank areas on the map. At universities, Standard German is the official classroom language, but the results of the last national census show that Swiss German is also spoken as a «language of instruction». On the other hand, there are newspaper articles stating that the presence of regional dialects in churches is increasing, despite the lack of scientific evidence for such a claim.

In the presentation, I will discuss which variety of German is used in which situations at universities (courses, office hours, meetings). The same will be done for Catholic and Protestant churches, for services (liturgy, sermon, chant) as well as for other conversational situations in which ministers participate. There is currently a public and scientific discussion on the use of Standard German in German-speaking Switzerland concerning the form, function and status of the standard variety in German-speaking Switzerland. Thus, I will first show how the international koine interacts with the local dialects. In a second step, I will examine the link between language use and language attitudes, especially towards the Swiss variety of spoken German, for university teachers as well as for pastors.

The paper is based on Ulrich Ammon’s concept of pluricentricity, in which Swiss Standard German is understood as a variety of German equal to German Standard German and Austrian Standard German. The qualitative survey of language use is based on audio recordings at universities and in churches, as well as the communication journals by pastors / teachers and e-mail interviews. The language attitudes are investigated on the basis of interviews and surveys with questionnaires.

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On denominal *-ble* adjectives in English and Romance

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Adjectives ending in *-ble* have traditionally been analyzed as derived from transitive bases (e.g. Aronoff 1976, Fabb 1984). The main goal of this talk is to provide an analysis of the internal structure of denominal *-ble* forms within the syntactic framework of Distributed Morphology (Halle and Marantz 1993 and related work) in English, Catalan and Spanish.

Leaving aside lexicalized forms like *amigable* ‘friendly’, both Catalan and Spanish *-ble* can select nouns denoting posts, positions or functions (1). In English, however, although there are some *-ble* forms derived from nominal bases like *saleable*, *-ble* cannot productively attach to nouns.

- (1) a. *alcaldable, obispable, papable, presidenciable, rectorable*
mayor-ble, bishop-ble, minister-ble, pope-ble, presidency-ble, rector-ble
b. **alcaldar, *obispar, *ministrar, *papar, *presidenciar, *rectorar*

These data raise a number of issues. First, if *-ble* selects transitive bases, it is unexpected that the deviating forms in (1a) are created in the absence of the corresponding verbs in (1b). A second question concerns the exact characterization of this specific set of nouns which makes them appropriate as *-ble* bases. Besides, it is necessary to determine where and how the relevant properties of these nouns are encoded to meet the requirements of *-ble*. A third problem relates to the source of cross-linguistic variation.

Different authors (e.g. Aronoff 1976 or Anderson 1992) have proposed that there are two different affixes *-ble*. However, as observed in Val Álvaro (1981), the suffix behaves in exactly the same way with both nouns and verbs, both semantically and syntactically. The interpretation of denominal forms is essentially the same as that of any deverbal *-ble* adjective, “they both imply some process of change towards some state or quality.” Syntactically, Val Álvaro advances the proposal that denominal adjectives “acquire modal content by virtue of the effect of the suffix on a predicative component,” thus suggesting that an adjective like *alcaldable* would be analyzed as the semantic head of an attributive sentential structure (2).

- (2) *alcaldable* ← *ser alcalde + ble* (Val Álvaro 1981)
mayor-ble ← *be mayor + ble*

Such a proposal implies that the suffix *-ble* attaches to a predicative structure. Although this seems intuitively adequate, it is rather difficult to capture within a lexical approach to word-formation, where affixes attach to either roots or stems, but not to syntactic predicative structures. In this talk, I show that a syntactic model like Distributed Morphology is especially well-equipped to deal with such cases, since the only component that can generate structures is syntax proper. I propose that *-ble* can only be added to those [+human] nominal bases that can be temporally located (Lecarme 1999), i.e. those that accept deictic and event-temporal modifiers that can manipulate some temporal interval of the noun (Demonte 2005). The temporal features of the noun are realized in a predicative component that corresponds to the little *v* layer present in the internal structure of regular deverbal *-ble* formations, thus arguing for a uniform analysis of all *-ble* forms. Variation mainly arises from differences in the syntactic behavior of relational nouns across languages.

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Markedness gradience in English morphonotactics

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Criteria traditionally used in the analysis of consonantal patterning (e.g. sonority, consonantal weight) were shown to pose problems in phonotactically complex languages. We assert that a model of phonotactic description should (1) be able to provide degrees of cluster markedness rather than categorize clusters in absolute terms into well- and ill-formed and (2) consult non-phonological criteria for intermorphemic clusters (e.g. /rd/ in *bard* vs. *barr+ed*). In the description of English morphonotactics (Dressler–Dziubalska-Kołodziejczyk 2006), i.e. intra- and inter-morphemic clusters, we propose to apply the following criteria:

- (1) Net Auditory Distance (NAD) between consonants based on the place and manner of articulation and voicing (Dziubalska-Kołodziejczyk 2008, Dziubalska-Kołodziejczyk–Krynicki 2008),
- (2) morphotactic transparency (MT) of morphemes forming a cluster (Dressler 1985),
- (3) lexical level (LL) at which a cluster is created (Mohan 1982, Halle–Mohan 1985).

The criteria implemented in the present paper aim at extending the purely phonologically- and phonetically-oriented description of consonant clusters to account for clusters' morphological and purely morphological properties.

In this study, we considered 129 different English word-final clusters: 46 exclusively intramorphemic (e.g. /mp/, /lkt/ in *jump*, *mult*), 45 exclusively intermorphemic (e.g. /θ+t/, /rv+d/ in *toothed*, *preserved*), and 38 'mixed' clusters which emerge in both contexts (e.g. /n(+)θ/ in *amaranth* : *eleventh*, /rs(+)t/ in *burst* : *divorced*). All consonantal strings were found in 7.921 words extracted from the *New Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary* (Fisiak 2003). Intramorphemic clusters were grouped into 5 markedness degrees based on NAD. Intermorphemic clusters were subsumed under one of 5, 3 and 2 markedness degrees established for NAD, MT and LL respectively. We compared the distribution of clusters on each markedness scale with their type and word frequency and drew the following conclusions.

Firstly, we showed that more marked clusters (scoring higher) are generally less frequent than those which score lower on a markedness scale, whether based on NAD, MT or LL. More specifically, type frequency of intramorphemic clusters declines with the increasing markedness degrees for NAD (from 20.9% to 0.8%) and the frequency of intermorphemic types decreases as the markedness degrees increase (from 92.9% to 1.2% for MT and from 85.5% to 14.5% for LL).

Moreover, we found that phonologically less marked -CC types are at least twice more frequent than more marked -CCC, in contrast to -CCC which are equally frequent regardless of their markedness degree. On this basis we concluded that phonology is a strong predictor of markedness only for doubles and fails to determine markedness degrees for longer clusters due to their structural complexity. This inherent complexity is primarily attributed to cluster motivation, which we confirm with the finding that over 80% of triples are intermorphemic. We drew a similar conclusion after we juxtaposed NAD, MT and LL for intermorphemic clusters and noticed that phonologically marked clusters are generally favoured in the intermorphemic context.

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Tonight, you know, do you wanna go out or something cos I'm in London? A preliminary analysis of general extenders in British teenagers' discourse

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It is widely acknowledged that teenagers' language is particularly interesting as adolescents and young people introduce important innovations and changes into language use, especially when compared with the stability typical of adult language. Teenagers are very frequently responsible for linguistic innovations, some of which will ultimately be incorporated in the general structure of the language. A preliminary study of a representative sample of the spoken language produced by a group of British teenagers seems to indicate that their language is characterised by a number of syntactic, lexical and pragmatic features that make it completely different from the language of adults.

This paper will be particularly concerned with the analysis of a group of English expressions referred to in the literature as general extenders, extension particles, vague category identifiers, set marking, utterance final or coordination tags (*and everything, and stuff, and things like that, or whatever, or anything, or something*, etc.) in the spoken language produced by a group of British teenagers, on the basis of the COLT corpus. This corpus, compiled in 1993, contains 500,000 words and consists of 377 spontaneous conversations produced by teenagers aged 13 to 17 in the London area. All the conversations are equivalent to roughly 100 hours of recorded speech.

I maintain three main hypotheses. One is concerned with the frequency of these structures, as I contend that they are more common in the spoken language of young people than in the discourse of their adult counterparts. Teenage talk stands out for its informality and general extenders tend to be associated with this register. The second hypothesis concerns the pragmatics of these forms as I assume they denote pragmatic meanings which are particularly characteristic of this discourse and which may not be found in the language used by adults. Finally, the third hypothesis postulates that general extenders are generally accompanied by a number of acknowledgment tokens, back channels or discourse particles.

In the light of all this, the category of general extenders will first of all be closely defined and characterised; these structures, which are not exclusive to English, will be distinguished from other categories of vague language, such as quantifiers (*little, much*), approximators (*about, approximately*) and placeholders (*thingy, whatisname*). A brief review of selected literature will also be presented in this first section (see reference section underneath). Secondly, the frequency and distribution of each of these forms will be studied, concentrating on their most distinctive syntactic features: the categories they refer to and the type and polarity of the clause where they are found. Thus, a preliminary analysis shows, for example, that *or something* and *and all* are the most frequent while *or so* and *so forth* are the least common. Furthermore, general extenders tend to refer directly to the elements they are coordinated with, the majority of them being noun or adjective phrases; however, in some cases their reference point may be the whole previous clause and even on occasions their reference may be quite ambiguous. Moreover, general extenders usually co-occur with certain discourse particles, such as *you know, sort of, yeah, right, okay* and *well*.

The results obtained will be compared with those of previous studies, trying to see whether teenagers' language can be characterised by a higher frequency and wider variety of these forms than that of adults. Finally, attention will be paid to their pragmatic meanings as these structures do not only serve to express vague language, function as hedges or even help to identify or characterise general categories but they often perform other pragmatic functions as markers of intersubjectivity. Among these the following can be mentioned in the language of teenagers: complicity between the speaker and the interlocutor, the reinforcement of belonging to a peer group, the intensification of the message, negative politeness, indifference to or rejection of something being said, etc.

All these issues will be considered in relation to the general language produced by these individuals and in the framework of several cognitive and sociological variables which may be in operation and which are typical of this age group

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External constraining factors in the lexical constructional model

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Motivation constitutes a central concern in linguistic theory. Within the cognitive linguistic paradigm Radden and Panther (2004), among other scholars, provide a thought-out overview of this issue. In this proposal we explore some motivational factors which constrain or allow the fusion of low-level lexical items into high-level constructional configurations on the basis that coercion is not idiosyncratic (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Boas 2003; Broccias 2003, 2004). More precisely, we focus on the constraining factors, spelled out in the form of high-level metaphorical and metonymic activity, which underlie the processes of transitivity and intransitivity and the connection of the former with the caused-motion and resultative constructions and of the latter with the middle and inchoative constructions.

On the one hand, certain high-level metaphors and metonymies allow some predicates to be compatible with the caused-motion construction. For instance, *laugh* can participate in the caused-motion construction as licensed by the high-level metaphor AN EXPERIENTIAL ACTION IS AN EFFECTUAL ACTION (e.g. *They laughed the poor guy out of the room*). This case and similar ones undergo subcategorical conversion from intransitive to transitive predicates. This process results from quantitative valency addition in Dik's (1993) terms.

On the other hand, in English intransitivity is achieved by forcing a transitive verb into the inchoative and middle constructions (Levin 1993). Some predicates are liable to experience a process of subcategorical conversion from transitive to intransitive uses by reducing the number of arguments of their usual syntactic layout. In other words, the syntactic makeup of a transitive predicate can be modified as a result of quantitative valency reduction. The possible intransitivity of some predicates in the context of the inchoative and middle constructions is also constrained by high-level metaphorical and metonymic activity. For instance, even though the syntactic layout of the sentence *The coffee spilt on my shirt* does not show an explicit volitional agent who carries out the action of spilling the coffee (as opposed to its transitive counterpart *John spilt the coffee on my shirt*), it is taken for granted that someone or some natural force spilt it. The coffee is not characterized by being volitional per se. This is a linguistic realization of the high-level metonymy PROCESS FOR ACTION, which involves the recategorization of the predicate *spill* and brings about some consequences for the syntactic configuration of the clause.

Additionally, we will study why some predicates belonging to certain lexical domains cannot participate in some constructions because of their internal makeup. For instance, the inchoative construction is blocked in the case of a feeling verb like *frighten* but this same verb adapts itself to the requirements of the caused-motion construction. In the inchoative construction the object acquires agent-like properties. Since in feeling verbs the object is experiential (in the sense that there is no acting on the percept), a clash with the action-oriented semantic structure of the inchoative construction takes place. However, the causative sense of a feeling verb like *frighten* allows this predicate to participate in the caused-motion construction.

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Anglizismen in der deutschen Werbesprache: Frequenz, Distribution und Integration“

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In der Anglizismus-Debatte der letzten Jahre wird die Werbung oft als „Einfallstor“ für Anglizismen betrachtet. In dieser Untersuchung wird also der mögliche Einfluss des Englischen in der deutschen Werbesprache, insbesondere im Werbeslogan, durch drei Parameter analysiert: Frequenz, Distribution und Integration.

Ausgehend von theoretischen Ansätzen der Funktionalen Linguistik, die sich auf Sprachwandel, Sprachkontakt, Entlehnungsterminologie, Werbesprache und die Stellung des Englischen als „globale“ Sprache beziehen, werden folgende Fragen berücksichtigt:

- i) quantitativ gesehen, ob im untersuchten Korpus und Zeitabschnitt eine Steigerung oder ein Rückgang in der Anzahl von Anglizismen und in der globalen Anwesenheit des Englischen zu sehen ist, denn einige Untersuchungen weisen in diesem Bereich auf widersprüchliche Daten hin;
- ii) ob die englische Sprache im ausgewählten Korpus sich homogen verteilt oder nur in spezifischen Branchen zu finden ist, wie die Studien von Androutsopoulos (2004) und Schütte (1996) zeigen;
- iii) wie der Integrationsprozess der ausgewählten Anglizismen in den verschiedenen Subsystemen der deutschen Sprache stattfindet, indem die Markierungen dieser Integration gesammelt und analysiert werden.

Slogans.de, eine spezialisierte Online-Datenbank von in Deutschland veröffentlichten Werbeslogans, bietet eine geeignete Materialgrundlage, um diesen Fragen nachzugehen. Insgesamt 8802 Slogans, die zwischen 2004 und 2006 in Werbekampagnen benutzt worden sind, werden ausgewählt und erforscht.

Was die Methodik betrifft, so werden zuerst alle im Korpus vorkommenden Sprachen identifiziert. Danach werden englischsprachige Werbeslogans für eine statistische Analyse ausgesucht, um ihre Häufigkeit und Verteilung durch Jahr und Branche zu untersuchen. Schließlich wird der Integrationsprozess von Anglizismen phonetisch-phonologisch, graphematisch, morphologisch, lexikalisch und semantisch analysiert.

Des Weiteren wird eine Sammlung von Äußerungen durch deutsche Muttersprachler verschiedener Altersstufen ausgesucht, um die Untersuchung phonetisch-phonologischer Integrationsmerkmale zu ermöglichen.

Die Auswertung der Daten bezüglich der Frequenz zeigt, dass der Anteil englischsprachiger Slogans und Anglizismen mit insgesamt über 30% alle Belege von vornherein schon bedeutsam ist, obwohl von einer zunehmenden Präsenz englischsprachiger Belege nicht eindeutig gesprochen werden kann. Auch die in der Literatur belegten Zusammenhänge solcher Slogans mit bestimmten Branchen werden durch die Ergebnisse bestätigt: Branchen wie Informationstechnologie, Elektronik oder Telekommunikation sind dominant englischsprachig (mehr als 60%), während Sektoren wie Politik weitaus nicht so „englischfreudig“ sind (0,57%).

Die Untersuchung der Integration von Anglizismen in den verschiedenen Subsystemen der deutschen Sprache erlaubt folgende Rückschlüsse: einerseits ist der Einfluss des Englischen im Korpus schon sichtbar (z.B. der Apostroph als Zeichen des Genitivs, die Anwendung der englischen Affrikate [tʃ], die vorwiegend englische Aussprache von Anglizismen durch jüngere Muttersprachler, die Dominanz englischer Schreibungen); andererseits gibt es aber einen viel höheren Anteil an Beispielen, die den Integrationsprozess in der deutschen Sprache deutlich zeigen (die Stabilisierung der Genuszuordnung, die verbale Konjugation, die Pluralbildung, die Substantiv-Großschreibung, die Adjektivdeklinaton oder die Wortbildung mit deutschen Affixen, z.B. den Suffixen {heit} und {ig}). Dieser Integrationsprozess verläuft mit eigenem Tempo in den jeweiligen Subsystemen, da einige von diesen doch zu größerem Widerstand als andere gegen Sprachwandel zu neigen scheinen.

Fragen wie die Entwicklung der Aussprache von Anglizismen im Deutschen, oder der stetige und beträchtliche Zuwachs von Hybridbildungen in der deutschen Werbesprache, sowie die zunehmenden und vielfältigen Verständnisprobleme von Konsumenten mit englischsprachigen Werbeslogans müssen in diesem Kontext ebenfalls berücksichtigt werden.

Politeness Strategies in Verbal Interaction: a Contrastive Study

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The present research is carried out within the area of cross-cultural linguistic pragmatics. It focuses on politeness strategies used in verbal interaction in a multicultural society, both within one culture and across cultures. We assume that a linguistic interaction is necessarily a social interaction related to social distance or closeness, as well as amount of imposition or degree of friendliness (Yule 1996: 59). The theoretical basis of this research is the model worked out by Brown & Levinson (1987), the central notion of which is *face*, and which distinguishes between positive and negative politeness strategies that are used to counterbalance the disruptive effect of face-threatening acts.

The paper analyses some of the most frequent situations in oral communication where politeness strategies have to be implemented in order to avoid pragmatic errors. They are requests, offers, greetings and leave-takings. We made use of a quantitative method in the form of an anonymous questionnaire the respondents of which were native speakers of English, Russian and Estonian aged between 18 and 30. The results of the questionnaire were further supported by a qualitative method in the form of personal interviews with experts, representatives of the three cultures under study, who commented on the data obtained from the questionnaire.

The aim of the survey was to confirm the hypothesis that the language used when talking to one's equals or friends is different from the language used when talking to strangers or one's superiors. One of the issues was the choice of the second person pronoun, T/V forms corresponding to the English 'you', when addressing people in Russian and Estonian. The questions were open-ended, with no possible answers given, so the respondents could write the answers which seemed the most natural to them. This gave us a chance to study and compare the vocabulary and syntactic structures used by the respondents.

The survey has shown that native speakers of Russian did not use the informal T-form when talking to strangers and superiors, whereas it was sometimes used by Estonians. In a way, it has confirmed our expectation because reciprocal use of the familiar T-form to address strangers and superiors is becoming a tendency in Estonian culture, especially among young people. The reason is probably their wish to achieve equality, which is said to exist in English. However, according to (Wierzbicka 1991: 47), the English *you* is not only a great social equaliser but also a distance-building device. This research has proved that native speakers of English have a greater need for distance and privacy and prefer negative politeness strategies, such as requests expressed by interrogative sentences with modal verbs (Wierzbicka 1991: 47), which they use when talking to a friend as well as a stranger. The results of the research have confirmed the idea that politeness is culture-dependent and that politeness strategies vary in the three cultures under consideration.

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English "like" and Serbian "kao" – a filler or a quotative marker

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English "like" and Serbian "kao" have diverse functions in spontaneous speech, quotative marker (QM), being one of their chief functions, and as a filler (F), in both languages.

In this paper we analyse this functions in our transcribed and annotated corpus of spontaneous conversation, which consists of 10 hours of video recorded TV talk shows in English and Serbian language (*Oprah Show*, *Beograd noću*, *3 pa 1*), and 10 hours of audio recorded conversations of Serbian speakers.

Firstly, we compare the occurrence of "like" and "kao", functioning as a quotative marker, and as a filler in other discourse functions. We expect that the functions that *like* and *kao* have assumed, i.e. a quotative marker and a filler, correlate between these languages in their pragmatic function, but that possible distributional differences are due to the differences in two language systems. Secondly, we compare prosodic features of segments following *like/kao*_{QM} and *like/kao*_F in both languages: some prosodic features and the speaker's voice quality are usually changed after *like/kao*_{QM} in most of the cases.

Finally, we argue that more attention should be paid not only to sociolinguistic factors that influence their usage in both languages, but also to a typology of speakers and/or conversational topic development.

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Underapplication of vowel reduction in Majorcan Catalan: a phenomenon between morphological and phonological prominence

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1. Data. Majorcan Catalan shows vowel reduction of $[\varepsilon\leftrightarrow]$, $[E\leftrightarrow]$ and $[\alpha\leftrightarrow]$ to $[\leftrightarrow]$ in unstressed position. However, productive derived words whose primitive has a stressed $[\varepsilon\leftrightarrow]$ or $[E\leftrightarrow]$ vowel at the left edge of the stem do not undergo vowel reduction to $[\leftrightarrow]$, but to $[\varepsilon]$. There is, therefore, underapplication of vowel reduction to $[\leftrightarrow]$: $v[\varepsilon\leftrightarrow]nt$ 'wind' ~ $v[\varepsilon]ntet$ 'wind *dim.*'; $c[E\leftrightarrow]l$ 'sky' ~ $c[\varepsilon]let$ 'sky *dim.*' (see [14], [1], [11], [12]). The very same patterns under similar conditions are found in inflectional verbal paradigms, although in this case underapplication of vowel reduction is not found when the alternating stressed vowel is $[E\equiv]$ (see [1], [11]). Learned words and loanwords with unstressed *e* also show $[\varepsilon]$, especially when located at the left edge of the stem and when preceded by a labial consonant [1]: *esp[e]cial* 'special', *p[e]l·lícula* 'film', *b[e]nigne* 'benign', *f[el]iç* 'happy', etc.

2. Generalizations & analysis. Previous descriptive and theoretical approaches to these facts have already detected that a paradigmatic effect is at play here. According to [12], cases with normal application and cases with underapplication of vowel reduction exhibit a different behavior because the latter bear a lexical mark responsible for the demotion, in the constraint hierarchy, of the M constraint favoring the schwa in unstressed position. In this paper, we provide a different interpretation of the facts framed within OT. Within derivation, there are 4 crucial conditions for the underapplication of vowel reduction within derivation, which are *not enough* independently. **2.1** The unstressed affected vowel must have a correspondent stressed vowel in the stem of the primitive word. This circumstance can be interpreted as the result of an O-IDENT(F) transderivational F constraint ([2]), which demands that surface correspondent segments must have the same featural specification; BASE-PRIORITY, on the other hand, ensures that the direction of the pressure is from the base to the derived form and not the opposite. **2.2** The vowels in the stressed stem of the primitive form must be front and mid (*i.e.* $[\varepsilon\equiv]$ & $[E\equiv]$), in that the pressure does not work when the primitive has $[\alpha\equiv]$. This condition, as well as the fact that the result of the process is always $[\varepsilon]$ (and never $[E]$), can be explained by the high ranking of the M constraints $*M/\alpha$ and $*M/E$, penalizing these vowels in unstressed position and which inhibit the possible effects of the constraint demanding uniformity in the stem. **2.3** The position of the vowels under surface correspondence must be at the left edge of the stem (cf. *pap[ε↔]r* 'paper' ~ *pap[↔]ret*, vs. *p[ε↔]ix* 'fish' *p[ε]ixet*, *p[ε]ixot*). This condition can be attributed to a prominence effect, in that in a prominent position (such as the left edge of the stem) a more prominent vowel than $[\leftrightarrow]$ (*i.e.* $[\varepsilon]$) is selected, whereas in a non-prominent position (such as the right edge of the stem) a non-prominent vowel (*i.e.* $[\leftrightarrow]$) is selected. **2.4** The derived form must be productive (cf. *p[ε↔]ix* 'fish' ~ *p[ε]ixet* 'fish *dim.*', *p[ε]ixot* 'fish *augm.*' vs. *p[↔]ixater* 'fisherman', *p[↔]ixateria* 'fish shop'; see [1], [11]). This can be interpreted as an O-OSUBPARADIGMIDENT(F) F effect, along the lines of [13]. Within verbal inflection, where there is no BASE-PRIORITY, underapplication of vowel reduction applies because overapplication is blocked by the high ranked constraint $*N/[\leftrightarrow\equiv]$, penalizing a segment of low sonority as a nucleus.

3. Theoretical & empirical implications. **3.1** § 2.3 advocates the need of recognizing an additional prominent position (*i.e.* the left edge of the stem), and the subsequent prominence hierarchy for vowels according to their position within the stem $*\leftrightarrow/L\text{-Stem-Edge} \gg *i,u/L\text{-Stem-Edge} \gg *e,o/L\text{-Stem-Edge} \gg *E,\square/L\text{-Stem-Edge} \gg *\alpha/L\text{-Stem-Edge}$, apart from those already detected in previous studies ([10]; [5], [6]; [3], [4]; [7], [8]; [9]; additional evidence for this hierarchy based on data from other Romance languages will be provided). **3.2** § 2.4 demands an uneven and a hierarchical structure for the generated paradigm candidates, so that the members in it can be unequally be affected by the O-O F constraints ([13]). **3.3** The fact that

labials favor [ɛ] can be interpreted as a coarticulation effect. **3.4** The high ranking of *N/[↔⇒] is not an *ad hoc* stipulation: it formally expresses that the phonemic character of the schwa is becoming a relic, a circumstance which is additionally corroborated by the fact that loanwords with a stressed *e* are systematically realized with [ɛ⇒]: *Intern*[ɛ↔]t. **3.5** Loanwords and productive derivation exhibit, as seen, [ɛ]; this suggests that the asymmetric unstressed vowel system of MC ([ɪ] [u]; [] [o]; [↔]) is progressively becoming symmetric ([ɪ] [u]; [e] [o]; [↔]) (see [11]).

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Abbreviations

M = Markedness
 F = Faithfulness
 OT = Optimality Theory

We and the Others: attitudes toward foreign speakers in Slovenian society

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When we meet speakers of a foreign language, we immediately form a picture of them that results from our perceptions and stereotypes about the speakers of that language in general, and our perceptions are a result of deep-rooted and ingrained social attitudes. Slovenian language has been in contact with other languages for centuries, particularly with the neighbouring languages: Italian, Hungarian, German and Croatian (formerly Serbo-Croatian). Slovenian was most strongly influenced by the latter two languages. Up to the 20th century, German had the status of a spare code in Slovenia (Italian in the south-west, Hungarian in the north-east), which role was in the 20th century taken over by Serbo-Croatian, as one of the official languages in Yugoslavia, and held until the disintegration of the common state in 1991.

Results of a poll on the use of foreign languages in Slovenia, conducted by the Slovenian Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute for Social Sciences in 2002, showed that 47.5 % of interviewed persons had contact with foreigners; as many as 54.2 % of them communicated with them in a foreign language. On the other hand, the poll of the Slovenian daily *Delo* on the knowledge of foreign languages in Slovenia, published in 2001, showed that as many as 38.5 % of the interviewed had an active knowledge of Croatian or Serbian language, and a further 37.1 % had a passive knowledge. These results and our own experience prompted us to study the attitudes toward different foreign languages in Slovenian society. On the basis of a pilot research, we tried to find answers to the following questions: a) how Slovenian speakers “see” speakers of 15 foreign languages (American or British English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Dutch, Arabic, Japanese, Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, Montenegrin); b) are there differences in evaluating languages with which Slovenian society has, or has not, been in contact; and c) are there differences in evaluating foreign languages and the first (native) language of the evaluator. The survey was carried out using a questionnaire with 18 pairs of antonymic adjectives. The first nine adjectives referred to characteristics that are evaluated in terms of social achievement (educated – uneducated, clever – stupid, successful – unsuccessful, polite – impolite, well-mannered – rude, elegant – neglected, rich – poor, quick – reserved, urban – rural), while the other nine adjectives referred to characteristics determining a more emotional attitude to a foreign language speaker (sincere – insincere, dignified – undignified, natural – unnatural, conceited – shy, likable – unlikeable, kind

– unkind, active – passive, determined – timid, compassionate – indifferent). Evaluation was done by first-year students of Southern Slavic Studies at the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana on a corpus of extracts from radio and TV news programmes in different languages. Being a pilot research, evaluation was done on a rather small sample ($n = 34$); however, we think it reflects the relevant situation. Attitudes toward particular languages were determined on the basis of average values of individual scores, paying special attention to deviations from the averages. In this way, we could separate languages that, according to the scores for particular characteristics, differ significantly from other languages either in a positive or negative sense. The results showed that these languages are (in alphabetical order) Arabic, Bosnian, English (British and American), Japanese, German, Russian, Slovenian and Spanish. On the other hand, research results also point to the conclusion that the cause of positive or negative attitudes to Others are not only stereotypical perceptions, since they can change under the influence of the current political and social developments.

Spatial Experiential Iconic Markers: The Case of Full Inversion

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Over the past few years, full inversion —constructions in which the subject follows the entire verb phrase in a declarative clause, as in “On the near corner was *Herb’s Gas Station*” or “Upstairs was *a bedroom and a bathroom*”— has been the subject of extensive research from a functional perspective (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2004). This paper is a further contribution to this line of research and offers a corpus-based analysis of full inversion in Present-day English written texts taken from the *Freiburg-Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus of British English* (FLOB; compilation date: 1991) and the *Freiburg-Brown Corpus of American English* (FROWN; compilation date: 1992), both included in Hofland et al. (1999).

The notion of “iconicity” has become very popular in the last 25 years among functional and cognitive linguists. In Croft’s (2003:102) words, “the intuition behind iconicity is that the structure of language reflects in some way the structure of experience.” Iconicity is thus a very broad notion, and it has been understood and applied in a great variety of ways (cf. Newmeyer 1992). It is usually argued 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). In this paper, however, I will argue that, in fact, some inversions are not merely textual linking devices, but can also be considered markers of spatial experiential iconicity through which the process of physical perception is reflected in the syntax.

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Lexical Gaps in and across Languages

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This contribution compares the occurrence of lexical gaps in the domain of linguistic action verbs in English, German and Dutch. Linguistic action verbs are used to refer to acts of verbal communication or to specific aspects of these such as the way in which something is uttered, the kind of communication medium used, or the very fact of saying something. Examples include *to inform*, *to promise*, *to praise*, *to whisper*, *to phone* and *to speak*. A comparison of communication concepts which are and such which are not lexicalised in a particular language may be expected to shed light on the way in which verbal behaviour is conceptualised in a particular speech community.

Studies of lexical gaps have so far been based on the inventory of the existing lexical items pertaining to a specific lexical domain in the languages under consideration. However, even if a large number of typologically different languages are taken into account, concepts which are not lexicalised in any one of them may easily go unnoticed. This contribution therefore uses a conceptual system to identify lexical gaps largely independently of what is lexicalised in a particular language.

The system used is based on parameters relevant to the meaning of linguistic action verbs. Combinations of different possible values of these represent concepts of verbal communication some of which are lexicalised by linguistic action verbs while others are not. Combinations which are not lexicalised represent instances of lexical gaps. The application of this conceptual system to detect lexical gaps in the domain of linguistic action verbs has yielded a variety of lexicalisation patterns indicating that, in each of the three languages compared, the lexicalisation of linguistic action concepts is governed by a small set of principles. Most of these prove to be relevant to each of the languages considered.

The most prominent of the lexicalisation principles found are the Principle of Costs and Benefits and the Principle of Markedness. These govern the lexicalisation of concepts of directive and commissive speech acts and of concepts of expressive speech acts respectively. The Principle of Costs and Benefits explains, for example, why there are no special verbs meaning 'to promise someone to do something disadvantageous to oneself' or why predicates meaning 'to tell someone to do something disadvantageous to him or her' are rare cross-linguistically. The Principle of Markedness explains why linguistic action verbs expressing negative evaluations are more frequent than such expressing positive ones.

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Language shift in South India: the dynamics of global and local languages in a multilingual setting

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Language shift has received much attention in various domains, including anthropology, sociology, and linguistics, where it has been studied in numerous and often interdisciplinary fields. These include sociolinguistics, language contact (e.g. Gumperz & Wilson 1971), second language acquisition and education, and more recently, language endangerment (e.g. Fishman 1991 and 2001, Nettle & Romaine 2000). However, most of these studies focus on functionally monolingual societies, where the dynamics between languages are vastly different from functionally multilingual societies (Srivastava 1990). Studies on multilingual societies tend to concentrate on documentation and/or revitalization efforts of a particular language, and do not often give the bigger picture of language shift and its causes within a larger geographical area, including the role of lingua francas.

Studies such as Annamalai (2001) and Pattanayak (1990) have helped explain some of the more general phenomena of language shift in India, and a few areal studies have shed much light on shift in specific areas (e.g. Abbi 2008, Ishtiaq 1999), as well as giving statistical information on the different degrees of language shift occurring in different areas. But more areal studies are needed, especially on regions experiencing a higher degree of shift in indigenous vernacular languages. In addition, the link between language shift and lingua francas, notably English, needs to be fully explored.

This paper thus focuses on a functionally multilingual society, India, and specifically, on an area of South India, the Nilgiri Hills. The results of statistical data we collected and surveys we carried out on language attitudes show that language shift is on the increase in India, and in particular in South India, and that this trend will continue in the future. English, both a global and local language in India, is often considered to be one of the main causes of language shift, attrition, and death in many countries due to its function as an international and national lingua franca (Nettle & Romaine 2000; see remarks in Kachru 2005, Mufwene 2005). In India, and particularly in the south where Hindi is markedly less present, English has a strong position as the sole lingua franca at inter-regional, intranational and international levels. Despite this fact, we have demonstrated that English does not have a significant effect on language shift in South India, as it is not an economically important language in localized contexts. English remains an elite lingua franca in this region, and only localized lingua francas, which are indigenous languages, compete directly with other indigenous languages (see Mufwene 2005 for a general theory). The rise of these localized lingua francas is itself due to the effects of globalization, urbanization, and the development of the region.

Though our findings for the Nilgiri Hills cannot be taken as a decisive model for the whole country nor for all functionally multilingual countries, they can give us an idea of trends and causes of language shift in an area where both global and local languages are at play and a high degree of language shift is occurring.

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Morphosyntactic variation in the coding of adjectival secondary predicates in Polish and Russian – What role do semiotic factors play?

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Adjuncts, i.e. facultative clause-level units, can semantically be either oriented towards the event depicted in the clause or towards a participant in the event, or they can be vague in their orientation towards these entities (cf. e.g. HIMMELMANN / SCHULTZE-BERNDT 2005). Event-oriented adjuncts like e.g. *quickly* in *John walks_i quickly_i* are usually called adverbials, a common term for participant-oriented adjuncts like e.g. *barefoot* in *John_i walks barefoot_i* is secondary predicate. In the domain of (in a broad sense) adjectival adjuncts, Polish and Russian employ distinct coding strategies to formally reflect the semantic orientation of an adjunct towards either the event or towards one of its participants: as a rule, event-oriented adverbials are expressed by adverbs, participant-oriented secondary predicates are coded by adjectives.

The paper addresses such cases in which, as an exception to this rule, a semantically clearly participant-oriented adjunct is coded, however, by an adverb that is in – allegedly free – variation with a corresponding adjective, cf. e.g. Polish *Jan chodzi bosy_{Adv} / bosy_{Adj}* 'Jan_i walks barefoot_i'. On the basis of a quantitative investigation of corpora of contemporary standard Polish and Russian, the paper pursues the question, to what extent these are really cases of free morphosyntactic variation, or respectively, to what extent the choice between adjective and adverb might be influenced by rather general semiotic factors such as e.g. transparency. Since in Polish and Russian adjectives in such constructions exhibit some sort of agreement with the participant-NP they predicate upon (either full agreement in case, number and gender or, as far as the so-called "predicative instrumental" is concerned, at least partial agreement, cf. e.g. HENTSCHEL (in press)), adjectives might be considered as a transparent means of signalling what element in the clause the secondary predicate refers to. Since, on the other hand, secondary predicates that are coded by adverbs do not exhibit agreement with the participant-NP towards which they are oriented, it should be asked, whether such participant-oriented adverbs can be understood as a means of transparently signalling the predicativity of the adjunct, or if the choice for this particular coding strategy might be motivated by other factors.

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To have or not to have: from privation to negation in Spanish denominal verbs

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Denominal verbs are those which come from nouns. Among this kind of verbs there is an important group considered *privative*, where those created by prefix *des-* are included. Traditionally these verbs have been treated as processes of word formation, and in this sense they have been analyzed either from a diachronic point of view (Montero Curiel 1999) or from the difference between parasynthesis and prefixation (Serrano Dolader 1995, 1999). However, one of the main problems they arise is to explain their great variety of meanings. Besides their formal variables (both diachronic and synchronic), among their values there are usually mentioned the *separative* meaning, the *privative* meaning, and what some linguist have called the *reversal* meaning (Serrano Dolader 1999).

The aim of this paper is to organize the different values of privative denominal verbs related to prefix *des-*, and to determine to what extent their different meanings are linked to the role that negation plays in argument structure. To do so, two important concepts will be taken into account: on the one hand, the lexical conceptual structures of verbs, considered as recursive patterns of form and meaning (Levin 1993; Levin and Rappaport 2005); on the other, the concept of negation considered in a wide sense, with the pragmatic reinforcement that it can assume (Horn 2001). From this perspective, there can be established three different groups:

- a) Ablative value, represented by verbs like *desterrar* or *destronar*. They are based on a local schema (Talmy 2000) in which a contradictory negation (Horn 2001) –or a negation of predicates– intervenes: “To make somebody /something not be in the place he / it was”.
- b) Privative value, both physical and abstract, represented by verbs like *despiojar*, *desmitificar* or *desconsolar*. In this case, the meaning arises from the interaction between a contradictory negation and a possessive schema: “to make somebody / something not have what he / it had”. This possessive schema is metonymically derived from the local schema, in the sense that they share the same point of reference (Langacker 2004).
- c) Contrary value, represented by verbs like *desaprobar* or *desaconsejar*. This meaning is far away from the previous ones due to a matter of grade: negation is not contradictory anymore, but contrary, as a consequence of a pragmatic reinforcement; furthermore, the verbs included in this group exhibit a higher illocutionary force.

More generally, this paper means to determine recursive patterns in the incorporation of negation to argument structure, which could be used both as a reference for the study of other negative Spanish prefixes, and also crosslinguistically.

English phrasal verbs as idiomatized and lexicalized units: A corpus-based study

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In the vast literature on phrasal verbs, a large number of definitions have been proposed for this special type of verb in English. On the basis of the analysis of the semantic and syntactic behaviour of these structures, I have recently proposed a more thorough definition, according to which phrasal verbs are combinations of a verb and an adverbial particle which function semantically and syntactically as a single unit (*bring up*, *get across*, *go away*), though to varying degrees (Rodríguez-Puente, forthcoming). The level of semantic and syntactic cohesion between the verb and the particle varies in Present-day English combinations, and can be measured by means of a series of structural and semantic criteria. In general, it has been observed that combinations with opaque meanings also tend to have lower syntactic freedom. Compare in this respect the results of the syntactic tests applied in (1a-c) to the combination *bring up* with a literal meaning, with those in (2a-c), where *bring up* has the more idiomatic meaning ‘educate.’

Bring up ‘convey, carry, lead, or cause to come along with one in a direction upwards (e.g. upstairs).’

- a. He **brought** the children *immediately up*.
- b. **Up** he **brought** the children.
- c. He **brought** the children up and then **down**.

Bring up ‘to educate, to bring a person to maturity.’

- a. He **brought** the children (**correctly/properly*) **up**.
- b. ***Up** he **brought** the children.
- c. ***He brought** the children up and then **down**.

However, idiomatic phrasal verbs were practically inexistent in the earlier stages of English and must have developed their non-compositional meanings from literal combinations of verb plus adverb. This paper attempts at discovering how these idiomatic meanings developed over time by means of the analysis of examples extracted from the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Early English Correspondence* and the *ARCHER Corpus*. More precisely, I will try to answer the question of whether phrasal verbs have undergone a process of idiomatization and whether such a process exists by itself, as pointed out by some scholars (cf. e.g. Akimoto 1999: 225; 2002: 16), or is dependent on and develops from another major process of change known as lexicalization (cf. Brinton and Traugott 2005: 105). Put differently, are idiomatization and lexicalization independent but simultaneous processes or is lexicalization a major process which brings about idiomatization?

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Idiolectal variation in attentional-pragmatic markers in oral narratives

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This paper studies the linguistic-discursive devices used by narrators of oral narratives in order to guide the listener through the several stories and comments which unfold through the narrative process. Our study follows recent approaches (Redeker 1991, 2000, Romero Trillo 2006, Schifffrin 1987) that claim that pragmatic markers are not a closed word class, but rather a *function slot* that can be filled with different linguistic units: words, phrases, or even sounds, silences and gestures. A functional-cognitive approach that, in our opinion, accounts for the wide range of possibilities that pragmatic markers offer in terms of functions, meanings, word classes, etc.

The main aim of this paper, thus, is twofold. First, we address the question of whether in the text type under study – oral narratives of charged events- there is a fixed repertoire of discourse markers with polysemous meaning or whether any expression can function as a discourse marker under certain conditions. And second, we wish to find out whether there are individual preferences in the use of attentional markers or, on the contrary, these markers are specific to oral narratives as a text-type.

Our work is part of a larger project that analyses the structure of emotionally charged oral narratives in Spanish in a corpus of 20 spontaneous stories recorded from agony column radio programs. In previous work we found that this kind of narrative, far from having a linear structure, is constantly broken in order to insert comments, justifications, explanations, background information, etc.; that is, in order to create empathic bonds with the listener (Romano and Molina, forthcoming). For this reason, the stories are charged with pragmatic markers that intend to guide the listeners' attention in transitions from the main story towards evaluative comments or secondary stories (Romano and Porto 2009).

Following Redeker's 2006 methodology, we first distinguish the internal segments of the narratives and then analyse their relations and the function of the markers that link the segments or discourse units. The notions of *discourse grammaticalization* (Romero Trillo 2001 and 2006, Aijmer 2002) and *appropriateness* (Romero Trillo 2001, 2006) have also been useful to explain the multiplicity of meanings of the same discourse markers and the rules that condition their use in a given situation. In addition, Talmy's 2007 concept of *attentional phenomena*, Langacker's 2001 notion of *attentional frames* and Fauconnier's 1994, 2007 *mental spaces* have been very useful to study the specific strategies narrators make use of in order to direct the hearers' attention through the story and help them build the appropriate mental image of the events and emotions being told.

In short, after both a qualitative and quantitative analysis of the data, we find that there exists idiolectal variation in the use of pragmatic markers, that is, individual preferences of the speakers, who often repeat the same expression through the same narrative rather than specific text-type markers. At the same time, we explain the reasons for these subjective choices, that is their main meanings and functions in the concrete discourse situations.

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La Evidencialidad como marca de ironía

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1. INTRODUCCIÓN

La ironía es un fenómeno pragmático que va más allá de la explicación retórica de 'figura con la que se dice lo contrario de lo que realmente se quiere decir. Como dice Torres Sánchez (1999: 89) "toda ironía depende de algún tipo de sustitución" y se basa en un uso interpretativo del lenguaje en el que no basta con entender lo que dice el hablante (uso descriptivo), sino que además es necesario inferir otro significado; esto es, el hablante se distancia de aquello que dice, del significado convencional del enunciado y el interlocutor debe ser capaz de interpretar el significado irónico. Para llevar a cabo esa interpretación, el hablante deja una serie de indicadores que permiten reconocer su intención irónica y que se convierten en pistas para que el oyente interprete el enunciado en clave irónica.

Desde el Grupo GRIALE (Ruiz *et al.* 2004; Alvarado (2006); Padilla (en prensa)) se han propuesto cuáles son los *indicadores* básicos de la ironía en español. Utilizando el esquema de Poyatos (1994) sobre las diferentes formas de comunicación humana y a partir de las clasificaciones anteriores de Muecke (1978) y, sobre todo, Schoentjes (2003) sobre las marcas de la ironía, se establecen los siguientes tipos de indicadores: por un lado, los *indicadores no lingüísticos* (kinésicos, paralingüísticos, acústico-melódicos); por otro, los *indicadores lingüísticos* (puntuación, cambios tipográficos, variación lingüística, palabras de alerta, unidades fraseológicas, formación de palabras, figuras retóricas). Centrándonos únicamente en los elementos lingüísticos que facilitan la interpretación del significado irónico de un enunciado, podemos decir que algunos de estos indicadores no producen ironía por sí mismos, sino que ayudan o guían en la interpretación irónica del enunciado, de ahí que los consideremos como *marcas* (Martínez Egido; Provencio Garrigós; Santamaría Pérez, 2005; Padilla, 2004).

2. OBJETIVOS

Nuestro trabajo se centra en el estudio de los evidenciales como indicadores lingüísticos de los enunciados irónicos. En primer lugar, el objetivo de esta investigación es comprobar si los elementos lingüísticos que expresan evidencialidad son realmente indicadores que producen efectos irónicos o, en realidad, son marcas funcionales que contribuyen y facilitan las interpretaciones irónicas. En segundo lugar, comprobaremos si los evidenciales actúan por sí solos como indicadores de la ironía o suelen ir acompañando a otros elementos que son los que realmente producen efectos irónicos.

3. METODOLOGÍA

Desde el punto de vista metodológico, analizaremos el uso de los evidenciales como marcas de la ironía desde las teorías pragmáticas más actuales lo que nos permitirá explicar su funcionamiento a partir de un corpus real. Para la obtención de ejemplos hemos utilizado un conjunto de enunciados pertenecientes a diversos *corpus*:

- a) Orales transcritos: Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales del Grupo Val.Es.Co; Corpus Oral de la Variedad Juvenil Universitaria del Español Hablado en Alicante (COVJA) y Alicante Corpus del Español- (ALCORE).
- b) Escritos: *Corpus de referencia del español actual* de la Real Academia Española (CREA) y conjunto de ejemplos escritos de diversos medios de comunicación escritos, principalmente artículos de opinión.

Hemos estructurado el estudio en los siguientes apartados. En primer lugar, definiremos el dominio de la evidencialidad y estableceremos qué entendemos por evidencial. A continuación, comprobaremos mediante una serie de ejemplos reales, orales y escritos, enunciados irónicos donde aparezcan evidenciales para determinar su funcionamiento desde un punto de vista pragmático y establecer una posible clasificación de estos elementos.

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Ist die baskische Wortbildung typisch romanisch?

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Bei der Lektüre Löpelmans und des kleinen baskischen Wörterbuchs von Kühnel war mir als Romanisten sehr schnell klar, dass ein Gutteil der baskischen Wortbildung romanischer Herkunft sein muss, während andere Lexeme und auch Suffixe einen fremden Eindruck machen. Dies ist umso erstaunlicher, als die baskische Sprache normalerweise immer als völlig erratischer Block innerhalb der Romania und ganz Europas dargestellt wird.

Bekanntlich hatte auch der Romanist Griaer sofort gemerkt, dass der baskische Wortschatz sehr stark romanisch geprägt ist. Jedoch ging er in seinem Bemühen, den gesamten baskischen Wortschatz aus dem Romanischen zu deuten, entschieden zu weit (er wollte sogar grammatische Morpheme aus dem Lateinischen herleiten).

Natürlich gehört die etymologische Herkunft des Lexikons – ja nicht einmal die Wortbildung – zu den Kriterien, die über die Zugehörigkeit einer Sprache zu einer Sprachfamilie bestimmen. Wenn jedoch, wie es anscheinend tatsächlich der Fall ist, das baskische Lexikon hauptsächlich romanischer Natur ist, dann erscheint uns diese Sprache durchaus nicht mehr so fremd, wie man aufgrund allein der baskischen Grammatik aussagen kann.

Ich werde in meinem Beitrag einige ausgesprochen überzeugende "romanische" Wortbildungen im Baskischen vorstellen und besprechen. Auf dieser Basis können sichere Basen und Suffixe gewonnen werden, die zur Erklärung weiterer baskischer Wörter herangezogen werden können.

Sie ergibt sich etwa durch die spanische **Übersetzung** 'formigón', dass das Suffix *-oi* in bask. *hormigoi* 'Beton', das auch in anderen Lexemen vorkommt, aus roman. *-one* stammt. Oder das so häufig auftretende *-dura*, etwa in bask. *horni-dura* 'Liefer-ung', wird durch seine französische Entsprechung *fourni-ture* als lat. *-tura* bewiesen. Oder bask. *ordu-lari* nach katalanisch-südfranzösischer Art aus *horo-logi(um)* mit Zäpfchen-R, das oft als Ersatz für *g* auftritt (sodas *ordu* 'Stunde' eben doch aus *hora*, nicht aus *ordo* entlehnt ist); bask. *ordu-tsu* 'etwa um diese Zeit' entspräche einem italienischen **or-occio* und einem spanischen **or-ozo* (lat. **hor-uceum*). Wenn bask. *abiatu* 'sich beeilen, sich **anschießen**' von einem **ad-viatum* kommt, was niemand bestreitet, dann ist sicherlich auch die Wortbildung bask. *abiada* 'Gang, Geschwindigkeit' ein spanisches **avi-ada*.

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Never too much of a good thing; why so many languages have more than one passive

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When we look at the cross-linguistic distribution of passive constructions among the world's languages we find that the languages which have such a construction typically have more than one. Thus, for example, English has a be- and a get-passive, the Austronesian language Buru (Grimes 1991) has two synthetic prefixal passives and an analytic get-passive and the Uto-Aztecan language Yaqui (Armendariz 2008:171) has three synthetic passives. The lack of either iconic or economic motivation for the existence of structural synonymy within languages (Croft 2003:105-106) suggests that while the respective constructions may display some degree of overlap in their function, they should also exhibit clear functional differences. The first question that this paper will address is: what type of differences do the multiple passives within languages display? Our knowledge of passives in the well studied languages of Europe suggests that these differences may involve structural, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the respective constructions. The structural differences may pertain to the range of theta roles that may be manifested by the subject and the possibility of agent expression and its range of theta-roles. The semantic differences may relate to tense, aspect, modality, dynamicity, semantic affects such as responsibility and/or involvement on the part of the patient and the expression of negative or positive attitude. And the pragmatic differences may involve the informational structure properties of the patient and agent, issues relating to text type, genre, register and style. In the European context quite a few of these differences correlate with the morpho-syntactic type of passive involved. Thus, for example, analytic passives are associated with perfectivity, the past, expression of specific events, possibility of overt agent realization and more formal registers. Synthetic passives, by contrast, are seen to be tied to imperfectivity, generalized rather than specific events, ability or possibility readings, lack of agent expression and are seen to be stylistically neutral or informal. These correspondences may be of a more general nature or alternatively specific to European or Eurasian languages. Which of the above is the case is the second question that this paper will address.

We will survey the differences obtaining between multiple passive constructions within languages and consider to what extent the differences noted are tied to the morpho-syntactic realization of the passive constructions in question, i.e. their analytic vs. synthetic nature and, if data permit, the structural origins of the passive constructions involved.

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Advanced EFL learners' beliefs on language learning and teaching: A comparison between grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation

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Aim. In this paper we report on an exploration of students' beliefs about the second language (L2) they study, and we discuss the outcomes of this exploration in relation to pedagogical approaches to, and specific methodologies in teaching an L2 at tertiary level.

Background. With the emergence of English as a global language, the desirability of setting the native speaker's pronunciation as the model in explicit pronunciation training has been called into question (Jenkins 2000; cf. also Davies 2003, on the concept of the 'native speaker'). Moreover, explicit vocabulary instruction has been argued to be useful for beginning and intermediate learners, but much less so for advanced learners, who learn new words by extensive reading and listening (Hunt & Beglar 2005). As a result, teachers ask themselves the question whether explicit grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary teaching is desirable at university level, and to what extent the academic study of language in a linguistics programme can assist its learners in their L2 acquisition.

Context & method. The participants in this study are native speakers of Dutch and undergraduate students of English at a Belgian university. Following Horwitz (1988) and Bacon & Finnemann (1990), who examined university students' beliefs on L2 learning, we developed an extensive questionnaire probing learners' views and beliefs about language learning. A five-level Likert scale with balanced keying to avoid an acquiescence bias was used, as well as a number of open questions. The results will be statistically analysed using SPSS.

Approach. In mapping students' beliefs about learning English, we focus on the components of a language system that traditionally play a role in language instruction, viz. *vocabulary*, *grammar*, and *pronunciation*, and we identify three dimensions or levels of perception, for which the following aspects of students' conceptions are probed:

Language beliefs: per component: beliefs about relative importance; ideas about the level of proficiency that can be attained.

Language learning beliefs: per component: perceived proficiency, perceived level of difficulty (and beliefs about factors that contribute to this).

Beliefs about language learning strategies: per component: ideas about efficacy and usability of specific language learning methods and tools.

Relevance/discussion. We will explore to what extent the beliefs of our participants show an entrenchment of (aspects of) two well-known complementary approaches to language pedagogy (Richards 2002), viz. system-based teaching (Doughty & Williams 1998, Azar 2007) vs. communicative language teaching (Brumfit & Johnson 1979), and consider to what extent the three linguistic components are dealt with differently in this respect.

The results of this study will be of interest to language teachers, who need to know what their learners' beliefs and expectations are about vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation instruction at university level. It may furthermore teach us about the relevance and desirability of a system-oriented approach, which is presented to the students, in any case, in the academic study of lexicogrammar and phonology.

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Particles transmitting direct speech in Georgian.

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Georgian, as well as other Kartvelian (South Caucasian) languages, is typologically distinct in transmitting direct speech. Besides the general means, i.e. colons and quotation marks, special particles are used to express the direct speech. In the paper only Georgian particles

-metki, *-tko/-tkva*, *-o* are discussed.

In *Fundamentals of Georgian Grammar* by A. Shanidze a tiny section deals with the abovementioned particles and they are called as verbatim ones as they repeat word by word the utterance of the direct speech. A. Shanidze mentions:

“*-metki* comes from the composition of two words *me vtkvi* ('I said'). That is why it is used to repeat the utterance of the first person or to express what the first person intends to utter: *vutxari: gagik'eteb-metki* ('I said: I will do it for you-*metki*').

-tkva/-tko is the third person form of Aorist, expressing the utterance the first person wants to be transmitted to the third person by the second person: *ase moaxsene: me tviton gavschem magas p'asuxs- tkva /p'asuxs-tko* ('Tell him so: I will myself give him the answer-*tkva/-tko*').

-o is used for the expression uttered by the third person: *dedam šemogitvala: cota pkvili gvasesxeo* ('My mother wanted to ask you: Lend us a little flour-*o*').

It is clear that the particles discussed in the paper are nonpredicative quotative markers. Besides their main function they also express the relations between two communication acts and their components.

Here are some further examples of the particles from the Georgian fairy tale:

ak'i gitxari, baq'aq'is t'q'avs nu dascvav-metki
 but (I) told (you) frog's skin (DAT) not (you) burn-*metki*
 'But I told you: Don't burn the frog's skin-*metki*.'

tkvenma kalma gamomgzavna, čems q'utši
 your (ERG) woman (ERG) (she) send (me) my (DAT) in the box

rom šušit zetia, gamomigzavne-tko.
 that glass (INST) oil-is (you) send (it) (to me)-*tko*

'Your daughter sent me: Send me the bottle of oil that is in my box-*tko*.'

dedam tkva, male movalo.
 mother (ERG) (she) said: soon (I) will come-*o*
 'Mother said: I will come soon-*o*.'

In the paper some peculiarities of using the particles are discussed and special attention is paid to the particle *—o*, especially to its role in the information structure of the utterance, when it functions as a focus marker.

Semantics, ideology and othering of local people. On the use of foreign words in English-speaking travelogues from the 19th century.

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A genre in which there are frequent juxtapositions of local and global language is that of the travelogue. In any book in the genre, the narrative is likely to include a good many instances of the local language. In this paper, I describe and analyse the use of foreign vocabulary in a number of English-speaking travelogues from the 19th century dealing with experiences from northern Scandinavia. The study is based on ten travelogues and close to 2000 tokens of Scandinavian vocabulary (Finnish, Norwegian, Sámi and Swedish words). The aim of the paper is to present how the strategies of conveying the meaning of native words contribute to the total picture of local people. The paper falls into two parts, each centred around a research question.

First, I address the question of how and with what means the writer communicates the semantic content of the foreign local lexemes to the reader. The second question aims to answer how the choice strategy and choice of attributes contribute to the reader's conception of the local people.

Except for the rare case when the reader is familiar with the language in question, a foreign lexeme will mean little to a reader without the help of the writer. Several strategies are possible: One is to give a direct translation to provide an approximate understanding (a *near-synonymy* strategy). Another possibility is to place the lexeme in relation to an item in a taxonomy and then add the attributes particular for this category, thus subordinating the new concept vis-à-vis the reference-point (a *taxonomy* strategy). A third strategy is to give no help, leaving the reader to construe a meaning model of the category from the context and possibly several instances of the lexeme. Each of these strategies could arguably highlight different aspects of the meaning of a word. The analysis is based on the framework of cognitive semantics (Langacker e.g. 2008, Lakoff and Johnson e.g. 1999), whose encyclopaedic and dynamic view of meaning makes it an appropriate model.

In the second part, I analyse the discourse and how the abovementioned choices contribute to the total description of the local people and the local place. As a mediator of meaning, the writer and his or her ideological position could be of decisive importance for how a foreign concept is understood. As van Dijk (e.g. 1993, 1995) has pointed out that 'local meaning' is of great importance for the analyst at higher levels of analysis. I show here that it is possible to correlate the transferred semantics of foreign lexemes and the ideological position held by the writer towards the local people. A previous study of holiday programmes (Jaworski et al. 2003) showed that local language serves to exoticise the narrative, but it appears that the use of local words also provides authenticity and, more crucially, has a role in the othering of the local people and the local place.

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Was heaven built of stone? (Etymology of Germanic lexemes for 'heaven')

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The words for 'heaven' in various Germanic languages may be presented as cognates despite a complicated character of their sound correspondences:

ON *himinn*, Go *himins*; OFris *himel*, *himul*, Du *hemel*, OHG *himil*, ModG *Himmel*, OE *heben*, *hefon*, *heofon*, OS *heban*, *himil*, MLG *heven*, ModLG *hēben*, *hēwen*.

Traditionally, these Germanic words were presented with a label like "ulterior etymology unknown" (OED 1993). Recently, however, scholars began to relate the Germanic words for 'heaven' to non-Germanic words that denote 'heaven' and/or 'stone':

Hitt *aku-* 'stone', Av *asman-* m 'stone, heaven', Skt *śīmā* 'stone', Gr *κμôn* 'anvil', cf. *chēkeos* *κμôn* 'anvil from heaven', 'meteorite?', Pruss *asan-* 'stone', *asman-* 'heaven', Lith *akmuš*, 'stone', *aðmuš* 'edge, blade', Latv *akmens* 'stone', OCS *kamy* 'stone'.

Germanic words with the sense 'hammer', whose etymological meaning is 'stone', should also be taken into consideration, viz, OE *hamor*, ModE *hammer*, OFris *hamer*, *homer*, OS *hamur*, Du *hamer*, OHG *hamar*, ModG *Hammer*, ON *hamarr* 'back of an axe, crag'.

The Indo-European for 'stone' is considered to go back to IE **ak'-u-* < **h₂é k'-u-* 'sharp'. The archetype of stone could be flint, which was widely used as a sharp implement in the ancient world. Initially the semantic change 'sharp' > 'stone' might have proceeded by conversion (without derivative suffixes, cf Hitt *aku-*, Pruss *asan-* 'stone'). The majority of the lexemes for 'stone' in individual IE languages are *-m-* derivatives from the root *ak'* - < **h₂é k'* 'sharp', viz, **ak'-m-n-* < **h₂é k'-m-n-* (cf Smoczyński 2007: 7). Baltic and Slavic cognates, like Lith *akmuš*, Latv *akmens*, OCS *kamy*, suggest the presence of the variant form of the IE word for 'stone' with the nonpalatal voiceless dorsal *-k-* in the root, viz **h₂é km-n-* > **akm-n-*, **kam-n-*. In Proto-Germanic, Indo-European root with metathesis **kam-* and the *r*-stem-building element acquired the sense 'hammer': PrGmc **ham-r-* (**hamora-*) 'hammer' (< 'stone hammer'?) < IE *kam-* 'stone'.

The Proto-Germanic for 'heaven' must be traced back to the Indo-European variant for 'stone' with the palatal laryngeal *h'(1)*, viz IE *h'(1)ék'm-n-* or *h'(1)ékn-n-* > **ek'm-n-* or **ekn-n-* > **k'em-n-* or **kem-n-* > PrGmc **hemona-*.

The original PrGmc root **hem-* was changed to **him-* in Gothic (due to the absence of the opposition /i/ - /e/ here) and in Old Norse and Old High German (due to the position before the nasal /m/). In Ingvaenic, **hem-* in **hemona-* was replaced by **heb-* (> *hef* - [hev-]) due to the dissimilation of /m/ to /n/, viz., **hemona-* > **hebona-* (> OE *hefon*, OS *heban*). In PrOHG, *n*-suffix was replaced by an *l*-suffix, apparently due the dissimilation of /n/ to /m/, viz., **hemina-* > **himina-* > **himila-* (Kluge 1995: 374-375). Thus:

PrGmc **hemona-*: ON *himinn* (< **himina-*), Go *himins*; OFris *himel*, *himul* (< **himena-*) OS *himil*, Du *hemel*, OHG *himil* (< **himila-*), ModG *Himmel*; OE *heben* (< **hebona-* < **hemona-*), *hefon*, *heofon*, ModE *heaven*, OS *heban*, MLG *heven*, ModLG *hēben*, *hēwen*.

The existence of *himil* beside *heban* in Old Saxon was possibly due to High German influence. The modern Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian *himmel* are also from German (OED 1993).

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Confrontation talk: Types of non-agreement in political radio discussions

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Research question

This paper explores the ways in which participants in political discussions in radio broadcasts produce specific kinds of sequels to a previous turn by the interviewer (or IR) or by a co-interviewee (IE), namely reactives that do not constitute an agreement. Such non-agreeing reactives are frequent in debates and other controversial talk.

Approach

The present study takes an empirical as well as a theoretical approach, which involves taking consideration not only of the data but also making explicit the linguistic and pragmatic criteria that help specify whether a speaker's turn can be described as an agreement or a non-agreement, and in the latter case, describe various types of non-agreeing reactives. The concept of co-textual adequacy conditions developed by Moeschler (1980) offers a basis for the description of a speaker's reactive according to its appropriateness to the previous turn from the thematic, semantic, illocutionary and argumentative point of view.

Data

Non-agreements are studied here as they occur during talk in the political panel interview *Any Questions?* on BBC radio. A total of 36 guests participating in nine political discussions in the broadcast *Any Questions?* on BBC4 were recorded, totalling approximate nine hours of talk. Interviewees comprise professional politicians from UK parties, journalists, authors, activists and well-known intellectuals. The orthographic transcripts of the discussions, available on the programme's website, were coded for the IE's non-agreeing turns, which were then classified and analysed into different types of non-agreement.

Expected results

The paper offers a description and illustration of four types of naturally occurring non-agreements in a specific communicative event, the political radio debate. Different strategies and formulations for each type of non-agreement will be described, and the relative frequency of each type of non-agreement will be discussed.

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Using a Machine Translation Tool in Translation Classes

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In teaching translation at university level, students are nowadays encouraged to use not only (bilingual and monolingual) dictionaries, encyclopedias and other printed or electronic reference works, but also to search for information on the Internet, using various search engines, checking for the frequency of terms and word combinations in text corpora, and (at some universities) also to learn using computer-assisted translation tools.

While, compared to computer-assisted translation software, machine translation (MT) is prevalently still considered to be of relatively little use to translators or translation agencies, due to the relatively high number of errors (in particular in the case of non-technical, and in particular literary texts), it can perhaps be used more successfully in teaching and learning translation.

With regard to the usage of MT tools in learning, we could encourage our students (in my case students of English-Slovene translation classes) to compare their own translations with the result of machine translation, and (after editing the most obvious grammatical, syntactic and lexical errors in the latter) to identify the remaining differences between the two translations and perhaps revise their own translations if necessary.

From the teacher's point of view, MT could be used both in analysing problematic parts of a text to be translated in class or given for homework and in drawing parallels (and finding differences) between the errors found in students' translations and those observed in MT translations.

The latter will be the main focus of my presentation. It will be carried out on the basis of approx. 50 English-Slovene translations (each of them approx. 1000 characters in length) done by my students and submitted to Google Translate, which is one of the few tools that offers translation from English to Slovene and vice-versa. The texts are of various types, including some technical and literary passages, but the majority is on various cultural, political and historical topics as can usually be found in (mostly) British and American daily newspapers and magazines for the general audience.

Ignoring the most basic errors of MT translations (such as confusing different word classes, mismatches in gender, case and number, leaving parts of the text in the original language, etc.), I will try in particular to identify those errors which either occur both in the student's and the MT version or have been 'corrected' (that is not identified as errors) in the MT version of the text.

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Between the global and the local: a usage-based perspective on metaphorical conceptualizations of ESL teaching and learning

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One of the implementations of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Kövecses 2002) is the apparent role of metaphors in providing access to teachers' and learners' personal theories concerning the process of education. Most of the studies available (e.g. Cortazzi and Jin 1999, Guerrero, M. C .M. and O. S. Villamil 2000, Martinez, M.A., N. Sauleda and G. L. Huber 2001) propose a methodology based on eliciting relevant linguistic data from non-experts only to group them according to conceptual metaphors established arbitrarily by the researcher. Frequently, the categories proposed are then reflections of the analyst's way of thinking, influenced by their multifarious experience. As might be expected, such conceptual metaphors form neat classes and, most importantly, seem to reflect universal patterns of thought, apparently confirming the global character of metaphorical language.

It seems to us that the above approach to metaphorical conceptualization of ESL teaching and learning is far from convincing. Apart from the lack of clear criteria for the groupings proposed, the methodology fails to validate its declared usage-based character. Another debatable issue concerns coherence relations between mappings and entailments on the one

hand, and constituent mappings within the model on the other hand. Finally, there is the most fundamental question of the conceptual reality of the metaphors proposed. (cf. Glucksberg 2001)

In view of the above, our research question concerns the validity of conceptual metaphors as instruments providing insight into teachers' and learners' personal theories of education. Adopting the approach and methods proposed within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, we are going to access metaphorical representations of the cognitive model of education from 2 groups of Polish respondents: beginning teacher trainees and prospective teachers. It should be added that although our respondents are currently trained to become teachers of English, most of them have already taught another subject. Two kinds of data, conceptual mappings and their entailments, will be elicited from the 80 subjects. Since half of the responses will be in English and the other half in Polish, we are going to see if a global language (English) results in different conceptualizations from a local one (Polish). Moreover, the data will be evaluated with respect to the respondents' professional background. In other words, we are going to see if their conceptualizations generated by teaching can be modified by being exposed to a new educational experience.

Although the two parameters described above are expected to skew our responses, the major distortion in terms of departing from ideal and global metaphorical models is expected at the level of groupings. It is to be demonstrated that the identification of conceptual metaphors is highly dependent on idiosyncratic perceptions of the meaning(s) of both linguistic expressions and metaphorical analogies. The expected inconsistencies within and across the usage-based models obtained will thus demonstrate that conceptual metaphors cannot be taken as a reliable framework for understanding the teaching-learning process, particularly at the level of cross-cultural comparisons, since the language of metaphors is predominantly a local tongue of an individual.

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Secondary Imperfectives in Polish:

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The forms in the right-hand column below are typical examples of Secondary Imperfectives (SIs) in Polish:

(1)

V [–perfective]	→	[+perfective]	→	[–perfective] (SI)
<i>pis-a-ć</i> 'write'	→	<i>pod-pis-a-ć</i> 'sign'	→	<i>pod-pis-ywa-ć</i>
<i>dmuch-a-ć</i> 'blow'	→	<i>na-dmuch-a-ć</i> 'blow up'	→	<i>na-dmuch-iwa-ć</i>
<i>widzi-e-ć</i> 'see'	→	<i>prze-widzi-e-ć</i> 'foresee'	→	<i>prze-wid-ywa-ć</i>
<i>ss-a-ć</i> 'suck'	→	<i>wy-ss-a-ć</i> 'suck out'	→	<i>wy-sys-a-ć</i>
<i>cią-ć</i> 'cut'	→	<i>wy-cią-ć</i> 'cut out'	→	<i>wy-cin-a-ć</i>
V [+perfective]				
<i>kup-i-ć</i> 'buy'	→	<i>kup-owa-ć</i>	→	
	→	<i>prze-kup-i-ć</i> 'bribe'	→	<i>prze-kup-ywa-ć</i>
<i>rzuc-i-ć</i> 'throw'	→	<i>rzuc-a-ć</i>	→	
	→	<i>od-rzuc-i-ć</i> 'reject'	→	<i>od-rzuc-a-ć</i>

The class of Secondary Imperfectives in Polish and other Slavic languages has been explored a new in the recent literature (see, for instance, Jabłońska 2004, Svenonius 2004, Markman 2008) as these verbal forms offer interesting insights into the category of Aspect and, more generally, they highlight the interface between morphology and syntax. However, the phonology, morphophonology, and even the morphology of the process of Secondary Imperfectivization are rarely focused on today (but cf. Gussmann 2007). At these basic levels of analysis, the structure and status of SIs remains somewhat vague and confusing. Of course, general information about the scope and characteristics of the process in question can be gleaned

from a variety of sources, but they are published mostly in Polish (hence are not generally accessible) and, in the main, are traditional if not obsolete. Still, comprehensive accounts of the problem in question are almost nonexistent (cf., however, Durand-Deska 1990, Grzegorzczkova *et al.* 1999).

The principal aim of this paper is to give a fairly detailed, theoretically uniform and systematic account of the category of SIs in Polish. The phonological structure of SIs is characterized within the framework of Government Phonology. Special emphasis is laid on the treatment of vocalic and consonantal alternations, the structure of the verbal root, the status of thematic suffixes as well as the occurrence of irregular (morphophonological) segment replacements and deletions. An attempt will be made to determine the scope of phonology in SIs on theoretical grounds. Among the morphological topics discussed is the question of the scope of the process of SI-formation and the constraints thereon (formal as well as semantic). The canonical pattern for a SI verb is the following: Pref+Root/Stem+SI-Thematic Suffix(+Infinitival Ending).

First, there is a brief mention of the unproductive type that is less complex, i.e. (imperfective) iteratives like *pis-ywa-ć* 'to write occasionally', *chadz-a-ć* 'to go from time to time', which are prefixless but otherwise imitate the morphology of SIs. Next, SIs are considered as potential bases for further processes of word-formation, as evidenced, in the first place, by the occasional phenomenon of prefix stacking. Cf., for instance, the distributive/delimitative formations *dmuch-a-ć* 'to blow' > ... > *po-na-dmuch-iwa-ć* 'to blow up/inflate, perf.', *pis-a-ć* 'to write' > ... > *po-przepis-ywa-ć* 'to copy, perf.', each showing two verb-initial prefixes. Three-element prefixal complexes are also encountered, particularly in colloquial usage (cf. *po-na-wy-pis-ywa-ć*). Given this evidence, the paper attempts to define the limits of prefix stacking in Polish verbal morphology.

Besides, the SI stems are used in a few classes of deverbal suffixal formations, notably Nomina Agentis (*ob-lat-ywa-cz* 'test pilot'), Nomina Instrumenti (*s-prysk-iwa-cz* 'sprinkler') and Nomina Actionis (cf. the +/-perfective contrasts in *prze-pis-a-ni-e* vs. *prze-pis-ywa-ni-e* 'copying', *odkonwencj-on-al-iz-owa-ni-e* vs. *od-konwencj-on-al-iz-ow-ywa-ni-e* 'deconventionalization').

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From 'woolliness' to deliberate 'smoke screening': vague reference to notional categories

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There are countless communicative situations in which we are intentionally vague - for various reasons and with various communicative intentions in mind - and the relevant share of vague language in those rituals is beyond any doubt.

The present paper is based on the assumption that if vagueness is both intrinsic and important in the language system (being present in a great deal of language use in a whole spectrum of communicative functions), then any integrated theory of language should have vagueness as its integral component, systematically studied and described.

The focus in this sketchy survey is on *vague reference to notional categories* (Channell, 1994), structurally based on the *exemplar + tag* configurations, e.g. *benches and whatnot, a few addresses and suchlike, cabbage and stuff*, in which the exemplar (e.g. *cabbage*) is a token of a class (*vegetables*) implicitly referred to by the tag (e.g. *stuff* in our example).

A data-based comparison of English and Czech, making use of The British National Corpus and the Czech National Corpus, focused on potential sources of unwanted inferences or negative transfers between typologically remote languages used in a different socio-cultural setting for partly universal but also partly language-specific communicative functions.

Projecting a set of typical English 'exemplar + tag' structural configurations into Czech and taking into view both their quantitative representation in the respective corpora and qualitative aspects of their functioning as overt language

manifestations of underlying strategies in intentional communicative vagueness (ranging from woolliness to intentional smoke-screening), the author identified three potential sources of unwanted inferences.

These include differences in the *polarity* of the tags (negative tags in English have affirmative counterparts in Czech); semantic *status* of the tags (dummy referential fillers in English vs. lexical items sensitive to animate/inanimate nature of the exemplars; cf. the impossibility in Czech of the sequences like *cuckoos, robins and things*, mostly compensated for by a full lexicalisation of the respective notional category, i.e. *cuckoos, robins and other birds*); approaches to *stereotypes* (functional vs. unwanted stereotypes).

One of the potential domains in which the findings on vague language and the communicative strategies underlying its use can be valuable is English language teaching and second language acquisition. The L2 user must acquire awareness of WHAT, WHEN and WHY to use in order to avoid unwanted inferences caused by ‘errors of abundance’ and ‘errors of avoidance’.

An invaluable ‘side effect’ of a cross-language comparison is that one becomes more sensitive to one’s mother tongue and the meanders of its modes of expression.

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Portrait, cliché or caricature - A discourse analysis of the representation of politicians and political parties during the 2007 government formation period in the Belgian press

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Politics and media in Belgium are split up along linguistic borders. The two main communities (Dutch-speaking and French-speaking) not only have their own substate government but also fully separate political parties and separate media. Federal politicians though have to represent the whole country and they appear or are referred to in the Dutch-speaking as well as in the French-speaking media. However, when the country was submerged in a difficult and tough government formation which lasted for months after the federal elections in June 2007, it became clear that the image of ‘the other’ on both sides of the linguistic boundary was significantly disrupted.

The objective of our presentation is to sketch the way politicians and political parties were represented in interviews in the Belgian press in the first six months of the formation period. As the so-called ‘quality press’ is likely to pay the most attention to political news coverage, we have limited our bilingual data samples to a selection of newspapers and weekly magazines which are generally considered to be quality publications, i.e. *De Standaard*, *De Morgen* and *Knack* for the Dutch-speaking side and *Le Soir*, *La Libre Belgique* and *Le Vif/L’Express* for the French-speaking part of the country. From these publications, we have collected all interviews in the period June-December 2007 with two politicians who are generally considered to be moderate (Yves Leterme of the Dutch-speaking Christian-democrat party and Didier Reynders of the French-speaking liberal party) and two politicians who represent outspokenly radical parties (Bart De Wever for the Dutch-speaking side and Olivier Maingain for the French-speaking).

The interviews will be analyzed along three different lines. In the first part a lexical analysis inspired by critical discourse analysis (Wodak 1999, Clark 1992) scrutinizes the way in which the politician represents himself, his party and other politicians and parties. As in written discourse the interview is the most direct way to collect the politician’s authentic sayings, this analysis will allow us to reconstruct the image the politicians want to convey.

But as shown in Clayman and Heritage (2002), also the interviewer plays an important role in the representation which is being given in an interview. The structure of the interview is determined by the topic choices and the questions of the journalist. Interviews in the written press are examples of mediated discourse. The final text of an interview is a construction of the journalist, even if s/he tries to reproduce the original words of the interviewee exactly. A second part of the analysis will therefore focus on the interviewer’s role.

A third and final part of the analysis will integrate the results of the first two parts in a framing analysis (Entman 1993, Van Gorp 2005) of how these interviews represent the Belgian political situation and how they render ideologically determined visions as plausible as possible. We expect that in bipolar contrasts such as the North vs. the South of the country, members of opposite groups tend to revert to clichés or caricatures when representing ‘the other’.

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Morphological Mood in European Languages

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In the last two decades, very much work (language-specific and cross linguistic) has been done on tense and aspect in the languages of Europe; the tense and aspect systems of European languages have been studied in a large number of publications (see e.g. Dahl 1985, Ballweg & Thieroff (ed.) 1994, Thieroff (ed.) 1994, Dahl (ed.) 2000). In contrast, little attention has been paid to the category of morphological mood in the languages of Europe.

In most European languages, there are only two morphological moods, the indicative and one non-indicative mood, mostly called “subjunctive”. The subjunctive forms can be divided into constructions with the finite verb form in the present (which I call “subjunctive 1”), and constructions with the finite verb form in the past (which I call “subjunctive 2”).

Using data from grammars of a large number of European languages and from the rare other publications on morphological mood, I shall provide an overview from a typological perspective of the non-indicative moods to be found in the European languages. The main results are the following:

With regard to the use of both the subjunctive 1 and the subjunctive 2, several areas can be distinguished in the languages of Europe. There is a large area in the east, where a subjunctive 1 does not exist at all. In these languages, a subjunctive marker can never appear in combination with a present tense. A second group of languages covering a large area in the north and north-west of the continent once had a subjunctive 1 but these languages have almost completely lost this form. In a third area the subjunctive 1 is almost completely reduced to an agreement category. There are only a few languages with productive subjunctive 1 forms used with the original modal meaning.

As for the subjunctive 2, only two groups of languages can be distinguished. In most European languages, the subjunctive 2 is used to convey counterfactual meaning, in general with non-past time reference. In a second group of languages (mainly Germanic), the subjunctive 2 has been lost too, and its functions are fulfilled by the corresponding forms of the indicative, i.e. by indicative past forms. In fact, past tenses are used to express counterfactuality in virtually all languages of Europe, the only difference being that there are languages which use a past indicative and there are languages which use a past subjunctive.

Language specific functions of subjunctives not belonging to one of the areas mentioned are rare. One example is the function of the subjunctive to indicate reported speech in Icelandic and German.

Finally, there are a few languages in Europe which have one or more other morphological moods with different functions. These languages have a mood system radically different from the “all-European” indicative vs. non-indicative system.

Eventually, the morphological and semantic description of the combination of tense and mood morphemes leads to a picture of the tense-mood forms which turns out to be astonishingly similar in the major languages of Europe.

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The preverb cycle: on explaining the rise, fall and redistribution of prefixes and related free forms in English and other Germanic languages

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Preverbs have attracted increasing attention from different angles over the last years (cf. e.g. Booij & van Kemenade 2003 and Rousseau 1995). In Indo-European studies, the term refers to adverb-like elements in preverbal position, which have come to form a semantic unit with the following verb and which also tend to attach to it morphologically, albeit to varying degrees; older stages are characterised by the optional intervention of clitic elements between the preverb and the verb (viz. the traditional ‘tmesis’), while in the more advanced stages of the development complete morphological fusion leads to the emergence of prefixes (cf. the classic discussion by Watkins 1964; the broad outlines were described by Delbrück as early as 1893). Since the preverbal local-deictic adverbs typically – depending on the order of elements in the clause – follow a nominal object, they alternatively tend to grammaticalize into adpositions (cf. Lehmann 1985), so that intermediate stages tend to be characterized by a considerable degree of morphological, syntactic and semantic overlap between adverbs, adpositions and affixes. In general, however, the two processes can be schematically represented as follows:

N.OBLIQUE adverb Verb > [N.OBLIQUE adposition] Verb

> N.OBLIQUE [preverb Verb]

> N.OBLIQUE [prefix-Verb]

Despite the considerable messiness of the situation in Old English (cf. the aptly bewildering discussion by Mitchell 1978), there appears to be little doubt that the long-term development in English, just like in the other Germanic languages, follows this path.

However, the situation in English is considerably complicated by two well-known observations. First, most of the inherited (Germanic) prefixes disappear in Middle English, and second, a substantial number of new prefixes of French or Latin descent are adopted. In most of the literature, these two observations are connected to each other in a more or less vaguely metaphorical way, either implying that the Romance prefixes ‘ousted’ the Germanic ones or that they filled a gap left by their disappearance, which is usually ascribed to some kind of morphological or semantic ‘weakness’. The broadly simultaneous emergence of particle verbs (‘phrasal verbs’), on the other hand, has often been interpreted to result in diachronically distinct co-existing systems.

But such accounts are extremely unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. In particular, most of the Old English prefixes clearly begin to disappear before there is any borrowing from French, while the borrowed prefixes are quite likely to have become productive considerably later and in a much more restricted way than has traditionally been assumed. Moreover, rather little attention has been devoted to the fact that there are new Germanic prefixes in Middle English.

I will argue that the traditional unidimensional accounts offered in English linguistics are rather unconvincing and I will suggest a cross-linguistically more satisfactory cyclical model, which accounts both for the loss of older preverbs and the emergence and adoption of new ones in a principled and functionally coherent way.

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Some remarks on reported evidentiality in French and in Estonian: a contrastive approach

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Among the multiple meanings of French conditional, the marking of mediated information is generally pointed out in the studies treating this mood in French (see for instance Haillet 2002, Merle 2001). This meaning has been labelled with different names, including “journalistic conditional” (see Kronning 2002) and the “conditional of enunciative otherness” (Haillet 2002). Although the existence of evidentiality as a grammatical category in French is doubtful, since the conditional form is not primarily used for marking evidential meaning (see Aikhenvald 2004, Celle 2006), it is thus undeniable that the French language possesses, besides lexical tools, also a grammatical means of encoding reported evidentiality. On the other hand, in Estonian there is a specialized grammatical(ized) form for marking reported evidentially – the quotative mood (see Ereht et al. 2006 Sepper 2007 Kehayov 2008). Besides that form, other (grammatical) means are occasionally used to express mediated information (compound tenses, past participles, infinitive constructions, adverbials).

The category of evidentiality has lately received much attention from the typological point of view. It has also been studied individually in Estonian and in French. Fewer studies from a contrastive perspective including one of these languages can be found, the study of Celle (2006) comparing French, English and German should be mentioned here. Our paper aims to study in contrast the use of evidentiality strategies in French and Estonian. The analysis will be based on a translated parallel corpus including different types of texts and the studies of monolingual corpora of both languages.

In typological studies the French conditional and the Estonian evidentials are considered as belonging to the same type of evidentiality, that of reported information. According to the analyses of individual languages, it appears that the French conditional of mediated information and the quotative mood in Estonian tend to be used in different types of discourse. While the former is mainly used in newspaper reports (cf. the name “journalistic conditional”) and scientific texts, the latter occurs more often in literary texts. This observation has served as a starting point for our study: the aim of our contrastive analysis is to find out whether these divergences are confirmed by translated texts, whether they reveal also semantic differences between these evidentiality markers, whether differences appear between the parallel corpus and monolingual corpora and which strategies are used in the translations in both directions. More generally, the purpose of this paper is to discover semantic and pragmatic correspondences between evidentiality marking in Estonian and in French and we hope that this research can contribute to a further understanding of the functioning of this category in the two languages under study here.

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On the typology of indefinite, non-specific and free choice elements

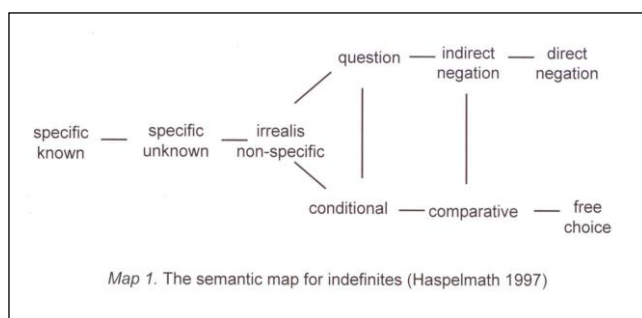
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Haspelmath (1997) may be credited for having offered a first, very significant cross-linguistic analysis of pronouns and determiners with meanings one would call indefinite, non-specific and free choice, as illustrated in (1).

- (1) a. I saw *somebody*. [indefinite, specific]
 b. I don't like *anybody*. [indefinite, non-specific]
 c. *Anybody* can see that. [indefinite, non-specific, free choice]

Since 1997 the field has not seen any further typological work with the same scope, but there have been cross-linguistic investigations, prominent among them Vlachou (2007), which offers an in-depth analysis of English, French, and Greek, without, unfortunately, discussing its relevance for Haspelmath's typology. This paper has two goals: (i) to critically survey at least some of the major claims in Vlachou (2007), and (ii) to use the results to construct a revised typology in the manner of Haspelmath (1997).

Of central importance is Haspelmath's semantic map, showing nine uses and embodying



claims about what is and is not a separate use and about the relations between the uses. Based on a critical reading of Vlachou (2007) we advance the following claims: (i) 'free choice' should not be restricted to one position of the semantic map; *whoever committed the murder* is a free choice construction in (2a), but no less so in the conditional in (2b); (ii) free choice con-

- (2) a. Whoever committed the murder is insane.
 b. If *whoever committed the murder* is insane, then the inquiry will be difficult.

structions should be considered from Jespersenian strengthening perspective (combining suggestions by Kadmon & Landman (1993) and author (2009)), such that it becomes imperative to 'cover' the semantics of the map with two different layers of constructions, one for emphatic elements and another one for non-emphatic ones, and (iii) a free choice construction such as *whoever committed the murder* is definite, in the same way as *the murderer* in (3)—Donnellan's (1966) so-called "attributive" definite reference.

- (3) We don't know yet who it is, but it is clear that *the murderer* is insane.

This implies some rethinking of the map. The improved analysis of free choice items shows that the map covers definites as well as indefinites.

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Complex prepositions in the midst of lexicalizing or grammaticalizing: preposition + *middle*, *midst*, *heart*, *core* or *centre* + *of*

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In his synchronic investigation, Koops (2004:134) observed that progressive aspect does not necessarily only involve verbal markers (e.g. auxiliaries, posture verbs, ...), but that the prepositional phrases *in the middle of* and *in the midst of* may also become implemented into the verb phrase to indicate that an action is going on at the moment of speaking, as illustrated in *The group is in the midst of searching for overseas interests* (CB).

The aim of this paper is to extend this research to all Preposition-Noun-of-constructions (PNofs) in which the integrated noun or “Semantically Specific Relator” (Lehmann 2002:11) refers to a spatial midpoint, such as *middle* or *midst* and meta-phorically used *heart*, *core* and *centre/center*. By means of an extensive analysis of these nouns in the *Helsinki Corpus*, the *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*, the *Cobuild Corpus* and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, I will

- (i) reconstruct the mechanisms involved in the evolvement of PNofs and link these to the framework of lexicalization and grammaticalization;
- (ii) describe the inherent features and contexts of the PNofs which may have favoured the emergence of an aspectual meaning.

My diachronic data reveal that the nouns under investigation gradually lose their referential value and become part of an idiomatized complex preposition, while emphasis shifts to the complement of this construction, for instance in *It sounds like being lost in the middle of the ocean or a desert* (COCA). Most studies ascribe these changes to lexicalization (e.g. Rostila 2004): the newly formed items express a spatial or non-grammatical relationship and prepositions constitute an open-ended, hence lexical word class (Fagard & De Mulder 2007:26). However, the picture becomes more complicated when PNofs with highly abstract meanings take whole new sets of collocations, as in *In the midst of my relief/this crisis/a recession, I was struck by (...)* or *The issue is at the heart/core of the debate/problem/situation*. In this case, systematic host-class expansion (Himmelmann 2004:36) takes place, which is typically linked with grammaticalization. I will show that both grammaticalization and lexicalization are at work in the PNofs, resulting in a wide range of applications.

Complex prepositional uses may open the door for further grammaticalization processes. If complemented by a gerund, the construction may be reanalysed as *be in the N of + V-ing* with auxiliary-like status (cf. aspectualizers, Heine 1993). *In the middle* and especially *midst of* have developed into progressive aspect markers with focus on the involvement of the subject, for example *One morning we were in the middle of eating our breakfast when armed KGB men burst open the door and ordered us to stop eating* (CB). Even *at the core* and *heart of* seem to have acquired an aspectual meaning, but an inchoative one, as in *He was at the heart of devising the administration's case for the invasion* (COCA). Despite the roughly equivalent source construction, complex prepositions as well as aspectual markers *in the middle/midst of* and *at the heart/core/centre of* thus convey different target meanings. To inquire into this divergence, I will examine the constraints on the complement sets imposed by each PNof. The preposition semantics (*in* versus *at*) and the lexical persistence (Hopper 1996:230) of the source noun are expected to play a crucial role.

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The lexical typological profile of Swedish motion verbs

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The typological profile of a language is an account of the distinctive character of its structure in relation to other languages based primarily on work in general typology but also on genetic and areal linguistics and on contrastive analysis and other types of crosslinguistic studies (Viberg 2006). The present paper presents a corpus-based contrastive study of motion verbs in Swedish and a number of areally related languages within a general typological framework.

Ever since Talmy (1985), the verbs of motion and the motion situation have been one of the most studied semantic fields (or domains, frames) within lexical (or semantic) typology (Slobin 2004, Levinson & Wilkins 2006, Bohnemeyer et al 2007, Filipović 2007). It is now generally agreed, that the division into verb-framed and satellite-framed languages forms a continuum (when it can be applied). As will be demonstrated, Swedish from this perspective belongs rather far at the satellite-framed end. However, the bulk of the paper will be concerned with a more fine-grained analysis.

Typologically oriented studies in general look at directional verbs (e.g. *enter, exit*) in relation to manner verbs (e. g. *run, swim, crawl*) treated as a unitary group. The present study will focus on sub-fields such as deictic verbs ('come', 'go'), verbs of arrival and disappearance ('arrive', 'leave'), verbs of falling (a rather large group in Swedish), bodily locomotion ('walk', 'run'), moving water ('stream', 'splash', 'pour'), placement (Sw. *sätta-ställa-lägga* 'put') bodily transportation ('throw'), 'pull'-push', 'carry') and motion in a vehicle ('drive', 'ride in a conveyance'). Each one of these subfields shows characteristic contrasts across languages along typological parameters of special relevance to the particular subfield. Partly, this is a synthesis of earlier papers on some of these subfields (Viberg 1999, 2003, 2008a).

Data will be taken from two translation corpora, the large English Swedish Parallel Corpus (Altenberg & Aijmer 2000; Johansson 2007) and a Multilingual Pilot Corpus (MPC) consisting of extracts from Swedish novels and their published translations into English, German, French and Finnish. A further characteristic of the approach that differs from many other studies of motion verbs is that the full range of meanings (appearing in the corpus) of each verb is taken into consideration, which makes it possible to study the relationships between the basic meanings and various types of extended meanings. (For a similar approach applied to Swedish verbs of perception, see Viberg 2008b.)

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Second Language Acquisition of Aspect Markers in Mandarin by Native Swedish Adults

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This experimental study investigates the second language acquisition of the four Mandarin aspect markers *-le*, *-guo*, *-zhe* and *-zai-* by 24 native Swedish university students who are currently enrolled in a college Chinese language course in Sweden. The aim of the study is to find out the acquisitional sequence and test the Aspect Hypothesis as was proposed by Anderson & Shirai (1994), and subsequently find out explanations for specific acquisitional patterns.

The study contains a cross-sectional study and a longitudinal study. A proficiency test is used to determine the Mandarin proficiency level of the students who are subsequently divided into Lower Intermediate (LI), Intermediate (IN) and Upper Intermediate (UI) groups. There is also a control group with 20 native Chinese college students in a university in China. The tasks in the cross-sectional study include film-retelling, picture-retelling, grammaticality judgement, fill-in-the-blanks and comprehension. The longitudinal study can help me to look into the individual learning patterns. It concerns only written data produced by ten students in their bi-monthly journal. Each student produces five articles with appointed titles and number of characters. Beside the data collected through the experiments, I also collected many Swedish students' final term paper written in Mandarin. These data could provide with extra information about their acquisition process.

Besides contributions for second language acquisition theories on tense-aspect morphology cross-linguistically, I hope this study will also provide empirical evidence that have significant pedagogical implications in the second language learning classroom.

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The grammaticalization of *geben* ('to give') as a passive auxiliary in some German dialects

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In general, passive auxiliaries evolve from inactive verbs, mostly intransitive ones (see Haspelmath 1990:38), such as *be*, *become*, *stay*, *come*, *go*. This is also the case of Standard German *werden* (= 'become').

Surprisingly, there are some Western German dialects (e.g. Luxemburgish), where we find a passive auxiliary that goes back to the verb *geben* ('to give'), an originally bitransitive verb with an active causative meaning:

Lux: *Ech gi gefrogt* (= 'I am being asked')

Ech si gefrogt ginn (= 'I have been asked')

This paper will present the different steps in the development of this active verb to a passive auxiliary. In order to understand this somewhat complex development, other syntactically and semantically reduced constructions with *geben* will be analysed. These can be considered as precursors in the grammaticalization process with the passive auxiliary at its endpoint.

Geben as a full verb is bitransitive and means 'to cause a transfer': *Peter gibt Paul einen Apfel* ('Peter gives Paul an apple')

1. there are monotransitive constructions that make abstraction of the receiver:

er gibt ein Konzert ('he performs a concert'). With an inanimate subject, it can mean 'to cause existence', 'to produce' (*der Baum gibt gute Äpfel* = 'the tree gives good apples')

2. there are impersonal constructions where the verb behaves like a presentative and its meaning approaches that of 'exist', 'arise': *es gibt Ärger*, *Was gibt's?* ('there will be trouble', 'What's up?')

3. there are syntactically transitive but semantically inactive constructions where the verb's meaning approaches that of the dynamic copula *werden* ('to become'): *das gibt ein Boot* ('this becomes a boat')

Whereas the constructions mentioned in 1. – 3. are also common in Standard German, the next one is restricted to the dialects in question.

4. The fourth step in the grammaticalization channel of *geben* toward its use as a passive auxiliary is its construction as an intransitive verb like the copula *werden* with an adjective or a noun: Lux.: *Ech gi krank, Ech gi Schoulmeeschter* (= ‘I become sick, I become a teacher’)

From this usage it is only a small step to the passive auxiliary in *Ech gi gefrogt*- our starting point.

During the grammaticalization process the verb undergoes typical reductions in syntax and semantics:

Syntactically it pursues the following path: bitransitive > transitive > intransitive > auxiliary.

Semantically it pursues the path: Cause a transfer > cause existence > existence > change.

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Control as movement and CP-infinitives in Polish

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The aim of this presentation is to show that Movement Theory of Control (MTC) can adequately deal with a complex pattern of case transmission in control in Polish (and Russian). It specifically focuses on two aspects of Obligatory Control into CP-infinitives: (A) the alleged difficulty that MTC faces with control into CP-infinitives introduced by a lexical Complementiser or a Wh-phrase and (B) the pattern of case-agreement with predicative adjectives and semi-predicates:

- (1) a. Maria marzy żeby pływać w jeziorze.
 Maria dreams so-that to-swim in lake
 ‘Maria dreams of swimming in the lake.’
 b. Piotr pyta jak zrobić ser samemu?
 Piotr asks how to-make cheese alone/himself_{DAT, MS, SG}
 ‘Piotr asks how to make cheese by himself?’

Maria marzyła żeby być piękna/piękną.

Maria dreamed so-that to-be beautiful_{NOM/INST, FEM, SG}.

‘Maria dreamed to be beautiful.’

My claim is that an empirically successful derivational account of control rests on the strategy of ‘double access’. Namely, the domain of the CP-infinitive must be accessed independently for the raising of the ‘controller’ from the embedded subject position (1a-b) and, again, for Nominative case agreement between predicative adjectives/semi-predicates and the Probe that attracts the ‘controller’, (1c).

A. Examples in (1) are problematic for the MTC approach, as A-movement is not expected to cross CP. Hornstein (2003) and Boeckx and Hornstein (2004) defend the MTC position by pointing out that Wh-islands are quite porous even to further Wh-movement. Yet, Landau (2004) argues that A-movement across (weak) Wh-islands is problematic (c.f.2b):

- (2) a. There were likely to be Malay visitors welcomed
 b. *There were inquired how to be Malay visitors welcomed.

The Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC) seems to make the right cut; it blocks a non-local movement of the expletive from the embedded [spec, T] to matrix [spec, T], or Agree from the matrix T, across the CP phase in (2a) but not in (2b), where no CP-introduces the embedded clause. Yet interestingly, examples in (2) show A-movement to a position higher than [spec,v], the typical position of a controller. On the strength of Chomsky’s (1999/2001) PIC the complement domain of v is accessible to operations in narrow syntax up to the merger of C:

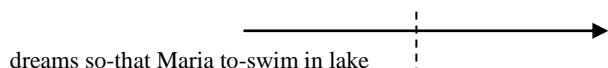
- (3) The complement domain of C (down to v) is accessible to the computation in Narrow Syntax up to the merger of a c-commanding v (effectively, the next strong phase).

In order to facilitate a prolonged access of matrix *v* into the complement domain of *C*, I propose the following modification in the definition of the verbal phase:

- (4) Every maximal verbal projection (VB Phrase) is a phase only when saturated with all of its arguments.

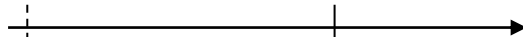
I take a maximal verbal projection to be *vP* in unergative and transitive constructions ($[_{VP} \dots v [_{VP} \dots V \dots]]$) or *VP* in unaccusative constructions. Now control across CP looks as follows (c.f. 1a):

- (5) $[_{VP} v [_{VP} marzy [_{CP} \acute{z}eby [_{TP} Maria_1 [_{VP} \{Maria_1\} \acute{p}lywa\acute{c} w jeziorze]]]]]$.



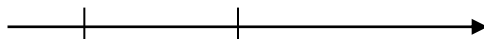
On the strength of (4), until the merger of the external argument of *vP* has taken place the CP embedded under VB (the *v-V* complex) is not subject to PIC and as such is transparent to extraction. Following the raising of the controller the complete matrix *vP* is formed and the head of TP merged in. At this stage the derivational window moves forward and the CP becomes a (strong) phase, as *vP* is now complete and constitutes a dominating (strong) phase:

- (6) $T [_{VP} Maria_1 v [_{VP} marzy [_{CP} \acute{z}eby [_{TP} \{Maria_1\} [_{VP} \{Maria_1\} \acute{p}lywa\acute{c} w jeziorze]]]]]$



Example (2a) also receives a principled analysis, as two phases cannot be penetrated by the T Probe:

- (2a) *There T-were $[_{VP} \text{inquired} [_{CP} \text{how} [_{TP} \{\text{there}\} T\text{-to be Malay visitors welcomed}]]]$



B. The second problem is the case-agreement pattern between the controller and the predicative adjective and *sam/alone-(him)self* (semi-predicate) in Polish. The pattern looks like this: obligatory Nominative (case transmission) shows up on the adjective and the semi-predicate in plain Subject Control; obligatory Instrumental on the adjective and obligatory Dative on the semi-predicate (case independence) show in Object Control, Subject Control into Wh-infinitives and Non-obligatory Control. Either Nominative or Instrumental/Dative can appear in Subject Control into infinitive complements with lexical C, Subject Control across an object and the passive of Object Control. This pattern is accounted for by two factors: a set of properties of the Complementiser system and the [+/-multiple] character of certain probes in Polish:

- (7) Case transmission/independence in control constructions:

only T can be a [+multiple] Probe in Subject Control;

v^0 is not a [+multiple] Probe in Object Control;

c. OC PRO is equivalent to a (NP) trace and carries no case;

d. predicative adjectives appear in Instrumental and semi-predicates in Dative as default options.

Another key assumption is that in Polish infinitives both null C^0 and lexical C^0 are selected for Merge either with [+phase] or [-phase] property; this choice is absolutely free in Polish infinitives. The only exception is the interrogative CP, which is always [+phase]. Following Landau (2007), I submit that Null C must cliticise onto *v* (in Subject Control) or the head of the Applicative Phrase (in Object Control). When C cliticises onto *v* its complement domain overlaps with that of *v*, thus the complex head *C-v*, after cliticisation, can have its domain spelled out only once (c.f. 8b). Consequently, the headless CP-remnant in plain Subject Control is never a phase:

- (8) a. Piotr chce być przystojny.
Piotr_{NOM, MS, SG} wants to-be handsomen_{NOM, MS, SG}
b. $[_{TP} T_{[+φ]} [_{VP} t_{Sub} C-V-V [_{VP} tv [_{CP} tc [_{TP} t_{Sub} T [_{VP} AP\dots]]]]]]]$

As (4) and (5) above show, the optionality of the phasehood of the CP has no impact on the movement of the controller at an early stage of the derivation. It only limits the probing potential of matrix T, which can, (9b), or cannot, (9c), value Nominative on the adjective:

- (9) a. Maria marzyła żeby być piękna/piękną
Maria_{NOM, FEM, SG} dreamed so-that to-be beautiful_{NOM/INST, FEM, SG}
b. $[_{TP} T_{[+φ]} [_{VP} t_{Sub} V-V [_{VP} tv [_{CP} \acute{z}eby [_{TP} PRO/t_{Sub} T [_{VP} AP\dots]]]]]]]$
c. $[_{TP} T_{[+φ]} [_{VP} t_{Sub} V-V [_{VP} tv [_{CP} \acute{z}eby [_{TP} PRO/t_{Sub} T [_{VP} AP\dots]]]]]]]$

In (9b) the infinitive is accessed twice; once by *v* for the raising of the controller, and by T for case and ϕ -valuation of the adjective. In (9c) the second access is denied by the CP-phase.

This proposal appears optimal and equal, if not superior, to non-movement accounts, including Landau's (2007) theory of semi-predicate agreement devised for similar data in Russian, where the key to case transmission/independence lies in optional case features on C.

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Taiwan's urban language shift: Are Mandarin and English replacing the Taiwanese vernacular?

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In this paper the authors test the hypothesis that Mandarin and English are fast replacing the local Taiwanese language (Minnanyu) in Taiwan. As a proto-nation, Taiwan's pro-Mandarin language planning reflects the tensions inherent in the processes of globalization. Close to seventy-five percent of Taiwan's population has Taiwanese as their mother tongue, yet education in and through Taiwanese is virtually non-existent. The Taiwanese government is instating English as second official language at the cost of Taiwanese, while the dominance of Mandarin over Taiwanese and the support for English in Taiwan is growing rapidly. We will suggest that the main issue involved concerns the conflict between local communities and the government's pro-Mandarin language policies.

The authors will discuss data from their 2008 sociolinguistic survey based on 917 valid questionnaires. The main purpose of the study was to measure Taiwanese and Mandarin language proficiency and language use among a cross-section of the Taiwanese population. Our study was devised to have a degree of predictive power with respect to the dynamics of local language shift and maintenance and included the following modules: language competence, language use in different domains, language attitudes and language loyalty. Our discussion will describe the language situation in Taiwan's major urban centers, namely Taipei, Taichung, Tainan, and Kaohsiung. Participants were predominantly Taiwanese/Mandarin bilinguals and results were dependent on the variables gender, age, language use, bilingualism, and geographical region. The questionnaire was based on Fishman's concept of diglossia, domain analysis, and societal bilingualism (1991: 55-65), as well as Ó Riagáin's notion that the home is likely the first domain to exhibit language shift. The language attitude part of the survey was based on the dynamic multicomponent language attitude model introduced by Baker (1992: 41).

Results indicate that Taiwanese youngsters have become primarily Mandarin-monolingual: a lower domain language shift is taking place from Taiwanese to Mandarin with the consequence that Taiwanese ceases to be used at home and the marketplace. With the support of further attitudinal research findings towards Taiwanese and Mandarin, we will attempt to present the overall direction of language change in Taiwan and touch on the apparent inevitability of the dominance of both Mandarin and English.

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Sound variation in the Belarusian-Russian mixed variety *trasyanka*

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The origins of the so-called *trasyanka*, Belarusian-Russian mixed speech, trace back to the 1960-ies and 1970-ies, when the new inhabitants of the at that time rapidly developing Belarusian cities – mostly speakers of local, dialectal varieties of Belarusian – had to accommodate to an environment dominated by Russian as the global language of the former Soviet Bloc. Despite the fact that today wide parts of the population of Belarus use *trasyanka* at least in certain, familiar speech situations, it is a variety of very low overt prestige and often labelled as “impure” Russian/Belarusian (depending on the political orientation of the labeller).

Its linguistic status, however, is far from being clear and, until recently, has not been investigated in any systematic quantitative manner. If we call *trasyanka* a variety, it must be clear, that it is one of high variability in the sense that in every structural position elements of both languages can appear. Now, the question is to what degree *trasyanka* is based on spontaneous “congruent lexicalization” (Muysken 2000) of the closely related and to a high degree structurally equivalent Russian and Belarusian and to what degree it is already in the initial stage of developing towards a new fused lect in terms of Auer (1999). Although *trasyanka* is being used already by a third generation of speakers and hence we would expect at least some tendencies of conventionalizing, this is a question that can be answered only empirically.

While by now some approaches concerning the morphological level of *trasyanka* have been made (such as Hentschel 2008), the phonetic and phonological side has yet remained untouched. There are systematic differences between the phonological systems of the two involved languages which are very salient to both Russian and Belarusian people. Amongst them are:

- different realization of certain unstressed vowels after palatalized consonants ([i]-like in Russian and [a]-like in Belarusian)
- affrication of the historical palatalized stops /tʲ/ and /dʲ/ in Belarusian, which remain in Russian
- the existence of the two phonemes /rʲ/ and /r/ in Russian, while Belarusian has only /r/
- the stop /g/ in Russian where Belarusian has the fricative /h/.

All these items appear as variants in *trasyanka*. On the basis of a statistical analysis of a digitized corpus which contains recorded conversations of Belarusian families from different regions, this paper strives at two goals: Firstly it shows that the distribution of the mentioned variants is not accidental but follows social parameters such as age, sex and region. On this background it discusses secondly, if and to what extent tendencies towards a new lect are recognizable.

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WORKSHOP Quotative markers: origins and use:**Workshop description**

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Quotative markers are linguistic signs conventionally signaling the presence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse, i.e. the quote. Semantically, they are largely similar to generic speech verbs, such as *say* and *tell* in English, with which they share the feature of reference to an utterance. Functionally, however, they differ from the latter in being conventionalized in relation to reported discourse. That is, either they are not used in other contexts at all or they lack (fully or partially) the feature of reference to an utterance when no representation of reported discourse is adjacent. Following Güldemann (2008), the quote frame based on a quotative marker or/and a speech verb is called a quotative index. Güldemann (2008) also provides a detailed classification of quotative markers. Thus, syntactically, quotative markers can be either predicative or nonpredicative elements. Morphosyntactically, predicative quotative markers may behave as regular verbs and are then classified as quotative verbs. Those predicative quotative markers that do not fully qualify for the status of verb in a given language are referred to as quotative predicators. Nonpredicative quotative markers are often referred to as quotative complementizers, especially when they are also used for purposes of clause combining.

Historically, quotative markers may derive from a large number of sources, such as generic speech verbs, generic verbs of equation, inchoativity, action, and motion, markers of similarity and manner, markers of focus, presentation and identification. Somewhat surprisingly, according to Güldemann (2008:295), at least in African languages, generic speech verbs appear to be “far less important” as sources of quotative markers than is usually assumed in the literature. At the same time, it is remarkable that quotative markers of various nonpredicative origins often tend to gradually acquire verbal features up to becoming full-fledged verbal lexemes through their conventionalized use as core elements of quotative indexes. In many African languages, quotative markers are also regularly employed for purposes of clause combining and extended to constructions expressing intention and various kinds of modal meanings.

The proposed workshop is intended to bring together scholars interested in the origins and use of quotative markers in individual languages, language families or linguistic areas from any part of the world. Particularly welcome are papers based on data from spontaneous and spoken language use and data from less documented languages. Authors are also encouraged to situate their findings in a broader cross-linguistic perspective, both as regards the known sources of quotative markers as well as their typical secondary extensions to contexts not involving instances of reported discourse in the strict sense.

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Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative indexes in African languages: A synchronic and diachronic survey*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. (Empirical Approaches to Language Typology 34)

Direct reported discourse as a sub-domain of mimesis and the history of quotative markers

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The paper argues for the recognition of a cross-linguistically relevant linguistic domain called “mimesis”. This domain is viewed as a second mode of representing states of affairs which exists besides and supplements the ‘normal’ representational mode that relies on canonical linguistic signs. Instead of linguistically describing the state of affairs the speaker gives a marked, stylistically expressive representation such that (s)he performs, demonstrates, re-instantiates,

imitates, replays it as close to the purported original as is desired in the context and as human means of expression allow one to do so. Mimesis comprises at least four types of non-canonical signs which are integrated in linguistic communication:

- (1) iconic representational gestures
- (2) non-linguistic sound imitations
- (3) ideophones and related linguistic signs
- (4) direct reported discourse

Before this background, the talk will focus on the historical origin of quotative markers which can to a large extent be motivated by functional and formal characteristics of the mimesis domain.

The phonology of quotative markers

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Quotative markers are of special interest to phonologists because of their tendency to form independent prosodic phrases, separated by pauses, lengthening and/or pitch movements. They have been studied in several languages; e.g. English (e.g. Trim 1959; Pierrehumbert 1980; Ladd 1996; Gussenhoven 2004), English and Catalan, French (Delattre 1972), and Portuguese (Fagyal 2002). Their tendency to form independent phrases is usually explained as an effect of syntactic constraints upon phrasing, constraints which can operate on a more (Cooper and Paccia-Cooper 1980; Nespor and Vogel 1986) or less (Selkirk 1984, Truckendbrodt 1999) direct fashion. Because of this property, which they share with other phonologically 'extra-sentential elements' such as vocatives, sentential adverbs, etc. (e.g. Gussenhoven 2004), they have been used to define the intonational phrase (Nespor and Vogel 1986: 188). Another remarkable phonological property of quotatives is the asymmetry between those that are sentence-initial and those that are medial or final. Quotatives only receive a normal intonation in initial position, while in medial and final position they are uttered in a flat level tone (that is, they are "deaccented") (e.g. Astruc and Nolan 2007). This property is far more puzzling and it has not been adequately explained to date by any theory of the syntax-phonology interface.

In this study I present novel experimental data in English, Spanish and Catalan, languages belonging to three different prosodic types, as English is stress-timed and intonationally plastic, Spanish is syllable-timed and intonationally non-plastic, and Catalan is somewhere in the middle. Given the typology of these languages, we expect cross-linguistic variation. The target structures were inserted in initial and final position in sentences read by 18 speakers, 6 per language. The data was recorded and then digitized and analyzed using Praat. The findings are: (i) contrary to expectation, quotatives are very consistent cross-linguistically; (ii) the reported asymmetry between initial and final elements is confirmed. In initial position they form a separate prosodic phrase with a normal intonation while in final position they also form a separate intonation phrase but this is deaccented. I discuss this data on the light of current theories of intonational phonology (Ladd 1996, Gussenhoven 2004).

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Interaction between ‘do’ and ‘say’ and the origin of quotative markers in Bantu

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In Shangaci, a Bantu language from Mozambique, direct speech is always introduced by the quotative verb *-ir̩ a*. It occurs as a regularly inflected form, an infinitive or as the grammaticalized quotative marker *er̩ i*. The same verb serves to introduce ideophones, purpose and complement clauses, reported discourse, more specifically hearsay, and to foreground states of affairs on the level of discourse. In the languages of the world, these functions are often found in association with quotative markers (Güldemann 2002; Güldemann 2008).

The lexical meaning of the verb *-ira* comes most closely to ‘say’, even though it can only be used with this specific sense to introduce direct speech and cannot take other objects than quotes. It also is the base of several derived verbs conveying the meaning ‘call’ or ‘name’ which are clearly related to ‘say’: *-irana* ‘call’, *-iranga* ‘call, name’, *-iriwa* ‘to be called’. Moreover, the verb *-ira* can be used to express intention or future. Future tenses are known to derive from constructions involving the verb ‘say’ in eastern Bantu (Botne 1998). Starting from the Shangaci data, *-ira* can thus be safely assumed to be a generic speech verb.

Nevertheless, cognate verbs in other Bantu languages are often found with generic action meanings. In Taabwa, for instance, the verb *-ila* is translated as ‘do, make, work’ (Van Acker 1907). In Ganda, *-gira* means ‘do, act; treat, behave towards’ (Snnoxall 1967). These verbs are related to the proto-form **-g_d-*, which can be reconstructed to Proto-Bantu (Bastin & Schadeberg 2003). In most languages, however, the lexical semantics of this verb are fuzzy and indefinite allowing for contextdependent polysemy. In Kinyarwanda, for instance, the verb *-gir-* is a kind of catch-all verb, which is mainly found with performative meanings, but can also get a ‘say’ reading in certain contexts (Coupez et al. 2005). This suggests that the generic speech use of this verb and its grammaticalization as a quotative marker is a secondary development from an original performative meaning.

In this paper, we will examine how the uses of the quotative verb *-ira* in Shangaci ties in with the diachronic semantic evolution of the verb **-g_d-* in Bantu. We will try to shed a new light on the question whether quotative markers can evolve directly out of performance/action verbs or whether the latter first need to develop peripheral generic speech meanings. We will furthermore assess whether the assumedly secondary extensions of quotative markers not involving reported discourse cannot be derived directly from lexical performative semantics as a parallel evolution to quotative markers.

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Quotative in Archi

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Work on reported speech in Daghestanian languages has focused on syntax and logophoric constructions (Kibrik et al. eds. 1996; Kibrik et al. eds. 1999; Kibrik et al. eds. 2001). In Archi, these phenomena have been described by Kibrik et al. (1977). This paper concentrates on the morphosyntax of reported speech markers.

There are two strategies of marking reported speech in Archi, based on the perfective and imperfective stems of *bos* ‘say’. The former includes independent forms *bo* / *boli*. The latter includes suffix *-(e)r* / *-(e)rši*, where *-ši* is the imperfective converb suffix. Formally, the difference between these two markers is aspectual, however their current distribution correlates

with the person of the reporting subject. The *bo/boli* marks all types of reported speech clauses (RSC), where the reported speech belongs to any person, whereas *-(e)r* is restricted to the clauses where the reported speech belongs to the third person:

- (1) ans b-i b-olo-qi bo-li
 bull(3)[NOM] 3-be 3-give.PFV-POT say.PFV

They said, there is a bull, we'll give it.

- (2) un d-aq'u bo
 you.sg 2-leave.PFV say.PFV
I said, they left you (left you in peace).

- (3) ha, d-aq'u-qe-r
 well 2-leave.PFV-POT-QUOT
Well, she said, I'll leave it.

The following table summarises the two strategies in relation to the person of the subject of the main clause:

1 st person (I /we said that...) + (RSC) + <i>bo</i> ('said')
2 nd person (you said that...) + RSC+ <i>bo</i> ('said')
3 rd person (he/she/they said that...) + RSC- <i>(e)r</i> / RSC + <i>bo</i> ('said')

Syntactically, the *-(e)r* marker behaves like a matrix verb in that it licenses the use of the Ergative (for the reported speaker) and Cont-allative (for the reported addressee) in the clause, and it may have its own auxiliary or a complex clause in its scope, as in (4):

- (4) to-w za-r-ši ar-ge-r-fū bošor w-akū
 that-1[NOM] I-CONT-ALL 4.do-PROH-QUOT-ATR man 1-see.PFV
(Today) I saw the man who tells me not to work.

The *-(e)r* marker triggers sandhi (*eku* 'fell' vs. *ekor* 'is said to have fallen'). It attaches to any constituent in the clause and may be repeated, showing, therefore, behaviour typical for a clitic:

- (5) k'an jañi-š ek'u-fū-b-er č'an-er
 most top-EL <3>choose.PFV-ATR-3-QUOT sheep-QUOT
 b-ola-ll-er, arso-wu sa-r
 3-sell.PFV-CVB.IMP-QUOT money-and 4.take.IMP-QUOT

He said, choose the best sheep, sell it and take the money.

We can conclude that *-(e)r* is a predicative element, but not an independent word. When it forms a periphrastic construction, "the lexical part" *-(e)rši* attaches to the host which is not in the scope of the auxiliary:

- (6) jamu abaj k'w'alē-r-ši edi-li
 that parents.ERG die-EVID-QUOT-CVB <3>be.PFV-EVID
Parents said that he had died.

Schematically, it can be represented as follows:

{verb=[QUOT-CVB] AUXILIARY},

where { } indicate the boundary of phonetic word and [] indicate the boundary of morpho-syntactic word.

Archi data are interesting in that the highly grammaticalised element /-(e)r/ that has undergone all stages of clitization still shows the morphosyntactic behaviour of its origin and even forms periphrasis in the same way as all independent verbs.

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The origin and use of quotative markers in Agul (Daghestan)

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Generic speech verbs and quotative markers undoubtedly belong to the most frequent linguistic units in AGUL — a language of the Lezgian branch of Nakh-Dagestanian (East Caucasian) family spoken by ca. 20 thousand speakers in South Daghestan, Russia — as in the following examples from a corpus of oral narratives (the Huppuq' dialect):

- (1) rahman.a-s aŋ.a-a zun, me žiga ze-f e puna.
 Rakhman-DAT say.IPF-PRS I DEMM place my-N COP puna
(Then) I say to Rakhman: "This is my place!"
- (2) aŋp:a qaj-ne=ŋaj, ɣab fajqaj-ne=ŋaj ha-ge ɣalbizak,
 then RE:come:PF-PFT=ŋaj again RE:bring:PF-PFT=ŋaj ha-DEMG water-melon
 le ɣalbizak wa?, p.u-ne=ŋaj šuw.a, saje ɣalbizak p.u-ne=ŋaj.
 DEML water-melon no say.PF-PFT=ŋaj husband(ERG) other water-melon say.PF-PFT=ŋaj

Then (the wife) came back, they say, and she brought back that water-melon, they say.

"Not this water-melon! — said her husband, they say, — (Bring) another water-melon! — he said, they say.

The generic speech verb 'say' has suppletive imperfective (IPF) and perfective (PF) stems, cf. the Present aŋ.a-a in (1) from the IPF stem aŋ.a- , and the Perfective Past p.u-ne in (2) from the PF stem p.u- . The two quotative markers have this verb as a source and go back to its different grammatical forms:

- (1) puna is originally the PF converb of the verb 'say', i.e. p.u-na [say.PF-CONV] 'having said'. It has grammaticalized into a subordinator to a considerable degree, and apart from marking reported speech with generic speech verb 'say' it combines with various other verbs denoting speech production and mental processes like 'ask', 'call', 'shout', 'sing', 'understand' or 'think', cf. (3). It has also further evolved into purpose subordinator, cf. (4).

- (3) [fulan kas ŋ.a-a] puna har-x.a-je-f-e gi-s.
 some person go.IPF-PRS puna know-become.IPF-PART2-N-COP DEMG-DAT
And he (= a clairvoyant) understands, that such-and-such person is coming.
- (4) ...š.u-ne zun, [ha-me k'eruq-ar ha-ti-q ŋ.a-s-e] puna ha-te
 go.PF-PFT I ha-DEMM calf-PL ha-DEMT-POST go.IPF-INF-COP puna ha-DEMT
 naq'-ar.i k'il.i-ŋ-di.
 grave-PL(GEN) head-INTER-LAT
...I went, in order to graze the calves, towards the upper graveyard.

2. Clitic *ɛaj*, or *aɛaj*, is definitely related to the IPF converb of the verb ‘say’, i.e. *aɛ.a-j*

[say.IPF-CONV] ‘saying’; however, it is not clear whether the quotative *ɛaj* does back directly to the converb, or rather represents a reduced finite Habitual form *aɛ.a-j-e* [say.IPF-CONV-COP] ‘usually says’, which consists of the IPF converb and a copula. The latter may be reflected in the morphosyntactic behaviour of *ɛaj*. In most cases it functions as a hearsay evidential enclitic meaning ‘they say’, modifying finite forms and often occurring multiple times in each narrative clause, like in (2). At the same time, *ɛaj* can function as a syntactic head governing its own argument (the speaker, coded by Ergative case), although remaining cliticized to the verb — in this case, the subordinate verb heading reported clause, cf. (5):

- (5) *q:unši-jar.i* [*ɲul-ar* *qu-ŋ̣.a-s-e*] = *ɛaj*.
 neighbour-PL(ERG) guest-PL RE-go.IPF-INF-COP=*ɛaj*
Neighbours say, that guests will come.

The paper presents a more detailed account of various functions of quotatives in Agul. Most attention will be paid to the grammaticalization process of the two markers and to their still intermediate status on their way towards grammatical markers. The data for the study are drawn from an oral corpus, consisting of spontaneous narratives of various genres. This is the first study of Agul quotatives based on a large corpus, comprising more than 30 hours of records of several Agul dialects.

Quotative markers in Western Mande

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Quotative markers are linguistic signs conventionally signaling the presence of an adjacent representation of reported discourse, i.e. the quote (cf. Güldemann 2008:10-15). A variety of specialized quotative markers is found throughout Western Mande languages. This paper presents the results of a diachronic survey of quotative markers in this group of languages. Etymologically, these markers mostly fall into three different sets that can be illustrated by modern forms such as Kpelle *kɛ* ~ *ye*, Soninke *ti* and Bamana *kó*, respectively. The quotative markers of the first set clearly have their origin in a verb whose primary transitive meaning is ‘do, make’, its intransitive meaning being ‘happen, be at, become’. The second set represents reflexes of an intransitive verb meaning ‘be, become’. The quotative markers of the third set go back to the Proto Mande stem ‘voice, speech’ used by conversion as a verb ‘say’. Interestingly, the quotative markers of only one set originate in a speech verb. In the course of their evolution, quotative markers in Western Mande typically lose their predicative properties. This is often accompanied by the lexicalization of their perfective form.

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Reported speech constructions and the grammaticalization of indirect evidentiality

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In many languages evidential morphemes or particles occur in the same syntactic position as reportative matrix clauses. Likewise clauses with dependent verb forms often receive an evidential interpretation when used independently in conversation. On the basis of evidence from geographically and genetically diverse languages this study proposes two likely

sources for the specific expression of reportative evidentiality, firstly non-referential reportative matrix clauses with generic utterance verbs and secondly functionally specialized dependent verb forms. The sentence pairs in (1) exemplify these two correlations:

(1) German (Indo-European/Germanic):

- a. Er sagt, der Spiegel sei verkratzt.
 He say.PAST DETERMINER mirror be.SUBJUNCTIVE scratched
 'He said that the mirror is scratched.'
- b. Man sagt, der Spiegel sei verkratzt.
 One say.PRESENT DETERMINER mirror be.SUBJUNCTIVE scratched.
 'They say the mirror is scratched.'

Estonian (Uralic/Finnic):

- c. Jüri ütles et Sirje sõitvat maale.
 Jüri say.PAST COMPLEMENTIZER Sirje travel.QUOTATIVE to.countryside.
 'Jüri said that Sirje is travelling to the countryside.' [UNGER 2003: 10]
- d. Ta saavat stipendiumi Soome.
 He receive.QUOTATIVE stipend into.Finland
 'It is said that s/he's going to receive a scholarship for studying in Finland.' [KLAAS 1997: 87]

Following the idea of gradual development from biclausal indirect reported speech constructions to monoclausal constructions encoding hearsay evidentiality HARRIS & CAMPBELL (1995: 168pp) I suggest two possible grammaticalization paths in order to account for cross-linguistic similarities:

The evidential marker is a reduced form of the actual former matrix utterance verb now being syntactically part of the reported clause itself.

The evidential marker is the result of the functional shift of a formerly subordinate verb form encoding TAM to a matrix verb form having been reanalyzed as a coding device of evidentiality.

The first scenario involves the gradual reduction of the reportative framing clause. Usually third person or generic person marking first becomes reduced in referentiality, i.e. the source of the reported utterance becomes vague. Then the entire clause becomes invariant and loses its inflectional properties, which results in reanalysis of the former matrix clause as a morphological marker of hearsay evidentiality. The second scenario is likely for languages in which indirectness is marked within the reported speech, for instance by means of subjunctive or quotative verb forms. First the use of such forms becomes acceptable in non-subordinate clauses if contextual information compensates for information about the source of the report. In a later stage such prototypically dependent clauses appear as free-standing matrix clauses, which specifically encode hearsay evidentiality. Consequently the former marker of indirectness under syntactic dependence becomes reanalyzed as an evidential marker.

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Contact vs. independent grammaticalization in the development of areal features: converbs of generic verbs of speech in northeastern Siberia

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The use of a converb of a generic verb of speech as a quotative marker with further development to complementizers is highly frequent in some of the languages of northern Eurasia. It is well-known from the Turkic language family (Johanson 1998), as well as from the Mongolic language Buryat (Skribnik 2003), and is found in the Tungusic languages as well as in Yukaghir (Brodskaja 1988, Nikolaeva & Tolskaja 2001, Nikolaeva 2005). Since the grammaticalization path from speech act verb via quotative to clause-linking marker is very frequent cross-linguistically (Saxena 1995, Güldemann 2008), independent internal developments in these languages may appear to be the most plausible explanation. However, these constructions are amenable to contact influence, as demonstrated by the fact that dialects of the Tungusic language Even spoken in the vicinity of the Chukotka-Kamchatkan language Koryak, which lacks such constructions, have lost the quotative and other derived functions of converbs of speech act verbs. It is therefore possible that contact may have played a role in the spread of converbs of speech act verbs as quotative markers and complementizers in the languages of Siberia, in addition to independent grammaticalization.

Our paper aims at investigating the various functions of converbs of verbs of speech in those languages from northeastern Siberia for which we have narrative corpora, either from our own fieldwork, or from published materials. These are the Turkic language Sakha (Yakut), several dialects of the Tungusic languages Even and Evenki, as well as the Yukaghir languages Kolyma and Tundra Yukaghir. In Sakha, Even, Evenki, and Yukaghir, the converb of the generic verb of speech is widely used as a quotative marker, both in conjunction with finite verbs of speech and as the sole marker of the direct speech act. In addition, it has expanded its quotative use to the marking of metalinguistic uses of linguistic expressions. As in many other areas of the world (cf. Güldemann 2008, Chappell 2008), further functions of these converbs are as complementizers with verbs of speech, cognition, emotion and perception and as markers of purpose and cause, while a development to an evidentiality and mirativity marker is only attested for Sakha and Yukaghir. Additional functions observed in Sakha, but not in Even or Yukaghir, are the use of a topicalization marker (also in Evenki), in emphatic negation, and as a conjunction in enumeration.

In order to investigate the effects of contact vs. independent grammaticalization in the development of quotatives and related functions in the languages of Siberia we will provide a detailed analysis of the structural and semantic properties of the various functions of converbs of verbs of speech. Our investigation will enable us to draw semantic maps to visualize the semantic links and thus the direction of grammaticalization between individual functions, while the extent of sharing of nodes on the maps between different languages will enable us to elucidate the possibility of contact-induced developments.

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Be like, go and related English quotatives: Grammar and grammaticalization

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On the basis of observed patterns in attested data, this paper considers the question how grammatically intransitive and semantically nonreportative verbs such as *be* and *go* have come to be used in English to represent speech, thought and emotion in examples such as (1-2):

- (1) I smelled smoke and stuff and **I was like** *oh gosh, is this real?* (COCA, ABC_Nightline)

(2) **I went** that's nice and **they, and they were going** erm er yeah down to the bare, bare essentials, **I went** oh yes what's that erm T-shirt? (COLT corpus)

The intransitivity of the copula *be* and the motion verb *go* makes a traditional verbal complementation analysis of the structure of (1-2) untenable: the italicized quoted material in (1-2) cannot be analysed as the direct object of the putative 'reporting verb', as shown for instance by the impossibility of the quoted clause *that's nice* in (2) to become the subject of a passive construction (**That's nice was gone by me*). For an example such as (1), which features *like*, it has been suggested that *like* should be analysed as a complementizer (Romaine and Lange 1991), but this begs the question why the putative complementizer *like*, unlike *that*, can occur with interjections and non-declarative clause types (as with *oh gosh, is this real?* in 1). As well, simple alternations such as topicalization suggest that *like oh gosh, is this real?* does not form a syntagm in the way a *that*-clause does. These structural problems receive an answer in the radically interclausal (rather than verbal) complementation analysis proposed in earlier work (Author 2007, 2009). Combining insights from Halliday's (1985) interclausal analysis of direct speech with Langacker's (1987: Ch. 7) analysis of the progressive assembly of component structures, this alternative holds that the initiating clause (*I was like, I went*) is the head of the composite construction, but is at the same time conceptually dependent on its complement, which it needs for its completion.

This interclausal model has the benefit of affording insight into the emergence of constructions such as (1-2). The imitative meaning origins of *like* and *go* as reflected in the OED and also crosslinguistically attested (e.g. Meyerhoff 2002) suggest that the innovation was able to arise and become entrenched through a perceived semantic correspondence between, broadly speaking, 'imitation clauses' (*I was like, I went*) and reporting clauses, a step which is plausible because the latter can be viewed as a more specific subcase of the former. The rise (and sometimes fall; Rickford et al. 2007) of forms such as *be all*, *be kinda*, and *be all like* can be attributed to analogical extension from *like* to other discourse markers as well as to doubling.

Unlike Romaine and Lange's (1991) proposed grammaticalization path for *like*, the present account suggests a relative abrupt initial innovation affecting clauses, rather than a gradual grammaticalization process affecting *like*, and raises the issue of the delineation of grammatical change in general and grammaticalization proper (cf. Noël 2007 and references therein).

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WORKSHOP. Grammaticalization pace of Romance languages

Workshop description

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The basic hypothesis of the workshop is that gradualness of grammaticalization does not only apply to particular facts within one language, but also to different languages which belong to the same language family.

The purpose of the workshop is to bring together specialists of **Romance** languages whose work bears on one of the topics related to grammaticalisation, such as

- determiners
- discourse markers
- negation
- mood and modality
- prepositions

One of the main goals of the workshop is to gather data which allow to establish a typological comparison of the Romance languages regarding their respective **pace** of grammaticalisation. Grammaticalisation being defined as the process by which new grammatical morphemes are created, a striking empirical observation is that Romance languages strongly differ with respect to the degree to which they are grammaticalized, French being usually far more grammaticalized than the other languages. Evidence for this is provided by a wide array of facts, a.o.

- Grammaticalisation in the strict sense (a given lexical item turns into a grammatical item) is illustrated by Lat. N *Casa* > Fr. Prep *chez*; Sp., It., Ptg however maintained the Noun *casa*;

- The verbal paradigms are far more *paradigmatised* in French than in the other languages, e.g.

- tense: gradual disappearance of the *passé simple*;

- mood: recent research (Loengarov 2006) suggests that the French subjunctive is gradually turning into a purely grammatical marker rather than being the result of the speaker's choice bearing on its semantic/pragmatic value;

- auxiliation: in French the class of aspectual auxiliaries has less members than in the other Romance languages, e.g. Sp. *volver*, It. *tornare* have no counterparts in French, Sp. *soler*, It. *solere* used to have a French counterpart *soloir*, which no longer exists, etc. (Kuteva 2001, Lamiroy 1999);

- In the nominal domain, French determiners (both definite and indefinite articles and demonstratives) are further grammaticalized than those of the other Romance languages (Carlier 2007, De Mulder 2001);
- Certain syntactic structures such as the external possessor structure (possessor marked by dative case) which are gradually disappearing from Indo-European languages (König & Haspelmath 1998) are far more restricted in French than in the other Romance languages, cf. Fr. * *Deux enfants lui sont morts dans l'accident* vs Ptg. *Morreram-lhe dois filhos no acidente*, Sp. *Se le murieron dos hijos en el accidente*, It. *Due figli gli sono morti nell' incidente* 'He lost two sons in the accident', Rum. *Ion s-fi-a sa(rutat nevasta* (Dumitrescu 1990): John 3sg DAT refl has kissed wife the 'John has kissed his wife';
- Word order became fixed in middle French (Marchello-Nizia 2006), but is still relatively free in the other languages;

In view of this, a number of questions arise, e.g.

- how can/should the degree of grammaticalization of a language be defined ?
- how does the diachrony of a highly grammaticalized language relate to synchronic stages of less grammaticalized languages?
- are there other language families which show a similar pattern with respect to grammaticalization? A possible candidate could be the Germanic languages, with English as the utmost grammaticalized language, German the least grammaticalized one, Dutch being in between;
- why is it that certain languages grammaticalize more, or faster, than other ones ?

A major goal of the workshop is to search an answer to the last question above. Is the overall effect of grammaticalization due to a cascade of changes (domino effect) ? Should the *invisible hand* hypothesis, Keller 1994) be understood as the accumulation of independent grammaticalization chains or is there rather an underlying mechanism such as *analogy* which links them together and which accounts for them all? How important are external factors such as language policy, impact of normative institutions, etc.?

Lexical and Grammatical Typology: The Case of French among the Romance Languages

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Both in its lexical and grammatical make up Modern French seems more extreme or radical than its Romance sister languages. Within an overall lexical typology opposing Romance and Germanic languages as exposed for instance in Baron and Herslund (2005), the Romance languages exhibit clear common features in both the verbal and the nominal components of the lexicon which justify the grouping of the Romance languages as exocentric, the Germanic as endocentric languages, an opposition that, as for the verbs recalls Leonard Talmy's distinction between verb framed and satellite framed languages.

When taking a closer look at the Romance languages, it appears however that there are subtle differences between them so that it is justified to consider Modern French as an extreme representative of the exocentric type, whereas Old French and Italian on the one hand, Spanish and Portuguese on the other seem less extreme: Both Old French and Italian preserve for instance and alternation between auxiliaries HABERE and ESSE with certain motion verbs much as is the case in general in the Germanic languages (Herslund 2005).

As for the grammatical system, Modern French seems also more radical than its sisters. This is for instance illustrated by its system of indefinite articles, where the Modern French "classifier" system (Herslund 1998, 2004) can be opposed to the "mixed quantifier-classifier" system found in Old French and Spanish (Herslund 2003).

The paper attempts to link the two sets of phenomena so that lexical and grammatical typology converge in defining the individual members of the same overall type by looking deeper into the semantic structure of nouns.

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Stages of grammaticalization of causative verbs and constructions in (some) Romance languages

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In this paper we will compare analytic causative constructions in Portuguese, Spanish and French. These constructions involve two verbs in which the first one expresses the pure notion of cause, without more specific lexical content, therefore being conceptually dependent on the second one, which codes the effected event. Romance languages display greater grammatical complexity of analytic causative constructions and larger grammaticalization continuum than other languages. We will show that the grammaticalization gradualness in the expression of causation not only occurs within one language but also amongst the different Romance languages, both at the verb level and at the construction level. These different degrees of grammaticalization correspond to different degrees in *subjectification* or attenuation in subject control (Langacker 1999) and to other *construal operations* of causing and effected events. *Force dynamics* patterns (Talmy 1988) underlying causative verbs are also determining factors.

At the causative verb level, the major differences in the grammaticalization process concern the concept of ‘make’. This is the prototypical verb for expressing cause, as in our Western cultural model we conceptualize causing as making and the effects as objects made. The French verb *faire* is currently more grammaticalized for the expression of cause than its Romance cognates, thus being more auxiliary than them. The Portuguese causative *fazer* and the Spanish causative *hacer* have a greater scale of binding force, going from the (un)intended sense of ‘cause’ to the major coercive force of ‘forcing, obliging’. The Italian causative *fare* has an even wider range of use, going from the more coercive causation to the inductive causation and even to some uses of ‘letting’. As for the causative expression with ‘let’ meaning, no relevant differences in the degree of grammaticalization are found. Nevertheless, the French *laisser* has a more reduced semasiological range than its Romance counterparts (Soares da Silva 2003). Portuguese has still another analytic causative: the verb *mandar* in the sense of ‘ordering’.

In Romance languages, there are different infinitival complement constructions in which causation and perception verbs take part. Here too, different degrees of grammaticalization can be found. There is the VV monoclausal construction, the more grammaticalized one, and the VOV biclausal construction. But Portuguese has a third construction whose complement event presents the inflected infinitive and its subject in the nominative case – this is the VSV construction, with a lesser degree of grammaticalization. The VV construction is compulsory with ‘make’ meaning in French, Spanish and Italian, but optional in Portuguese and non-existent in Rumanian. The French VV construction shows a greater degree of event integration (Roegiest 1983). Nevertheless, the French verb *laisser* diachronically tends to go from the VV construction to the VOV construction (Martineau 1992), thus showing a certain degrammaticalization, unlike Portuguese *deixar*. We will also compare the causative-reflexive construction: the French *se faire* Inf. construction (Araújo 2008) is far more grammaticalized than the cognate Romance construction.

These facts show that causative verbs and constructions are grammaticalized to a greater extent in French more than in the other Romance languages. In the latter, causative verbs and causative constructions display a greater semantic and grammatical flexibility. This flexibility is even greater in Portuguese.

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Grammaticalization and innovation

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The different strategies employed by the Romance languages to encode motion events have been arranged by Herslund (2005) along a three stages evolutionary path, which represent the process from a low to a high level of grammaticalization.

- Stage 1 is characterized by verbs that allow both an unaccusative (1a) and an unergative interpretation (1b), cf. It. *colare*, *correre*, *rimbalzare*, *saltare*, *volare*. The unaccusative interpretation has a perfective meaning, the path is expressed by means of particles, and the auxiliary is *essere*. The unergative interpretation has an imperfective meaning, the auxiliary is *avere*.

- (1) a. sono corso a casa l'uccello è volato fuori dal nido
b. ho corso nel parco per due ore ho volato tutta la notte

- Stage 2 is characterized by a clear lexical distinction between unaccusative path verbs and unergative manner verbs; as a consequence auxiliaries are lexically conditioned. Moreover, there is a distinction between directional and stative prepositions, cf. the Spanish examples in (2).

- (2) ir a España estar en España

- Stage 3 presents three different characteristics: a) absence of satellite constructions, b) lexical distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs, c) indeterminate prepositions as far as the distinction between stative and directional meanings.

Herlsund's proposal explicitly traces the diachronic evolution of the French language, passing from stage 1 in medieval period (cf. examples in 3) to present-day stage 3. French is claimed to be the only Romance language which satisfies the requirements of stage 3, while Spanish reaches stage 2, and Italian stops at stage 1.

- (3) et il estoit ja tant allez sire, vos avez assez alé
et il entra enz ils issi hors

The particular merit of Herslund's proposal is to approach the encoding of motion putting into relation different linguistic elements and processes. Moreover, this explanation is compatible with the general agreement on the higher grammaticalized status of French compared with the other Romance languages. However, Herslund's proposal does not provide any independent evidence to justify the possible evolution of the other Romance languages in the same direction of French language. In fact, French language is implicitly seen as the optimal outcome of motion encoding for the Romance languages.

In my talk after an analytical survey of Herslund's proposal, I will discuss the characteristics which may have favored the predominance of more grammaticalized structures in the French language, or vice versa prevented their development in other Romance languages, favoring the emergence of satellite-framed constructions. This approach agrees with the recent proposals by Beavers, Levin and Tham, according to which the emergence and use of strategies for the encoding of motion events can be attributed to motion-independent morphological, lexical and syntactic resources, as well as to extra-grammatical factors.

I will investigate whether the criteria proposed by Herslund are relevant to define a periodization of Romance languages. In particular, I will consider whether the three stages development, proposed by Herslund, is the unique possible evolution for all Romance languages or different languages may follow other evolutionary paths (e.g. stage 1 > stage 3 skipping stage 2; or stage 3 > stage 1).

I will investigate the reasons of different grammaticalization pace in current Romance languages with respect to the encoding of motion events, analyzing the factors favoring the change from low-grammaticalized constructions (such as satellite-framed) to higher-grammaticalized ones (such as verb-framed) and vice versa. The relationship between higher level of grammaticalization and innovation will be discussed, comparing the presence of verb-framed and satellite-framed constructions in current Romance languages.

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Grammaticalization and the pace of language evolution: the case of Romance

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It is now quite commonly agreed that grammaticalization is a major factor in linguistic change (see for instance Lehmann 1985, or more recently Marchello-Nizia 2006). It seems to affect all languages – and all areas of language. It does not appear to have a homogeneous effect on language, though, and some areas of language seem more prone to experience grammaticalization than others. Is this also the case for languages? Do some languages more often undergo grammaticalization than others? It has been said, for instance, that at least some areas of French grammaticalized more quickly than their Romance equivalents (Lamiroy 1999, Carlier 2007, De Mulder 2001). In this talk, we will try to assess the uneven pace of grammaticalization in Romance languages by analyzing a specific area of language: the grammatical expression of *cause*, that is, adpositions and conjunctions expressing causal relationships, in Latin and Romance languages.

In order to do so, we will sketch out a model of linguistic change (akin to Gévaudan's (2003) model of semantic change) taking into account various possible formal and functional evolutions of a morpheme, and the complex evolution of grammatical paradigms. It includes mainly formal, functional and semantic continuity *vs* discontinuity; we give hereafter three examples of such evolutions. There are cases of formal, functional and semantic continuity, such as the evolution from Latin *pro* "in front of, instead of, because of..." to Spanish *por* "because of, by, through..." (semantic continuity meaning that the causal meaning is attested for both adpositions; of course, it does not mean that the two adpositions have strictly equivalent meanings). There are also cases of semantic reinforcement (with necessary formal discontinuity) such as the formation of the Romanian adposition *din cauză* "because of" (and the conjunction *din cauză că* "because"). Finally, some cases are harder to describe, such as the evolution from Latin *post* "after" (adposition and adverb) to Portuguese *pois* "since, because" (adverb and causal conjunction), which has many intermediate steps: reinforcement from *post* to **postea*, constitution of the complex conjunction **postea quod*, formal, functional and semantic continuity from **postea quod* to *pois que* and finally simplification from *pois que* to *pois*.

We listed all the conjunctions and adpositions that are used to express causal relationships in Classical and Late Latin, as well as Medieval and Modern Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal, Italian, Sardinian and Romanian), and aim to describe the evolution of each morpheme in accordance with the model of linguistic change referred to above. The result should be a database of several hundred items (more than three hundred for conjunctions alone).

We will present this database and give a statistical account of the importance and pace of grammaticalization from Latin to Romance languages, for causal adpositions and conjunctions. This should enable us to give at least a partial answer to our opening questions.

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Gradualness in Grammaticalization

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The aim of this talk is to analyze some changes occurring in the markers of interclausal connections and in the system of reflexivity from the point of view of their degree of grammaticalization.

In particular, we will deal with contrastive connectives, namely markers encoding a relation of contrast between clauses. The markers in question have a common Latin origin, however they have followed in different Romance languages partially divergent grammaticalization paths, ultimately leading in some cases to renewal. Following Traugott and Dasher (2002), Giacalone Ramat and Mauri (2008 and in press) demonstrate that the meaning shift from temporal adverbials to interclausal connectives is triggered by pragmatic inferences in ambiguous contexts. Especially in the case of *tuttavia*, a wide ranging investigation on Old Italian and Old French texts shows the parallelism of the semantic shift, occurring in the same type of “critical contexts” (Diewald 2002), namely contexts which are semantically and structurally ambiguous between the original temporal reading and the new grammatical value of contrastive connectives. But the chronology is different: the contrastive value for *toutes voies/toutefois* is already present in XIIth century texts, and prevails in the XIV century (Soutet 1992:11, Vanderheyden 2003:472). By contrast, in Italian the two interpretations of *tuttavia* as temporal adverb or contrastive connective coexist until the XVIII century (to be sure together with a clear tendency to select different syntactic environments). On the other hand, Spanish *todavía* has preserved over time a temporal meaning and a phasal value “still” “until the moment indicated”. In conclusion, this case shows parallel semantic development and different pace: the G has proceeded faster in French than in Italian. In the present talk we will also discuss the histories of Italian *pertanto* “therefore, so” and *mentre* “while” in comparison with their Romance counterparts as further examples of changes showing different spread and pace.

A further case for discussion, involving both Romance and Germanic languages, is offered by changes in the system of reflexivity. As known, Italian *si*, French *se*, Spanish *se* are descendants of the Latin reflexive pronoun *se*. This pronoun has followed separate paths towards the development of middle, passive and impersonal constructions. Haspelmath (2003) has described these developments in terms of semantic maps showing systematic directionality of semantic changes. However, a comparative look at Romance languages reveals that French is less advanced in the grammaticalization path than Italian and Spanish which have developed passive and impersonal functions. Competition with the indefinite pronoun *on* can be suggested as a motivation for the lack of reflexive passives in French.

The domain of reflexivity lends itself to a comparison with Germanic languages: while in German reflexive *sich* has expanded its uses to middle and potential passive constructions, in English a renewal of the system of reflexive markers is attested. The explanation for the different development of English and German is a historical one: in English the reflexive pronoun was lost and the system of reflexivity was completely renewed with the help of the intensifier *self* (McWhorter 2004, König and Gast 2008:255). The question may be raised whether renewal of forms is a possible outcome of grammaticalization processes, since, as noted by Meillet, new forms are felt to be more expressive.

The general impression is that the phenomena discussed above may require different explanations rather than being connected by some overarching principle.

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Expression and position of pronominal subjects in French: a typical case of advanced grammaticalization?

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Modern French is known to display a rather rigid word order, while Medieval French is supposed to have had a freer one. However, word order was not all that “free” at that time: it was governed by an informational principle (though with some syntactic constraints, e.g. ‘verb-second’ constraint), whereas in Modern French it is ruled by a grammatical one (syntactic functions). In fact, word order was only freer in Medieval French from a syntactic point of view.

The loss of the case system and of the verb-second constraint has long accounted for the fixation of word order in terms of syntactic functions. Yet the fact that the declination was deficient from the earliest texts on proves this to be an insufficient explanation. Moreover, it has been shown (Combettes 1988, Marchello-Nizia 1995, Prévost 2001) that the fixation of the main syntactic functions took place in two stages : the nominal object started to appear mostly in postverbal position from the 13th century on, while the preverbal position of the subject became prevalent only from Middle French (14th-15th) on.

The present paper is more specifically devoted to the evolution of the syntax of pronominal subjects, and is based on data from Old French to the 17th century.

As to their position, postverbal pronominal subjects were always very rare, much more so than postverbal nominal ones, especially as far as *il* is concerned. This is not surprising since *il* is a typical topic, and is thus expected to occupy a preverbal position when word order is ruled by an informational principle (topic-comment organization). More unexpected are the cases of postverbal position. We have shown (Prévost 2001) that they occur in cases of logic and / or pragmatic opposition.

As to the expression of the subject, its omission could reach 50% in some Old French texts. Subject omission began to decrease from Middle French on, and is now restrained to sentences such as: *il sonna et Ø entra* ‘he rang and came in’.

The issue is two-fold : are the evolutions of the preverbal position of the subject and of its expression correlated ? How can we account for them?

We claim that the process of grammaticalization may provide a convincing answer, if it is conceived as the fixation of discursive structures into morpho-syntactic ones. We will show that, in order to give an accurate account of these phenomena, it is necessary to analyze separately the following aspects: the pronominal subject, its position (preverbal or postverbal), and the preverbal position, even if the three are closely correlated.

Though grammaticalization can provide an explanation for the syntactic evolution of the pronominal subject, it remains to be seen why French, as compared to other Romance languages, has reached such an advanced stage of grammaticalization, especially when it comes to the expression of the subject. We probably have to take other factors into consideration, such as the presence of specific macro-evolutions in French, the verb-second constraint and the influence of grammarians from the beginning of the 16th century on.

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A comparative study of word order in Old Romance

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In this talk I discuss word order phenomena in Old Romance from a comparative perspective. In particular, the position of the verb is examined in Old French (OF), Old Occitan (OOc), Old Portuguese (OP) and Old Spanish (OS). In the generative literature, Old Romance languages are regarded as V2-languages (cf. Adams 1987; Roberts 1993; and Vance 1997 for OF; Ribeiro 1995 for OP; Fontana 1993 for OS; Benincà 1984 for Old Venetian; Salvi 2000 for Old Romance; Ledgeway 2006 for Old Neapolitan), whereas Modern Romance languages are considered to have lost this property, namely the ability of the verb to reach as high as the C(omplementiser) head as well as the obligatory fronting of a constituent. X(P)VS-sequences, as shown in (1), have customarily been considered to exemplify an underlying V2 structure, (**verbs** are in bold, preverbal constituents are underlined and *postverbal subjects* are italicised):

- (1) a. Après **dist** *li Dux* ... (Old French)
 ‘Then the duke said ...’
 (*Clari* 21, 34-35)
- b. Tot aizo **vendet** *Guirberz*. (Old Occitan)
 ‘Guirberz sells all this...’
 (*Chartes* 15, 27)
- c. E por isto q(ue) nos dem(os) e outorgam(os) a esse P(ri)or; (Old Portuguese)
 deu *ele* a nos en logo de ca~bo p(er) ssa bo~a uo’o’ntade e
 de sseu bo’o’ (com)plazime~to o Casal de ((L009)) Lourido ...
 ‘and for this (that) we give and hand it over to this Prior;
 he gave to us right away in exchange in his good will and
 disposition the house of Lourido...’
 (*Douro Litoral, Dok.* 4, 1287)
- d. desi **fablo** *cada uno* con el (Old Spanish)
 ‘in this way everyone spoke with him’
 (*General Estoria* 6V, 9)

However, this view has been recently challenged –among other reasons– because Old Romance allows XYV and V-sequences which are not compatible with a V2-grammar (cf. Kaiser 2002; Fiéis 2003; Rinke & Sitaridou 2004; Sitaridou 2005). By means of statistical analysis of novel data it is claimed that: (i) Old Romance does not possess a Germanic V2; (ii) there is variation among Old Romance which is shown to be linked to the individual history of the languages; (iii) V2 order is mostly an epiphenomenon of the special discourse mechanisms and the nature of the left functional field in these languages.

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The evolution and differentiation of VOS word order in Romance - A grammaticalisation account

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It has often been argued that French word order opposes to word order in Spanish and Italian, in that in Spanish and Italian word order is 'free', in contrast with the 'fixed' word order of French. This article is devoted to a word order pattern that is shared by the three languages: verb – object – subject (VOS). The aim of the paper is (1) to show that there are important distributional differences between the three Romance languages which parallel differences in discourse interpretation, and (2) to account for the differences by virtue of grammaticalisation theory.

VOS word order is allowed in the three languages as an answer to a question about the subject, i.e. in a context with *narrow* focus on the subject, as in (1a-3a):

- (1a) Spanish
Q: ¿Quién ganó la lotería ayer?
'Who won the lottery yesterday?'
A: Ayer ganó la lotería Juan.
yesterday won the lottery Juan
'Yesterday, it was Juan who won the lottery.'
(Ordóñez 2000: 29)
- (2a) Italian
Q: Chi ha scritto questo libro?
'Who wrote this book?'
A: Ha scritto questo libro Dante.
has written this book Dante
'It was Dante who wrote this book.'
(Pinto 1997: 228)
- (3a) French
Q: Qui a mangé les gâteaux?

who has eaten the cakes
 'Who ate the cakes?'

A: Ont mangé les gâteaux: Marie, Pierre et Stéphanie.
 have eaten the cakes: Marie, Pierre and Stéphanie
 'Marie, Pierre and Stephanie are those who ate the cakes.'
 (Kesik 1985: 60)

Whereas (1), (2) and (3) might be taken to suggest that VOS has similar properties in the three languages, this is not so. French is the most restrictive language, in that VOS is only allowed with an exhaustive identificational reading of the subject (Lahousse 2006 and 2007). Corpus research shows that VOS in Spanish, however, occurs in a wide array of discourse interpretations (Lahousse 2007): (i) narrow focus on the subject with exhaustive interpretation, like in French (ii) narrow focus on the subject without contrastive reading (iii) narrow focus on the subject with contrastive reading and (iv) all-new, i.e. both the verb phrase and the subject are in focus and convey new information. VOS order in Italian is marginal, according to most scholars (a.o. Renzi, Salvi and Cardinaletti 1988:137, Rizzi (1996: 82–83)). But although it bears morphosyntactic restrictions (e.g. with respect to the definiteness of subject and object NP) and also seems subject to an additional discursive constraint, VOS can be found in the 4 types that occur in Spanish.

In order to account for the data, we argue (1) that the residual structure in French is the result of a grammaticalization process that started in Middle French (Marchello-Nizia 1995, 2006b, 2008) and (2) that the relative position of the three Romance languages with respect to VOS word order is totally in line with independent domains of the three languages which show that Romance languages grammaticalized to a different degree (De Mulder & Lamiroy 2009), French always being the most grammaticalized of the three Romance languages considered here, Spanish the least, while Italian occupies an intermediate position (Lamiroy 1999, 2001, 2003a, 2003b).

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WORKSHOP. Inner and Global Eurolinguistics

Workshop description

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The main aim of the ELA-workshop in Lisbon is to present scope and methods in dealing with the languages spoken within Europe (*Inner Eurolinguistics*) and beyond (*Global Eurolinguistics*).

The dichotomy “Inner and Global Eurolinguistics” was distinguished from the very beginning as a basic division in the science of language (cf. the Pushkin Theses 15-17, www.elama.de). The foundation of such an international basis of European linguistics “will set an example also for a global scenario” in that the overseas contacts of the former colonial languages “have given rise to new pidgins and creoles and also acted as catalysts for the technical, economic and cultural development outside Europe proper on other continents”. In this sense Eurolinguistics is “not only a European concern but that of a world civilization in its function as a linguistic innovator for languages spoken outside Europe”.

Thus the main purpose of our workshop is therefore also to present some of the fundamentals of *The Pushkin Manifesto* because they not only view European languages within Europe by describing their historical political, social and economic and contemporary contacts but also by introducing a global perspective of European influences overseas on the languages of Europe and vice versa (cf. Theses 3 and 4). Of course the common characteristics (Europeanisms) which mirror networks of contacts throughout centuries of fusion will be described and made conscious. The common European heritage underlying these (Europeanisms) belong to important educational goals in language learning (cf. Theses 5 and 6). Insights into the common linguistic and cultural basis of European languages will foster a new sense of European togetherness and identity (cf. Theses 7 and 8) and act as *memory and acquisition helpers in learning Europese*, an abstract common language for Europe. Thus a sense of European identity based on common European linguistic and cultural heritage will help to block the growth of extreme national movements and ethnic discrimination (cf. Thesis 10). Important is also the support for European minority languages in the past and the present promoting *the equal standing* of lesser-used languages (cf. Theses 11 and 12).

This completely new interdisciplinary branch of the humanities – *Europäistik* – and the true “mother tongue” of Europe – *Europese* – has the aim of promoting European-minded and European-capable teachers and scholars in the education of young Europeans from primary schools to universities (cf. Thesis 13).

The term *Europese* stand for a quintessence of Europe's dominant language groups such as transferences from Latin, Greek, Romance, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic etc. in the course of history, representing the innovative core of most European languages and cultures. This overall European language presupposes that the most important major languages of Europe constitute a so-called “European mother tongue” underlying the linguistic competence of most European conversation partners, that is, how do we use the common transferred Europeanisms as platforms of foreign communication. Multilingual research has shown us the enormous supply of similarities in vocabulary, syntax and phraseology between European languages which reflect this common core. Since we have no time or capacity to learn and master all the different major languages of Europe, the optimal preparation for man's short linguistic life-span consists in acquiring a more general *Europese* overview over the diversity of the languages of Europe. The basis of such an overview which gives us a chance to feel the magical spirit of Europe is to be found in analysing the amazingly extensive correspondences within Europe's languages themselves as collected since long in historical-etymological dictionaries and grammars. Eurolinguistic language research on multilingualism consists in making these common aspects and elements known and learnable to the speakers, i.e. the way we acquire true European language knowledge as being part of one overall European language family: *Europese*. The latter attempt can be discernable in the lectures which will be presented in the following list of papers, each with its specific geographical, historical and areal focus:

Zur Position des Rätoromanischen

*Roland Bauer
Salzburg*

Der Vortrag behandelt die geolinguistische bzw. geotypologische Position des Rätoromanischen, wie sie im Rahmen einer detaillierten, sowohl qualitativ als auch quantitativ ausgerichteten Tiefenanalyse des dolomitenladinischen Sprachatlases (ALD-I 1998) in Erscheinung tritt. Dabei kann zum einen die Wertigkeit des Einflusses germanischer Superstrate und Adstrate und seine Bedeutung für die Klassifikation des Rätoromanischen als eigener Sprachfamilie herausgearbeitet werden. Andererseits soll dabei auch die traditionelle Geotypologie des „Entdeckers“ des Rätoromanischen (Ascoli 1873) mit den modernen Mitteln der Dialektometrie nachmodelliert und somit anhand aktueller innerlinguistischer Daten verifiziert werden. Ein dritter Aspekt betrifft die regionalpolitisch umstrittene Stellung der neuen panladinischen Dachsprache *Ladin dolomitan* und ihre Beziehung zu den ladinischen Talschaftsvarianten.

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English in Europe: East and West

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Zagreb*

Contemporary history has seen the emergence of English as a global language, a phenomenon that is unprecedented in history. At the same time, a number of smaller languages are dying out as a consequence of the same globalisation processes that favour the spread of English.

Europe has been especially affected by the rise of English, which increasingly serves the function of the European lingua franca, and is widely used for communication between non-native speakers. Contacts of different European languages with English have resulted in different types of interference, extensive borrowing and code-switching. The widespread use of English has met with strong resistance in the official language policies of some countries, while in the others it is already taking over some of the internal communicative domains, especially in the languages for specific purposes, so-called *Fachsprachen*. The official language policies of the EU favour multilingualism, but there is a possibility that in the future some languages, notably English, will be “more equal than the others”.

During the Communist period, the interest in English was largely suppressed in most of the East European countries. Nevertheless, a number of English loanwords penetrated the Iron Curtain. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, there has been an unprecedented and ever-increasing urge for foreign language learning – overwhelmingly English, whose impact has become stronger than ever due to globalization processes and new information and communication technologies. This paper will try to explore the changing status of English in Europe in terms of language attitudes, levels of proficiency and borrowing patterns.

‘Plurilingualism and cultural awareness: the activities of EuroLinguistica-Sud from 2004 to 2009’

*Laura Ferrarotti
Rome*

The aim of this paper is to illustrate the intentions and numerous activities promoted by the association Eurlinguistica-Sud since its foundation in November 2004 up to the present. The association was founded by a group of professors belonging to European universities, and is part of the Eurolinguistic Association (ELA). The main objectives of Eurolinguistica-Sud are to support linguistic research and to encourage cultural exchange among European study centers. An important aspect of the association's activities is the promotion of research on plurilingualism together with the study of the contacts between various European standard languages, language minorities, and the languages in the rest of the world also through the promotion of language teaching programs.

Typological features of Dutch language contact in Europe

Ludger Kremer
Antwerp

Dutch has been in contact with other European languages in quite a number of European countries: in Germany, England and Ireland, Scandinavia, Transsilvania, France, Spain, Russia and Poland, either through an autochthonic Netherlandic population (in parts of Germany and France), through strong religious, cultural and economic neighbourhood relations (Germany), or through colonisation in medieval and modern times (Germany, Poland, Transsilvania) and/or immigration of Netherlandic refugees, artists or craftsmen (Germany, England, Ireland, Spain, Russia, Poland, Scandinavia). Apart from these predominant types Dutch played for some time an important role as a Lingua franca in most parts of Northern Europe. This paper will try to find a common basis for all variations of Dutch-European language contacts, and present a typology in which most of all possible contact situations and relations can be located, and it will make an attempt to compare the results of such language contact in present day European languages.

Trans-Eurasian: a linguistic continuum between Japan and Europe

Martine Robbeets
Leuven

The genealogical relationship of Japanese, Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic is among the most disputed issues of linguistic history. This paper will first give an overview of the shared linguistic properties among these languages. It will then search how we can account for them: universal tendencies in linguistic structuring, code-copying, chance or genealogical retention? Although controversy marks the literature on the affiliation of the Transeurasian languages, both supporters and critic seem to agree on at least one point, namely that shared morphology could substantially help strengthening the evidence. Vovin (2005: 73) begins his temperamental critique of "Etymological dictionary of the Altaic languages" with the postulation that "The best way ... is to prove a suggested genetic relationship on the basis of *paradigmatic* morphology ..." and Dybo & Starostin (2008: 125) agree that "... regular paradigmatic correspondences in morphology are necessarily indicative of genetic relationship".

The intended paper concentrates on the historical comparison of bound verbal morphology, more specifically the markers for intraterminal participles and finite verb forms and the correlations between them. Different from most European languages where principal and subordinate predicates are expressed by special finite verbal forms, the participle serves as the fundamental form of the verb in most Altaic languages. (among others Ramstedt 1952: 85-86, Poppe 1955: 557, Kormušin 1984, Gorelova 2002: 478) The main syntactic function of participles is attributive. However, as verbal adjectives, like other adjectives they can assume secondary nominal tasks and serve as heads of noun phrases. As verbal nouns they can become predicates in subordinate clauses. Moreover, a number of participial forms seem to function as predicates in principal clauses.

Whereas the use of participles as finite predicative forms is often referred to as a shared structural feature of "Altaic" in the narrow sense of the Turkic, the Mongolic and the Tungusic languages, the present paper will focus on formal and functional similarities of concrete participial suffixes in the "Altaic" languages in the large "Transeurasian" sense, including Japanese and Korean. Taking into account repetitive processes of linguistic renewal referred to as cyclic grammaticalization, we will attempt to set up a mini-paradigm for intraterminal participles in the Altaic languages. This mini-paradigm includes three suffixes: pA *-ra, pA *-n and pA *-m(a). They can be reconstructed on the basis of Japanese, Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic participial and finite forms.

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German and Swedish influence on regional varieties of American English in the Middle West

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The overall linguistic picture in the United States has been one of seeming homogeneity; the initial linguistic diversity arising from the many converging population groups with different language backgrounds has declined as more and more immigrants and their communities have gradually come to choose English as a language for all communicative contexts – to the exclusion of their heritage languages. However, there is a way in which that initial linguistic diversity can be said to persist, namely in the effects that generations of non-native English speakers have left on the varieties of American English spoken in the regions in which they have settled. Karstadt (1997, 2003) has surveyed a number of features of upper Midwestern American English that show influence from a Swedish substrate, including relativization strategies and pragmatic particles, among others. This paper will discuss these effects and juxtapose them with some similar influences on the varieties of American English spoken in regions settled by large numbers of German-speaking immigrants, for example the "German Belt" of the American Midwest. It thus seeks to contribute to research in Global Euro linguistics by showing how processes of language contact between European languages have extended out beyond the original boundaries of those languages.

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Have und be-Strukturen als Isoglossen in und außerhalb Europa – ein Überblick

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Im Rahmen der Euro linguistik wird hier die Distribution der *have*- und *be*-Strukturen in den indoeuropäischen und nicht-indoeuropäischen Sprachen Europas sowie in den angrenzenden Gebiete Asiens (Euroasien) und Afrikas (Nordafrika) präsentiert. Der Schwerpunkt der Darstellung liegt unter Berücksichtigung der genetischen Herkunft der *have*- und *be*-Strukturen auf der entscheidenden Rolle des Sprachkontakts bzw. Sprachkonflikts zwischen den Sprachen Europas sowie den Sprachen Asiens und Afrikas. Dabei wird auch das Problem der Entstehung der s.g. *Nahtstellen* (d.h. Isoglossen als Trennungszonen zwischen den Spracharealen) im Sinne von Isačenko (1974) behandelt. Zweitens werden lexikalische Isoglossen einiger Wanderwörter dargestellt, die sowohl in ost- als auch westeuropäischen Spracharealen im Laufe der historischen und sprachlich-kulturellen Konvergenzprozesse entstanden sind.

Europa als Sprache - das EuroLSJ-Konzept

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L, S und J sind die Anfangsbuchstaben des Wortes Sprache in den drei größten europäischen Sprachfamilien: romanisch (L), germanisch (S) und slawisch (J). Sie sollen die weit darüber hinausreichende Gesamtheit der Sprachen Europas stellvertretend symbolisieren.

Die wichtigste Sprache Europas ist aus Sicht des EuroLSJ-Ansatzes die Muttersprache des Kommunikationspartners. Da wir aber keine Zeit und Kapazitäten haben, 50 bis 60 Sprachen zu lernen, besteht die beste Ausstattung für ein Leben in Europa im Erwerb eines repräsentativen Überblicks über die Sprachen Europas. Die Grundlage eines solchen Überblicks (und im Übrigen eines Gespürs für die spirituelle Kraft Europas) sind die verblüffend weit reichenden Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den vielen einzelnen Sprachen, wie sie schon seit langem z.B. in etymologischen Wörterbüchern gesammelt werden.

Die Innovation des EuroLSJ-Konzepts besteht darin, diese Gemeinsamkeiten lehr- und lernbar zu machen, wie die Europäer Sprachkenntnisse zu erwerben gewohnt sind: als eine Sprache.

Ziele und Möglichkeiten der Eurolinguistik

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Die langsame Auffächerung und Ausbildung von neuen Sprachen (aus dem Latein, dem Germanischen oder Slavischen) haben seit der Romantik die Kräfte der verschiedenen Philologien gebunden. Seit einigen Jahren herrscht sogar die Überzeugung vor, dass die historischen Grundlagen der einzelnen Sprachfamilien für eine bessere *Interkomprehension* in der Sprachlehre genutzt werden können. Inzwischen ist auch die Konvergenz, die aus dem gemeinsamen sprachlich-kulturellen Überbau aller mittel- und westeuropäischen Sprachen resultiert, nicht ohne Reaktionen von Sprachwissenschaftlern konstatiert und zum Gegenstand sprachwissenschaftlicher wie fremdsprachen-didaktischer Arbeiten geworden. Postulate wie «romanische Sprachen sofort lesen können» tragen dieser vor allem dem internationalen Wortschatz aber auch den romanischen Neologismen sowie der *transnationalsprachlichen Wortbildung* Entwicklung Rechnung. Noch nicht angekommen sind diese Erkenntnisse bei den Lexikographen und Kulturwissenschaftlern, für die entweder – in nationalistischer Sicht – fast jeder Kultismus der Volkssprachen entweder eine eigene Kreation der je eigenen Sprach- und Kulturgemeinschaft oder die Entlehnung eines (meist imaginären) Latinismus darstellt und dann z.B. die Herkunft von frz. *loterie* / it. *loteria* aus dem Niederländischen (über das Neulatein) ebenso wenig in das linguistische Weltbild passt wie z.B. die Herkunft von poln. *kretyn/izm* / it./sp. *cretin/ismo* aus dem Latein (mit unterschiedlichen Verteilersprachen) oder engl. *morphology* aus dem Deutschen.

Der Vortrag soll darlegen, welche Verbesserungen in der Lexikographie und für die kulturhistorischen paneuropäischen wie panromanischen Fragestellungen durch Fortschritte in der Konvergenzforschung erzielt werden können und wie eine *pro veritate* durchgeführte Eurolinguistik prozedieren muss, auch wenn dies bedeutet, dass dann nationalistische Ziele aufgegeben werden müssen.

WORKSHOP. Theory of mind or Relevance – approaches to linguistic description and communicative explanation

Workshop description

Werner Abraham (Vienna-Munich)

& Elisabeth Leiss (Munich)

While such epistemic adverbials as *probably*, *to the best of my knowledge*, *certainly*, among a variety of others, as well as analytic declaratives such as *it is probable/certain that p* etc. refer to speaker information and his knowledge status, both modal verbs and modal particles go beyond this layer of speaker concern in that they render access to the source of speaker's knowledge status, on the one hand, and to the speaker's concern for the addressee's level of knowledge and thematic concern (cf. German *Fremdbewusstseinsabglick* for English somewhat neutral *Theory of mind*). Diewald (1991), referring to Jakobson's (1971) earlier insight and terminology ("shifters"), has called this the "double deixis/shifting/displacement" of the two categories in question.

The present workshop undertakes it to anchor "double" or "multiple deixis" in syntax and semantics- pragmatics. To do this requires utmost analyticity and empirically optimal generalization across the types of modal lexical in the two different – verbal and quasi-adverbial, i.e. particle – categories. In pursuing this aim, fundamental claims with respect to the serialization of adverbs and modal particles will be made against the background of investigations entertained by Cinque 1998 and Frey & Pittner 1998, on the one hand, and novel investigations into the classification of embedded sentences as by Haegeman (2006) and Coniglio (2008). The discussion will lead, in an implicative way, to questions such as: If the CP-expansion required for anchoring information about the speaker involves FORCEP as the illocutive anchor category in languages like German and Dutch, languages that lack the categorial double deixis of both modal verbs (MV) and modal particles (MP) to the extent that they do not feature either or one of them, the illocutive category must be of a fundamentally different kind with respect to the pragmatic features that this functional category conveys. This very typological question requires an immensely analytical depth that no other syntax can provide but the generative variety.

The fundamental point of departure for what will be said in the subsequent discussion is a dictum by Sperber & Wilson (*Relevance* 1986: 4-5): Thoughts do not simply travel from Speaker to Addressee (as in Shannon-Weaver's 1949 telephone model). We don't send out communications to addressees when we are engaged in linguistic intercourse. What we do, instead and much rather, is that we try to make sure what exists, on the part of the addressee, in terms of shared knowledge relevant to the present linguistic interaction and in terms of what is in need of correction on either part. A very telling illustration may be provided by the two German modal lexemes *ja* "yes-PARTICLE" vs. *eben* "flat- PARTICLE": While *ja* makes an appeal to the addressee's full consent on the basis of shared encyclopedic knowledge about *p*, the contribution *eben*, rather than appealing to a common knowledge horizon, derives such an appeal from what has been part of the previous discussion between Sp and Addr. We shall come back to this specific contribution of MPs in German in due course. And we will focus on the difference between epistemic adverbials and MP for the simple reason that adverbials have often been held to serve the same purpose as MPs. This will be shown to be false. But there is a further, much farther reaching consequence. If constructions are taken to be the base for semantic interpretation in the sense of idiomatic junks, without any derivation between pre-particle modals and their homonymic MPs, then the model will not be able to *explain* any such interactions. In other words, the investigation of MPs will have a bearing on the empirical power of schools of linguistic thinking: e.g., that of Construction Grammar, which has no derivative mechanics at its disposition and takes constructions at their face value, and other, more developed, semantic-syntactic models as well as psycholinguistic experimentally based research.

Modal particles as crucial illocutionary criteria for the reclassification of syntactically dependent clauses

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German modal particles constitute a small class of adverbial elements (such as *ja*, *wohl*, *schon*, etc.), which display peculiar properties that distinguish them from adverbs in traditional sense.

I will present the results of my recent investigation into syntactic peculiarities of these elements. I will consider their main syntactic properties, their distribution in the *Mittelfeld* ('middle field') of root and subordinate clauses and the conditions under which they are licensed there. No new paragraph! In particular, I will argue that modal particles are adverbial elements which function as modifiers of illocutionary force and that they therefore presuppose the presence of illocutionary force in the sentence they occur in. Given that they are root phenomena, one would expect to find them only in root contexts (i.e., in full CPs). However, I will show that they can also be found in certain types of subordinate contexts.

I will provide an explanation of this fact by taking into account some recent work by Haegeman (2002, 2004a,b, 2006) on the different structure of the left periphery of root and subordinate clauses. In particular, I will start from her assumptions that certain types of subordinate clauses display a full CP-domain, thus being endowed with the projection ForceP, whereas other types of embedded clauses present a truncated structure of the left periphery and have therefore no projection encoding illocutionary force (represented by ForceP).

I will claim that German modal particles can only occur in contexts which are endowed with the full structure of the CP, thus showing that modal particles are to be considered as fundamental criteria for detecting the independent illocutionary force of clauses irrespective whether they are taken to be independent or embedded.

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Discourse particles in rhetorical questions

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Introduction. The topic of my presentation is discourse particles in rhetorical questions (RQs). Both RQs and discourse particles crucially refer to the *common ground*, and, since discourse particles occur frequently in RQs, one would expect there to be some interaction on this point. I will not only show that it is possible to account for the way in which RQs and discourse particles they contain interact, one can even explain some incompatibilities between RQs and discourse particles in terms of conflicting ways of referring to the common ground.

Consider the following data, where (2) and (3) are both possible ways of answering (1):

- (1) *Niemand hat sich auf die Stelle in Vechta beworben.* 'No one applied for the position in Vechta.'
 (2) *Da würde auch/eben niemand hinwollen.* 'No one would want to go there.'
 (3) *Wer würde da auch/*eben hinwollen?* 'Who would want to go there?'

Although (2) and (3) have the same discourse function (an utterance of the negative statement (2)), the discourse particle *eben* may only occur in the syntactically declarative (2) but not the RQ (3). In contrast, the discourse particle *auch* is compatible with both possible answers.

Rhetorical questions. RQ are no ordinary, information-seeking questions. E.g., in cases like (3), this follows from the fact that the question is extremely general (the answer would be a list of all the people that want to go to Vechta in some possible world), clearly not a piece of information that the speaker wanted to get.

This seems to violate felicity conditions for questions (Searle 1969), e.g., the sincerity condition (speakers want to have a specific piece of information). However, RQs are used in indirect speech acts, where a 'direct' speech act refers to a felicity condition of the intended speech act (Gordon & Lakoff 1975). This explains why they do not seek information: In such speech acts, questions are evaluated against the *common ground*.

The intended speech act for (3) is *statement*: A preparatory condition of a statement is that it is not obvious for the speaker that the hearer already knows what is being stated, and the speaker can refer to this condition with a rhetorical question.

When an RQ is evaluated against the common ground, the hearer recognizes that only one element of the set of possible answers is compatible with the common ground, for *wh*-RQs like (3), the statement that negates the existence of a suitable entity for which the question holds, e.g., for (3): no one wants to go to Vechta in any world, i.e., statement (2). RQs thus emerge as a means of presenting a statement not as the speaker's personal opinion, but as a consequence of the common ground, which explains their persuasive effect (Egg 2007).

Discourse particles. Like Karagjosova (2003, 2004) and Zimmermann (2009), I describe discourse particles in terms of their interaction with the common ground (CG). E.g., in the pair (1)+(2) with *eben*, sentence (1) expresses surprise, which is mitigated by pointing out that in the light of sentence (2), the first sentence introduces a state of affairs that is to be expected. Formally:

(4) In a sequence '*p - eben q*', '*eben q*' indicates that $\neg p$ can be deduced (non-monotonically; see Asher & Lascarides 2003 for details) from the common ground *C*, then *C* is updated with *q*, and *p* can be deduced from $C \cup q$.

For (1)+(2) with *eben*, this means that there being no applications for the position in Vechta is strange, because the CG would suggest that there should be some. But as soon as one integrates the proposition that no one would want to go there into the CG, the CG suggests the contrary, viz., that there should be no applications.

The account for the pair (1)+(2) with *auch* is similar. The second sentence tries to explain the first one by asserting its proposition and pointing out that it is a part of the CG that this proposition (defeasibly) entails the proposition of the first sentence (see also Thurmair 1989; Weinrich 2005). Formally:

(5) In a sequence '*p - auch q*', the response '*auch q*' asserts *q* and points out that $q > p$ is in the CG, which allows the deduction of *p* by defeasible modus ponens ('>' stands for defeasible implication).

For the pair (1)+(2) with *auch* this means that there being no applications for the position in Vechta can be deduced (and thereby be explained), because no one wants to go there, and, according to the CG, if you do not want to go to there you do not apply for a position there.

Interaction of RQs and their discourse particles. Next consider what happens in the sequence (1)+(3) with *auch*. The RQ indicates that the sole possible answer to (3) (that no one would want to go there) is in the CG. The effect of *auch* then is to state that the defeasible implication from this answer to the first part of the sequence also is in the CG (i.e., that if no one wants to go to Vechta there will usually be no applications for a position in Vechta). This means that (1) can be derived from the CG. This formalization presupposes that the CG is not closed under deduction.

For the sequence (1)+(3) with *eben* we get conflicting requirements on the only possible answer to (3) (called *A*), which explains the inacceptability of the sequence: According to the RQ, *A* is part of the CG, but according to *eben* it is not: The particle says that the *opposite* of (1) can be deduced from the CG, and only *after* updating the CG with *A* can (1) be deduced from the CG, i.e., *A* cannot be a part of the CG before updating.

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What is it that keeps the rein on epistemic modality so tight?

A cross-linguistic perspective and Theory of Mind

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It is well-known that the category of aspect correlates with the system of modal verbs (MVs), as noted by ABRAHAM (2001, 2005, 2008a, b) and LEISS (2000, 2002, 2008). According to their hypothesis, the interpretation of modal verbs depends on the aspectual specification of the infinitival complement. For examples, embedded infinitival perfectivity implies deontic modal readings, while embedded infinitival imperfectivity triggers epistemic readings (ABRAHAM & LEISS (eds.) 2008, 2009 in press).

Generally speaking, Germanic and Slavonic differ in terms of expression of epistemic modality: Whereas Germanic rests upon epistemic reading of MVs (EpMVs), Slavonic exhibits, by and large, a tendency to use epistemic adverbs (EpAdv) (van de Auwera et al. [2005]), although Slavonic languages may also use EpMVs in a limited way, as has been pointed out by KOTIN (2008b) and Bester-Dilger et al. (2009).

Epistemicity induces speaker beliefs about the state of knowledge of the addressee. Modal particles (MPs) make an appeal to the addressee to cooperatively confirm or correct the beliefs signaled by speaker. As Abraham (2008a, b) has argued, speaker deixis plays a crucial role not only by way of MPs, but also by MVs. The claim is that both EpMVs and MPs range higher in speaker/addressee deixis than adverbials of epistemic (and evidential) force.

In this presentation we will take into consideration the fact that Slavonic has EpMVs at its disposal. We will address two questions. First, we will give an account of the main features of EpMV constructions in German and their Czech and Polish counterparts in relation to the aspect-modality interplay, with a particular eye on (multiple) speaker deixis. Second, it will have to be seen whether the Polish/Czech EpAdv are really short of speaker-addressee deictic implications in the sense claimed by Leiss (2008) or whether they indeed are able to make up for the lack of the deictically efficient modal particles in German (and Dutch).

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The Discourse Dynamics of subordination: *that* omission in English

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Some grammatical phenomena are limited to main clauses, plus certain subordinates; see Emonds 1976, Hooper and Thompson 1973, Green 1976, and more recently Grimshaw 2006, Haegeman 2006 a, b, McCloskey 2006, Coniglio 2007, Abraham 2008. This paper argues that omission of the complementizer *that* in English is such a phenomenon: it is possible only in subordinate clauses which are discourse dynamic: they are assertions, albeit indirect ones. (This idea has a considerable history, see e.g. the references here from the 1970s.)

A speaker can say (1a) and the proposition it expresses can enter the “common ground” Stalnaker (1978). Dayal & Grimshaw (in prep) hypothesize that the same is true for the subordinate clause in (1b), if the conversation is about the patient’s prospects.

1. a. The patient will die
 b. The doctor said/believes (that) the patient will die

This discourse dynamics gives the subordinate clause a special linguistic status; it has illocutionary force. Syntactically it is “Quasi-Subordinate”, intermediate between main and truly subordinated. Following Grimshaw (2006) Q-S clauses are subject to both the well-formedness constraints governing main clauses and those governing subordinates, the “Location-Specific” constraints. Ranking determines the outcome when the constraints conflict. Hence *that* is absent in Q-S clauses for the same reason as in main clauses.

The Q-S analysis of *that* omission sheds light on the full range of cases, which is much richer than the literature recognizes. In brief: it predicts that omission is possible for complements to the think/say verbs, more precisely the “volunteer stance” verbs of Cattell (1978) and for semi-factives. It is impossible with true factives, manner-of-speaking verbs, “non-stance” verbs, “response stance” verbs and in subjunctive complements. The proposal extends beyond verbs to adjectives and nouns.

2. a. When the doctor examined the patient, she realized/knew *that/Ø* he was going to die
 b. The doctor regretted *that/*Ø* he was going to die
 c. The teachers grumbled *that/*Ø* the boys went on vacation
 d. The teachers mentioned/acknowledged *that/*Ø* the boys failed the exam
 e. The teachers required ***that/*Ø*** the boy retake the exam

I suggest that *that* omission occurs where root transformations do: in discourse dynamic subordinates. Recent proposals posit extra structure (sometimes “ForceP”) in subordinate clauses with root properties (Emonds 2004, McCloskey 2006, Haegeman 2006b, Coniglio 2007). They thus encode discourse status syntactically. In contrast, the theory of Quasi-Subordination with Location Specific constraints is an interface theory, which posits syntactic consequences but not syntactic representation of discourse status.

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On person and mood

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One core function of language is to describe the world, in order to convey information from the speaker/writer to the hearer/reader. For example, the sentence in (1) can be to describe the state of affairs such that (at least according to the speaker) there is a possibility that he (whoever *he* refers to) will try to put the key into this slot.

- (1) He might try to put the key into this slot
- (2) You might try to put the key into this slot.

The second sentence, however, is preferably read as a suggestion by the speaker to the addressee to put the key into the slot (von Stechow 2006). Hence, the sentence is no longer meant to convey (objective) information about the world, but rather to instruct the addressee. This relates to another core function of language, namely to persuade a person, or to influence another person's behaviour or opinion. This is the interactive function of language (Austin 1962; Searle 1969).

The two persons who are necessarily present in face-to-face communication are the speaker and the addressee. First and second person are the most important, therefore, but at the same time the most trivial or redundant. Consequently, in many languages, pronouns can be omitted when they refer to first and second person subjects. Even in English, the addressee is understood but not expressed in imperative constructions (*Close the door, please!*) and sometimes in questions (*Need any help?*), while the speaker can remain implicit in diary language (*Went to the market yesterday*).

Two types of sentences typically involve the addressee in an interactive way: interrogative and imperative sentences. Omotic languages are well-known for their rich mood and modality marking on their verbs. In Sheko, we find many sentence type ('mood') markers, yet the imperative as well as the interrogative lack mood/modal marking, while declaratives can be marked in different ways, for example as realis, irrealis, mirative, negative, viewpoint etc. (Hellenthal 2008). According to Hellenthal (2008), the imperative as well as the interrogative are the types of utterances in which modal distinctions are the least required. In Dime, another Omotic language, interrogative clauses treat the second person subject as distinct from first and third person (2nd person marking *-áá* versus the rest *-i*), (Seyoum 2008). Finally, in Kooreete, we find a difference in marking between declarative and interrogative/imperative for first and third person, but not for second person (Sisay 2008).

The distribution and use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns can give us more insight in how the communicative context influences grammar. As Lyons (1977) puts it: "There is much in the structure of languages that can only be explained on the assumption that they have developed for communication in face-to-face interaction." Although modal readings are known for their context-dependency (Kratzer 1981, 1991), the influence of person (1st, 2nd, 3rd) on the type of modal marking has not been systematically investigated before, as far as we know. In this paper we want to explore this interaction between mood or sentence marking and person.

Changing your mind or how to understand a Bulgarian negative imperative positively

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In this paper I will discuss the properties of a rare type of negative imperative utterances in Bulgarian. Following a relevance-theoretic approach (Sperber & Wilson, 1986; Wilson & Sperber, 1988) I argue that the interpretation of perfective negative imperatives hinges on the procedural information they provide during the contextually-guided inferential enrichment process.

In Bulgarian, negative imperatives with perfective verbs may be viewed as morpho-syntactically 'impossible' constructions on the basic prohibitive reading. The organisation of the Bulgarian ATM system motivates the mandatory use of imperfective verbs in synthetic negative imperatives expressing prohibition (2). Perfective verbs render prohibitive negative requests simply ungrammatical (1), because their aspectual value does not fit into the temporal interpretation of a negative command (Kuehnast, 2008).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1) *Ne izprati 2SG IMP pf pismoto. | Don't send the letter. (ill-formed as a prohibitive) |
| 2) ✓Ne izpraštaj 2SG IMP impf pismoto. | Don't send the letter! (prohibitive) |
| 3) (Ti) samo ne izprati 2SG IMP pf pf pismoto! | Send the letter! (Or you will face the consequences.) |
| (You) just not send 2SG IMP the letter! | |

However, negative imperatives with perfective verbs do exist, but they are interpreted quite differently, namely as an urgent recommendation (up to a threat) to the addressee to bring about the state of affairs denoted in the proposition. In example (3), the speaker actually insists that the addressee sends the letter immediately. But conveying this meaning can be achieved much more easily by uttering a positive imperative, why then make the effort to produce such a peculiar construction?

I want to argue that the use of this construction is contingent on the communication of higher- order information concerning explicit updates of the interlocutors' mutual theories of mind. 'Ungrammatical' perfective negative imperatives may be felicitously uttered only under specific context conditions. Firstly, the hearer's intentions not to carry out the action in question must be apparent to the speaker. Secondly, the speaker expects consequences to the detriment of the addressee if he/she does not change his/her initial intention. Under such circumstances the speaker directs the addressee to restrain from his/her intention not to perform the action, because the non-performance will plausibly lead to unpleasant consequences. Prohibition of the supposed intention not to perform, leads to double negation and consequently to a positive interpretation of formally negative imperative utterance. The perfective verb form, explicitly denoting action completion, endorses the deontic interpretation of the utterance. More important, however, is the inference made by the addressee that the speaker uses this special construction in order to hint at some potential disadvantages which may occur upon disobedience. Depending on intonation and situation properties (e.g. social status of the interlocutors), a perfective negative imperative may acquire interpretations varying from a mild conditional reading to a harsh threat. The warning of some disadvantages is always inferred by the addressee and thus qualifies as a basic element in the interpretation of this construction. Given these relevance-theoretic considerations, Bulgarian perfective negative imperatives can be straightforwardly understood in terms of an explicit mutual update of shared knowledge.

Exploring the Theory of Mind interface

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Most languages exhibit quite lot of expressions that enable the speaker to signal to other interlocutors to what extent (s)he is committed to the truth value of sentence he utters. For the sake of simplicity, let's call these expressions epistemic modifiers. In most cases these types of epistemic modifiers have non-epistemic counterparts, see (1) (examples from Sweetser 1990: 70)

- (1a) John came back, [because he loved her].
 (1b) John loved her, [because he came back].

In its original use because referred to real world causality. Accordingly, the adjunct clause in (1a) renders the reason for the action expressed by the matrix clause. In its epistemic interpretation, however, the adjunct clause displays the reasoning or evidence that led the speaker to assume the truth of the action denoted by the matrix clause, see (1b). The matrix clause has to be considered as an assumption rather than an assertion. The epistemic because-sentence provides two types of information. First, it labels the modified clause as a mere assumption of the speaker, and, second, it exhibits the reason that caused the speaker assuming the content of the matrix clause.

There are a couple of other modifiers that work in similar fashion: modals (e.g., Sweetser 1990), conditionals (e.g., Kratzer 1995), or locative modifiers as recently shown by Maienborn (2004: 162). According to Sweetser (1990), linguistic

structures do not contribute any information on their own that reveal the speaker's knowledge. Grammar does not refer to the beliefs and attitude of the speaker. Instead, Sweetser (1990: 11, 59, 146) suggests that the human mind is divided into two domains: an external domain that processes information belonging to the socio-physical world, on the one side, and, on the other side, an internal one that is devoted to the epistemic world. According to Sweetser, each linguistic expression can be translated into an abstract image-schematic structure. Sweetser (1990) now claims that interpretations will change depending on which domain the image-schematic structure will be processed. Whereas the internal domain provides epistemic interpretations the external one renders non-epistemic, i.e., root readings. Therefore she concludes that meaning relationships cannot be understood independently of human cognitive structure, including the metaphorical and cultural aspects of that structure.

Whereas Sweetser (1990) claims that epistemicity is merely a cognitive phenomenon that is external to grammar, the position in the present paper is that epistemicity is present in linguistic structures at least to some extent. First of all, epistemic modifiers seem to form an independent syntactic class: All of them permit the modification of (1) stative predicates lacking an situation argument (individual level predicates) and (2) clauses that refer to an event prior to evaluation time. This is on a par with Hacquard (2006) who showed that root modals are evaluated with respect to the embedded event. It will be shown that Sweetser's (1990) insights can be recast in terms of argument structure. This enables us to dispose of Sweetser's stipulated conception of distinct mental domains. Linguistic structures then involve specifications that indicate at the interface how they should be interpreted: epistemic or non-epistemic.

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Modality in the Romance languages: modal verbs and modal particles

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If we have a look into a grammar book of a Romance language, it is pretty astonishing that if it is written by a national author, the modal verbs (MV) will probably not even be mentioned as a distinct category. But if we look into a grammar book written by an English or a German grammarian there will undoubtedly be a chapter dedicated to the subject. Likewise, if we compare such grammars, the amount of verbs listed as MV will vary significantly. In modern linguistics it is generally suggested that, on the one hand, MV must provide an epistemic reading as well as a root interpretation, that they have to be combinable with other modal verbs, that they must have a complete verbal paradigm regarding their inflection and that, in general, they can be used as full verbs (polyfunctionality; see Abraham 2008). On the other hand, they cannot form an imperative, and when they are used in the infinitive form they cannot have an epistemic reading (Abraham 2008). On the basis of these criteria I will show that Span./Port./Cat. *poder*, Fr. *pouvoir*; It. *potere*; Roum. *a putea* is the only real modal verb across the Romance languages. Moreover I will also consider Port. *dever*, Sp. *deber*, Cat. *deure*, Fr. *devoir*, It. *dovere* and Rum. *a trebuie*, which is still in the middle of its grammaticalization process and which is in different stages of this process, if we compare the Romance languages.

Regarding modal particles (MP), Romance linguists generally argue that they are a German(ic) specificity, although there seems to be some evidence for grammaticalization processes leading to modal particles in Romance as well (see Waltereit (2006); Waltereit & Detges (2008)); which vary tremendously not only in quantity, but also in form across the various Romance languages.

Bearing in mind that Romance languages have no structure which could be compared with the German (and Dutch or Scandinavian) "Mittelfeld" or its syntactic function, I will test whether there is any Romance adverb or MP which meets the defining criteria of this category: foremost, whether having a full semantic correspondent, in other words meeting polyfunctionality; occurring in specific, highly characteristic positions in the sentence; restricted to specific illocutions in which they might occur; and, finally, restriction to main clauses (to their illocutionary force).

My objective is to show that MPs are a typically German (Dutch, Scandinavian) feature and that there are only a few particles which fulfil these criteria in the Romance languages; that they do not form a specific class of words, as they do in German. The crucial question is what disqualifies Romance languages (just as English) to have MPs. Is it a whim of their

diachronies, or have English/ Romance developed structurally such that this category has no appropriate structural location? There are strong observational arguments to make us believe that the more processes there are to express aspectuality in a language, the fewer modal verbs this language will have (Leiss 2008). This could serve for an explanation for the profound distinctions between German and English as well as the Romance languages.

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Japanese modal particles as relators between speaker's and hearer's mind - a semantic analysis

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In this paper I present a novel approach to classifying Japanese sentence-final particles. Spoken Japanese is characterized by frequent usage of sentence-final particles as in (1) and (2) (particles underlined):

- (1) Kyoo wa ii tenki desu ne.
Today TOPIC good weather is NE
„Today the weather is good NE?“
- (2) Matte yo.
Wait YO
„Wait (for me) YO!“

A raw guess of the meaning of *yo* and *ne* is this: (1) seems to imply some kind of agreement between speaker and hearer regarding the proposition expressed, while (2) is something like its opposite as it expresses the speaker's guess that its proposition is unknown information for the hearer. Obviously both *yo* and *ne* verbalize something regarding a speaker's estimation of the hearer's mind and thus are ToM and modality related. Japanese (Kamio 1997, among many others), much like Chinese (Li 2006), possesses a noticeable amount of such particles which instantly remind one of modality particles in languages like German whose linguistic system is notoriously known for its modal complexity. The major task of the present project is to describe the functions of these modality related Japanese sentence-final particles in a unified way. The main focus will be to provide a proper fundament for modality comparison.

Japanese sentence-final particles are a heterogeneous word class regarding their semantics. Modal functions in the sense of the German (or Dutch) modal particles are only part of them. To distinguish them from the rest I define them as follows: *In Japanese a sentence-final particle is a modal particle, if and only if it verbalizes relations between the speaker's mind and his estimation about the hearer's mind regarding the proposition uttered. To implement this subset of the Japanese sentence-final particles and its functions we need to consider the following subtasks:*

- **Matching of minds:** This is information about whether the speaker expects the hearer's mind to accord with the proposition.
- **Interaction between proposition and hearer's mind:** This represents the speaker's expectation of how the hearer should deal with the proposition in regard to his own knowledge and experience.
- **Intensity of expectation:** Combined with the expectation criterion above there is a certain degree of relevance pressure which is laid on the hearer regarding its intended fulfillment.
- **Weight of relevance:** It expresses how important for the actual topic the proposition is presented by the speaker.

This list of criteria, together with some additional minor subcategories, will enable us to sketch an extensive profile of each Japanese modal sentence-final particle securing a better understanding of modality in Japanese and as a phenomenon of the languages of the world.

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MP-compatibility and the syntactic category of ForceP hosting clausal illocutive power

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We take as a point of departure Davidson's (2004) threefold distinction of mind awareness.

- (1) Davidson's 'mind awareness triangle':

Foreign/3rd persons' knowledge awareness

6

Speaker's knowledge(=I's)
 awareness

Addressee's knowledge (=your)
 awareness

"Foreign/3rd persons' knowledge awareness" may also be understood as "social/objective/intersubjective knowledge". While modal verbs in their epistemic validation betray the source of the assumed propositional claim (but not any speaker-addressee deixis; Abraham 2008), modal particles (as opposed to epistemic adverbials) give clues about speaker and addressee assumptions.

"Modal particles" (MP), i.e. a particular brand of weak adverbs in the Germanic languages except for Modern English, serve as ToM-category *katexochen* in the sense that they encode both speaker/addressee deixis and source deixis (D. Davidson's 'mind awareness triangle'). In the light of the fact that MPs presuppose and modify the illocutionary force of MPs (and epistemic modal verbs, EMV), root clauses are taken to be the best candidates for the insertion of MPs. Needless to say that not all MPs appear in all illocutive types: *denn* occurs only in true *w*- and yes-no-interrogatives (not even in echo questions – see (2) below); *ja* occurs only in declaratives – see (3).

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| (2) a | Wie siehst <i>denn</i> DU aus? | ... | speaker-concerned question |
| b | Wie siehst du <i>denn</i> AUS? | ... | true <i>w</i> -question |
| c | *Du siehst <i>denn</i> WIE aus? | ... | * echo question |
| d | *Du siehst <i>denn</i> schlimm aus. | ... | * declarative |
| (3) a | Du siehst <i>ja</i> (SCHLIMM) aus. | ... | speaker-concerned declarative |
| b | *Wie siehst du <i>ja</i> AUS? | ... | * true <i>w</i> -question |
| c | *Siehst du <i>ja</i> SCHLIMM aus? | ... | * yes-no question |

However, the question whether or not embedded sentences can host MPs is not well understood. See (4) yielding no clear clue.

- (4) a Mir scheint, dass er *ja* längst da sein müsste.
 b * Er leugnete, dass er *ja* längst da sein müsste.
 c Sie fragte, ob er *denn* kommen wolle.
 d * Sie wusste nur allzu gut, ob er *denn* kommen wolle.

(2) - (3) lead us to generalize that independent (root) clauses are MP-compatible by default as long as the speech act contingencies of the individual MPs are met. How about dependent clauses – do they principally disallow MPs? The minimal conclusion is that there are such dependent clauses allowing for MP-insertions. Consequently, we would have to impute to such dependent clauses the illocutive clause node FORCEP. Other dependent clauses, however, will not possess their own illocution and, consequently, project no FORCEP. See (5) (also Haegeman 2002, Coniglio 2009).

- (5) a dependent core clauses: Subj - - - TopP FinP *MP
 b dependent peripheral clauses: Subj **ForceP** TopP FocusP TopP FinP **MP**
 c independent clauses: - **Force P** TopP FocusP TopP FinP **MP**

Notice the compatibility correlation between MP and FORCEP. What is at stake is to separate (3a) and (3b) distributionally: There are MP-compatible dependent clauses – since possessing their own, independent illocution which has not been pre-assigned by the governing independent clause; and there are MP-incompatible clauses which are not in the possession of independent illocutionary power. The paper attempts to give an answer to the question: What is the specific quality of dependent peripheral clauses such that they possess their own illocutionary power and, consequently, allow MPs to be merged in Spec,vP.

These are the empirical prerequisites for a formal derivation which yields the basis for semantic interpretability: from surface to covert scope position.

- MPs occur only in the middle field; they have to raise to the head of FORCEP to enforce their illocutive power.
- Since the invariable linear order of MPs in combination falls into three classes motivated by their pre-particle categorial status, there must be three different landing sites in FORCEP, i.e. MP1<MP2<MP3.
- EMVs merge no lower than TP due to their finiteness-only; they have to raise to FORCEP to execute their illocutive power. DMV merge in VP and raise due to agreement.
- The hierarchical rise of speaker deixis features from E-adverbials to EMVs and further to MPs map onto an equally hierarchically structured CP-expansion. See below.

Agreement checking for MPs for covert LF-movement should proceed on the basis of the feature assignments in hierarchically rising order:

- for epistemic adverbials/**epAdv**: Sp-assessment <distance wrt p-truth>, <relative assertion of truth of p>, <average probability wrt p>
- for evidential adverbials/**evAdv**: Source of p <3rd person>
- for **EMV**, specifically epistemic *sollen*: Source of p <3rd person> as well as Sp-assessment <distance wrt p-truth>, <relative assertion of truth of p>, <average probability wrt p>
- for **MPs**, specifically the MP2 *ja*: Sp-assessment <distance wrt p-truth>, <relative assertion of truth of p>, <average probability wrt p> as well as the split decision <□unified knowledge awareness>

Recall that the feature bundle under “Sp-assessment” needs terminological collapse and tightening, let us say <Sp(eaker)-concern> (partly following Bayer 2008). This collapses speaker identification with 1st and 2nd persons vs. with 3rd person. Thus, ‘Sp-concern’ summarizes and generalizes for the specific feature bundles. If we take MP-representatives of the linearly first class, MP1 for the derivative pattern, this is the covert derivation of *denn* and *aber*:

- (6) MP1 such as *denn* Interrog or *aber* Declar:

$$\begin{aligned} & [\text{FinP/ForceP1} \dots \text{Fin}^0/\text{Force}^0 \langle \text{Interrog/Declar} \rangle [\dots [\text{ParticleP } \text{denn/aber} \langle \text{Interrog/uDeclar, Sp-concern} \rangle [\text{VP} \dots]]]] \\ & \text{MOVE UNDER AGREE} \quad \square \\ & [\text{FinP/ForceP1} \dots \text{Fin}^0/\text{Force}^0 \langle \text{Interrog/Declar; Sp-concern} \rangle \text{denn/aber} [\dots [\text{ParticleP } \text{denn/aber} \langle \text{Interrog/uDeclar,} \\ & \text{Sp-concern} \rangle [\text{VP} \dots]]]] \end{aligned}$$

The landing sites for MP2 and MP3 are correspondingly lower in Force/MP2 and ForceP/MP3. EMVs land in the somewhat lower positions of EvidMV or EMV licensed by their corresponding speaker- deixis features (without <Sp-concern>, the latter being characteristic only of MPs). And, finally, epistemic adverbials, EpAdv, land even lower due to their weaker Sp-deictic predicaments.

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Epistemicity, evidentiality, and Theory of Mind (ToM)

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The central aim of this paper is to give theoretical support for the hypothesis of Papafragou 2002 and Papafragou/Li/Choi/Han 2007 that the development of Theory of Mind depends on the development of linguistic categories, and not vice versa. The special focus will be on modality, especially on epistemic modal verbs. It will be shown that the linguistic architecture of epistemicity largely depends on the development of the grammatical category of person. The category of person is defined as a shifter. Its reference shifts with the origo of the speaker. It is of central importance to understand how shifters serve as building blocks for complex grammatical categories such as tense and modality. Both categories involve double displacement and the split-up of the speaker into multiple personalities with different functions. The focus will be upon the grammatical categories of evidential and epistemic modality, which will be described as functionally equivalent. Special emphasis will be put on the argument that lexical evidentiality and lexical epistemicity (evidential and epistemic adverbials) are not equivalent to grammatical counterparts, the latter being more complex in terms of shifting qualities. In a general outlook, the psychological approach to ToM by Papafragou and the theoretical approach of Abraham & Leiss 2008 and 2009 will be compared with philosophical approaches to language and cognition, where language is made responsible for the development of all higher forms of human cognition (especially Donald Davidson 2001 and Karl Popper 1995).

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WORKSHOP Natural language processing (NLP) and grid technology in the Baltics

Workshop description

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The first European grid computing project (E=MC2) was launched in 1996 when five high performance computing centres in France, Germany, and the United Kingdom were connected by the European ATM Pilot network. The main focus in this project was on computational issues. At the present time grid technologies are much more diverse and play an important role in the research areas like life, earth and environmental sciences, physical and engineering sciences, and also humanities.

The workshop will be devoted to the work-in-progress on the interdisciplinary collaboration of computer science specialists and linguists within the framework of the *BalticGrid Second Phase (BalticGrid-II)* project. Extension of the BalticGrid infrastructure to Belarus, establishing new grid services for linguistic research and data mining tools in the Baltics are among its basic tasks to be carried out. There are a limited number of NLP tools available for “small” or “local languages” in Europe. The workshop will approach issues directly related to language processing tools and computerized corpora by focussing on the goals and process. The papers will address topics directly related to:

- design and compilation of linguistic corpora;
- testing and adaptation of language encoding/annotation programs;
- development of tools for corpus compilation and corpus analysis;
- what the linguist can say to the information scientist;
- corpus use for language research, teaching and learning (corpus-based studies);
- development of effective resources for language research (methodologies for automatic meaning extraction from texts).

The state-of-the-art in NLP of the Baltic languages

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The paper deals with the problem of survival and full-fledged functioning of the group of Baltic languages that consists of the last two living languages, i.e. Lithuanian and Latvian. In spite of the fact that they both have the status of *state* or *national* languages (as opposed to *minority languages*) they also fit into the category of the so-called *local, regional, lesser used and taught, small, less prevalent* and therefore *endangered languages*. It is based on a wide spread assumption that barriers of survival have to do with technologies in the broad sense of the term: writing, print (McLuhan 1994) and computer mediated communication. The first two barriers were obstacles for quite a few oral languages that died out unrecorded, the third one is supposed to be crucial as it combines with socio-political and socio-economical factors such as the domineering of global languages, high rate of migration, bilingualism, influence of mass media and mass culture (Crystal 2004). Global and local languages differ in many respects, but most of all in the level of their digitalization which depends on both human and financial resources as well as on a computer-friendly linguistic description. Global language, esp. English, technologies that are disseminated with software tools is a widely discussed issue of language dominance. Language technologies for less prevalent languages are scarce or in some cases non-existing, if localized tools are not taken into consideration.

The overview of the state-of-the art in NLP of the Baltic languages during the last 15-year period is based on Sarasola's (2000) five level hierarchy of resources, tools and applications (e.g. foundations, basic tools, medium-complexity and advanced tools, multilinguality and general applications) that is the property of a few languages out of the 6000 still alive. The level of digitalization of Baltic languages is measured against this hierarchy by stating the gaps and [overlaps?], such as the lack of advanced tools, e.g. treebanks, grammar and style checkers, word sense disambiguation tools and

ontologies. The issue of the optimal infrastructure of Baltic language technologies, comprising high level tools such as multilingual applications, is addressed, as well as the ways to achieve it via incorporation it into pan-European research infrastructures (CLARIN, GRID, ESFRI, etc.). Moreover, an investigation is being carried out in order to find out if the existing Baltic language tools and resources are used, and if so, by whom, for what purposes and to what extent. It should reveal whether technological advancement plays a role in people's habits of using their native tongue.

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Virtual Text Repositories in Grid Environment

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The Corpus of Academic Lithuanian is a specialized corpus for the study of academic Lithuanian, it is synchronized with academic written Lithuanian. As in the case of similar corpora in many other countries, it is a major resource of authentic language data for linguistic research of academic discourse, for interdisciplinary studies, lexicographical practice, and terminology studies in theory and practice. Implementation of the corpus requires a lot of computing, especially for automatic encoding, annotation and search-analysis steps, followed by the implementation of efficient algorithms and computing procedures. Encoding covers recognition of text parts (sections, titles, sentences, etc.), it also include recreating the text in editable form and correction of text flow (as an important part is removing various logical parts from text that are irrelevant for linguistic analysis). Linguistic annotation (adding syntactic information for each word) consists of several modules, as module for speech tagging, module for sentence tagging, etc. Search-analysis part deals with complexity level of the search, and tries to distribute and effectively manage the load for corpus services.

The Corpus of Academic Lithuanian has about 3.2 mln. of words collected. The implementation of corpus follows many standards and other decisions, respected internationally, it has a common supportive computational environment. The algorithms used are most suitable for distributed memory and data flow network.

Making the use of computing resources more efficient, and looking to the future usage of text corpora and possible cooperation between corpora internationally, the corpus has very novel specifics, that it is developed on grid environment – a modern technology, which is based and follows concepts of e-Science. The e-Science refers to science that is enabled by routine use of distributed computing resources by end-user scientists. Although the e-Science is considered as a methodology (by many individual scientists) it is most effective when used to enable distributed global collaborations involving large numbers of people and large-scale resources.

An important aspect of the integration of text corpora into e-Science environment (and more specific, based on grid technology) is a development of virtual repositories. Such concept serves the unification of text resources of corpora into logical unit, which can be considered as a base for so-called “meta-corpus”. It includes the implementation of distributed data handling and parallel processing of them and services provided by corpora. However, such research is a non-trivial one, as complicated semantics underlie the archives of corpora. Data may be highly contextual, its interpretation depending on semantic relationships to resources and collections. Also, new retrieval methods for digital data must be intuitive for the user and not based on complicated metadata schemes. They have to be specific in their return and deliver exactly the particular piece of information the researcher is interested in. This is fairly straightforward for structured information if it is correctly described.

The presentation will be focused on these topics and issues giving more detailed consideration of their definitions, logical and semantic links, technical development, presenting recent results.

Latvian hybrid dependency-constituency parser and its applications

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Although phrase structure grammars have turned out to be a more popular approach for analysis and representation of the natural language syntactic structures, dependency grammars are often considered as being more appropriate for free word order languages.

We found that none of these models alone is adequate enough for grammar of Latvian, a highly inflective language with a rather free word order.

The choice of an annotation scheme in fact is not limited just to the dependency grammar or phrase structure grammar. Various hybrid models have been proposed — different versions of head-driven phrase structure grammars (HPSG) (Pollard and Sag, 1994) or the TIGER annotation scheme (Brants and Hansen, 2002). However, to support languages with even more liberal word order we propose an original hybrid formalism that is strongly based on the pure dependency parsing mechanism described by Covington (2001; 2003). Meanwhile it is fundamentally extended with a constituency mechanism to handle analytical (multi-word) forms consisting of fixed order mandatory words. This enables us to overcome the limitation of the pure dependency grammars, where all dependants are optional and totally free-ordered. In our approach a head and a dependant do not have to be single orthographic words anymore.

The merging of the dependency and phrase structure grammars though is not straightforward — to do so we had to introduce a concept of an “x-word”, which in a sense is the core idea of our method. X-word represents an analytical form (prepositional phrase, perfect tenses etc.). It is a new artificial „word” with morphological properties inherited in the controlled way from its constituents. The dependency parser treats x-words as regular words. By iteratively substituting all analytical word forms in the text with the corresponding x-words, we are ending up with a simple sentence structure, which can be described and parsed by simple word-to-word dependencies.

Different well-known phenomena of syntactical analysis, such as free word order, agreement, constraints on the left/right position, analytical forms of a predicate, prepositional phrases, discontinuous constituents, coordinate structures, subordinate and coordinate clauses are successfully handled by our hybrid parser.

Along with an original method of parsing, we have also introduced a space-saving graphical sentence syntax notation — nested boxes — in addition to the classical tree representation. In our notation each box corresponds to a single word (simple or complex x-word) and includes full grammatical annotation — a list of morphological features and syntactic role.

The proposed model has been implemented in an experimental parser and is being successfully applied for description of a wide coverage grammar for Latvian. In terms of the grammar structure Latvian is closely related to Lithuanian and also to Slavonic languages (int. al. many Central and Eastern European languages). Therefore the model we have developed and tested for Latvian might be of interest also for other languages. This parser has also been successfully ported for use within GRID environment, where it has already been used for harvesting large grammatically annotated Latvian web corpus.

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Harvesting annotated text corpora from the web

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Well-balanced corpora are crucial for language research. The situation for Latvian language is that the available corpora are quite few and relatively small. Our idea is that if we could automatically process texts available on the Web it would be of great value due to the sheer size of such a corpus. For many applications the requirement for the size of the corpora outweighs the requirement for its impeccable quality as the few bad examples can easily be spotted manually. The automatically created Latvian corpora contains 200 million running words and is fully morphologically annotated.

In (Džeriņš and Džonsons, 2007) Latvian text parsing chunker (Bārzdīņš et al., 2007) has been used to grade Web document quality for linguistic research purposes. In this work we use those results and import them into a Manatee corpus management tool (Rychlý, 2000). All of the tools are fully automatic effectively providing us with an automatically obtained Web text corpus. The tools involved have not been built for this purpose so we had to create the missing links in the chain.

Chunker parsing results are intended for human consumption and hence are available in HTML format. Reprocessing the Web archive using a different output format is not feasible since it is quite computationally expensive task and several CPU-years of Grid resources have been used for that already. So the relevant parts (words and their morphological annotations) had to be extracted from the HTML documents.

Due to the fact that the chunker loses all capitalization and punctuation (except period) information, the extracted words had to be matched against the original source texts. The matching process resulted in original texts with morphological annotations, effectively providing us with what we could obtain by reprocessing the Web documents from scratch, but much faster.

Web documents have quite a lot of duplicate content, especially in the context of a single Web site. Storing, processing and most importantly viewing the redundant parts is counter-productive. Therefore we first used a few heuristics and split the documents into sentences and removed duplicates. These are then stored in Manatee input format (*vertical text*) and are ready for import.

The resulting “clean” texts are then imported into the Manatee corpus management tool, completing the tool chain and giving linguists access to the Web corpus. In addition to simple term occurrence lookups Manatee allows to use syntactic and morphologic patterns. And since the morphological annotations and some syntactic annotations are added by chunker for the corpus, such patterns can be used on the whole web corpus. This in turn allows to create and work with “word sketches” in the automatically generated corpus (Kilgariff et al., 2004).

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Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CorALit): design, encoding, representativeness, annotation

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This paper presents an ongoing construction of a first synchronic specialized corpus for the study of academic written Lithuanian carried out by an interdisciplinary team at the University of Vilnius. The purpose of CorALit (<http://www.coralit.lt/en/>) is to provide researchers with an open access to a disciplinary variety of academic language. The process of building a corpus of academic texts comprises the following tasks: corpus design, encoding of textual data, testing of representativeness and encoding of linguistic information.

Corpus design requires decisions concerning balance, i.e. the range of academic genres, and sampling, i.e. how the texts for each genre are selected. However, both the balancing of the corpus and the sampling of texts proved to be problematic. It is already clear that a realistic model of the academic language will not include all academic genres in all disciplines. The process of text collection revealed that it is hardly possible to find a research article on biology or chemistry written in Lithuanian because of the increasing use of English as a lingua franca in academic journals published in Lithuania. Encoding of textual data starts with the conversion of text files into machine-readable files. This process may become very labour-intensive when character recognition problems (visual images, font types, Lithuanian characters) are encountered. The body text is encoded in accordance with TEI P5 Guidelines, including a specially created marking for the structural parts of texts, removed visual information, block quotes in foreign languages, examples of casual speech, etc. Currently, the corpus contains ca. 4 million words. One of the possible ways to test the representativeness of a corpus is to measure the ratio between tokens (running words of the text) and types (number of different words). McNery & Wilson (1997) suggest breaking the corpus into equal parts and testing them for the number of tokens and types. When there is no obvious lexicon growth in the newly added parts of the text, the so called lexical closure or saturation is reached and the corpus may be said

to be representative. Using Wordlist function in WordSmith Tools an attempt was made to find out the degree of lexical closure of CorALit. The obtained results are compared with the degree of lexical closure of a large reference Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language (ca. 140 million words). Future work on the corpus will include annotation at different levels: morphological, syntactic and semantic, which will allow refining the word search and enhancing the quality of the results of extraction of linguistic units. The project team is now considering different approaches in order to choose the most effective way of annotation for the Lithuanian language material.

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Corpus of Academic Belarusian: design, structure, encoding and annotation

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The Text Corpus of the Academic Belarusian Language is the first attempt to create a domain-specific corpus aimed at providing a reference database for use by linguists, teachers, students, academics and the public. Such a corpus is of great importance since the Belarusian language functions in a specific linguistic environment, namely, written Belarusian is primarily limited to belles-lettres and newspapers, finding little application in academic writing with the exception of language-oriented studies, literature and folklore studies. Our goal is to offer a public collection of language resources in Belarusian that are not easily available to the broader public at present time. Hence, we focus primarily on collecting and processing available materials and hope our Lithuanian colleagues will assist in setting up public access to the Corpus.

We have chose TEI as a standard for encoding texts for the Text Corpus of the Academic Belarusian Language. TEI is intended to be a universal tool for encoding textual data and its power goes far beyond the scope and necessities of the given Corpus. Therefore, an attempt has been made to simplify the TEI encoding standard, to work out a subset of tags and an encoding strategy to meet our needs. The general mark-up with the list of basic features chosen for our purposes will be discussed in the paper.

The markup must include the following features: possibility to encode some general information about the text, such as the author, title and genre/subject domain of the text; basic structural encoding of the text: chapters, titles and bodies of text up to the level of individual words; additionally, the Corpus will be enriched with grammatical annotation, such as lemmas of the words and their part of speech information.

Encoding of the above listed features makes it possible to use the materials of the Corpus in an online reference service that would allow: searching for individual words and phrases; constraining the search to texts of specific genre(s) and/or authors etc.

After the annotation has been extended with grammatical information about individual words, it will also become possible to: search for a word including disambiguated part of speech class; search for a word in all its declension forms; search case sensitively or insensitively (that is the most distinctive feature of proper names and abbreviations).

To achieve the goals we have developed a set of resources for internal usage, which include a tool for text tokenization and a dictionary with POS information. The Corpus is planned to comprise approximately 500,000 tokenized and POS-annotated word forms. The actual size of the Corpus will depend on availability of source texts.

Automatic classification of structural parts in texts

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The process of collecting sufficient amounts of data for the Corpus of Academic Lithuanian requires a lot of manual work. We propose an algorithm that can automatically identify and classify different structural parts of a text. Until now this work has been done manually, thus limiting the amount of new documents “arriving” into the corpus data bank. The algorithm is based on neural networks model and should be tested first on some samples. The basic research tasks are as follows:

Creating a framework for the dynamic neural network building

Status – an initial framework model has been created and tested on small samples. The development of an efficient strategy for building large networks is necessary.

Purpose – finding the smallest neural network model that can efficiently accomplish the given task is not straightforward. Manual work and checking is time consuming. This framework gives an opportunity to get an optimal network model with minimal manual work. With an emergence of new possibilities of supercomputers and HPC (high performance computing) the frameworks that seemed inefficient and required much calculation have become feasible.

Expected result – a framework that will be able to test networks that have up to 5 hidden layers with 100 nodes and contain up to 20 input parameters, and 5 output parameters. This framework should have a possibility to create parallel, non-overlapping network building-testing jobs, which becomes possible making use of GRID computing infrastructure.

Data collection and conversion

Status – collecting phase has been completed. The size of the Lithuanian corpus collected is approximately 4 million words. All the documents are structurally encoded and will be used as a testing data set. The only remaining task left is to transform the texts into numerical vectors to be accessible for neural networks. This task seems easy because such parameters as text length and style can be converted to a numerical vector. Advantages and disadvantages of the strategy will be evaluated when the dynamic network building process is finished.

Testing other neural network approaches

Idea – to test how RBM (Restricted Boltzmann Machine) [1] can handle the same task. RBM seems likely to be very suitable for finding various patterns and abstract features in the raw data, which can be efficient when working with new texts that have some new structural parts.

Status – this task is a part of our future work. If a substantial quality level for the framework of dynamic neural network is achieved, further research will be carried out.

The final goal is a neural network model that can classify structural text parts after an initial learning phase. Results should also show the dependences of:

- the amount of learning data upon the classification correctness;
- the amount of correctly identified structural parts upon the learning data and network size, network building and working time;
- the size and structure of optimal or minimal starting network upon other tasks.

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A contrastive corpus-based study of the linguistic category of Possession in Lithuanian and English

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In recent years there has been an increased interest in contrastive studies. The computer has played an important role in this revival of interest as it provides access to the quantity of data never available before, and the general corpora in different languages allow us to detect some general trends in the languages researched and contrasted (Altenberg, Granger, 2002).

Possession is one of the universal linguistic categories, and it has been well studied in Western European languages, but much less in some other languages. The Lithuanian language is one of the languages where the concept of Possession has not received much attention yet (Vaičiulytė-Semėnienė, 2006). Corpus-based studies of the category of Possession are non-

existent in Lithuanian, despite the fact that “corpora can give the best approximation to a representative overview over language systems in use” (Sinclair 1991). Therefore, this corpus-based study is an attempt to provide quantitative information on the distribution of some linguistic features in the domain of Possession in Lithuanian and thus provide evidence that could be used in discussing the category of Possession in Lithuanian.

The data used for the research will come from these main sources: the BNC, the Corpus of the Lithuanian Language, which is a general corpus of the Lithuanian language of approximately the same size as its British counterpart (100 million words) and a newly-compiled Corpus of Academic Lithuanian (CorAlit). Therefore, an attempt will be made to use the data obtained from the above-mentioned corpora and to try to address the issue of the division of world languages into Have-languages and Be-languages. The data obtained from the above-mentioned corpora suggests that Issatschenko’s (1974) view, according to which the Lithuanian language belongs to the so-called Have-languages, needs to be reviewed and modified (cf. grammaticalization of the verb “to be”, the modal usage the Lithuanian verb “turėti”). The paper will examine the use of the Lithuanian “turėti” (Engl. *have*) and the Lithuanian “priklausyti” (Engl. *belong*) as a means of expressing possession and ownership. The frequency of the usage of the English verb *to have* and its Lithuanian equivalent *turėti* will be discussed. The quantitative analysis of the means of expressing Possession (both attributive and predicative) in Lithuanian and English will be carried out in order to identify some broad tendencies in the use of possession, which despite the abundance of studies on various issues of Possession, still remains one of the most problematic linguistic concepts (Heine 1997).

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Dynamics of existential assertion in academic Lithuanian: a corpus-based study

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Structures known as existential sentences (ES) have long intrigued researchers in linguistics because of their exceptional characteristics. Today it is common knowledge that this type of sentence in most natural languages (see, for example, Mihailović 1971, Lipińska 1973, Milsark 1974, Kirsner 1979, Babby 1980, Suner 1982, Vähämäki 1984, Muromatsu 1997, Ebeling 1999) exhibits complex syntactic properties, that its well-formedness is governed by restrictions of a semantic nature, and that the explanation of many aspects of its obvious intricacies lies in the domain of pragmatics.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS. Contrary to the impressive body of research on English existentials (e.g. Milsark 1974, Jenkins 1975, Erdmann 1976, Hannay 1985, Lumsden 1988, Breivik 1990, McNally 1992, Birner and Ward 1993, Martinez Insua 2004), the existential sentence type in Lithuanian is a relatively new area of research (Kalėdaitė 2002, Holvoet 2005). This paper sets out to trace the dynamics of existential assertion in academic Lithuanian. Specifically, it focuses on the structural differences of the existential construction within a single language and explores the relationship between the syntactic structure of ES and the seven semantic types of ES posited for Lithuanian, i.e. ‘vital’, ontological, locative, and possessive existence as well as existential proper, existential occurrence and presentative structures (see Kalėdaitė 2002). Academic discourse by virtue of its nature (a high level of abstraction, reference to earlier research, focused argumentation and an established text-building pattern) is especially suitable for this type of analysis.

APPROACH AND METHOD. Due to the fact that research questions refer to several levels of linguistic description (syntax, semantics, pragmatics, and information structure), the approach taken to the description and analysis of the corpus material can be defined as integration of semantic and pragmatic parameters into the investigation of syntactic phenomena. Corpus-based studies have repeatedly shown that the use of language includes considerable use of recurrent constructions (Kennedy 1998).

DATA AND (EXPECTED) RESULTS. The 490,000-word *CorALit* corpus (<http://ieva.mif.vu.lt/~linas/>) offers a perfect opportunity to throw light on the relative frequency and distribution of structural patterns (location-oriented and absolute existence), communicative word order variations and semantic types of Lithuanian ESs against a general pattern of appearance of ESs as reflected in the *Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian* at <http://www.donelaitis.vdu.lt>. The data obtained from such an investigation will be invaluable for a contrastive study of English and Lithuanian existential sentences in written texts.

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Workshops on Thursday 10 September 2009

WORKSHOP. Ideological conceptualisations of language in discourses of linguistic diversity**Workshop description**

Erzsébet Barát (University of Szeged) &

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The papers envisaged in this workshop are based on the research currently being carried out in the European FP6 project entitled LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence). LINEE is concerned with the analysis of discourses on linguistic diversity and the ways in which they reflect or contribute to the development of a European knowledge-based society. The project is divided into key thematic areas (identity, policy-making, education, economy) and levels of analysis (regional, national, supranational). Drawing on a range of analytic methods (CDA, Linguistically Oriented Social Psychology, Language Management Theory), the contributions in the present workshop explore discourses on linguistic diversity as ideological conceptions of language that reflect positions of stakeholders in the construction of the geopolitical space of the European Union. The papers in this workshop will address the differential ideological meanings of linguistic diversity and their interconnections in different discursive contexts. The questions that guide our analyses are the following.

- How do cultural differences, which are manifest in linguistic variation or dialects, come to be inflected with various ideological meanings evolving around various levels of identity?
- How do cultural differences come to be perceived as indexes of European, national, regional and transnational identity?
- What are the various semiotic processes and discourse strategies that cue linguistic features as authentic and transparent criteria of membership in the communities of Europe, the nation and region?
- How do conceptual contradictions and opposition between the various ideological conceptualizations of language inform identity formation and thereby contribute to conflict, discrimination, misrecognition or empowerment on the grounds of language (use)?

Basing their evidence on qualitative-empirical case studies, the presenters review the above points focusing on different localities (UK, Central Europe, Switzerland), social actors (migrant communities, citizens and policy-makers), and institutional contexts (European and national public institutions, private enterprises) and time periods (contemporary European enlargement and 19th century Flanders). The case studies presented in this workshop examine ideological conceptions of language in terms of their controversial and contradictory potential in political and policy debates, their discursive practices of national and supranational policy-makers and policy-making institutions, and the role of ideological conceptualisations of language as the subject of legal disputes or as the subject of multinational company policy.

Competing discourses on the differentiation of linguistic/cultural diversity

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In my talk the particular focus of analysis will be on the categorization practices involved in the strategies of argumentation that conflates or differentiates of language and culture in the course of ideological negotiations over belonging in the

construction of the geopolitical space of a Hungarian city, Szeged that aspires to become a Regional center of cultural tourism. The analysis will address the discursive construction of the differential meanings of language in relation to culture and its perceived function in the formation of local identity, making use of my critique of the dominant model of categorization in binaries (Barát, 2009).

Drawing on the works of Blommaert and Verschueren (2007), the basic assumption of my research is that the dominant liberal discourses in favour of so-called cultural diversity in the local policy documents are informed by the ideological assumption that adoption of languages (dialects) once achieved should automatically and inherently entail adoption of other aspects of cultural practices relevant for the identity of members of the dominant cultural group. I shall argue that such discourses are informed by a logic of depoliticization in which language (and its learning) will figure as a spectacle, a desirable commodity 'on sale' in Deborg's (1968) sense of the word. At the same time, this attractive presentation of linguistic diversity is articulated by the 'responsible' political social actors (in various local institutions of decision making) that are assumed to "successfully manage" the 'problem' of diversity. With the help of Rosemary Hennessy's (1997) distinction between (critical) seeing and (normative) looking against the successful logic of visibility, I shall argue that the explicitly argued perception betrays a more hostile implied discourse of exclusion according to which cultural diversity is seen as an inherent 'threat' to the 'majority.' In order to substantiate this claim I shall analyze the working of assumptions in the interviews as linguistic means of gate-keeping, as developed by Celia Kitzinger (2005).

Exposing the intersection and shared ideological interests between the apparently different tolerant liberal and hostile nationalistic perspectives, I will argue that these different models have got one and the same assumption in common, namely that cultural boundaries are stable and the 'content' of these territories is homogenous and fixed, securing a self-same, historically and biologically warranted membership – ironically questioning the relevance or possibility even of language (learning). It is this naturalising and contradictory understanding of identity in terms of language and culture that may allow for only the juxtaposition of cultures as if an attractive patchwork at best but will preclude the conceptualization of intra-group hybridity on its own right. This depoliticized commodification of language use (learning) then may give way to the dominant assumptions of nationalism and "localism." Their combined effect is to reinforce and maintain the belief that adoption of a language (dialect) should be a 'natural' cause for concern, one that legitimizes various measures, strategies, beliefs mobilized to "protect" the integrity, alleged homogeneity of the given (local) culture while containing the expectations of 'others' to assimilate.

Through the analysis of the interviews carried out with members of the local Hungarian 'Szegedians' and migrants (Hungarian as well as Serbian, Croatian) during the civil war in ex-Yugoslavia in the 1990s I would like to challenge this pervasive language ideology and argue that an allegedly easier intercultural contact that is expected to be achieved by means of a common language (Hungarian), especially in case of the local and migrant speakers of the 'same' language of Hungarian, often *brings about new kinds of communication problems*, exposing the need to problematize culture as a relatively different cultural dimension of belonging. The theoretical gain of this understanding is the possibility to produce a knowledge that is subverting the liberal as well as the nationalistic discourses on linguistic diversity. My critical analysis will show that cultural diversity and linguistic diversity are not coextensive concepts and that their inherent discrepancy may make it possible to maintain cultural diversity when one language is used and visa versa.

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Ideology, identity and inference: the linguistic practices of Portuguese and Polish migrants in British workspaces.

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This paper examines Portuguese and Polish migration to Southampton, UK and to Jersey, the Channel Islands as part of the research carried out by work packages 3a and 12a of the European FP6 project, which correspond to the key thematic areas of identity and economy at the regional level. Our approach is based on Bourdieu's conceptualisation (1990) of language as a form of symbolic capital in economic exchanges. However, the potential for asymmetric power relationships in our scenario

also calls for a critical reflection of ideologies surrounding the apportionment of language, since these may impact on the potential for access to power and mobility within the knowledge based society (KBS); hence our use of diglossia based on Eckert (2000: 36) and Rindler Schjerve and Vetter (2003: 40; 48-50), as well as our reference to ideologies surrounding the management of language use through LMT (Nekvapil 2006, Nekvapil/Nekula 2006).

By addressing the following research questions, we carry out a brief examination of the linguistic practices of the migrant workers themselves, but we focus to a large extent on the ideological precepts of the stakeholders under consideration regarding these linguistic practices within the workplace:

- What is the potential for linguistic diversity in the knowledge-based society (KBS)?
- How does language use in the workplace both reflect and inform stakeholder ideologies regarding sociocultural differences?
- How do stakeholder ideologies impact on the socially constructed identification practices of migrant workers?
- Is there a power and status dimension in the negotiation of workspace linguistic practices, and are discriminatory or conflictual scenario engendered by the pervading linguistic ideology?

In order to answer each of these questions, we employ a largely qualitative methodology and carry out ethnographic, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders (MPs, employers) and community representatives (gatekeepers, mediators), as well as with migrant workers. Where relevant, we also conduct researcher-led ethnographic observations of migrant linguistic practices, both in privately owned enterprises such as shops and cafes as well as in host community-owned workspaces.

Our general hypothesis is that stakeholder ideologies regarding linguistic diversity and sociocultural variation do not reflect workspace sociolinguistic realities. However, these ideologies may have far-reaching implications for the ways in which migrant workers negotiate their identification practices, and in particular, how they assess both the symbolic and material value of non-formalized, tacit knowledge such as linguistic competencies within the KBS.

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Ideological positioning in legal discourses on multilingualism:

Equality of languages as an ideology and a challenge

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The European Union's declarations on Language Policy draw upon the postulate that languages are equal, which is reflected in the motto of the unity in diversity. This postulate contains the principle that European citizens must not be discriminated against for language-related reasons, and implies that endangered languages and their users need to be protected. The principle of nondiscrimination is strongly supported by the linguistic community who believes that the structural means of expression of all languages are equal. In other words, linguists conceptualize the world as constituted by equivalent languages. However, languages are not equivalent in terms of the social, political, and economic status in which the unequal distribution of power among the agents plays a crucial role. Language law is also an expression of the power and the leading ideologies that predetermine the behavior towards language.

This paper analyzes the discourse of multilingualism from the legal perspective, taking language cases from the European Court of Justice as its basis. Against the background of language conflicts that have become a legal concern in the European Union, the paper examines ways in which European citizens reflect this ideology of the equality of languages when they address judicial organs to protect their languages. Although law may try to balance the inequalities of the languages, the social reality may look different from case to case.

The paper is document-based and analyzes descriptions of legal cases taken from the database EUR-LEX. Methodologically, the concept of language management summaries will be used as a reference framework, which forms a paradigm within Language Management Theory (Neustupný/Nekvapil 2006). The theory enables us to explain language management processes that take place both at the micro and macro levels. Ideology in Language Management Theory can be described as social actors' presuppositions guiding them in the ways they behave towards languages. Thus, ideology includes content and structural information such as the types of phenomena that are likely to be noted and the ways of evaluating these noted phenomena in discourse. Consequently, ideology is understood as a resource in designing specific adjustment strategies with which problems are solved and implementation procedures are put in place. The management process is completed when the implementation procedures have reached the micro level.

Discussing specific case examples, this paper particularly focuses on the interrelationship and interface between micro and macro levels of organized management processes and is intended as a contribution to operationalizing the concept of ideology within the framework of Language Management Theory.

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Languages as the key to integration? The ideological role of diglossia in German-speaking Switzerland

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This paper focuses on the role of diglossia in connection with ideological discourses of integration in a diglossic context, in this case the city of Basel in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. Basel has a long tradition of linguistic and cultural exchange with its neighbours France and Germany and has always been home to many smaller and larger migrant communities. (At the moment, the percentage of foreigners living in Basel is approximately 25%.)

In German-speaking Switzerland diglossia has traditionally been observed along the written-oral and the formal-informal continuum (e.g. Ferguson 1959: 2) and has often been described as media diglossia. Standard German is normally used for print and formal occasions, Swiss German dialect in turn for informal (written and) oral communication. Politically, the positions of the two varieties in Swiss German societies have been the subject of great debate.

In my paper I would like to highlight some of the ideologies inherent in the diglossia debate, which have repercussions on the self-understanding of the Swiss German-speaker and their perception of the position of foreigners in the diglossic constellation. I will draw on two specific language and integration policies of Switzerland to do so: the federal law on foreigners and the cantonal integration law of Basel. While these policies promote language as the key to integration, foreigners are required to learn the standard variety even though this does not necessarily benefit social and/or informal interaction with the native population that speaks Swiss German dialect. Since the diglossic situation is not mentioned in official language policies (national or cantonal), one may wonder whether language can really be called the key to integration as long as there does not seem to exist a clear understanding of which language competencies foreigners should have to be able to integrate into Swiss society. While standard German is needed for education and professional life, dialect is important for social contacts with the local population. Foreigners are often not fully aware of the different functions of the German varieties and there are no policies in place that address the issue. This is especially the case in schools, which is why foreign children are not always able to distinguish between the two varieties (Werlen 2007).

For the discussion of these points I will present data from qualitative interviews with policy-makers, specialists dealing with questions of migration and integration, language teachers (German as a second/foreign language) and foreigners. The aforementioned policies will serve as the background upon which the interviewees position themselves, their teaching/learning experiences and their understanding of the relationship between standard German and dialect, and between Swiss nationals and foreigners. The analysis of these data, which form part of a doctoral thesis, is aimed to reveal the discursive construction of the concept of "language as the key to integration".

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Ideological investments and political correctness in EU discourses of multilingualism

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Perceiving discourse as a site for ideological investments initiated by human activity implies a pragmatic approach to discourse (Jaworski and Coupland 1999) that entails an elaboration of the relationship between ideology and language (Hodge and Kress 1997). This paper elaborates the construction of discursive meaning of multilingualism in light of politically correct language use in European language policy-planning. Cameron (2006) shows how meaning and the use of language are linked and how political correctness is a way to use language. She argues that by politizing language, i.e. by drawing attention to the fact that language is always political, there is a chance to offend one side or the other. Who is offended is a political choice (Cameron 2006: 24). Consequently, also politically correct statements do not prevent ideological opposition.

The European Union (EU) is a politically diverse union of sovereign states which restricts its political implementation powers to respecting national political integrity. Certain policy areas are restricted more strictly than others. In the area of language policy, the EU merely bears a recommendatory function towards its member states meaning that the implementation of language policies is subject to national governments' best practice ('subsidiarity principle'). In order to respect national sovereignty and to abide by the 'subsidiarity principle' with regard to language diversity and cultural integrity of the individual member states, the European Commission, as the primary policy-making organ in the EU, needs to phrase its policy statements with great care so as not to offend any of its member states.

This paper analyses the ideological investments in politically correct statements of European language policy by investigating the discursive construction of multilingualism. In doing so, I propose that political correctness is defined in terms of a European multilingualism policy and employed as a strategy aimed at creating coherence and avoiding overt ideological and political conflicts in a politically sensitive area. Thus, already the context of making multilingualism policy is part of a political and ideological discourse. I use speeches given by the Commissioner for Multilingualism, Leonard Orban (between 2004 and 2008), and embed them in the macro-ideological context of European language policy. I will present first results from a (critical) content analysis of those speeches, focusing on how Orban refers to and draws upon political ideologies within a politically correct discourse of multilingualism. I will use concepts of power (Fairclough 2003; van Dijk 2008) and symbolic power (Bourdieu 2007) in discourse, as well as theories of language and ideology (Hodge and Kress 1993) to theoretically frame my analysis and show how politically correct statements are subject to ideological investments.

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The role of ideological conceptions of language in language management: on linguistic diversity in multinational companies in Central Europe

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This paper draws on the analysis of the linguistic, communicative and sociocultural situation in branches of multinational companies located in the Czech Republic and Hungary. There are typically several languages used in these branches. In

addition to the local languages, there are the languages of the parent companies – most commonly English or German (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009a). These languages are distributed unevenly among the local and foreign employees and both groups of these workers develop particular argumentation in favour of maintaining or changing their communicative behavior. One of the main aims of the paper is to reveal the language ideologies underlying such argumentation. The second aim, not unrelated to the first one, is to find out how and to what extent language ideologies are connected to the language management of the individual employees and of the corporations as a whole.

The paper is based on Language Management Theory in the vein of Neustupný and Jernudd (see for example Jernudd & Neustupný 1987) and their followers (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009b). Language Management Theory presumes the existence of norms or expectations for communicative behavior which different participants possess in different situations. Drawing on these norms, participants may produce their communicative acts without paying any attention to the language they use or to a feature of communication. The management process starts only when they do begin paying attention to the language, that is, they notice a deviation from their expectations, evaluate it (either negatively or positively), think about what to do with the evaluated item, and finally, use a given design in communication. This process may assume a form of ‘simple management’ (when it takes place in face-to-face communication) or ‘organized management’ (when the following features are manifest: management acts are trans-situational, a social network or even an institution is involved, communication about management takes place, theorizing and ideology intervene, and the object of management is not only language as discourse but also language as a system) (Neustupný & Nekvapil 2003, Nekvapil & Sherman 2009a).

This paper argues that language ideologies guide norms or expectations for communicative behavior and thus also what can be noticed as a deviation from the norm, what can be evaluated (negatively or positively), and so forth, that is, management processes and acts. This being the case, the consideration of language ideologies is imperative for the analysis of linguistic, communicative or sociocultural management in multinationals.

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From opposition to contradiction: ideological conceptualisations of language as an object of policy-making

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Formalised language policy-planning is a discursive activity at the interface of politics, philosophy and law that reflects the desire of humans to regulate linguistic interaction as part of their social constitution and organisation. Communication is essential but the use of a specific language or a way of speaking is, to a certain degree, a choice. Choices include options, and options motivate different attitudes that reflect different degrees of identification with language as a marker of one's culture and identity. Thus, conceptualisations of language always entail elements of argumentation, evaluation and decision-making based on emotional attachment and the ability to reconcile cognitions, practices and actions.

The present paper investigates how complex and potentially contradictory conceptualisations of language occur as talk in language planning interaction and how they are used when people construct and represent their ideological positions. The paper argues that subject positioning in spontaneous language planning interaction is the result of conceptualisations that tend to cluster around conceptual contradictions in scientific discourses. The conceptual ‘logic’ underlying the formation of these conceptualisations is assumed to be common-sensical and proverbial (e.g. Billig 1991). The paper intends to show that conceptual contradictions are understood as components or elements that are used by speakers in the construction of evaluations and attributions in ideological contexts. Ideological contexts are seen as representing a challenge to speakers as they are confronted with potentially legitimate and plausible alternatives which they have to classify in terms of power relationships between social groups (e.g. Bauer/Gaskell 1999; Puchta/Potter 2002)

Adapting Ager's (2001) model of language identity and attitude (Studer et al. 2008), the paper seeks to shed light on the dynamic process of spontaneous language conceptualisations by highlighting the interplay of (1) the conversational factors that facilitate or inhibit the activation of specific language concepts, (2) the types of conceptual contradictions that are embedded in specific attitudinal behaviour, (3) the ideological contexts that emerge from conceptualisation processes, (4) the consistency of interactants' positions when faced with complex language-related cognitions, and (5) the relationship between conceptualisations and people's readiness to act. The data discussed in this paper are qualitative-empirical and consist of recorded informal speech of language policy-makers, language students, and of selected groups of interactants from non-

linguistic study backgrounds. All data have been collected on the basis of semi-structured expert interviews with policy-makers and focus group interviews which have been conducted in different regions of Europe (Switzerland, Austria, Czechia, Belgium). The paper aims to contribute to a broader theoretical and methodological discussion of the discursive specificity of language policy-planning from a social psychological perspective.

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Dutch, Flemish or Hollandic? Social aspects of linguistic convergence and divergence during the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-1830)

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Whereas the unity of the present-day Dutch language is generally accepted in both the Netherlands and Flanders, the question was still a matter of great debate all throughout the 19th century. After the Congress of Vienna had decided to unite the Low Countries under the rule of William I, both northern and southern varieties of Dutch came into renewed intensive contact for a short period of time (1815-1830). Grammarians, journalists, essayists and literary authors took part in the debate about the desirability of a joint Dutch language, whereas others felt the need to affirm a distinctly different Belgian identity, putting forward Flemish as a separate and independent language. In this paper, I will examine and outline various positions in the contemporary linguistic discussions, and illustrate how the acceptance or rejection of several features of northern standard Dutch can be interpreted as a marker of strong regional, political and religious allegiances. Both corpus and status planning efforts will be taken into consideration. The overview will be embedded in the larger framework of the official language policy at the time, when the government successfully attempted to 'dutchify' the public life in Flanders. Ample connections will also be made with the situation after the Belgian independence from 1830 onwards, when the language-political context changed drastically, and the position of Dutch became increasingly uncertain in the newly founded and predominantly francophone state.

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Discoursal strategies of perception of self and other: contested identities of Istria

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Research questions: The aim of this paper is to discuss the effect of ideologies in the processes of construction of group identities and (re)defining group boundaries based on the example of the multilingual region of Istria in Croatia. The answers to the following questions will be sought: what particular ideologies and categorization processes „from above“ related to regionalism, nation-building or Europeanization are in circulation in ethnic discourses in the region; how is official rhetoric used in politics of identity at the everyday level; what linguistic strategies are developed „from below“ by ethnic communities to define themselves and to make borders and identities fuzzier by manipulating ideologies, and to what extent is this identification linked with what they think is their mother tongue?

Approach: As a contribution to the study of the relationship between language and identity, this paper aims at explaining this association as contingent of transformations in the political economic conditions of discursive production. It is based on the assumption of ethnic identity as socially constructed, transactional, dialogical, fluid by nature (Barth 1969), and always connected with the interplay of discourses emerging within the power relations at regional, national and supranational levels. It is also inspired by the anthropological concept of "social poetics" which refers to the creative everyday social practice where social agents make use of dominant signifiers and rhetoric in an attempt to represent, reify and empower ethnic and national groupings, within a zone of „cultural intimacy“, a zone of self-knowledge shared by the members of a culturally defined group, which is a source of internal solidarity (Herzfeld 1997).

Method and data: Using critical, reflexive, qualitative approach, the paper analyzes data collected from 80 respondents in Istria through in-depth-interviews, and observations of their language behaviour in daily interactions. While the focus is on the inter-group relationship between two major groups, Croatians and Italians, their relations to other ethnic groups in the region are also taken into consideration.

Results: The results will show how the content of multicultural intimacy of shared but conflicting history, economic concerns and rejection of elite nationalist politics is localised, personalised, and conceived in terms of how people make choices about their identifications and attach **significance** to particular standard languages or local dialects. Through respondents' perceptions of self and similar or distant others, the paper will also question representations of Istrianity and emphasize the paradoxical outcome that, while subverting official discourses through vernacular understandings and multilingual practices, in doing so regional identities simultaneously create new exclusionary borders shaped by the same nationalist discourses.

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Local, Global, Glocal

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The three terms in the title representing originally categories designed to describe economic and social development may also be applied to modern linguistic shifting, i.e. to describe new situations in which changes that occur in the relationships between global languages, national languages, minority languages, local dialects as well as new social ones need to be incorporated into models, defined and ‘explained’. The first situation we look at is represented by countries characterised by early standardisation and strong linguistic centralising policies over the centuries (France, UK), the second by countries where political and linguistic unity occur late and have not necessarily gone hand in hand. The result in the latter case is a ‘weak’ sense of standard. In the first we have standard vs. non-standard, in the second standard vs. glocal semi-standard vs. substandard. However, in the first case, in its modern stage, linguistic unity and the diffusion of a standard in most walks of life seems to be receding under the pressure of

1. longterm external immigration which has created over the last generations a sense of social and linguistic apartheid which runs contrary to the tide of real integration in all and every sense;
2. new attitudes in favour of historical minorities and in many cases a highly idealised vision of, and approach to, identity, both linguistic and cultural.

We will present examples of such phenomena, both of the progressive abandonment of standard language in formal and semi-formal discourse and of new attitudes to local accents.

In the case of countries described in (2) we will discuss a new positive attitude towards local geographical dialects, mainly on the part of younger generations, in particular the use of dialect in musical performance, theatre and film, which runs contrary

to the functional spreading of a standard, even of regional standard (Italy). The result contains in itself the seeds of contradiction. On the one hand it is true that younger generations abandon dialect and tendentially become speakers of some sort of adaptation of a standard (often regional, i.e. an intermediate category). On the other this 'standard' is felt to be lacking something, it is not felt to be natural enough for expressive and creative purposes. This leads to the search for alternatives, whether of the slang type or regional and even more local dialect. Developments of this situation will be discussed, as well as intermediate stages.

WORKSHOP. Paradigmaticity and obligatoriness: grammatical categories across languages

Workshop description

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Traditionally, the definition of grammatical elements of a language (as opposed to lexical signs) has emphasized the following two features as significant criteria:

- (i) they are obligatory,
- (ii) they are organized in tightly structured groups, i.e. paradigms, whereby the members of a paradigm are linked to each other by clear-cut relations of opposition.

Moreover, in grammaticalization studies, the two features of paradigmaticity and obligatoriness – beside a number of further aspects – have been successfully applied as parameters of grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 1985).

Notwithstanding the usefulness of these two notions, their centrality and universal applicability as defining properties of grammar has been challenged and relativized in various directions. Some authors (e.g. Lehmann [1982]1995, Plungian 1998, [2000]2003, Diewald [to appear]) suggest to treat both properties as gradual phenomena exhibiting different degrees of realization. This view converges with the well acknowledged opinion that grammar and lexicon form a continuum. Others (e.g. Himmelmann 1992, 2004, Bisang 2004) adhere to the view that obligatoriness and paradigmatic organization are neither absolute nor universal grammatical parameters. A further problem is raised by the question of how to classify pragmatic markers (e.g. discourse and modal particles), which, in terms of grammaticalization, closely resemble more traditional grammatical categories.

The workshop aims at clarifying the notions of obligatoriness and paradigmaticity and their importance in defining grammar (and in measuring grammaticalization). By collecting evidence about grammatical paradigms (in a broad sense of the term) in languages of the world and by comparing results of synchronic and diachronic studies, we attempt to find out to what extent the notions of obligatoriness and paradigmatic organization may be applied to grammatical categories of different languages. In doing so, we aim at reaching a general definition of each of these two notions that would be both appropriate to characterize grammar (i.e., universal) and useful to be applied to different grammatical categories among languages of the world (i.e., applicable).

Among the issues to be addressed in the workshop are the following:

- importance of the notions of paradigmaticity and obligatoriness in defining grammar
- correlations between other properties of linguistic signs (e.g. indexicality, relationality, morphological boundedness, reduced phonological and semantic substance, etc.) and their paradigmaticity/ obligatoriness
- paradigms and periphrastic forms/ constructions
- paradigmatic organization of "pragmatic" markers
- correlations between paradigmaticity and obligatoriness
- regularities in the internal organization of grammatical paradigms among languages (privative vs. equipollent oppositions, marked vs. unmarked members, etc.)
- correlations between paradigmaticity/obligatoriness and markedness
- (structural, communicative, cognitive, etc.) motivations for paradigmatic organization of grammatical paradigms
- interrelations between paradigms within a language
- regularities in diachronic development of grammatical paradigms.

The workshop is of interest for researchers working in the domain of grammar, morphology, typology, grammaticalization, as well as historical linguistics.

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Obligatoriness and implicative realization: on importance of being grammatical

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The main property of grammatical meanings, their obligatory character, if taken literally, faces various obstacles, as many facts about morphological paradigms contradict (or at least seem to contradict) the idea of obligatory use of grammatical markers. Obviously, this central claim of Jakobsonian conception of grammatical meaning needs some clarifications, and a more accurate formulation is in order. The main point of many of these clarifications can be subsumed under the principle “if a meaning is grammatical, its expression is *either obligatory or impossible*”. This principle leaves some degree of freedom in concluding about grammaticality of a given meaning, since the lack of its expression does not necessarily relegate it to a non-grammatical domain.

One of the basic cases of this kind is what we propose to call “implicative realization” of a grammatical category.

Indeed, if a grammatical category G is obligatory (for the items belonging to a lexical class C), it means, generally, that every use of a C-item is expected to be accompanied by one of the G-values.

Implicative realization (of a category G₁), however, presupposes that there can be some contexts where the expression of the values of G₁ is blocked – more specifically, because of the values of some other grammatical category G₂. For example, in Russian, finite verbal forms are generally marked either for subject person/number or for subject gender/number. The present sub-paradigm distinguishes person (but not gender) – there are only forms of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, while the past sub-paradigm distinguishes gender (but not person) – there are only forms of masculine, feminine and neutral. Consequently, both gender and person are, in literal sense, non-obligatory in Russian verbal paradigm, because there are cases where gender (resp., person) is not marked. It can be seen, however, that this type of lacking an overt expression is of a very specific kind: the absence of a given category is, so to say, forced by the presence of another one. Both grammatical categories (which are, in generally, perfectly compatible, witness languages such as Classical Arabic) are in this case dependent (in Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998’s sense) on the category of tense: namely, the present blocks the expression of gender, and the past, the expression of person. Similarly, in Lithuanian, the subject number cannot be distinguished in the verbal forms of the 3rd person: the latter value blocks the grammatical category of number (in Lithuanian, this relation pertains to the whole verbal paradigm of the finite forms).

In all these cases, one grammatical category (or one of its values) implies the impossibility of having some other grammatical category overtly expressed – hence the term “implicative realization” for this type of grammatical dependencies. Thus, it would be wise to say that a grammatical category G can be still considered obligatory if the instances where G-values are not expressed can be accounted for blocking properties of some other grammatical category.

It will be demonstrated that the notion of implicative realization can help to tackle various issues related to paradigmatic structure and grammatical dependencies.

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The role of paradigmatic structure in constructional change

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Grammatical structure can be assumed to be organised according to similar principles across the traditional divisions of morphology, syntax and semantics. A revival of the concept of a paradigm on a semantic basis will be a fruitful tool across the levels of complexity in grammar. Not only morphology, but also word order and constructional syntax can be approached in terms of content based paradigms. My focus will be on constructional syntax and its paradigmatic organisation, and the major empirical example studied will be the semantic change of ditransitive constructions (indirect object constructions). Danish indirect objects change semantically from the time of the Reformation to the present day. The expression system remains the same, but the content frame changes towards increasing specification, leading again to a reduction of the range of constructions that allow an indirect object.

We need this extended concept of paradigmatisation in order to clarify especially the relation between usage processes that lead to lexical change and those that lead to grammatical change. Not every bleaching process or subjectification process will count as an instance of grammaticalisation, but only those that combine with paradigmatic innovations. Many instances of changes in the distribution and range of constructions: extensions, restrictions and even their withering away, can be understood as adaptations to content changes at the structural level.

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The creation of a construction paradigm: two-argument verbs governing the dative in French

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It is my intention to show the creation of a construction paradigm: the two-argument experiencer-constructions in French, e.g. *le chocolat me plaît* lit. 'chocolate pleases me'. The section is intended to illustrate the following claims and to demonstrate the usefulness of *constructions* in this precise definition of the term:

a construction is a complex sign with internal syntax and with a paradigmatic relation to other complex signs belonging to a common grammatical domain and a common semantic frame;

the semantic frame of a construction may be abstract or specific;

the emergence of a construction with a specific content may be accompanied by the ejection of deviant verbs, i.e. of verbs whose content does not fit the semantic frame.

I will first briefly provide an overview of the development focusing on four periods: 1) Latin, 2) Old and Middle French, 3) French of the Renaissance and Classical French, 4) Modern French. Secondly, I will investigate the changes in detail and interpret the two-argument dative constructions in Modern French as the result of a grammaticalisation process. I will propose a scenario for the development, and show how verbs are excluded from and included in these constructions.

This study is part of a research programme on "Grammaticalisation and Paradigmatic Structure", in collaboration with Lars Heltoft and Jens Nørgård-Sørensen.

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The construction-based syntax of Old Russian

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It is generally assumed that verb – argument relations were relatively loose in Old Russian. Unlike in Modern Russian, which has a fully developed valency system where the verb determines the number of arguments and their (case) forms, many Old Russian verbs combined with more than one case form in one and the same argument slot or were even open to distinctly different syntactic structures. Approached from the traditional point of view of “verbal government” (Krys’ko 1997, Maier 1997, Dubrovina 2002, Ferm 2005) the data leave a picture of a relatively chaotic syntax in Old Russian and a gradual development up through the centuries towards the apparently more transparent valency system of Modern Russian. Since we must assume that all natural languages exhibit roughly the same (high) degree of structural order this picture must be considered misleading.

With the purpose of offering an alternative description I shall present a number of examples of A2 variation in Old Russian and argue that the syntactic system of Old Russian in general can be interpreted as construction-based. In order to reach at a coherent description that makes sense in relation to the Old Russian data one must turn the focus away from the verb and in the direction of the construction. It appears that it is possible to set up paradigms of constructions (Hansen and Heltoft, fthc.), and that the concept of construction is a prerequisite for making sense of the case forms filling the argument slots. A digression to PIE syntax as sketched by Meillet (1907) reveals that the construction-based syntax of Old Russian is probably inherited from an earlier stage of the language.

Finally, by briefly contrasting Old and Modern Russian I shall discuss the principal difference between a construction-based and a valency-based syntax. Both systems can be described in terms of verbs, arguments and adjuncts, but only in a valency-based system is the verb the organising centre.

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‘See’ as an auxiliary of periphrastic voice

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Several European languages, including Portuguese, Spanish, French and German, have periphrastic constructions involving ‘see’ as an auxiliary, in particular a reflexive construction such as E1 from Portuguese.

- E1. a empresa viu-se obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores
 ‘the company saw itself forced to lay off 30 workers’

This particular construction will be called the 'see' passive, although its exact position in the voice system among passive, anticausative and middle remains to be ascertained. The 'see' passive also bears complex relationships to non-reflexive and non-passive constructions involving 'see' in slightly different senses and under different constraints.

'See' passives can be derived systematically from non-reflexive constructions involving dependent past participial and infinitive clauses whose subjects are not co-referential with the subject of 'see'. In this perspective, the 'see' passive appears to be an instance of a more general pattern, specialized by use of the reflexive verb form and the past participle clause. However, use of the 'see' passive is, for the time being, phraseologically confined. By far the majority of instances found in the corpus feature *ver-se obrigado / sich gezwungen sehen* 'find oneself obliged', and most of the rest is semantically similar. Consequently, actually occurring reflexive 'see' constructions seldom have a direct non-reflexive counterpart; one does not normally find, e.g., E2 (corresponding to E1):

- E2. vimos a empresa obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores
'we saw the company forced to lay off 30 workers'

And on the other hand, while the active construction of E3

- E3. ele viu o pai motivado para a jardinagem
'he saw his father motivated for garden work'

sounds natural enough, nothing similar to the passive version in E4

- E4. o pai viu-se motivado para a jardinagem
intended 'father was motivated for garden work'

may (yet?) be found in the corpus. The issue therefore is to what extent a relatively complex construction presupposes its simpler counterpart.

On the semantic side, we observe that the 'see' passive presupposes some semantic bleaching: the selection restrictions of 'see' are eased in allowing second order human subjects (collectives, institutions); and the concrete meaning of visual perception is generalized towards some cognitive attitude. Thus, the 'see' passive of E1 conveys a special nuance that distinguishes it from a basic passive like E5:

- E5. a empresa foi obrigada a despedir 30 trabalhadores
'the company was forced to lay off 30 workers'

The meaning of the 'see' passive 'X sees REFLEX V_{part.pass}' oscillates between 'X thinks that X is V_{part.pass}' and 'X is V_{part.pass}, and X is aware of it'. It is the latter reading that approximates the 'see' passive semantically to a plain passive.

The goals of our contribution are the following:

- From corpora of Portuguese and German, the actual usage of 'see' as an auxiliary is ascertained.
- The conditions under which 'see' periphrases may be employed are systematized.
- The paradigmatic relationships, both in terms of regular structural ("transformational") relationships and in terms of functional contrast with more basic constructions, are spelt out.
- It is verified to what extent the 'see' passive originates in, and still is limited to, certain text genres, esp. the media, and to what extent its distribution among European languages may be due to language contact.
- At the same time, these phenomena involve grammaticalization, both of the constructions as a whole and of the verb 'see' in particular. This process is put in a broader typological perspective.

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Recurrent paradigmatic patterns in construction grammaticalization processes: On some cases of auxiliary development in Norwegian

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In the present paper I argue that the concept of 'grammaticalization path(way)' does not only apply to lexical items but to syntactic constructions as well. In support of this claim, I discuss a number of Norwegian auxiliary developments having as their basis some specific valency pattern of a paradigmatic nature and showing similar changes that yield auxiliary constructions syntactically different from the lexical source constructions. Some of the constructions and developments in question are common to all Germanic languages (and a number of other modern European languages), whereas others are peculiar to Scandinavian or Norwegian alone. In each of these cases, different stages of the development towards auxiliary status can be observed within the history or present-day variation of the Norwegian language or when comparing Norwegian with some other Germanic language(s). –The source constructions serving as a basis for the discussion are the following:

1. *Copula constructions with an agreeing adjective/participle as a predicative to the subject*. This construction forms the basis of the periphrastic passive and the 'be'-perfect. Agreement is retained in the 'Nynorsk' variety of Norwegian but discarded in the more common Riksmål/Bokmål variety.
2. *Co-predicative constructions with an agreeing adjective/participle as a predicative to the object*. This is the initial stage of the periphrastic 'have'-perfect as well as the so-called *få* 'get' passive used to turn an indirect object into subject and the structurally homonymous active *få* 'get' construction denoting completion of an action. All three constructions occur in different diachronic or synchronic versions representing different stages of a grammaticalization process. – When the 'be'- and 'have'-perfect with an originally agreeing participle are seen in conjunction, the following chain of grammaticalization developments or stages of the periphrastic perfect emerges: (i) 'be' and 'have' with agreeing participle > (ii) retention of agreeing participle with 'be' but change from agreeing to non-agreeing participle with 'have' > (iii) transition to non-agreeing participle with 'be' > (iv) generalization of 'have' as sole perfect auxiliary. All three stages (ii)–(iii) are represented in modern Germanic languages and indeed within modern Norwegian.
3. *Constructions with an action verb and an instrumental or sociative PP with the preposition med 'with'*. Such constructions give rise to a number of periphrastic aspectual locutions. Characteristic aspects of the auxiliiation process are semantic bleaching of the *med*-PP, its subsequent optionality, and the possibility of a non-human subject disallowing *med* 'with'.
4. *Coordinate constructions with a finite dimensional verb governing a local complement in conjunction another finite verb*. These are aspectual so-called 'pseudo-coordinations' with partly retained partly bleached lexical meaning of the dimensional verb. The omissibility, or rather overwhelming non-occurrence, of the local complement in such cases testifies to an advanced degree of grammaticalization. Aspectual pseudo-coordinations of this type have attracted members from the preceding type 3.

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The extension of the transitive construction in Greek

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Paradigmaticity involves obligatoriness: for example, if tense is a relevant category in a given language, then all verbs inflect for tense. In the case of diathesis, if a language has an opposition between active and passive, the possibility for a verb to display the opposition depends on a semantic property of the verb, i.e. transitivity. In the Indo-European languages, transitive verbs typically occur in the Nominative-accusative construction. In Ancient Greek, several verbs which do not take the Nominative-accusative construction, but rather the Nominative-genitive or the Nominative-dative constructions, also occur in personal passive constructions, in which they regularly have nominative subjects. Conti (1998) has shown that the extent to which such verbs occur in the passive construction was limited in Homer, but increased in later prose. Note that in origin the difference between the three constructions in Ancient Greek lied in different degrees of affectedness, whereby only the Nominative-accusative construction could occur with totally affected patients, and thus was typical of highly transitive verbs (Luraghi forthcoming a). Extension of passivization to other verbs is connected with high productivity of the Nominative-accusative construction, measured in type frequency (see Barðdal 2009): verbs typically associated with other constructions started being re-interpreted as belonging to the same group as those which occurred in the Nominative-accusative, while still preserving different marking for patients. Only in the Byzantine period did such verbs start to take the accusative, as they do in Modern Greek. Thus, while acquiring the features of the Nominative-accusative construction, verbs which originally took the dative or the genitive acquired its behavior (passivization) before overt coding, thus complying with the Behavior-before-Coding Principle as described in Haspelmath (forthcoming). Note that the variety of possible constructions displayed by Homeric Greek verbs is in accordance with the traditional reconstruction in Meillet, Vendryes (1924: 522), who write “Un verb indo-européen ne ‘gouvernait’ pas le cas de son complément; mais le nom apposé au verbe se mettait au cas exigé par le sens qu’il exprimait lui-même.” In other words, an IE verbs had no valency (see Luraghi forthcoming b). Throughout the history of Greek one can observe the change to a system based on valency, in which the Nominative-accusative construction extends as an exponent of transitivity. Thus, all verbs which formerly occurred in constructions involving two constituents became bivalent, valency could undergo reduction through extension of the passive outside the Nominative-accusative, until eventually coding was also extended and alternative constructions disappeared.

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A functional approach to the definition of the paradigm by the syntagm: the case of English secondary auxiliaries

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The idea that grammatical paradigms are defined by their functions within the constructional syntagm has been a constant in functional (e.g. Firth 1957) and cognitive theories (e.g. Croft 2000). Croft (2000: 85) states that “syntactic categories, including those commonly labeled with parts of speech, are derivative from the constructions that define them”, noting also that “the constructions of English define many ... classes” at different levels of delicacy. Hence, - more or less specific - constructional environments may be used to define - more or less constrained - grammatical classes, and can be used as recognition test for new members or ones whose membership is unclear on intuitive grounds. For instance, Milsark (1976) identified the subclass of absolute quantifiers as all the elements that can occur in the indefinite determiner position of NPs which in turn are further constrained by their occurrence in non-enumerative existential clauses, cf. *In the shed, there ‘s/’re a, one/three, many, a lot of, some, no, etc. mice*, as discussed in Davidse (2004). This paper will focus on the general class of secondary auxiliaries in English, which are not always clearly distinguished from primary, finite, auxiliaries (cf. Langacker 1991: 194-200). Through grammaticalization, this paradigm has greatly expanded over the centuries, recruiting new members from diverse source constructions to express finer distinctions within functional areas such as secondary tense, semi-modality, aspect and phase.

Concretely, we can, with Firth (1957), view a grammatical paradigm as including all the choices available for a specific syntactic function within syntagmatic structure. If we want to arrive at a systematic inventory of English secondary auxiliaries, we will have to include all the elements that are attested in the VP in the functional position that is neither the finite (morphological tense marking or primary auxiliary) nor the lexical predicator, e.g. *she has been going to have known* contains two secondary auxiliaries, *have* + past participle and *be going to* + infinitive (with present tense marking -s and lexical verb *know*) (Halliday 1994: 201). Internally the secondary auxiliary consists of a verbal element selecting a non-finite form, which may be realized, besides by simple auxiliary verbs, by periphrastic sequences consisting of *be/have* + verb (e.g. *be going to*, *be supposed to*) + particle (e.g. *be about to*), + complex preposition (e.g. *be on the brink of*), + NP (e.g. *have no intention/need of*) recruited from a great variety of source constructions. Diewald’s (forthc.) criticism that grammars currently include some grammaticalized periphrastic constructions on an ad hoc basis but miss many others is particularly true of English secondary auxiliaries.

To start remedying this gap, I will first present a breadth study of the main elements that have accrued via grammaticalization to the paradigm of aspect, discussing paradigmatic-syntagmatic grounds for dividing it into subparadigms such as ‘imminent’ (Navalpatro-Gómez 2000, Vanden Eynde 2004), ‘telic-inchoative’ (Petré 2005) and ‘progressive’ (Koops 2004, Van Rompaey 2008) aspect. Next, I will focus in more depth on the subparadigm of imminence-markers, investigating how it is currently organized in terms of paradigmatic features (e.g. (ir)realis) and constrained by syntagmatic selection restrictions (e.g. (in)animacy of the subject, (non-)desirability of the predicate). Both these case studies will be usage-based, involving quantitative and qualitative analysis of data extracted from the COBUILD corpus.

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Complex subordinators with noun phrases that take complement clauses as source construction: a case for paradigmatic enrichment

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An important but under-researched source of purposive and conditional complex subordinators in English is preposition + NP + complement clause, i.e. appositive clause (as understood by Francis 1993):

- (1) The cut came after a series of moves by the Federal Reserve to bring down interest rates for banks **in hopes that** cheaper credit will stimulate the economy. (CB)
- (2) She is now being moulded **with the single intention of** selling records. (CB)
- (3) We have alternatives **in case** someone doesn't like curry. (CB)

Synchronically, the incorporated nouns in this set of complex subordinators display different degrees of decategorialization in terms of variation in determiner, introductory preposition, occurrence of premodifiers, singular/plural nouns and complement particle, which is linked with specialization in (non-)finite subordinating clauses. *In case* f.i. is most frequent in its decategorialized form without article, submodification or a complement particle and typically takes finite clauses, whereas *hope* is most frequent in *in the hope of*-forms, which allow further submodification (*in the vain hope of*), and plural forms without an article (*in hopes of*). Traditionally, such partial decategorialization is considered a sign of incomplete or failed grammaticalization (cf. Langacker Forthc.). However, the *OED* provides examples of complex subordinator-like uses with *hope* f.i. as soon as c1000, including variants such as *vor hope þat*, *in good hopes of* etc. which proves that these partially decategorialized subordinators have been a semi-stable subsystem for some centuries and may continue to be so. With the case study of this emergent set of complex subordinators I want to elaborate on Diewald's (Accepted) attention to the paradigmatic phase in grammaticalization scenario's. I want to argue that paradigmaticity and decategorialization need to be defined as more than parameters of the reduction that a source construction has to go through in order to function as a grammatical item and instead revalue them positively in terms of enrichment of paradigms. The complex subordinators contribute to their new paradigm and come to function in it as a periphrastic subsystem by means of their partial decategorialization which, among other things, enables intensifying submodification, as in (2) or *in the vain hope of*, and the variants with *of* allow for non-finite subordinating clauses, both of which *in order that*, *so that*, *for* do not.

I will first present an overview of complex subordinators and their variant forms by extracting and analysing a random sample from the COBUILD corpus, using the algorithm 'preposition + optional determiner + noun (singular or plural) + *that/of*'. Then I will present an in-depth diachronic case study of *in (the) hope(s) that/of* in the light of paradigmatic enrichment. Analytically, attention will go to questions such as restriction selections on the subject of the matrix clause, semantic prosody and polarity of the purpose clause, discourse motivations of finite versus non-finite subordinate clauses, etc. These will shed light on the pragmatic-semantic distinctness of *in (the) hope(s) that/of* in comparison with more general purposive subordinators such as *in order to* and *so that*.

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From temporal adverbial to discourse structuring particle: *et alors*?

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Introduction

In Present Day French (PDF), *alors* ('at that time, then, so') presents a wide variety of semantic uses (temporal, consequential, conditional, metadiscursive) combined with a range of sentence positions: initial, medial, final. This polysemy and (apparent) grammatical freedom is a recent phenomenon since up to the 17th c. *alors* is used primarily in temporal contexts with less than 0.02% occurrences in final position (Degand & Fagard, forthc.).

Most studies try to establish a relation between the position of *alors* and its meaning, although this relation is not univocal, nor deterministic. Le Draoulec & Bras (2007), for instance, hypothesize that initial *alors* necessarily expresses a dependence link between S1 and S2 thus functioning as a connective, while internal or final *alors* do not. Sentence-final *alors* has been described as exclamative (Hybertie, 1996) and intersubjective (Franckel, 1989). Hansen (1997: 181) furthermore notes that whenever resultative *alors* is utterance-final it is "found with statements made on the basis of inference from prior discourse by the interlocutor, and which therefore usually function pragmatically as requests for

confirmation”. According to her, this suggests that “utterance-final *alors* may be a candidate for grammaticalization as a modal particle”. This can be closely linked to Traugott’s (1997) grammaticalization cline of discourse markers: Clause-internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle.

Research question

Is clause-final *alors* indicative of an ongoing grammaticalization towards a discourse structuring particle?

Method

We performed a corpus analysis of *alors* in written (20th c. novels) and spoken (spontaneous conversation) data. Our analysis focused on meaning, position, sentence type, type of speech. The combination of these parameters can reveal a number of “typical clusters”.

Results

We only report first findings for clause-final *alors*. At first sight, there was no important frequency difference between spoken (9%) and written data (13%). However, clause-final *alors* in writing occurs exclusively in direct (or free indirect) speech, which makes it a typical “spoken” phenomenon. Also, in nearly all of these cases, *alors* expresses causal or metadiscursive meaning in an interrogative context (never temporal). In other words, we have to do with a request for confirmation of a conclusion drawn by the speaker on the basis of a prior statement (cf. Hansen 1997), as in

Pourquoi « Maman » ? Papa, tu l'oublies alors?

Why « Mum » ? You’re forgetting Dad, alors?

This request does however not always need confirmation, as in *Et alors?* (So what?!), where *alors* functions as a kind of discourse punctuator. This construction-like context seems to fulfill a number of conditions for grammaticalization leading to the hypothesis that *alors* has reached the final stage on Traugott’s cline for discourse markers. In view of generalizing these results, we will need to extend our data to include more clause-final occurrences of *alors*.

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WORKSHOP. Writing development and writing instruction: fostering critical engagement in multiliteracies

Workshop description

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The shaping of linguistic repertoires in the age of globalization, particularly in their written modes, has been determined by the fast development of digital networks that tend to transform local and situated practices into globalized and institutionalized ones. Writing practices develop communication patterns that respond to cultural and rhetorical traditions. The dynamics of global tendencies act transformatively upon local registers and most definitely upon traditional genres of discourse; these tend therefore to become more and more levelled across different cultures.

Is writing becoming a communicative mode of expression that is globalized via the uptake of semiotic resources that distance themselves from local cultural and rhetorical traditions? Or is writing, no matter the new and globalized modes and media of communication and information technology, still an anthropological system of socialization that is culturally specific in its forms and manifestations? How do global systems intersect with one's local engagements with writing instruction?

Writing has always been implicated in structures of power and inequality and the present unequal currency of language practices in a globalized world further shows that writing instructors must not only be aware of writing as an ontogenetic process but also of how the uptake of flows of discourses, images, texts, and cultural practices call for a constant restructuring of local rhetorical traditions and social practices and processes.

The purpose of this workshop is to foster the discussion of research on writing development and writing instruction and the design of social futures for students, having both the above reflection and the ideas associated with the New London Group as a possible standpoint.

New media, new genres, new literacies: implications for teaching writing

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Despite the continuous call - since the manifesto of The New London Group (1996) - by different sectors of society for a much broader view of literacy than the one portrayed traditionally, literacy is still defined today as, for example, "a particular capacity and mode of behaviour: the ability to understand and employ printed information in daily activities, at home, at work and in the community - to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential". Though not incorrect, definitions such as this one from the Directorate for Education of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) tend to oversimplify things by stressing too much one aspect of literacy (an understanding ability), and minimizing others (an active, productive ability to exchange meaning). It all seems as if people were accidental tourists in worlds and landscapes of literacies without really engaging with the local practices and signifying experiences of those worlds and landscapes.

If additionally literacy is seen as an ability to communicate functionally and not merely as an "ability to understand and employ printed information", we will be rendering it another dimension, that of a dynamic process whose success is dependent not only on our own abilities, but also on the abilities of others to communicate with us. Such a definition clearly frames literacy as being relative to contexts and users, that is, to genres and registers of discourse, and to the development of societies and semiotic systems. Consequently, literacy is not only a matter of education, it is most and definitely a matter of life-long and continuous education. But in the context of our globalized societies, dominated by information and multimedia technologies and by a visual semiosis used more and more as a means to overcome the cultural and linguistic diversity of verbal semiosis, what are the places of writing and of the visual modality of meaning in our daily lives? How is school coping with such semiotic phenomena as multimodality and multiliteracies? This paper will address these questions, aiming

at i) mapping and describing written genres and registers that are based on the interplay between the verbal and the visual, which do not get any attention in formal education, despite their social importance; and ii) looking at third space theory and the New Literacy Studies (Pahl & Rowsell, 2005) as a possible means to deal with those genres and registers in school.

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Learning to write: from the local self to the global world

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The language of writing, the one school still mostly relies on, is this rather conventionalized/rule-governed semiotic device that allows verbal communication throughout wide communities of people dispersed in space and time, sharing the same culture.

Learning to write entails moving away from the negotiable language of the contexts of speech of the local self, and up-taking this highly conventionalized language of the wider context of culture. This process creates some discontinuity between the local languages of speech and the written language of the larger community, the degree of which is directly related to the child's cultural background. As the New London Group puts it, "literacy pedagogy (...) has been a carefully restricted project - restricted to formalized, monolingual, monocultural, and rule-governed forms of language". But the more globalized our societies are, the greater the diversity that characterizes them. Literacy pedagogy may no longer act as if written language was a natural and non-problematic continuity of every child's speech. It must grow into a critical project that clearly accommodates cultural and linguistic diversity, leading children to become critical communicators who are able to recognize different registers of language as different ways of construing self-experience through language, and to choose among them in the heterogeneous context of culture.

In this paper I will present some data from a writing development *corpus* of written texts produced by pupils aged 7 to 9 (2nd and 3th grades) that clearly illustrates children gradual awareness of spoken language features in their written productions and their progressive transformation in order to comply with the norms of written registers in subsequent works. Additionally, I will present data from another *corpus*, consisting of written texts produced in the context of 4th grade national exams and assessed with a failing mark, where the continuous occurrence of spoken language features led the authors to fail to convey meaning through the written mode of language.

To bias or not to bias: the genre is the question (too)

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From my empirical observation as a teacher, I have noticed that, in high school students' essays, even if they were written by the same students, representations of ethnicity have different lexicogrammatical realizations. More specifically, I have observed that these different representations seem to be dependent on rhetorical mode: in argumentative mode, the representation lines up with the ideology of "politically correct" concepts, while in narrative what emerges is the representation of racial stereotypes commonly institutionalized in western culture. Accordingly, it became my concern firstly to provide a linguistic description of the representations of ethnicity in these distinct genres, understood here as a social activity plus rhetorical mode and realized as schematic structure (Hasan 1995), and secondly to understand how choices of rhetorical mode constrain these ideational meanings.

The work draws on Systemic Functional Linguistics, more specifically on the Transitivity system (Halliday, 2004). The focus will be on the means used by high school students to categorize Processes and Participants in order to construe ethnical values in narrative and argumentative genres. A comparison of the rhetorical modes as well as of constituent choices

will be carried out, with ideational meanings being related to the context of the situation and the culture in which the communicative events occur.

After searching in the linguistics literature, I found that there are no studies focusing on school text production using the same theoretical approach and the same theme as those set out above. The importance of studying this language phenomenon is justified by the fact that the secondary school level recapitulates the practices and policies applied in the earlier language education environment.

The outcomes of this work are expected to be helpful for secondary school language teachers by developing or enhancing critical awareness about the way language and certain genres in particular naturalize ideologies.

Weblogs, writing and learning: the role of the interschool communities

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The introduction of computers in schools has made available new resources to perform particular tasks, such as writing, and new possibilities concerning the resulting products. In the case of writing, the recursive nature of the writing process has found an ally in the word processor. On the other hand, the computer has put at students' disposal new solutions concerning the graphic aspect of the written products created at school.

In a second phase, the one that we are at now, the introduction of the Internet has enormously reinforced the computer's role in learning, considering three facets: the information access, the communication between participants and the diffusion of students' work. Through the Internet, students were given access to the huge amount of information that has become available on the web.

The learning community is no longer limited to the walls of the school or classroom. E-mail, chat and voice chat are powerful means that can foster the communication and interaction between students from different schools, enlarging the learning community. The horizontal nature of interschool communities or networks is a factor that contributes to the existence of interested interlocutors and addressees.

Besides enhancing access to the information and promoting the communication between people, the Internet has evolved in a direction that gives students (and all of us) new means to become active participants, by creating and maintaining web pages (such as school web pages, and weblogs). This way, the students' texts find a new way of diffusion. The readers can be involved in the process of interaction and participation, namely by leaving a comment on a weblog or sending a message via e-mail. This way, publishing on the Internet creates a window that allows us to become aware of the learning activity that takes place in the classroom. It gives students the opportunity to participate in the community's life and, when interaction takes place, it gives the members of the community the opportunity to participate in the process of learning.

In this paper we present the results of the analysis concerning the students' texts published on the weblog Interescolas and the comments they received. Interescolas is a blog created in 2006 in association with the Portuguese project promoting the use of ICT in primary schools. Students' texts posted on Interescolas are related to two fundamental dimensions: the creative and expressive dimension, linked to literary genres (stories, poems, rhymes, etc.), and the informative and ideational dimension, linked to the world's knowledge the students are learning at school. The first one reflects student's attempts as verbal creators; the fact that their texts are posted in the weblog Interescolas gives them access to the role and status or identity of "writers". The second dimension also implies that the students take the identity and the discourse of the specialist, as part of the learning process.

The comments that students' texts received come from different authors, but predominantly from other students, thus confirming the horizontal nature of the weblog Interescolas. The analysis of the comments revealed the prominence of the interpersonal dimension, but also the potential of the comments as vehicles to develop students' knowledge, through the contributions of other people, namely their perspectives and experiences.

The swift and the verbal

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In our social relations, the race is not to the swift but to the verbal - the spellbinding orator, the silver-tongued seducer, the persuasive child ... (Steven Pinker, *The Language Instinct*)

Statements as the one in the citation above sound as universal wisdom. Classic rhetoricians said it before, discourse analysts confirm it today, modern ordinary people recognise it everywhere: there is an automated frailty felt by the ones who interact with gifted speakers, be they orators, seducers or children.

The technology of writing, with its comparatively recent history, started by playing an important role in the preservation of texts made by that kind of gifted people: exceptionally argumentative texts authored by philosophers, prophets, lawyers, rulers, priests, etc. were continually recopied in the era of manuscripts, and then continually reprinted in the era of typography. This is the first kind of alliance we can find between technology and discursive strategies; because of that alliance, the well-read individuals of Antiquity, Middle Ages and Modernity were always prepared to gain incidental local power, or even persistent social power. And the same alliance served institutions (religious, political and educational ones) to control cultural canons just by controlling written texts reproduction, preservation and reading.

But writing technology changed very quickly in the 20th century, and new powerful artefacts were produced. First, photocopiers came, and private authors and readers were put in control of textual reproduction. Then ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) came, and people gained control of everything having to do with written texts, from originals' writing, to book design and to public distribution and access.

This dynamic new context raises many questions and offers scarce cues for us to answer them, at least when we want to understand where the development of written discourse stands now, and what place could it have in the teaching of communicative skills.

Having in mind the concerns and goals of the New London Group when it reflects on the pedagogy of multiliteracies in order to guarantee civic pluralism in the students' future world, the aim of my paper is to discuss the benefits of integrating text-formatting teaching with text-composition teaching. There is a strong link between the visual aspects of written texts and its resulting coherence. By investing in text-formatting training, teachers will contribute to turn the *swift* students, who are quite content with ready-to-use templates, into *verbal* ones, who can match the communicative force of elaborate linguistic and visual discourses.

Writing: hate it or love it? School versus new ways of communicating

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Writing is difficult, say students; students perform poorly when writing, say teachers. Why writing? Can't we just talk about it? I never know how to begin, or what to say! Speaking comes more naturally! these are some of the remarks we (teachers) hear almost every day.

Yet, as plain human beings, not as students, youngsters do write and, in fact, they write a lot. Where is the divorce? Why do young people find writing tasks so unnatural? Why do they hate writing at school? Do they find it meaningless or purposeless? We know they do communicate in the written form – they spend hours chatting on line, they text messages almost till their fingers drop dead.

In this paper I will be looking at the kind of writing tasks students are asked to perform at school, namely in the Portuguese as Mother Tongue and English as Foreign Language classes and tests.

I will firstly look at the topic areas involved and the types of texts (genre) teachers ask their students to produce. Then I will look into how these tasks are built – the kind of instructions given, trying to understand how the teachers themselves picture the product resulting from the task, *i.e.*, what kind of insights on genre and register these tasks reveal. Thirdly I will briefly look at some of the criteria used to assess writing, trying to deconstruct the connection between what is asked and what is expected. Finally, I will try to sample texts – short messages – written for pleasure by the same youngsters who say they hate writing. My purpose is, first of all, to try and get the gist (*i.e.*, translate into adult language) of those messages, and then to try and understand whether new forms of communication are under way, or whether they are a trend, a kind of code to encrypt messages hiding their content from adults' eyes.

One way or the other, my main aim is trying to discover why school makes children hate writing.

To err or not to err in writing: a computer-aided investigation of Brazilian learner errors in English

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In foreign language teaching, error correction has oscillated between two diametrically opposed standpoints. One position is that error correction is an indispensable tool for practitioners and, as a consequence, also for apprentices. In contrast, error correction is often seen as an inefficient irrelevance (Ferris, 2004: 3). Positive discussions of error correction often focus on what and how much. Thus, signalling every single error is argued as depriving apprentices of opportunities at experimenting in the foreign language (Knoblauch and Brannon, 1984:118). Conversely, the potential danger of 'selective' error correction lies in the apprentices' interpreting the practice as lacking in support and professionalism on the teacher's part (Reid, 1994). A further complication is that there appears to be no overall agreement as to what (if anything) ought to be considered an important error in FL. The results of recent empirical research into what is perceived as serious error in FL (Hughes and Lascaratou, 1982; McCretton and Rider, 1993; Hyland and Anan, 2006, among others) suggest that teachers' perceptions of the seriousness of errors differ according to whether the FL is the teacher's own mother tongue. In addition to the two umbrella positions, a third focus on error correction has been added recently, which is both politically-motivated and non-interventionist in nature. This view results from what has been coined, 'linguistic human rights', or rather the 'non-native speakers' right to 'linguistic peculiarities' (Ammon, 1998: 278-282).

The reasoning behind of our own investigation of correctedness in apprentice FL writing relates to our belief that these writers may be considered disadvantaged when they come to write for either professional and/or academic purposes in the present-day globalised, English writing world. The paper describes work in progress which focuses on the development of an online system for the identification of apprentice error in written English as a foreign language. The data stems entirely from speakers of Brazilian Portuguese, English Language undergraduates at Brazilian universities, writing argumentative essays on a limited number of topics. The errors/inadequacies in each of these essays were manually tagged in two stages, using a set based on Nicholls (1999). This hand-coded data was used as a computer-training corpus for our error detection tool. On the basis of these results, an application is being developed, which will soon be freely available at www2.lael.pucsp.br/corpora. This application may take either a single learner composition or an entire learner corpus and outputs a list of each word followed by the probability of its having been used erroneously.

Developing advanced literacy in Spanish as a heritage language in the United States

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During the two decades there has been a major socio-demographic change in the United States, popularly called *a demographic revolution*: Hispanics have become the largest minority in the United States. The latest projections of the U.S. Census Bureau in 2006 reported 40.4 million Hispanics/Latinos in the continental United States; in other words, Latinos make up more than 14% of the national population. Together with this demographic change there has been a shift in terms of the value of Spanish as a heritage language and also of Spanish as the most frequently spoken second language in the United

States: Spanish has moved beyond the family into the public arena, where its presence is obvious in social, artistic, economic, and even political circles. This paper advocates for the importance of an advanced biliteracy in English and Spanish for heritage speakers of Spanish primordially but not exclusively.

Heritage language speakers constitute a unique cultural and linguistic resource within the United States while also presenting particular challenges for language educators and language programs. This study emphasizes the long and dynamic nature of language development by pointing out how language proficiency in the heritage language may vary in a person's life. It also underscores the importance of instructed settings and the focus on language for the development of advanced literacy in the heritage language. The social approaches to language literacy define it not as a unique task that could be acquired once and for all but as a social practice situated within social contexts, therefore there is not a unique literacy but multiple literacies that can be deployed to fulfil a social function.

This paper examines the potential of Systemic functional linguistics (SFL) in a curriculum for Spanish second language learners/heritage speakers, with particular emphasis on the meaning-making of language in the construal of discourse. It will describe the multiple literacies that the heritage speakers already bring with them to the classroom and how they could be integrated in the curriculum in the development of advanced literacy in the heritage (L2) language. Following SFL pedagogy, *descriptive language teaching* refers to ways of treating language in functional terms; *productive language teaching* involves students in using the resource of their language in powerful ways in light of the demands of particular social contexts. Accordingly, the paper discusses explicit instruction of genre/register theory as a way of promoting students' awareness of discourse-semantics and lexicogrammatical features of academic language in courses for heritage speakers. Martin's genre based literacy offered a model of instruction that stresses explicit identification of the stages of the target text or genre with its discursive features. It focuses on the SFL construct of field, presents theme analysis of texts as a tool for organizing discourse, and highlights grammatical metaphor as one of the most prominent lexicogrammatical features for indexing academic language. Language is used as a productive resource for the understanding and learning of the culture.

Mature writing: text types and linguistic items

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Native language teachers produce comments and ultimately rank adult students' texts. In the latter's product, what counts as evidence of thorough expression as is recognised in academic writing? Is this "mature writing" marked by particular linguistic items, connectivity or individual text types?

The aim of the research is to compare two instances of writing produced over a time lapse of a semester. Students under scrutiny are adults taking pre-graduate classes of native language and are undergoing processes of improving their writing and speaking abilities by academic standards. They might have been out of school for a long time and may be aged. Specifics of their biosociological data will be given.

The Pragmatics of Language Teaching contributes to the study. So does Text Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. This bibliographic background is referred with a view to grasp the mechanisms of academic writing. Students are supposed to have had little contact with academic writing, namely with texts of an expository nature. Given that this contact will be enhanced over the semester, to what extent do adult writers achieve academic standards?

The hypothesis is that students attain academic writing levels as a token of mature writing, from a cognitive point of view. The analysis will further determine whether, besides text type, there are other, and concurrent, linguistic items revealing this level of expression.

In the steps of T-Rex: Academic discourse in Portugal

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In 1997, John Swales described English in the academic context as a *Tyrannosaurus Rex*, 'a powerful carnivore gobbling up the other denizens of the academic linguistic grazing grounds'. This metaphor is particularly apt in the context of Portugal, where the discourse traditionally used for encoding knowledge is coming under increasing pressure from another, one which is almost identical to English Academic Discourse in all respects. That is to say, in addition to the inevitable drift towards English as the international lingua franca for scientific exchange (made possible here as elsewhere through translation and revision services, and the provision of EAP courses at universities), Portugal's own traditional 'academic discourse' looks set to be ousted by a relative newcomer that is, to all intents and purposes, calqued upon the English model.

This paper takes as its starting point a survey into the nature and structure of academic discourse in Portugal, in which a Corpus of 1,333,890 words (408 academic texts of different genres and disciplines that had been submitted for translation over the course of a roughly ten-year period) were analysed for the presence of particular discourse features not usually found in standard English Academic Discourse. Results indicate that there are three main kinds of academic discourse being produced in Portugal today: a 'modern' style, identical to EAD in all respects and prevalent in more scientific fields; a 'traditional' style, markedly different from EAD in structure and underlying epistemology, and occurring most frequently in traditional humanities subjects such as history and philosophy; and a 'postmodern' style, often espoused by 'artier' subjects like architecture, and clearly influenced by French poststructuralism and its offshoots.

During the long period when the 'traditional' style held sway at the centre of the national system, the 'modern' style was viewed as a progressive liberating force. Associated with the broader Enlightenment project of equality, freedom, peace and progress, it was espoused by those that fought for democracy and science against conservative autocratic regimes. Today, however, it is perceived by many as an instrument of Anglo-Saxon imperialism. Not only have its neutrality and universalism been repeatedly called into question, it is also accused of conspiring with the structures of power in modern society and exacerbating global inequality. In this context, the appearance of counter-hegemonic 'postmodern' discourses may be interpreted in a number of different ways: as a form of resistance to the Anglo-American cultural colonization; as resurgence of traditional rightwing values under a new guise; or as simply a manifestation of a profound dissatisfaction with the hollowness at the core of modernity.

This paper explores the ideological aspects of this complex scenario, and discusses the implications for the teaching of academic writing in both the Portuguese and EAP contexts.

WORKSHOP. Modality at work

Workshop description

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This workshop aims to explore the discourse functions and the constructional behaviour of modal markers, such as auxiliaries, adjectives, adverbs, auxiliaries, mental state predicates and tag questions, in spoken discourse.

Modality refers to the broad domain of attitudinal qualifications, i.e. qualifications that convey the speaker's stance toward, or evaluation of what is being said. The most common qualifications involve epistemic modality, evidentiality and deontic/dynamic modality. This workshop will be concerned with all three of these modal subdomains. Epistemic modality stands for "the evaluation of the chances that a certain hypothetical state of affairs under consideration (or some aspect of it) will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world" (Nuyts 2001: 21). Evidentiality then refers to the "encoding of the speaker's (type of) grounds for making a speech act" (Faller 2002: 2). Both qualifications are traditionally considered to be proposition-oriented. Deontic modality, by contrast, is event-oriented, but can nevertheless be seen as an attitudinal category in that it involves "an indication of the degree to which the 'assessor' (typically, but not necessarily, the speaker) can commit him/herself to the state of affairs in terms of certain principles external to that state of affairs, in this case 'moral' principles" (cf Nuyts, Byloo & Diepeveen 2005:8; see also Nuyts 2005). These external principles are the forces behind the permission and obligation readings associated with deontic modality.

Over the last years innovative research has been carried out within the field of modality studies, in at least two respects. In what follows we limit ourselves to evidentiality and epistemic modality, although deontic modality will not be excluded from the workshop.

1) The early literature has been mainly concerned with modal auxiliaries. The bulk of the modality accounts deal with their cognitive-semantic definition and their formal integration within a grammatical paradigm (Lyons 1977; Coates 1983; Palmer 1986). Nowadays, research on other modal expression types has become increasingly important. Illustrative of this line of research are Nuyts (2001) and Squartini (2007). Nuyts' (2001) monograph on epistemic modality compares epistemic modal adjectives, adverbs and auxiliaries and accounts for the cognitive and linguistic differences between them. Squartini (2007), in a guest edition of *the Italian Journal of Linguistics*, focuses on lexical markers of evidentiality. Many of its contributions argue that (i) lexical modals form a continuum with grammatical modal forms; (ii) the semantic classification of lexical markers can be refined on the basis of their degree of grammaticalization. Interestingly, some authors have suggested that lexical and grammatical markers can be accommodated in a comprehensive functional (or cognitive) paradigm (Nuyts 2001, Pietrandrea 2007).

2) Lexical modals do not only refine the semantic classification of modal values, they also bring to the fore new functions of modality. The bulk of the research on modality has dealt with what modality does in terms of qualifying the proposition. Over the last decade, another layer of analysis has become prominent within the field of interactional linguistics. It is now agreed upon that modality as stance-taking has, in addition to its qualificational function, well recognized interactional, textual and rhetorical functions, such as persuading, manipulating, challenging, confronting, accepting, encouraging the flow of discussion, creating cohesive texts, etc. (Coates 1987; Kärkkäinen 2003; Simon-Vandenberghe & Aijmer 2007; Englebretson 2007; Cornillie 2008). It has been shown that the embedding of lexical modal expressions in interactional discourse varies a lot, which gives rise to interesting functional explanations of their respective frequency distribution (see Kärkkäinen 2003 for *I think*, Cornillie 2008 for the Spanish modal adverbs *a lo mejor* and *quizá*).

Each of the two above-mentioned approaches has its own core business. Grammatical studies explore the immediate context of modal markers in order to define their paradigmatic values, whereas interactional linguistics focuses on the dynamic aspects looking at the behaviour/distribution of modal markers in talk-in-interaction. This workshop aims at bridging between these two lines of research by using a construction-based approach to discourse level phenomena. This approach builds further upon our own recent research on the "instructional" or interactional-linguistic characteristic of epistemic/evidential adverbs. Pietrandrea (2007) accounts for the difference between *certamente* and *sicuramente*, two certainty markers in Italian, on the basis of the polyphonic nature of the former as opposed to the monophonic nature of the latter. Only the exploration of their behaviour in large stretches of discourse could reveal this difference. Cornillie (2008) describes the different functions of modal adverbs in conversation: speech-participant-oriented modal adverbs clearly invite for turn-taking more often than modal adverbs that confine themselves to qualifying the proposition. Moreover the interactional potential of the former

adverbs is also demonstrated by means of a series of contextual/constructional elements with which they often combine: (i) verbs evoking speech and thought representation, (ii) first and second person verbs, (iii) deontic or dynamic modal auxiliaries, (iv) semi-interrogative contexts, (v) clustering, (vi) concessive contexts and (vii) disjunctive constructions and indefinite pronouns.

Our claim is that the inherent functional nature of a grammatical category, especially a “pragmatic” grammatical category such as modality (Givón 1984, 2001), cannot be fully explored without looking at the impact/influence of the interactional dynamics on its constructional behaviour in discourse. However, the methodological question arises of how we can formally define the large contexts in which lexical modals reveal their interactional values. Fried and Östman (2004, 2005), Östman (2005), Pietrandrea (2007, 2008) and Masini and Pietrandrea (in press) propose an “extended” constructionist approach that can account for the textual and interactional (including prosodic) aspects of lexical modal markers. Östman (2005) identifies “discourse constructions” as textual settings essential for interpreting certain sentences correctly. Masini & Pietrandrea (in press), building on Blanche-Benveniste et al’s (1979, 1990) approach, identify the level of “discourse configuration”, that is the level defined by the maintenance of a given predicate-argument-adjunct structure in discourse, as a relevant level for grammatical analyses. In line with this, it can be hypothesized that lexical modal expressions correlate with specific discourse-level constructions in conversation. An important question is then whether these discourse-level constructions correlate with both inherent semantic and interactional characteristics of the modal markers. From both a discourse-functional and a construction grammar point of view, it is indeed worth examining to what extent modal expressions fit into different levels of constructional organization such as (i) turn constructions in the sequential context of spoken discourse and (ii) specific constructional slots within the turn.

The proposed workshop on the constructional representation of modality aims at answering the following questions:

- is it possible to redefine a comprehensive paradigm of modal values by taking into account not only the cognitive, but also the interactional functions of modal markers?
- how do cognitive and instructional aspects of modality interact? for example do strength or scope properties have an influence on the discourse potential of a modal marker?
- is it possible to represent the linguistic expression of the interactional values of modality? At what level (lexical, textual, conversational)? How do these levels of representation interact?
- To what extent does a constructionist approach provide an adequate framework for the description of the interaction between cognitive and interactional values of modal markers?
- What do the so-called harmonic uses of different modal expressions or other forms of modal combinations tell about the nature of discourse-level constructions?
- What does modal clustering as an instance of dialogic syntax learn us about “modal templates”?

More generally, an analysis based upon these questions may show that grammar not only originates in discourse, as functionalism has long since argued, but that grammar can also be analysed at the discourse level. Grammatical categories may be redefined looking not only at what they express, but also at what they construct. That is, grammatical meaning is not considered to be limited to the morphological level but is also situated in discourse structures.

Since the workshop will deal with different languages, we hope that the individual papers provide cogent evidence leading to common, cross-linguistic insights on the discourse-level constructions of epistemic-evidential adverbs and thus invoke sound generalizations about human communication, and the functional role and the entrenchment of modality, in particular.

A note on data

The refined description of the data will be an important part of the contributions to be presented at the workshop. Detailed information about spoken corpora, personal recordings or specific contexts of interaction is considered to be part of the analysis. Moreover, different types of spoken language are expected to reserve different discourse slots to modal expressions. Hence, we will attempt to draw a correlation between the type of spoken data and the specific discourse configurations.

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Variable prosodic profiles and their interactional effects

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It is recognized that modality can be expressed by markers at a variety of structural levels: inflectional morphology, clitics, particles, auxiliaries, and even lexical items such as adverbs and verbs. A crucial component of the expression of modality in speech that is not yet often taken into account is their prosody. On the basis of data from spontaneous conversation in Mohawk, a language indigenous to northeastern North America, it will be shown that significant modal meaning can be carried by intonation: pitch, duration, and sometimes intensity. In fact in many cases, changes in the prosodic patterns accompanying modal markers and the larger constructions of which they are a part can result in strikingly different modal effects.

Morphological verbs in Mohawk can function as predicates or as complete sentences in themselves. Certain verbs, when pronounced with particular prosodic patterns, have come to function as epistemic modals, sometimes with deontic connotations. Certain other verbs, again pronounced with particular prosodic patterns, serve as hearsay and inferential evidentials. An especially frequent marker, which now serves as a tag, can be seen to have originated as a full verb. In all of these cases, the varying prosodic patterns of the markers and the larger constructions in which they appear can convey quite different modal meanings, sometimes ranging from emphatic certainty to uncertainty. The differences in function can be seen not just in translations, but also in the reactions of other conversational participants. Markers with different prosody engage the audience to varying degrees, and elicit different kinds of responses. In some cases, the markers also function at higher levels to structure larger stretches of discourse and interaction in subtle ways.

The varieties of prosodic patterns associated with individual markers in the modern language reveal interesting processes of grammaticalization in progress: forms with varying degrees of prosodic reduction (limited duration, pitch range, and intensity) and with varying degrees of semantic abstraction persist alongside of each other, each attesting a different stage of development.

Overall, comparisons of the uses and effects of different intonation patterns accompanying modal markers indicate that we risk missing an important part of the picture if we confine our observations to their segmental substance alone.

Adjectival constructions in the deontic domain: SoA-related versus speaker-related uses

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This paper proposes to distinguish between two types of adjectival deontic expressions (like with *appropriate* or *crucial*), viz. SoA-related and speaker-related uses. In general, deontic expressions are taken to involve assessments of States of Affairs (SoAs) in terms of (moral) desirability (cf. Verstraete 2005; Nuyts 2005, 2006). The following examples show that such expressions can function on two distinct levels, either relating to the real world (SoA-related), as in (1), or relating to the speaker's argumentative goals (speaker-related), as in (2). The same observation has been made for other linguistic categories that (may) have a modal flavour, such as interclausal relations (e.g., Davies 1979: 146–176; Sweetser 1990: 76–112; Verstraete 2007: ch. 9).

- (1) TONY Blair's Drug Czar Keith Hellawell admitted last night it would be 'pie in the sky' for him to pledge the creation of a totally drug-free Britain. But he insisted it was **vital** to warn kids of the perils they face. He said: "Children as young as five need to understand the consequences that drugs have. It's **crucial** we get to them before the drug dealers do." (CB, sunnow)
- (2) Therefore missionary translations appealed to the very roots of these societies, touching the springs of life and imagination in real, enduring ways. Perhaps it was to this phenomenon that Pliny the Younger referred in his letter to the Emperor Trajan, namely, that Christian renewal also transforms while stimulating older habits and attitudes. Whatever the case, it would be **appropriate** to conclude this section of our discussion with a closer clarification of the vernacular issue in Christian missionary translation, and do this in two interconnected stages. (CB, ukbooks)

In (1) the SoAs that are assessed as desirable clearly relate to the real world: warning children about the dangers of drugs before they are exposed to drug dealers is something that can only be carried out in the extra-linguistic world. In (2), by contrast, the SoA assessed as desirable relates to text structure, and the deontic expression as a whole serves the speaker's argumentative goals: it indicates that the speaker has finished the body of the text and now proceeds to the conclusion. This type of speaker-related use will be termed the 'text-building' use.

In addition to the monologic type of text-building uses illustrated in (2), I will also distinguish a second, more dialogic type of speaker-related use, viz. the 'mental focus' use, illustrated in (3) below.

- (3) In Dr Penelope Leach's presentation, she described the state of marriage as "very fragile and impoverished". I invited her to elaborate on that. I think it's impoverished and fragile because we're asking or expecting one man and one woman, fairly much in isolation from extended family, to be everything to each other - to be each other's friend, brother, lover, husband, father, supporter, companion - the lot. And I think it's quite **important** to realise that this isn't the way marriage and family have been in the West for very long, and not the way they are over most of the world. (CB, bbc)

In (3), the speaker uses the deontic expression to encourage the hearer to focus mentally on a particular propositional content. In contrast to the text-building use, I will show that this speaker-related type has specific formal properties. Most notably, it involves a combined pattern of complementation, viz. a *to*-clause complemented by a *that*-clause. Specifically, I will argue that this second type can be conceived of as a partially filled construction in the sense of Goldberg (1995), with *important* as its model adjective.

This study analyses the semantic distinctions illustrated above, and traces their distribution in deontic expressions with 22 adjectives, drawing on data from the *Cobuild Corpus*. It involves qualitative as well as quantitative analyses, which are based on samples that are either exhaustive or consist of 200 examples per adjective. It also includes a multiple distinctive collexeme analysis (cf. Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004), which is based on exhaustive samples of extraposed *to*-clauses with the same 22 adjectives.

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Discourse markers and evidentials in Spoken Catalan

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Discourse markers and modality markers are directly related. Some authors consider modality markers a type of discourse or pragmatic markers (see Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2006, Norrick 2007, and the volume of *Journal of Pragmatics* on “Pragmatic Markers” also edited by Norrick, forthcoming). Moreover, from a diachronic point of view, subjectification and intersubjectification processes as described by Traugott and her associates (e.g., Traugott & Dasher 2002) often imply modal structures which evolve into connectives. As a consequence, the study of modal markers can profit from an analysis of the relationship and overlap with discourse markers.

The analysis of specific discourse markers such as *well* (see, for example, Cuenca 2008) uncover the hybrid nature of these markers, since they exhibit structural (or frame) and modal (or qualifying) functions. In this presentation, some relationships between discourse markers and evidentials will be analysed in an oral corpus. The examples belong to a multimodal corpus (*Corpus Audiovisual Plurilingüe*) which includes videotapes and transcriptions of interviews obtained through a semi-structured protocol which consisted of 5 tasks designed to elicit different types of text: narrative, descriptive, instructive, expository and argumentative.

A preliminary analysis of the examples in Catalan shows the importance of two items: the marker *clar* (‘it is clear’, ‘of course’) and predicative structures such as *és que* (‘it is that’). They are both used as discourse structuring devices and modality markers related to evidentiality. *Clar* is an already grammaticalised form which can be considered an evidential on its own, while *és que* constructions and other related structures illustrate a grammaticalisation process in progress which is activated by modal implicatures and leads to reanalysis as discourse markers.

On the one hand, *clar* can express different values ranging from clearly evidential to more structural. As Freitas (2006) argues for *claro* in Spanish, this marker is usually described in relation to the functions of agreement and acceptance, but it also exhibits metadiscourse functions as reformulation marker and structural functions as continuity marker (for Spanish see also Martín Zorraquino & Portolés 1999). On the other hand, predicative constructions such as *és que* bracket units of talks signalling the introduction of a new topic while showing a relation of causality or explanation (Declerck 1992, Sancho in press). Specifically, these predicative constructions are used to convey modal values related to the speaker’s intention of justifying what s/he has previously stated, often in order to avoid a face-threatening act (Delahunty 2001, Porroche Ballesteros, 1998, Pusch 2007). Interestingly, both *clar* and *és que* constructions combine with typical discourse markers such as *perquè* (‘because’), *doncs* (‘then’), *bueno* (‘well’), which also highlights the relationship between evidentiality and discourse marking.

Finally, it is also worth noticing that *clar* and *és que* constructions instantiate the two types of evidentiality differentiated by Nuyts (2001): the former is ‘intersubjective’, in Nuyts’ terms, since it presents an evaluation as objective and generally accepted, while the latter is ‘subjective,’ as it focuses on the speaker’s stance; that is, *clar* is more hearer-oriented whereas *és que* constructions are more speaker-oriented.

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The adverbs of actuality and evidentiality

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The adverbs of actuality (*actually, in fact, indeed, really*) have been the object of a number of studies either focusing on them as adverbs or treating them as pragmatic markers because of their close association with pragmatic markers. These adverbs have been little studied as evidentials since they do not involve hearsay or source of information. However they are evidential in a broad sense. Cf. Chafe's definition of evidential meaning as involving 'expectation against which knowledge can be matched'. The meaning actuality does not convey uncertainty but is also distinct from the epistemic 'certainly'. In particular the adverbs can come to convey meanings such as novel and surprising information, often referred to as mirativity (DeLancey 1997). While mirativity can perhaps be regarded as an evidential meaning other meanings such as adversativity are best regarded as belonging to discourse. Other meanings are more closely related to the original actuality or reality meaning (what is actually or really the case). *Indeed* is furthermore different from the other adverbs in meaning confirmation and is less clearly evidential.

In my contribution I will discuss the following questions. Are all the adverbs of actuality also evidential? What is the role of mirativity? What uses do the evidentials acquire in discourse and to what extent should these meanings be regarded as evidential? I am particularly interested in how the adverbs/pragmatic markers are correlated with factors such as stance and indirectly with social acts and activities or the social identities of the interlocutors. Although these factors are difficult to study we can begin by comparing the frequencies of the adverbs in different text types and correlate them with other sociolinguistic factors which we have information about. It will be shown that the adverbs differ with regard to meanings such as 'evidentiality', 'actuality' (not in appearance), 'emphasis', 'confirmation', 'adversativity' (disagreement with expectations), 'scalarity', 'intensification', 'mirativity'. The terms making up the system will also be discussed with regard to the correlation between function and grammatical factors such as position and collocation. Other factors are prosody and phonological reduction. The data will be taken from the ICE-GB Corpus which allows a fine-grained analysis of the adverbs on the basis of many different text types (dialogues, monologues, scripted dialogue, political speech, etc).

Modal constructions and argumentative functions in the discourse of Italian financial news: the dimensions of probability, conditionality and evidentiality

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The stated goal of the workshop *Lexical and Grammatical Modality at Work*, for which the proposed paper is intended, is to explore the discourse functions and the constructional behavior of lexical and grammatical modal markers. The paper will examine the relationship between one specific discourse function, namely the expression of argumentative rhetorical relations in texts, and a set of common modal constructions based on the Italian modal verbs *potere* and *dovere* and on the grammatical morphemes of the conditional mood.

One distinctive trait of the present research is that the relationship between the semantics of the modal constructions and the targeted discourse function is studied on a large corpus of a particular text type, whose socio-pragmatic functioning has been taken into consideration in-depth. The investigation is based on data extracted from a 4 million word corpus of economic-financial news articles collected from three specialized Italian dailies (*Il sole 24 ore*, *Italia Oggi* and *MF/Milano Finanza*) in the context of a research project financed by the Swiss National Science Foundation. The choice of this text type for the exploration of modality and argumentation, has both a – now sadly obvious – social motivation and a methodological justification. In the proposed paper only the methodological aspects will be focused on. In economic-financial news, the forecasting of future developments and other "forward looking" speech acts regularly prime over the reporting of past events (Walsh 2001, 2004, Rocci & Palmieri 2007) – a phenomenon connected with the demand of information by investors seeking to reduce the uncertainty surrounding investment opportunities (Barone Adesi 2002).

Forecasts and other predictive speech acts, as expectable, are routinely hedged by lexical and grammatical modal markers – the sheer frequency of possibility modal markers in the corpus is, in itself, impressive – and regularly supported by arguments of different kinds. Two other discourse-semantic features of the corpus are noteworthy: (1) the modalized propositions are frequently embedded within conditional structures, which can be either realized syntactically or anaphorically, through sequences of modals in a relation of (so-called) *modal subordination* (Roberts 1989); (2) predictions are accompanied by lexical and grammatical markers of *inferential*, or, more frequently, *quotative* evidentiality – signaling the recourse to inference from available contextual evidence, or the attribution of forecasts to expert or informed sources.

With respect to this backdrop, the paper will investigate the behavior of basic constructions with the modals *dovere* and *potere* in the indicative and in the conditional mood with respect to (a) the degree of probability they ostensibly express; (b) their constraints as regards the occurrence within conditional structures; (c) their constraints with respect to the interaction with inferential and quotative evidentials; (d) and their general capacity as markers inviting the inference of argumentative discourse relations. The results of the qualitative analysis of an extensive sample extracted from the corpus will be compared with an existing detailed theoretical hypothesis on the semantics of the Italian modals (Rocci 2005a, 2005b, 2008), their interaction with the conditional mood (Rocci 2006 and In Press) and their functioning as indicators of argumentative relations (Rocci 2008). This theoretical approach – developed in the broad tradition of *relative modality* (Kratzer 1981) and of context dependent approaches to the semantics of the modals (Kronning 1996, Papafragou 2000) – treats the modals as relational predicates relying the modalized proposition with a contextual *conversational background* of propositions: in the case of *epistemic-doxastic* modals *directly* express a speech-act level inferential relation between a set of premises and a standpoint, while other modalities express relations (e.g. *causal* or *final* relations) better seen as part of the *content* of the argument whose argumentative relevance depends on the argumentation scheme employed, functioning as argumentative indicators only *indirectly*.

The empirical investigation carried out on the corpus in the context of the project, whose preliminary results will be presented in the paper, is meant to assess the descriptive and explanatory power and the limitations of the model as regards the fine “discourse semantics” of each of the Italian constructions examined.

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Modal verbs, modal adverbs and modal particles changing in English, German and Dutch. What markers of epistemic necessity and inferential evidentiality might express

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In Mortelmans (forthc.), the occurrences of the English modal verb *must* in Nicci French's 'The memory game' are compared with their translations in both Dutch and German. At the same time, the occurrences of the modal verbs *moeten* (Dutch) and *müssen* (German) some of which do not correspond to *must* in the English original, are looked at. One of the striking observations pertains to the fact that Dutch *moeten* pops up much more frequently than both *müssen* and *must*, especially (and not entirely unexpectedly) in dynamic and deontic (i.e. non-epistemic) contexts. Whereas the English original contains only 38 occurrences of *must*, the German translation of the English text contains 84 occurrences of *müssen*, and the Dutch translation of the same text no less than 155 occurrences of *moeten*. As far as evidential-epistemic occurrences are concerned, however, the English modal *must* is translated by *müssen* viz. *moeten* in only one third of the cases. Dutch prefers either another modal verb (the modal *zullen*, typically in combination with the modal particle *wel*) or modal adverbs (*vast*, *waarschijnlijk*), whereas German translates epistemic *must* most often by means of modal adverbs (without a modal verb): *bestimmt* ('surely'), *sicher* ('surely'), *offenbar* ('apparently') and *offensichtlich* ('apparently'), as in the following example.

ENG "I haven't seen Granny and Grandpa. They **must** be up in their room".

DU "Die **zullen wel** op hun kamer zitten".

GER „Sie sind **bestimmt** oben in ihrem Zimmer“.

Interestingly, English *must* most often occurs in *dialogic* situations (in 29 out of the 38 cases in the corpus), i.e. in contexts of direct speech, as in the example above. Moreover, in a number of cases, epistemic *must* seems to serve intersubjective (in the sense of Traugott (2003: 128)) purposes: it expresses the "speaker's attention to the 'self' of the addressee", as in the following example, in which the 'sympathetic' "*you must be exhausted*" contributes to the attempts of the speaker to convince the addressee of doing something extra. Typically, neither German nor Dutch code this *must* by means of the corresponding modal verb.

ENG "Jane, we're almost finished and I know you **must** be exhausted but I'd like us to try something."

DUT "Jane, we moeten er bijna mee ophouden, en ik weet dat je doodmoe bent, maar ik wou graag dat wij eens iets probeerden."

GER „Jane, die Zeit ist fast um, und bestimmt sind Sie erschöpft, aber ich möchte trotzdem noch etwas ausprobieren.“

In my contribution to the workshop, I want to focus on the means that German (and to a lesser extent) Dutch use to convey interactional meanings that can be associated with epistemic and evidential (inferential) "necessity". Apparently, German makes less use of epistemic *müssen* – which is considerably less grammaticalized than its English counterpart –, but seems to turn to modal adverbs (e.g. *sicher*, *gewiss*) and modal particles (the latter are conspicuously absent in the (written) material already looked at). A likely candidate here would be the modal particle *wohl* (see e.g. Gast 2008; Zimmermann 2004). Both modal particles and epistemic adverbs are much more often used in combination with the auxiliary *werden* than with *müssen* (which has already been observed in Ulvestad 1984). Because of the contrastive perspective, the analysis will not draw on original spoken material, but on a comparison of "written to be spoken" material, *in casu* theatre plays, from German to English and *vice versa*.

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A lo mejor and igual in context. Communicative functions of adverbs of possibility in spoken Spanish

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The paper presents a corpus-based study of the contexts and communicative values of two adverbial epistemic markers in spoken Spanish, namely *a lo mejor* and *igual*.

In the field of epistemic modality, most studies describe the value of epistemic markers as signs of the degree of commitment that the speaker shows towards the factuality of his statement, locating them in a scale of certainty or doubt (Barrenechea 1979, Westney 1986, Haverkate 2002). Nevertheless, there are few authors (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007; Cornillie 2007) that have gone in depth into the specific communicative functions that such markers acquire in their natural contexts of use. For this reason, more corpus-based studies are needed for an adequate analysis of the discursive functions of this kind of units.

In this direction, this paper will offer:

- A study of the contexts in which the units *a lo mejor* and *igual* appear in conversational Spanish:

- Linguistic context: grammatical (type of construction in which they are inserted), distributional (combination with another units), and conversational (type of turn, type of conversational act) contexts.
- Situational context (relation between the speakers, topic of the conversation etc.).

- A presentation of the different communicative functions that each adverbial marker presents in each specific context. These functions are manifold; for example, in (1), *a lo mejor* is used as an attenuator: Juan is formulating a suggestion to his recipient about the way he is cooking. To do it in an indirect and polite way, he uses the unit *a lo mejor*:

(1) JUAN: **a lo mejor** le tienes que dar / tienes que meterle más eh // es que si no se va a pegar luego

(1) JUAN: **maybe** you have to push / you have to introduce more eh // because if you don't do it later it is going to get burnt

In example (2), *a lo mejor* has a different function, namely that of establishing a hypothetical situation:

(2) JUAN: a mis amigos y a mí / nos hace gracia porque / **a lo mejor** estás en un pub / te pones a hablar con alguien // con una piba y te dice / *si porque el otro día c- -- comprando con mi novio /*

(2) JUAN: it's funny / to my friends and to me because / **maybe** you are in a pub / start talking with someone // with a girl and she tells you / *yes because the other day s- -- shopping with my boyfriend/*

So, this paper will show how *a lo mejor* and *igual* present, in some contexts, communicative functions that go further away the expression of pure possibility or doubt, that are the values traditionally attributed to this kind of units (Barrenechea 1979; González Calvo, 1989).

The materials used to elaborate this study were the *Corpus de conversaciones coloquiales*, and a conversational corpus gathered specially for this purpose. Both are compound of spontaneous conversations obtained through secret recordings, and have, as a whole, a length of around thirteen hours.

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Noun-based complement-taking constructions as modal markers: distributional and discourse-functional aspects in a Romance and crosslinguistic perspective

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This paper will be devoted to a complex phrasal construction which, in its complete form, follows a [DET + N + COP(ula) + COMP(lementizer)] pattern and is followed by an – at least superficially – subordinate complement clause that is governed by the noun-based matrix clause, with the entire construction corresponding to an identificational inverse copular sentence. However, this structural approach falls short of grasping the dominant use of this construction, which is discourse-functional: having undergone a process of reanalysis, the [DET + N + COP + COMP] segment, or reduced forms of it, are used to modalize the clause they occur with in a way comparable to certain epistemic, evaluative or evidential sentence adverbs. The construction is termed ‘shell-noun construction’ by Schmid (2000).

Although the construction seems widespread among European languages, there are considerable differences as far as frequency, distribution, formal variation and the paradigm of nouns that may be used in it are concerned. This paper will concentrate on two nouns attested as occurring in various languages within the discourse-functional [DET + N + COP + COMP] construction: *(the) thing* and *(the) truth*. Aijmer (2007) studies *the thing is that*, *the truth is that* and related forms in English, while Günthner (2008) analyses occurrences of *die Sache ist dass* (‘the thing is that’) in spoken German. In the present paper, the analyses of Aijmer and Günthner will be complemented and contrasted with Romance spoken language data from various sources: a thorough search has been carried out for the C-ORAL-ROM corpora (Cresti / Moneglia 2005), for French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, and for the CUB (Corpus de la Universitat de Barcelona) corpora, for Catalan, with additional data having been gathered selectively from other corpora. These data have been submitted to quantitative and qualitative analyses. In French and Italian, both *the thing is that* and *the truth is that* are virtually nonexistent. In the realm of Ibero-Romance, the bulk of occurrences comes from Spanish, where *la cosa es que* – at least in the C-ORAL-ROM data – is a low frequency item but *la verdad es que* occurs very often. In this language, the construction appears in its full-fledged form, described above:

(1) *la verdad es que tiene que tener un cuerpecillo gracioso // si es delgadito* (efamd128)

but also in reduced forms, e.g. without the copula as in (2) or without both copula and complementizer as in (3), and this in different positions, including sentence-medial and sentence-final:

(2) *yo el microondas la verdad que no le tengo* (efamd110)

(3) *y la placa / pues la verdad tampoco tiene tanta diferencia* (enatte02)

(4) *pero la fiesta estuvo muy bien // nos reímos un montón / la verdad // y / nada* (efammn07)

In this paper the Ibero-Romance occurrences of *the thing is that* and *the truth is that* will be analyzed along the lines of the discourse functions identified for the shell-noun construction by Schmid and Aijmer for English and Günthner for German. Furthermore, a hypothesis will be advanced in order to explain the divergent fortune of the construction in the Romance languages, which seems to be linked to the presence or absence of a common modern successor of the Latin adjective VERUS or the adverb VERO ‘true’.

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Recommendations: expressions of weakly deontic modality

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Like other communicative-functional categories such as statements, questions and orders, recommendations may be expressed in formally different ways. Their interpretation as recommendations is derived from their discursual function. In contrast to orders which we may characterize as ‘strongly deontic’, recommendations, like requests, could be said to be ‘weakly deontic’. In requests the speaker kindly asks the addressee to do something, while in recommendations, the speaker suggests to the addressee what he/she should want to do or not want to do. Recommendations are supposed to be for the benefit of the addressee and also in that respect they differ from requests, which are for the benefit of the speaker. A lot has been written in the literature on the function of the broad communicative-functional categories and their various possible forms, both from a more philosophical point of view and as linguistic treatments, but to the best of my knowledge very little has been written on recommendations (Author 2009).

Using data from the genre of wine tasting notes, this paper argues that the weakly deontic stance taken by the speaker in recommendations is pragmatically and interactively motivated in that the speaker/wine critic wants the addressees to hit the right drinking time for the benefit of the addressees themselves. At the linguistic level, the weakly deontic modality of recommendations is fostered by the middle semantic quality that characterizes the constructions, not only the middle construction proper such as *This beauty should drink well for 10–12 years*, but recommendation as such is characterized by a mid-degree of transfer of an action in the utterances (Hopper & Thompson 1980). Transitivity itself, in this paper, is taken to have the status of a Gestalt (Taylor 2003: 231–241). In spite of the fact that the event in recommendations mostly involves a verb meaning that presupposes a highly transitive situation frame including an ACTOR, an UNDERGOER and a dynamic predicate, the recommendations reside in the middle range of the scale of transitivity. The purpose of the study is to highlight the relations between weakly deontic modality of recommendations and the middle-semantic quality of the constructions.

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Syntactic behavior and discourse functions of modal verbs in constructions involving long distance dependencies

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Interesting empirical data in view of comparing the syntax and the interpretation of modal verbs are provided by constructs like the following, which involve long distance dependencies between the items in bold :

3. **Qui** tu penses qu’il faut **contacter** ?
Who do you think that you must **contact**
4. **Celui** que tu penses qu’il faut **contacter**
the one that you think that you must **contact**
5. c’est **moi** qu’ il faut qui **parle** maintenant non
it is me that (it) must (that) speak now

These data, which are respectively instances of wh- question, relative clause and cleft sentence have been widely studied in the literature, from the point of view of their extension as well as of the constraints they obey. I will first question the data on which these studies are based. Up to recent times the data mainly consisted of intuition built sentences. More recently appeared corpus based studies (Verhagen 2005) as well as experiment based ones (Ambridge & Goldberg 2008). I will use in the present study data from spoken and written French corpora. Concerning now the descriptive generalizations about the nature of the constraints they meet, different approaches can be pointed out. Broadly speaking, one can oppose syntactic and functional solutions. Based on the seminal work of Chomsky 1977, mainstream generative grammar has favored syntactic

solutions relying on the notion of subjacency . Since the beginning, however, this formal approach has been challenged by functional ones providing evidence that the constraints where, at least in part, of semantic or pragmatic nature. Culicover Jackendoff (2005) best sum up the debate, opposing the situation found in

6. *à qui je pleure quand je parle

which can be dealt with a purely syntactic constraint prohibiting “movement” from adjuncts to various cases of extractions from finite complements constrained by pragmatic factors. These pragmatic constraints themselves could be viewed differently.

According to Verhagen's (2005) corpus based study, in Dutch, the « bridging » verbs belong to restricted lexical classes. Basically those which contribute in establishing an intersubjective relationship between speaker and addressee. For instance, in the case of questions, the “bridging” verbs convey an anticipation of the modal stance of the addressee. On the other hand, Ambridge & Goldberg (2008), following Erteschik-Shir (1997) , claim that information structure is mainly involved to determine the possible long distance dependencies : a verb with a complement showing a presupposed content – a factive one for instance – could not figure as a bridging verb.

I will test these hypothesis against my data from written and spoken French. A first survey shows that the situation is even more complex than the one described in the literature. One reason is that some constraints are construction specific, whereas others have a general scope but are different from the up to now investigated ones.

An example of a specific constraint is provided by examples with the verb *vouloir* (*want*) like the following :

7. à qui veux-tu que je demande ça
to whom want you that I ask that

The default interpretation of this sentence involves a « light » meaning of the verb, far for the volitional basic reading. The whole sentence can be considered as a rhetorical question : “I cannot ask this to anybody”. Interestingly enough, the light reading is impossible in non interrogative contexts :

8. c'est à lui que tu veux que je parle
9. le professeur à qui tu veux que je pose la question n'est pas libre

as well as in plain finite complement constructs, interrogative or not :

10. tu veux que je parle à Paul (?)
11.

These facts seem easy to explain within Verhagen framework. Since the light meaning is restricted to second person clitic subjects, it is possible to posit a blend of constructional and lexical meaning boiling down to the elaboration of a specific communicative relationship between the interlocutors, namely the anticipation of a negative answer in a kind of exasperated mood (why the hell do you want me to ask this question?) .

However the data reveal other constraints which need other kind of explanations. Consider the examples (1) to (3) with impersonal *il faut* (it is obligatory that) as a bridging verb simplified in (9) and (10) :

12. le livre qu'il faut que tu lises
13. qu'est-ce qu'il faut que je lise en priorité

In this case, the modal shows an objective strong deontic meaning, which can be found in all the syntactic environments from (6) to (8). Notice that the verb obeys the information structure constraint, since the complement couldn't be considered as presupposed. But it doesn't enter the natural semantic class of the most frequently encountered verbs (*dire, penser, croire*) in this environment. More, the high frequency of this verb with finite complement in all styles in French is quite surprising, since this verb can take an infinitive complement the same as other deontic modals :

14. qu'est ce qu' (il faut / on doit / on peut) faire

My presentation will aim at describing in detail all these apparently idiosyncratic facts, within the general constraints involved in long distance dependencies constructions.

I will also try to compare the bridging verbs that can be used parenthetically (Benveniste et Willems 2007):

15. à qui tu crois **que** je dois demander ça
à qui, tu **crois**, je dois demander ça

with those which cannot :

16. à qui il faut que je demande ça
17. ? à qui ,il faut, je demande ça

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Latin American DIZQUE & Basque EDO: must grammatical evidentiality be sentential?

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Grammatical evidentials have propositional objects (Cinque 1999, Speas 2006, Aikhenvald 2004, Higginbotham to appear), while lexical systems may also modify constituents and predicates (Pietrandrea 2007, Wiemer 2007). However, Latin American Spanish presents a grammatical evidential in the making that has acquired the ability to modify constituents and predicates (a mixed property?). Basque presents a grammatical inferential particle that can also modify constituents. Non-sentential modification in both languages seems to converge into subjectification, even though evidential meaning in sentential uses are clearly distinguishable: hearsay/quotative for DIZQUE and inferential for EDO.

Latin American Sp. presents a (pseudo-)grammatical hearsay evidential in DIZQUE, a phonologically reduced form of *dice(n) que* 'they say that'. DIZQUE is used to introduce direct speech (quotative) and indirect speech as a hearsay evidential (1):

- (1) *porque dizque iba a enterrar a una persona*
'because dizque she was going to bury a person' Travis 2006: 1282(9)

DIZQUE can modify constituents too (2). Travis comes across this use in her corpus and refers to it as 'labeling': 'It encodes something like "other people say this; I don't want to say: I know this", and is similar to English "so-called".' (p. 1287; ex 6 cf. p. 1288 (23)). According to Travis, constituent level uses of DIZQUE cannot serve hearsay or quotative functions.

- (2) . . . Se presentó como, dizque narcotraficante, Yo me llamo no sé qué, narcotraficante
' . . . He introduced himself as dizque a drug dealer. I'm called so-and-so, drug dealer'

Olbertz (2007) reports constituent level uses about equal in frequency to the modification of clauses (see table). She does not restrict the inferential interpretation to non-sentential scope (see quote).

DIZQUE/QUESQUE modifies...	Frequency	Percentage
Sentence (finite)	29	25.4
Sentence (non-finite)	26	22.8
Adverbial Phrase	20	17.5
Noun Phrase	5	4.0
Adjective	27	23.6
Verb/Predicative Adjunct	5	4.0
Noun	4	3.5
TOTAL	114	100

Regarding interpretation, Olbertz notes that “the subjective relation becomes more prominent when *dizque* modifies subordinate clauses and constituents, and it becomes the central semantic value in the case of the modification of predicates.” (pp. 165-6).

The inferential particle EDO is equivalent to epistemic *must* (Azkue 1925: 470, §689; see 3). Surprisingly, EDO can also modify constituents (4): then Azkue (1925: 252, §409) translates EDO with an adverb expressing non-sentential scope.

(3)	Maria	etor(r)-i	da	edo.	(4)	Maria	edo	etor(r)-i	da.
	Maria	come-PER	AUX	EVID		Maria	EVID	come-PER	AUX
	‘Maria must have come.’					‘ Possibly Maria came.’			

Corpus data from books and press shows that, when the evidential is used as a constituent modifier, it is often *weakened*, as the speaker increasingly casts doubt on the information presented. The ‘labeling’ uses resemble one extreme of this weakening. Yet other, more positive uses exist, such as approximation (e.g., for time or distance estimates); see also Olbertz.

Basque and Spanish call for further discussion on the scope and nature of evidentials, as they attest to a non-sentential form of evidentiality in a non-lexical context. Its high frequency further begs the question of why non-sentential modification would fail to grammaticalize (Bybee 2003).

The emergence of the evidential characteristics of the grammaticalized alethic clauses: “faut croire” and “faut dire” in sentence final position

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Our study aims at highlighting a case of evidential meaning coming from an intersection between a deontic and an epistemic verb: ‘faut croire’ [one should believe] and a deontic and a *dicendi* verb: ‘faut dire’ [one should say]. We will focus our attention on the synchronic and diachronic analysis of both constructions in sentence-final position in French, as illustrated in (1) and (2):

(1) Les gens souffrent, [...] On est sur terre pour ça, **faut croire**. (Boulanger, 1962)

*People are suffering, [...]. We are on Earth to suffer, [one should believe]*¹

(2) Les gens regardaient les notables qu’arrivaient un à un sans rien dire. On leur disait rien non plus, **faut dire**. (Queneau, 1948)

People were looking at the prominent citizens who were arriving one by one without saying anything. Nobody said anything to them either, [one should say].

After highlighting the syntactic features showing that these expressions are at least partially grammaticalized, we shall identify the cognitive mechanisms that can explain their emergence, along with the semantic and pragmatic effects that distinguish the two expressions.

In the case of “faut croire”, the evidential value comes from the obviousness of the content of the clause. It could be asserted by any speaker. We shall associate to ‘faut croire’ a kind of evidentiality by obviousness. In the case of ‘faut dire’, the speaker is nearly forced to assert something. We shall associate to ‘faut dire’ a particular kind of evidentiality by borrowing. These two values are issued from a dialogical use. As for “faut croire”, the speaker turns her/his assertion into a confirmation request. He/she gives an epistemic judgment on it. By contrast, the dialogical use at the origin of “faut dire” is a comment of the speaker on her/his own discourse. The speaker takes the role of his/her addressee and emphasizes the illocutionary force of his/her previous assertion.

Our constructions are similar to those with a finite complement clause using the same verbs (‘[il] faut croire que’ / ‘[il] faut dire que’). They do indeed seem to convey the same kind of indications and can be analyzed as ‘recteurs forts’ according to the tests of Blanche-Benveniste (1989: 72). Because they appear chronologically before the clauses in sentence-final position, we could be tempted to explain the latter as deriving from the former by relying on grammaticalization and pragmaticalization processes, such as those that account for the pragmatic parenthetical use of the verbs *I think, I say, I guess*, etc. (Aijmer 1997, Brinton 2007). But we will see that the very position of the paratactic constructions is instead a trace of their possible dialogical use. Other paratactic constructions come from a dialogical use: for instance, NP such as “la cause” (*the cause*), “la raison” (*the reason*) in sentence-initial position (cf. Rossari & Cojocariu 2008). They allow the speaker to construct her/his discourse step by step, by fictionally inserting an addressee into it.

A diachronic corpus will allow us to confirm our hypothesis. A further step will consist in testing the universal value of a path leading from dialogical constructions to paratactic ones (cf. Bybee 2003 about standard grammaticalized items).

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¹ The translations given for “faut croire” and “faut dire” are word-to-word translations. They should in no case be considered as rendering the meaning of the French clauses.

Turntaking and modal adverbs in Spanish conversation

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This paper deals with the ‘instructional’ role of Spanish modal adverbs in speaker-participant interaction. I present a corpus study of the epistemic adverbs *a lo mejor*, *igual*, *quizá(s)* and *tal vez*, which mean ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’, and compare their functional profile with evidential adverbial phrases such as *por lo visto* and *al parecer* ‘apparently’. The data come from the *Corpus Oral de Referencia del Castellano Contemporáneo* (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).

Elsewhere I have dealt with the conceptual semantics of these modal expressions (Cornillie 2008). In this paper I show how *a lo mejor*, *igual*, *por lo visto* and *al parecer* are used for interactional purposes in the flow of discourse, whereas *quizá(s)* and *tal vez* do not have such a function. The former invite the co-participant (i.e. interlocutor) to approve or reject the hypotheses put forward. They are involved in the *on-line planning* of the turns and are used to ensure a reaction/reply from the co-participant. *Quizá(s)* and *tal vez* instead signal hypotheses as part of the speaker’s development of the sequence (no turntaking). An analysis of the number of words between the adverb and the next turn taken by the co-participant confirms the functional differences between *a lo mejor* and *igual*, on the one hand, and *quizá(s)* and *tal vez*, on the other. Moreover, the analysis of the distance between the adverb and the next turn corroborates that *por lo visto* and *al parecer* behave like *a lo mejor* and *igual*,

All epistemic adverbs examined have an intersubjective dimension: the speaker attempts to take into account the co-participant’s mind. It is hypothesized that the four interactional adverbs activate a specific intersubjective-interactional discourse frame. The speaker reads the co-participant’s mind with an interactional purpose. This typically happens when *a lo mejor* or *igual* has a semi-interrogative, concessive or disjunctive reading. The speaker takes into account the co-participant’s knowledge of the situation expressed and wants him/her to take a position in the conversation.

Yet, *quizá(s)* and *tal vez* show that intersubjectivity does not always imply interactive turntaking. When using these adverbs the speaker takes into account possible objections or corrections by the co-participant and tries to indicate that (s)he is aware of them. This way (s)he preempts turntaking and, hence, keeps the turn.

Discourse configurations as a relevant unit for the analysis of modal (and related) meanings in discourse

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A common practice in the literature on modality consists of defining the meaning and the function of each marker under examination through a contextual inspection. A number of properties of modal markers, such as their modal strength, the extension of their scope, the interaction between their evidential, epistemic and deontic values are usually identified through an exam of the semantic and syntactic properties of their immediate context (mainly the clause).

In some cases this methodology may prove to be insufficient. The semantic properties of some modal markers seem not to systematically correlate with a given syntactic distribution within the clause and, what is more important, the interactional and textual properties of modal markers are not easily identified when using such a narrow approach. As a matter of example, on the one hand the non factual Italian adverb *magari* (roughly corresponding to ‘maybe’, but also ‘I wish’) presents an interesting polysemy between non factual, scalar, concessive, imperative, optative meanings, which does not seem to be ruled by any regular syntactic distribution within the clause. On the other hand, the two certainty adverbs *certamente* and *sicuramente* (both roughly corresponding to ‘surely’, ‘certainly’) seem perfectly synonyms and present no distributional differences when observed within the clause.

In two recent studies both the polysemy of *magari* (Masini & Pietrandrea in press) and the apparent synonymy of *certamente* and *sicuramente* (Pietrandrea 2008) have been formally approached looking at the distribution of these markers at the level of *discourse configuration*. This level of analysis, identified within the French linguistic tradition (Blanche-Benveniste et al’s 1979, 1990) is defined as the sequence of the units that instantiate or reiterate one and the same predicate-argument-adjunct structure in discourse. The salient feature of discourse configurations is their shape, which can be described by referring to a number of topological patterns: lists of elements in the same syntactic position, repetition of syntactic structures, shifting of elements from a post-verbal to a pre-verbal position and so on. These topological patterns are

meaningful to an extent and they are eligible to be regarded as constructions in the sense of Construction Grammar (Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor, 1988, Goldberg, 1995, Östman, 2005). *Magari* is shown to be regularly associated with a general topological pattern, namely a list of items that occupy the same syntactic position as the item focused by *magari*. Each semantic function of *magari* correlates with one particular kind of list. *Certamente* and *sicuramente* are associated to different topological patterns, which constructionally contribute to define their respective meanings. *Certamente* is associated with topological patterns conveying confirmative (or concessive) meaning, which reveal its nature as a polyphonic trigger; *sicuramente* is associated with topological patterns normally used in the construction of alternative judgments, which reveal its nature as a trigger of a paradigm of strictly internal alternative judgments

The present contribution discusses these results highlighting the need for an extension of the current context-inspection methodology to a higher-level units of analysis, the importance of a rigorous formalization of these levels of analyses and the advantages of using Construction Grammar for a unified and formalized approach to what is commonly regarded as semantic and syntactic context at any level of linguistic structure.

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The emergence of an epistemic contextualizer in conversational Czech

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The main point of this corpus-based study is to demonstrate an analytic method of tracing and representing a grammatical change in a way that takes into account the interactional basis of linguistic patterning. The empirical focus is the development of a particular modal usage of the grammatical morpheme *jestli* ‘if/whether’ in spoken Czech, as attested in the *Czech National Corpus*.

Based on structural, semantic, and pragmatic properties of the relevant patterns as found in natural discourse, I argue that the modal use of *jestli* (glossed, roughly, as ‘I think that maybe *p*’) can be organically linked to the more familiar and chronologically older function of *jestli* as a subordinating conjunction in reported yes-no questions (in both spoken and written Czech). Appealing to both qualitative and frequency-based evidence, I show that the development (i) crucially draws on contextual (syntagmatic and communicative) features and (ii) represents a case of pragmaticization: a communicatively natural path of grammatical change that can be best identified in terms of a metonymy-based crystallization of a pragmatic meaning into a new conventional grammatical marker. The analysis is consistent with the kind of grammaticalization process (in the spirit of Traugott 1982, 2003, etc.) in which propositional content is recruited for developing into a subjective (modal) function, here giving rise to the change conjunction > speaker-centered epistemic contextualizer.

The emergence of such a discourse-sensitive pattern can be adequately captured only by appealing to an intricate interaction between fairly abstract constructional meanings, lexical meanings of words, and particular discourse-pragmatic patterning. I show that the latter can also develop recurrent, conventional expectations and thus become part of constructional specifications. I propose to include in the representational inventory certain substructures consisting of various pragmatic categories (speech act functions, text type, genre, speaker involvement, discourse roles, etc.) and to work with a general notion of ‘pragmatic frames’ (in addition to lexical-semantic frames) as a necessary enrichment of constructional representations. The paper thus serves as a test of the usefulness of Construction Grammar as a tool of discourse-grounded diachronic analysis and also as an adequate model for dealing with the grammar of spoken discourse as a distinct domain (and not just an imperfect rendition of written discourse).

High-frequency epistemic phrases *I think, I don't know, I guess,*

I thought, and I remember.

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High-frequency epistemic phrases like *I think*, *I don't know*, *I guess*, *I thought*, and *I remember* have received considerable attention in recent linguistic research on different varieties of English. This paper has two related objectives. First, it offers a quantitative survey of the occurrence of these items in American English conversation, in the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (in all almost 23 hours of data), with special reference to their semantic-pragmatic scope: the paper explores whether their scope extends over something yet to be verbalized in the turn-in-progress (forward scope), as opposed to having something in their scope that was just verbalized in the immediately preceding turn-so-far (backward scope). The scope will be examined primarily in two varieties, in unplanned everyday speech and in planned institutional speech (with a third variety, task-related talk, as a reference point in between). It will be established that in all three data sets there is a clear prevalence of clausal over phrasal scope, and a prevalence of a forward-looking scope over scope pointing back in the immediately preceding discourse.

Secondly, the paper gives a functional explanation for one item, *I thought*, whose semantic-pragmatic scope also conforms to the above pattern, as in: (H) <F But ***I thought*** it was very pragmatic of her to ask about that in June F>. There is already a great deal of evidence in the literature that initial epistemic phrases have become relatively fixed epistemic formulas and are used to provide a stance frame on what follows (Scheibman 2000, 2001, Thompson 2002; Kärkkäinen 2003, 2008). A further finding on the interactional functions of *I thought* emerges from the data. *I thought* is frequently part of a social action format or a recurrent linguistic routine or conversational pattern, used by speakers for taking a stance: in 68 cases out of a total of 146 in everyday speech it is followed by an explicitly stanced phrase or clause such as *it was funny*, *it was pretty neat*, or *it was beautiful*, or by direct reported speech or thought embodying a clear speaker stance.

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Discourse prominence and the distinction between lexical and grammatical modal verbs

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There is an ongoing discussion about the status of linguistic categories with respect to the lexical-grammatical distinction. The discussion has been concerned in particular with the category of Evidentiality, and it has been centered around the question whether Evidentiality should be defined as to include only grammatical expressions of source of information or to include also lexical expressions (e.g. Squartini 2007). To some extent, however, the discussion may seem futile in so far as, in Geurts' words, "nobody knows how to draw the line between lexical expressions and grammatical devices" (Geurts 2000: 781).

This paper moves the discussion on to (another area of) Modality. It suggests a way of drawing the line between lexical and grammatical expressions which is compatible with the idea of a lexical-grammatical continuum, and which highlights the discourse basis of grammaticalization. The paper first lists a number of problems in classifying Germanic modal verbs with respect to the lexical-grammatical distinction. It then outlines a functional theory of grammatical status and grammaticalization the centrepiece of which is that grammaticalization and the grammatical-lexical distinction are rooted in the coding of 'discourse prominence': 1) linguistic expressions are grammatical if they code their meaning as secondary in relation to some other coded meaning; 2) grammaticalization consists in the development of linguistic expressions which code their meaning as secondary in relation to some other coded meaning (Boye & Harder 2007, 2009). Subsequently the paper demonstrates how on the basis of the theory lexical modal verbs and modal auxiliaries can be distinguished from each other. In a corpus-based study of the epistemic

variant of the Danish modal verb *kunne* ('can') and the evidential (hearsay) variant of the Danish modal verb *skulle* ('shall', 'must') the two expressions are shown to differ in the degree of discourse prominence with which they are found in conversation as well as in their behaviour with respect to negations and tag-questions. It is argued that the differences can be accounted for under the assumption that epistemic *kunne* as a lexical expression codes its meaning as potentially discursively primary, whereas evidential *skulle* as a grammatical expression codes its meaning as inherently discursively secondary. Finally, the paper sketches a hypothetical scenario for the grammaticalization of lexical modal verbs into modal auxiliaries. In accordance with the functional theory of grammatical status and grammaticalization, the scenario pinpoints diachronic changes in discourse prominence as the engine that drives grammaticalization.

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Epistemicity, evidentiality and non-factuality: three different categories?

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The recent upsurge of interest in evidentiality has caused much discussion on the multifarious relationships between evidentiality and epistemicity. In a sense, this debate blurred the traditional boundaries of epistemicity and surfaced descriptive inconsistencies (van der Auwera & Ammann 2005: 307), ultimately suggesting that some difficulties may derive from the clash of different terminological traditions. However, the so-called 'evidential vogue' (Aikhenvald 2003: 19) also contributed to pin down those epistemic functions in which epistemicity and evidentiality overlap (most prominently Palmer's 'epistemic judgements'), thus highlighting a new possible boundary between evidential-epistemic functions (Pietrandrea 2005) and pure epistemicity. In my presentation this boundary will be elaborated further focussing on the notion of non-factuality, which is prototypically triggered whenever the speaker creates possible and fictitious worlds. Actually, 'possible worlds' are mentioned in standard definitions of epistemicity (Nuyts 2001: 21), whereas their role seems to be de-emphasized in more recent reappraisals (Nuyts 2006: 6). The data collected in this paper will be used to demonstrate that non-factuality should in fact be regularly applied in distinguishing different epistemic subdomains. The empirical coverage will be mostly concentrated on Romance lexical and grammatical data (verb forms, modals, adverbs and particles), that will be reinterpreted as synchronic and diachronic clues to the interplay between non-factuality and evidentiality. Most attention will be paid to Romance Conditionals, in which the role of non-factuality and its diachronic and synchronic relations to (reportive) evidentiality are particularly apparent. Eventually, the analysis of these data may lead to a general rearrangement of the Romance epistemic domain, where non-factuality and evidentiality should be considered as the major categories, while the area traditionally defined as epistemic would rather be due to the interaction of these two supercategories.

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Workshops on Friday 11 September 2009

WORKSHOP. Linguistic Variation, Social Cognition and Pluricentric Languages:**Workshop description**

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This workshop on internal variation and sociolinguistic diversity of pluricentric languages (i.e. languages with different national varieties) brings together researchers who are interested in the social and cognitive aspects of variation and change within pluricentric languages, with specific emphasis on the relationship between national varieties. In particular, it raises the question to what extent (and how) language-internal variation, culture and cognition combine and intertwine.

The Call for Papers welcomed papers taking into consideration the following topics and questions:

- language variation, culture and cognition: do local and national linguistic differences reflect cultural differences? To what extent do the former correlate with conceptual differences?
- perception and evaluation of national varieties: how do language users perceive national varieties and how do they evaluate them attitudinally? Which cultural and cognitive models are used in order to categorize and evaluate local and national linguistic differences? How are purist or pro-independence attitudes manifested and what are the consequences for the development of national varieties?
- objective and subjective linguistic distances: is there a correlation between objective linguistic distances, perceived distances, and language attitudes? How can we measure and parameterize diachronic and synchronic convergence or divergence between national varieties?
- mutual intelligibility between national varieties: to what extent do objective linguistic distances and language attitudes influence intelligibility?
- correlations between variables: to what extent do lexical, grammatical and phonological variables correlate when it comes to the stratification of national varieties?

Linguistic and Cultural Exclusion of Others in the Building of Cultural and Linguistic Unity: The Case of Spanish

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Spanish is spoken by several hundred million people in a large number of countries. Most are native speakers of the language and in spite of the high number of its speakers and the variety of their settings, Spanish is remarkably homogeneous, not only at the level of the standard language. Of course, many varieties do exist. The official parlance has always emphasised this homogeneity and reference is constantly made to the existence of a 'Spanish-speaking identity' and a 'Spanish-speaking culture'. This paper first offers a brief reminder of the historical and ideological origins of these ideas. A second part emphasises the cultural differences among the many different Spanish-speaking communities, special reference being made to the substantial number of 'pre-Hispanic' groups which even lead to the development of a number of creoles. As it may be rather unfair to label these groups as 'aboriginal' or 'indigenous' (as opposed to the usage in the US, Canada, Australia, etc.), I discuss the possibility of finding a proper denomination: it must not be forgotten that the number of monolingual Spanish

speakers of ethnic 'pre-Hispanic' origin is very high, and that the connection between ethnicity and language cannot be carried out along the usual lines for the English-speaking languages. The extremely complex web of cultural and linguistic relations inside the Spanish-speaking world is then reviewed. A review of the papers read in the last 'Congreso de la lengua española' allows us to see that the notion of the 'Spanish-speaking world' is built through the neglect of everything that just does not fit in the notion itself: this purported linguistic, cultural (and, in the say of many, religious) world is shown to exclude nearly everything that may be 'different'.

Cognitive foundations of linguistic pluricentrism

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The assumptions of modern linguistics are frequently ill-based because linguists suppose they are analyzing facts as natural science normally does. But linguistics never studies rough facts; it studies the facts of language as they are perceived by human beings. Every (not artificial) language is of a pluricentric nature for pluricentrism always manifests itself as a set of partially not corresponding varieties. Nevertheless, some languages are said to be more pluricentric than others. This is due to the fact that the perception of languages behaves like the perception of nations. As the classical study by Anderson (Benedict Anderson, 1983, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, London) pointed out, nations are imagined communities whose members –even in the case of very small nations– imagine they belong without knowing each others. The more links people imagine tie them together, the stronger their national feelings will be. A very similar situation can be found in the case of languages. The members of a linguistic community are convinced they can understand each other, an assumption that not always holds, and moreover they think they speak like any other, which is never true. The more they imagine to understand others, the less pluricentric the language will be.

Language is situated between thought and emotion, and it refers to the external world. There are then three sources from which linguistic pluricentrism can arise: 1) the conceptual pluricentrism, which is established by scholars when they split off a language in several varieties according to their linguistic features; 2) the emotional pluricentrism, which appears every time speakers feel a specific linguistic variety not to be the same as theirs, but a different one; 3) the factual pluricentrism, which corresponds to objective variation (synonyms, allosyntactic constructions, and so on), regardless of whether or not speakers / scholars are able to recognize it.

Linguistic pluricentrism is a topological notion. The three sources of linguistic pluricentrism are alternative procedures for organizing the elements of a set. A language can be conceived of as a set of linguistic elements. Inner organizational patterns are called topologies. Every time we organize the elements of a set according to the behavior of some of them, it is said we have introduced a topology in the set. Conceptual, emotional and factual pluricentrism are three alternative topologies the speakers of a community follow when they are imagining it. Prototype theory models are provided to formalize the relationships among them.

Language Attitudes and Comprehension in a Pluricentric Language: the Case of Dutch

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When speakers of different languages or language varieties communicate, the extent to which they understand one another may differ. Several studies, such as Börestam (1987), have reasoned that *language attitudes* can play an important role in explaining such asymmetrical intelligibility relations. Positive language attitudes often encourage listeners to try to understand the language variety in question, whereas negative attitudes often hinder intelligibility. Spoken language comprehension is thus not necessarily only a matter of being able to understand, but might also be a question of willingness to understand. To investigate the link between attitudes and comprehension in the Dutch language area (which is characterized, at the level of the standard language, by a pluricentric distinction between Netherlandic Dutch and Belgian Dutch, and additionally by a considerable variety at dialect level), we developed two related experiments. First, we carried out a large-scale intelligibility test in which test subjects had to categorize and identify a large set of existing and non-existing words recorded in ten closely related language varieties. Second, we developed an auditive affective priming experiment, based on the automatic evaluation hypothesis (Fazio et al. 1986). The experiment consisted of three subsequent phases: an assessment of the targets' main effect, the main auditive priming procedure, and a postexperimental rating task to check the primes' connotative neutrality. In this second study, we hypothesize (1) that words with a regional accent carry, apart from their semantic value, an affective connotation and (2) that this affective connotation can predict intelligibility. To test these hypotheses, we presented our test subjects positive and negative prime stimuli followed by, after a short interstimulus interval, a positive or negative target. As in a typical affective priming paradigm (Hermans, De Houwer & Eelen 1994), we

selected the visual target stimuli, standardized positive or negative pictures, from the IAPSDatabase (Lang, Bradley & Cuthbert 1999). The selection of the primes, however, is innovative in the field: we selected connotatively neutral existing and non-existing words, recorded in various varieties of the same language. In an evaluative categorisation task, test subjects then had to respond as quickly as possible if the target of each associatively unrelated prime–target pair was emotionally positive or negative. In line with the results previous affective priming tests revealed, we expect to find significantly shorter response latencies when the valence of both prime and target is affectively congruent (positive-positive or negative-negative) as compared to incongruent prime-target pairs (positive-negative or negative-positive).

In a final step, we will link the results of this priming test to the subjects' scores on the first intelligibility test. We expect to find that more positive attitudes towards certain language varieties in the priming experiment will correspond to higher intelligibility scores in the intelligibility test.

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Measuring Convergence and Divergence between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese: from Lexical to Constructional and Attitudinal Variables

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Building on earlier research concerning the lexical convergence or divergence between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese (AA, in press), the present study attempts to investigate if the results of both convergence/divergence between the two national varieties over the last five decades and the ones of the current internal stratification of each variety can be replicated when we consider constructional variables rather than lexical variables. At the same time, we want to know whether there is a correlation between these objective linguistic indicators and the subjective (attitudinal) linguistic ones. This study will make use of corpus-based and quantitative methods, in particular the onomasiological method for the study of linguistic variation, i.e. onomasiological variation involving denotational synonymous terms or constructions, and uniformity measures based on onomasiological profiles (Speelman, Grondelaers & Geeraerts 2003).

Previous research involving around fifty onomasiological profiles from the lexical fields of football and clothing presents as outcome divergence in clothing vocabulary and restricted convergence in football vocabulary. Clothing terms are more representative of common vocabulary and, therefore, the results obtained for clothing are probably closer to the sociolinguistic reality. The slight convergence observed in the field of football is probably the effect of globalization and

standardization of the vocabulary of football. Other lexicological research results include major changes throughout time and a larger distance between standard and substandard registers in the Brazilian variety, in a significantly higher percentage than in the European variety.

The present research enlarges the scope of previous investigation from content words to function words and syntactic constructions. Fifteen prepositional onomasiological profiles and ten syntactic onomasiological profiles are analyzed. The first group includes prepositional constructions such as *falar de/sobre/acerca de/em* ('speak of/on/about') and *ansioso de/para/por* ('anxious to/for'); the second one encloses both infinitival and finite complement constructions that make use of causative and perception verbs and word order variations in adjectival constructions. A sociolinguistically relevant hypothesis is that syntactic constructions and function words behave differently than other forms in terms of linguistic variation. Given the attentional distinction between lexicon (more awareness) and syntax (less awareness), one may assume that in the case of Portuguese function words and syntactic constructions diverge more than content words. Our results confirm the diachronic hypothesis of divergence between the two national varieties and the synchronic hypothesis of a larger stratificational distance in Brazilian Portuguese. Further investigation is needed to fully understand the consequences of the purist or pro-independence attitudes (more frequent in Brazil) for the global divergence and the stratificational asymmetry of the two national varieties.

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Portuguese as a Pluricentric Language: The Case of Timor-Leste.

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The Constitution of Timor-Leste (East Timor - ET) – an independent country since 2002 after nearly five centuries of Portuguese colonial jurisdiction (1517-1975), subsequent 24 years of Indonesian annexation, and three years of United Nations jurisdiction – proclaimed Portuguese and local Tetun (in its double role of (i) one of the vernacular languages spoken in ET and (ii) a local long-term *lingua franca* in ongoing process of creolization) to be the two co-official languages, while Indonesian and English were assigned the status of working languages. Locally, the ET nearly one million population speaks over twenty different non-mutually intelligible languages belonging to two big language families: Austronesian and Papuan (Hull 1998; Thomaz 2002; Hajek 2006; Bowden and Hajek 2007; Taylor-Leach 2008).

Given the richness and the complexity shown above, the present sociolinguistic situation of ET can be seen as a form of poliglossia (Batoréo *in press*), where typologically different languages – of agglutinating type: Austronesian (e.g. Tetun and other local languages, as well as Indonesian) and Papuan (Fataluku, Makasai, Bunak and Makalero), on one hand, and of inflected type, belonging to the Indo-European family (Portuguese and English), on the other – stay in permanent language contact and play roles of different sociolinguistic varieties.

In spite of its formal official status, at present Portuguese is estimated to be spoken by only five per cent of the population in ET (cf. Castro 2004). Its good command is more common in the over-forty Timorese population (cf. Batoréo 2005, 2006, 2007) – educated in the Portuguese colonial system and catholic religion, and also taught the language as their mother tongue over thirty five years ago – than in younger generations where it is nearly suppressed by Indonesian and English. Due to historic reasons, it is silently assumed by the purists in both countries that the variety of Portuguese spoken in ET is its European variety, being its real sociolinguistic complexity and linguistic specificity largely unknown and/ or neglected even by Portuguese linguists and teachers (cf. Esperança 2005). The Brazilian presence in ET and the Brazilian variety of Portuguese in Timorese linguistic reality are also neglected.

In the present study we propose to focus on perception and evaluation of Portuguese by the Timorese, resident both in Timor and in Portugal. The first part of our analysis is drawn on a corpus of data collected by Batoréo (cf. 2005, 2006 and 2007) and constituted by elicited and non-elicited (free) written Portuguese narrative discourse produced by 30 multilingual (both female and male), over-forty, ET residents and Portuguese teachers in Dili. The second part is based on free interviews with Timorese residents in Portugal.

On the basis of the data collected in these two different sociolinguistic contexts we intend to approach the question of cultural and cognitive models used in order to categorize and evaluate the role of Portuguese in Timorese reality. Also the question of purist and pro-independence attitudes both in Timor and in Portugal, and in particular the question of the extent of language-internal variation will be taken into consideration.

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Why did you say you care about your language if you don't really? Language Loyalty and Language Shift among the Catalan-speaking Community of Alghero (Sardinia)

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Language attitudes can be defined as the speakers' opinion towards different language varieties (in contact). Such opinions may vary, within the same community of speakers, from very positive (or favourable) to very negative (or unfavourable). It is noted that, as a consequence of the way the speakers perceive the linguistic varieties around them, attitudes can have considerable effects on language behaviour, in terms of preserving both the structure and the social functions of the language concerned (Trudgill 2003: 73). Folk perception of the languages in contact is therefore at the root of either maintenance or extinction of the subordinate variety.

It follows that language attitudes are closely related to the concept of language loyalty. According to Weinreich (1953: 99), language loyalty can be defined as 'a principle [...] in the name of which people will rally themselves [...] to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of language shift) or in the structure of vocabulary (as a consequence of interference)'. In principle, then, whenever the speakers hold a favourable attitude towards a specific language variety, they will tend to behave in such a way as to preserve that particular language. However, this is not always the case. There are in fact instances in which a clear mismatch between the speakers' opinion and their actual linguistic behaviour occurs (see, for example, Evans 1996).

Alghero (a Catalan-speaking enclave in Sardinia) is an excellent case in point. From qualitative data, it emerges that the majority of speakers show a clearly favourable attitude towards Catalan, firmly wishing that the language should not disappear. By contrast, the quantitative data clearly suggest that the language now being transmitted between the generations is in fact Italian (the 'national' language).

With this paper I intend to offer a detailed account of the (unbalanced) relationship that exists between the positive attitudes expressed towards Catalan and the actual behaviour of its speakers with regard to the language they transmit to their children. I will then reach to the conclusion that a new concept is needed to describe those instances in which there is no correlation between the speakers' attitudes and their real linguistic behaviour. The term *moral language loyalty* is proposed for this purpose, which can be defined as an unbalanced relationship between what the speakers say and their actual behaviour. In the same way that in difficult times a person receives *moral support*, in a difficult sociolinguistic situation as is that of Catalan in Alghero, speakers are prepared to express their full support, but cannot (or indeed want to) do anything to increase its social use.

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Cultural implications of variation and change: An analysis of English job titles in two varieties of Dutch.

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Research on variation in pluricentric languages has focused on a number of different linguistic topics, ranging from naming strategies (e.g. Geeraerts *et al.* 1999) over syntactic differences (De Sutter *et al.* 2008) to attitudinal research (Impe & Speelman 2007). In this study, we will present a fairly new perspective, taking the global spread of English as our starting point (compare Geeraerts & Grondelaers 2000). We will show how variation in the use of anglicisms in pluricentric languages correlates with socio-cultural similarities and differences between the varieties under scrutiny. We will use a corpus of job ads to statistically analyse the variation in the use of English function titles in Belgian Dutch (used in Flanders) and Netherlandic Dutch (compare Van Meurs *et al.* 2007 for attitudinal research on the topic). Our material consists of over fifteen thousand function titles, collected from Dutch (*Intermediair*) and Belgian (*Vacature*) job ad magazines from 1969 to 2009.

Each function title is coded for language (dependent variable) and for several independent variables that may explain the variation found between both varieties. Firstly, we determine whether there are any differences in the diachronic evolution: we will examine whether the rise of English is continuous and whether the slope of the curve is the same in both varieties. Secondly, we incorporate an onomasiological perspective (Geeraerts 2005) by assigning the title to a function category (HRM, ICT etc.), which will allow us to present a more nuanced perspective on the overall influence of English on both varieties. Thirdly, we classify the employing company in trading sectors (industry, government etc.) in order to check whether both varieties use the same linguistic strategies in dealing with Anglo-American trading fields (like ICT). Next, we use the size of an ad to estimate the influence of a firm's budget and finally, we verify whether the interference of HR agencies has an effect on the language choice and whether this effect is the same for Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch.

After coding the variables, we perform regression analyses to determine the interaction of all factors with the general difference between both varieties. In discussing the results of these statistical analyses, we will link the results to several socio-cultural aspects of Flanders and the Netherlands. More specifically, we will discuss the hypothesis that Flemish language users are more reluctant to use foreign words than their Dutch neighbours and relate this to the historical development of both regions. As such, this multivariate quantitative approach will not only complement existing research on the use of English in European languages (e.g. Onysko 2007), but will also present a new perspective on socio-cultural aspects of pluricentric languages.

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Attitudes towards language varieties in Scandinavia

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Although the Scandinavian countries are in most respects homogeneous communities with only minor differences in culture, education, democratic traditions and development and even language, there are clear differences in the status of the 'standard' language.

In Norway, a 'standard' pronunciation of the two modern written language varieties (*Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*) has not achieved the same status as in the neighbouring countries Denmark and Sweden. As a matter of fact, Norwegian teachers are not allowed to force any schoolchildren to speak a 'standard' variety. As a consequence, Norwegian children are not taught a 'standard' variety of spoken Norwegian in school.

During the last few decades there has been an increased tolerance of language varieties, both spoken and written, in Norway, which is parallel to a change in attitudes towards spoken Norwegian. Today, a great many Norwegians use their dialect – or their 'natural' language variety – in all situations, and the number of people who do so and find it natural to do so, has increased considerably in recent years. 'Dialect users' may be found in all professions and at all levels in public administration and government. This change in attitudes towards spoken 'non standard' language varieties seems to be a specifically Norwegian feature. A corresponding development is not seen in neighbouring Sweden and Denmark, or at least it is not so evident as in Norway. There is also general agreement among Scandinavian linguists that the level of tolerance of spoken varieties today is higher and the accommodation pressure is weaker in Norway than in Denmark and Sweden.

The reasons for the change in attitudes towards spoken varieties in Norway, and the differences in language climate and sociolinguistic situation in the three neighbouring Scandinavian countries are not easy to explain, but will be discussed in my paper, and some possible explanations will be considered.

Language Identity and Diglossia: The Case of German-Speaking Switzerland

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Block (2007) defines language identity as "[...] the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's self and a means of communication." This paper argues that language identity becomes increasingly complex in multilingual and diglossic contexts where the means of communication is not a single language. Swiss-Germans, for example, live in a situation of medial diglossia (Wuest, 1993) where the language of oral communication in everyday life is an unmarked dialect, while Standard German is confined to written communication as well as educational and formal contexts.

Hence, the question arises - how is language identity constructed by members of a diglossic speech community? Do they share an overall language identity or are there rather different identity options they "choose" from?

In a folk linguistic study (140 informants, narrative interviews) we investigated into the language identity of Swiss-Germans. The study examines three types of relationship between individuals of the speech community and their two varieties (Block, quoting Rampton 1990): *language expertise*, *language affiliation* and *language inheritance*. Applying a folk linguistic approach, we are, for example, not interested in the actual expertise of an individual but rather in folk theories of competence and language learning in a diglossic situation.

It is shown that Swiss-Germans do not share an overall language identity. On the contrary: looking at *language inheritance and expertise*, for example, we found that some Swiss-Germans consider Standard German a foreign language they learn at school (just like French or English) while others say their mother tongue is simply "German" (including both varieties). In terms of *language affiliation* we found that some informants draw a sharp line between *Standard German spoken by Germans* as opposed to *Standard German spoken by Swiss people*. They consider *Standard German spoken by Swiss people* less beautiful and even mention a disgust to talk it because of its awkward sound while others do not make this distinction at all.

Deeper knowledge of language identity in the Swiss-German diglossic situation is a key to successful language policy and language didactics in Switzerland. We cannot depart from the idea of a shared Swiss-German language identity if, in reality, there are varied language identity options among the members of a single speech community.

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WORKSHOP. Recursiveness in Word-Formation:

Workshop description

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Recursive application of word-formation rules of a particular word-formation process is in principle restricted to compounding, prefixation and suffixation, even if cases of recursive conversion do occur, as in English *to sur'vey* > *a 'survey* > *to 'survey* (Bauer & Valera 2005: 12); recursiveness can also be found in reduplication (in the form of triplication, or even multiple application of the reduplication process, for example, *ang* 'red' > *ang~ang* 'reddish' > *ang~ang~ang* 'extremely red' (Zhang 1987: 379), and in Hebrew back-formation (Ora Schwarzwald in this workshop), but the last three processes do not seem to be very productive in any language: they are usually restricted to individual occurrences. Thus, the scope of productive recursiveness in word-formation is rather narrow. On the other hand, idiosyncratic recursiveness in individual languages is also of high value and worth contrastive linguistic analysis.

The workshop offers space to discuss various aspects of recursiveness in word-formation, including its synchronic and diachronic aspects, formal and semantic aspects of the phenomenon, the description of a situation in individual languages or across languages, the focus on a selected word-formation rule or process, or searching for their correlations, typological and/or areal aspects of recursiveness, the local vs. global distinction, the issue of productivity, latest tendencies, etc.

Recursiveness in word-formation: a cross-linguistic perspective

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The paper is intended as an introduction to a workshop program. It presents some of the results obtained within our research into typology and universals in word-formation. It is based on an analysis of 55 languages covering 28 language families and 45 language genera distributed over all continents.

Recursiveness may be examined at the level of word-formation processes, such as affixation, or compounding. From this point of view, a language like Greenlandic is highly recursive because sequences of up to 10 or even more affixes before inflection are possible. Certainly, there is always an upper limit to the number of affixation processes per language, for example, four derivational suffixes in Jaqaru verb roots (Hardman 2000: 88). Germanic languages are also highly recursive because compound 'monsters', including a number of nominal stems, are fairly common.

Recursiveness can also be studied at the level of individual word-formation rules/affixes and semantically defined categories. In Slavonic languages like Slovak, Czech and Polish, the category of Diminutiveness, for example, is highly recursive, with the number of diminutive affixes increasing the strength of diminutive meaning. The diminutive *ma-li-li-li-linký* 'very very very very small' in Slovak is an example of a fairly common colloquial phenomenon.

The paper will also present selected typological and statistical data indicating, for example, that there are more languages without recursiveness in compounding than those which admit it. In our sample of languages it is present in only 17 out of 49 'compounding' languages. In addition, our data show that recursive compounding is prototypically bound to the combination of nominal stems. On the other hand, affixation is recursive in 42 out of 55 languages of our sample.

The paper thus will give an overview of the situation in the examined area, and will aim at instigating a discussion on various aspects of recursiveness from the perspective of typological research.

The importance of being recursive

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Recursiveness is generally taken to be a generative tool for forming new strings of objects and entities by the cyclic reapplication of the same process. In formal linguistics this notion is often used to refer to the embedding mechanism in syntax and it has even been claimed to be an essential property characterizing the language faculty of human beings (cf. Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002). It is not clear whether this claim can also be extended to other aspects of the language faculty, and specifically the lexical domain.

At any rate, a more precise definition of recursiveness is needed if we want to explore its functions within the lexicon. Recursiveness can be seen either as the mere repetition of a terminal node (what usually gives rise to reduplication, e.g. Italian *piano piano* ‘very slow, lit. slow slow’), or, more commonly, as the repetition of a branching structure which replaces a terminal node. In this sense, recursiveness can be taken to mean the copying process as such. Notice that this is the general meaning attributed to recursiveness in syntax.

In the latter case two options are possible, which can be conceived as different degrees of abstraction: either we repeat the very same process, or we repeat the same “type” of process. An example of the former case is the double application of one and the same prefix (e.g. English *meta-meta-language*). An instance of the latter case is double suffixation, as in the Italian complex word *modern-izza-zione* ‘modernisation’.

Of course, recursiveness in derivation is constrained in a number of ways: not all affixes can be repeated, and not all combinations of affixes are allowed. In this respect, it remains to be understood whether selectional and/or parsing properties are responsible for the strong restrictions on the recursive application of one and the same affix, or on cycle-shaped chains of affixes (cf. Hay & Plag 2004, Gaeta 2005, 2008). To make just one example, even though fully justified from a selectional point of view, long chains of suffixes are clearly dispreferred in Italian, strongly limiting the potential effects of recursiveness. If long chains of affixes occur, then the relative frequency of the intermediate bases is quite high, which points to a certain degree of internal opacity (e.g., cases like *un-it-ar-ietà*, etc.).

Apart from reduplication, recursiveness in compounding is also subject to restrictions: for instance, it is often claimed to be largely unconstrained in Germanic languages (e.g., German *Wortbedeutungslehre* ‘semantics, lit. word meaning study’), but much less so in Romance languages (cf., e.g., Scalise & Bisetto 2008). However, if we expand our idea of lexicon to include so called phrasal words, we can detect a potential source for recursiveness in the lexicon of Romance languages as well. Phrasal words are to be understood as stable referential units which are syntagmatically and paradigmatically constrained (cf. also Benveniste’s 1966 concept of “synapsis”) and are generally formed according to determined patterns or constructions (cf. Masini 2007, in prep.). Romance languages present a variety of phrasal words (nouns in this case) such as those exemplified in (1):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|---------|------------------------|----------------|
| (1) | a. | [ADJ N]N | French | <i>première violon</i> | ‘first violin’ |
| | b. | [N PREP N]N | Italian | <i>camera da letto</i> | ‘bedroom’ |
| | c. | [N ADJ]N | Spanish | <i>luna nueva</i> | ‘new moon’ |

Phrasal words such as these can be subject to various kinds of recursiveness, as illustrated by the Italian examples in (2), extracted from the ItWac corpus (cf. Baroni & Bernardini 2006):

- | | | | | |
|-----|----|---|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (2) | a. | [N PREP _i [N PREP _i N]N]N | <i>armi di distruzione di massa</i> | ‘weapons of mass destruction’ |
| | b. | [N PREP _i [N PREP _k N]N]N | <i>richiesta di rinvio a giudizio</i> | ‘committal for trial’ |
| | c. | [N PREP [ADJ N]N]N | <i>omicidio di primo grado</i> | ‘first-degree murder’ |
| | d. | [N PREP [N ADJ]N]N | <i>lavoro a tempo pieno</i> | ‘full-time job’ |
| | e. | [[N PREP _i N]N PREP _k N]N | <i>corso di formazione a distanza</i> | ‘distance learning course’ |

- f. [ADJ [N ADJ]N]N *prima guerra mondiale* 'first world war'

Clearly, such recursive effects are not due to a strictly morphological pattern. Rather, they result from phrase-building mechanisms. However, they allow us to draw a striking parallel with the recursive compounds of the Germanic languages, in that their collocational properties match. Moreover, among the Germanic compounds, we mostly find exactly those types which clearly correspond to Italian (recursive) phrasal words. Notice furthermore that phrasal words also occur in *bona fide* compounds like *effetto buccia d'arancia* 'orange-peel effect'. Thus, even if recursiveness cannot be said to be related to a morphological pattern as such, it clearly steps its way into the Italian lexicon with the help of phrasal words.

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Recursion and compounds: The Romance languages

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Recursion is nearly absent from Romance compounds. It can be found, in Italian, for instance, only in coordinate nominal compounds (1a) and in adjectival (ethnic) coordinates (1b) though in the last case recursion is possible only when coordination involves semi-adjectives, not full ones (1c):

- 1) a. scrittore attore regista director actor writer
 b. (accordo) anglo-franco-italo-ungherese Anglo-Franco-Italo-Hungarian (agreement)
 c. *(accordo) inglese francese italiano ungherese

English French Italian Hungarian (agreement)

Recursion is instead usual in Germanic languages, here exemplified with English, as the following NN example (from Plag 2002: 123) shows:

- 2) [[[university [teaching award]] committee] member]

As this example shows, it can be said that recursion allows for the expansion of a NN compound joining a nominal constituent either in head-position (*committee* and *member*), i.e. on the right or on the left, where the joined nominal constituent has a modifying function (*university*). Modification as recursion, however, seems to be allowed only if the modifier shares the same lexical category with the head constituent. The presence of an adjectival modifier in a complex

construction such as, for example (3a) blocks the possibility of expanding the NN compound base, even though a nominal constituent is adjoined (3b):

- 3) a. teaching award □□new teaching award
b. □□*university new teaching award

The adjective, in fact, makes the construction a phrase, thus preventing recursion.

In our contribution we will discuss recursion in Germanic languages contrasting it with Romance trying to give an explanation for its limited use in Romance languages in general. Italian, beyond formations like those in (1) above, has few peculiar subordinate compounds, so called VN compounds, manifesting recursion (as Dressler (1983) pointed out):

- 4) a. porta-stuzzicadenti lit. 'carry-toothpick = toothpick-carrier'
porta-asciugamani lit. 'carry-towel = towel-carrier'

b. lava-tergilunotto lit. 'wash-rear window wiper = rear window wiper-washer'

The compounds in (4a) differ from that in (4b): the last one is an example of coordination that could be represented as follows:

- 5) [[V N] [V N]]

The compound is in fact interpreted as *lavalunotto+tergilunotto* lit. 'wash-rear window+wipe-rear window', viz. an instrument for washing and wiping rear windows.

In the (4a) case, instead, adjunction of a verbal constituent on the left, (the canonical head position), recreates a VN subordinate structure:

- 6) [V [VN]N]

Differently said, we have to do with a VN compound whose N constituent is a VN (compound) noun in itself. Obviously, these last formations cannot be analysed as in (5):

- 7) *portadenti + stuzzicadenti *portamani + asciugamani

The interesting fact about these forms is that the expansion of the VN construction takes place by means of the adjunction of a constituent that does not become the head of the new complex but that assumes the identical role that the verb carries out in the base construction.

Limited recursion in compounding is probably tied to the type of compound involved. We will try to answer the following question: given the classification of compounds in three classes (subordinate, coordinate, attributive – cf. Bisetto & Scalise 2005) is recursion combining the different types allowed or are there restrictions? We will discuss recursion in derivation as well. It is a well known fact that this phenomenon seems to be absent from suffixation processes but present in prefixation, as the following examples illustrate:

- 8) meta-metacritica 'meta-meta-critics' ex-vice-direttore 'ex-vice-director'

Here, in fact, the more external prefix scopes over the already prefixed word.

Other cases, however, show up in Italian, like *ex-ex-ex moglie* 'ex-ex-ex-wife' which is ambiguous between two meanings: "she was my wife a long time ago" and "she is my third ex-wife". Not all prefixes, however, can be used this way: **in-in-infelice* 'un-un-unhappy'. Prefixed and compounded words cannot however be paralleled with respect to recursion since

prefixes generally are categorially neuter (in Italian). Consequently their recursive use is tied to their meaning and the semantic modification they introduce.

Recursiveness in Hebrew Word Formation

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Recursiveness in word formation is defined here as the same process that occurs in word formation more than once. In each case a new lexical entry is formed. Derivational recursiveness in Hebrew can either occur in double or multiple stems, or in single stems. No identical bound morphemes may occur recursively. Recursiveness can be expressed either by the use of the same words, by the same phrasal constructions, or by formation of the similar morphological classes.

Double or multiple stems can be formed recursively in four ways: 1. repetition of the same word, e.g. *álef-álef* 'excellent' (*Aleph* is the first letter of the alphabet, and metaphorically symbolizes 'the best'); 2. repetition of the same word with the addition of a particle, e.g. *yad beyad* 'together' (*yad* 'hand', *be-* 'in'), *ko vaxo* 'hither and thither' (*ko* 'thus'); 3. repetition in the construct state where the second element occurs in the plural form, e.g. *péle pla'im* 'Wonder of wonders! Amazing!' (*péle* 'miracle'), *idan ve'idanim* 'ages and ages' (*idan* 'period, era'); 4. the use of a double genitive (double construct states), e.g. *bet mišpat hašalom* 'magistrates court' (*bet mišpat* 'court (of law; *bet* 'house of', *mišpat* 'law'), *hašalom* 'the peace'). The first three forms are expressions of intensity occurring as adverbials or exclamatory expressions whereas the fourth structure creates nouns with no special connotative meaning.

The second type of one stem recursive word formation includes three basic categories: 1. Accumulative morphological devices which includes: a. root duplication and affixation for diminutive formation, e.g. *kelev* 'dog', *klavlav* 'puppy', *klavlav-on* 'small puppy', *klavlavón-čik* 'cute little dog'; b. adjectival formations, e.g. *roš* 'head', *riš-on* 'first', *rišon-i* 'basic'; c. particle and adverbial formation, e.g. *še-* 'that', *k-še-* 'when', *li-xše-* 'when (before future verbs)', *mi-zman* 'a long time ago', *mi-mizman* 'since long ago'; d. recursive abstract word formations, e.g. *meci'ut-meci'utiyut* 'existence-reality' (*meci'ut* is formed discontinuously by root *m-c-* and the pattern *CCiCut*, *meci'utiyut* is formed linearly from *meci'uti* 'realistic' + *-ut*); 2. Root back formation, e.g. *y-k-d* > *yakad* 'burn', *moked* 'bonfire, also center, focus' > *m-k-d miked* 'focused'; 3. Root duplication, e.g. *gal* 'wave', *galal* 'rolled up', *gilgel* 'spinned'. The first category includes special morphological classes, whereas the latter two refer to root formation in verbs and nouns.

As is apparent from these examples, there are no clear cases of same bound morpheme recursiveness in Hebrew (unlike English *-ion*, e.g. *institution-institutionalization*, which are both derived from verbs). This paper will further elaborate and explain the categories discussed above.

Restrictions on recursive diminutivization in Slavic

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In morphological theory, recursive application of affixes is seen as one of the criteria for distinguishing between derivation and inflection: "[W]hereas an inflectional process is applied only once to a word in order to create a word form that fills a cell of a paradigm, derivational morphology may apply recursively because each derivational step may add some additional meaning" (Booij 2000). However, recursive use of the same derivational affix or derivational affixes expressing the same semantics, whether due to avoidance of repetition, haplology or some other constraint, is very rare, except in diminutivization.

This paper concentrates on patterns of recursive diminutivization found in Slavic languages: DIM1-DIM2, as in Russian *golos* 'voice' → DIM1 *golos-ok* → DIM2 *golos-oč-ek*, Polish *dom* 'house' → DIM1 *dom-ek* → DIM2 *dom-ecz-ek*; and DIM1-DIM2-DIM3, as in Bulgarian *dete* 'child' → DIM1 *det-ence* → DIM2 *det-enc-ence* → DIM3 *det-enc-enc-ence*. Interestingly, although diminutivization is very productive, there are severe restrictions on the combination of diminutive

suffixes and only very few suffixes can be used as DIM2 and DIM3. For example, although the already mentioned Bulgarian triple diminutivization *dete* 'child' → DIM1 *det-ence* → DIM2 *det-enc-ence* → DIM3 *det-enc-enc-ence* is fine, and one can also have *nos* 'nose' → DIM1 *nos-le* → DIM2 *nos-l-ence* and *brat* 'brother' → DIM1 *brat-če* → DIM2 *brat-č-ence*, neither *DIM2 *nos-le-le*, with two *-le*, nor *DIM2 *brat-če-če*, with two *-če*, are possible. Both *-le* and *-če* are DIM1 suffixes, i.e. never occur as DIM2 and DIM3, and can be followed only by *-ence*. Other Bulgarian diminutive suffixes such as *-ka* and *-ica* combine with each other and can be used as DIM2 but exhibit an unusual variable order. Consider the following DIM1-DIM2 sequences: 1. *-ka+ica* → *-č-ica*, as in *kniga* 'book' → DIM1 *kniž-ka* → DIM2 *kniž-č-ica*; and 2. *-ica+ka* → *-ič-ka*, as in *duša* 'soul' → DIM1 *duš-ica* → DIM2 *duš-ič-ka*. With respect to DIM3, however, only *-ka+ica+ica* → *-č-ič-ica* is acceptable, giving DIM3 *kniž-č-ič-ica*. Both **-ica+ka+ka* and **-ica+ka+ica* are impossible. Similar constraints on the combination of diminutive suffixes are reported for Polish and Ukrainian double diminutives by Szymanek and Derkach (2005).

The paper will try to generalize about the constraints operating on recursive diminutivization patterns in the Slavic family. Special attention will be paid to the relation between diminutivization and the opposite to recursiveness closing suffixation.

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Constraints on the recursivity of word formation in Hungarian

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Though word formation is clearly recursive in Hungarian, the order of derivational suffixes is not free. As for verbal derivations, for example, according to the received view the derivational suffixes are typically ordered according to the following scheme:

- (1) verbal stem + causative + iterative + reflexive + modal
- (2) varr+at+gat+hat 'may make sewn from time to time'
stem causative iterative modal

However, the modal is not a genuine derivational suffix, and the reflexive and the causative can never cooccur. Moreover the reflexive cannot be followed by any other derivational suffix. Hence (1) should be replaced by (1'), where the relative stem may contain an unproductive derivational suffix.

- (1') relative stem + causative + iterative

The position of the iterative can be explained by its generality: only statives and reflexives are excluded from the formation of iteratives.

It has also been noted that some derivational affixes must always follow the stem:

- (3) keres+gél 'search about' (from *keres* 'search', nevet+gél 'giggle' (from *nevet* 'laugh')

The suffix *-gél* has a 'phasic meaning' and is related to iterativity, yet it cannot be preceded by a causative suffix as (1) would predict. The following generalization holds:

- (4) Unproductive derivational suffixes must follow the stem independently of their

meaning.

In the paper we will offer an explanation for (4) along the following lines. Unproductive suffixes are historically older than the productive ones. During their history they produced eventually forms which functioned as unanalyzable wholes, to which other suffixes could be attached (e.g. the verb *csörö+m+pöl* 'make a rattling noise' contains two obsolete derivational suffixes, *m* and *pöl*). It can be shown that the relative order of lexicalized suffixes reflects their chronological order.

Note next that the suffix order exemplified in (2) is not the only possible one. Alongside of (2) (5a,b), too, are possible.

(5)a. varr+ogat+tat+hat 'may make sewn from time to time'

stem iterative causative modal

b. #varr+ogat+hat+tat

stem iterative modal causative

(5a) is the usual form, but morphologically (5b), too, is possible. What makes (5b) unacceptable is its semantics: it would be strange 'to force someone to have the possibility of sewing'. The forms (5a) and (5b) have different semantics due to their different scopal properties of their suffixes.

Bybee's principle of relevance (Bybee 1985) cannot be invoked to explain suffix order in the case of derivational suffixes in Hungarian. Instead a set of interacting properties of suffixes such as frequency, productivity, generality and scope are called for, which all may constrain the recursivity of word formation.

Recursiveness in word-formation: conceptual, grammatical, typological factors

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Recursiveness in syntax is responsible for the fact that there is no longest sentence, since any S may contain another S as a constituent. The transfer of this notion to word-formation requires a more specific definition. Is it the repetition of the same morphological process like compounding, prefixation, suffixation, or the repetition of the same morphological device, e.g. prefix, suffix, or the repetition of a morphological operation that has similar semantic effects but uses a different morphological device? Clear cases of recursiveness are nominal compounding (at least in certain languages like German), certain instances of prefixation (e.g. *Ur-ur-.....großvater*), and diminutives (in certain languages). The scope of recursiveness seems to be restricted, however. The following factors seem to interact in this respect: possible conceptualisations, the grammatical-syntactic properties of word-formation, and language-specific typological properties.

The derivation of Old English strong verbs: affix variation, grammaticalisation and recursivity

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The aim of this paper is to offer a general assessment of affix variation, grammaticalisation and recursivity in the derivation of Old English strong verbs from other strong verbs by compositive or affixal means. The derivation of strong verbs from strong verbs constitutes a relevant process for quantitative and qualitative reasons. On the quantitative side, there are 1,625 strong verbs in Old English, of which 1,169 are derived (including free categories as adjunct, that is, compounding, and bound categories as adjunct, that is, affixation). In percentual terms, 71.9% of strong verbs are derived from other strong verbs. On the qualitative side Kastovsky (1992), following Hinderling (1967), considers strong verbs the starting point of word-formation processes in Old English.

The theoretical approach adopted in this paper is structural-functional. In structural terms, the defining properties of derivational morphology are recategorization and recursivity. Since no category change is involved on the derivation of strong verbs from strong verbs, I centre on the property of recursivity. Regarding the functional aspects, I consider the question of semantic transparency and relate structural generalizations to functional ones.

As for the empirical evidence, this paper draws on data that have been retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (Martín Arista *et al.* *fc.*), including the inventory of strong verbs, both basic and derived, their meaning, morphological subclass and derivational patterns.

The analysis shows that the bases of derivation of strong verbs from other strong verbs are mainly of the lexical class of induced movement (*te:on*, *healdan*, *weorpan*, etc.) and non-induced movement (*faran*, *cuman*, *flowan*, *hweorfan*, etc.). It also results from the analysis that the main patterns of affix variation involve the pure prefixes, in the terminology of de la Cruz (1975): *a-/be-/on-/to-/for/of*, *be-/for-/to-/of/on-* and *for-/of-/to:-*. Turning to recursivity, there are 115 recursive formations in the derivation of strong verbs from strong verbs. There are no instances of double recursivity. Typically, an affixed derivative enters a compounding pattern. And, the pure prefixes can combine with themselves and with other adjuncts of derivation (Group B). On the other hand, the adjuncts in Group B cannot combine with themselves. To round off, this paper shows that the pure affixes represent a coherent group in the derivation of strong verbs from strong verbs because they show a similar degree of lexicalization and display similar combinatorial properties with other adjuncts.

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WORKSHOP. How global is English in the globalising world?

Workshop description

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The aim of the workshop is to investigate the validity of the assumption that English has become a lingua franca of the contemporary world and to discuss possible scenarios for its future development. We would like to invite a scholarly debate on whether the globalisation of English leads to the consolidation of the global language or rather to its fragmentation into new dialects and varieties.

To begin with, we intend to explore the present factual status of English in the globalising world, based on the most recent sources about the languages of the world, and to review the causes and phases of its worldwide spread. Then, the emergence of new Englishes will be discussed and linguistic features of selected varieties will be examined.

The major focus of the workshop, however, will be the development of the international variety of the language, the so-called English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). In several contributions the use and perceptions of ELF in multilingual contexts will be explored and its global features will be examined, based on a corpus of naturally occurring ELF interactions. However, the validity of the recent endeavour to codify ELF will be questioned and a hypothesis that it may actually lead to the demise of English as an international language will be put forward. The debate will also incorporate issues related to the fate of English as jeopardised not only by internal but also external threats, i.e. other lingua francas such as Spanish or Chinese.

Finally, we would like to look to the pedagogical implications of the current status of English by exploring foreign learners' attitudes towards non-native varieties of English as well as linguistic stereotypes triggered by foreign accented English. The workshop will conclude with some recommendations on how to reconcile various pronunciation models and how to strike a balance between fully-fledged native versions of English and their international alternative in an attempt to create new EFL paradigms valid for classroom applications.

The Development of 'new' Englishes: English in the Context of Globalization

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English is indeed the most widely spoken language throughout most of the world, and this status has earned it the reputation of a global language, the 'lingua franca' of a 'globalized' world community. English is all very well the language of globalization—of international banking, business, politics and diplomacy. It is widely used in the media, technology and the internet. And it is the most widely taught second language in schools and universities throughout the world. From its homeland in Britain, English has spread to some of the remotest regions of the world, often competing with the indigenous language(s) of the regions. But the globalization of English has not come without its consequences. One consequence of the globalization of English is the development of new blended varieties of English, where English has exerted its influence on other languages in the region through language mixing. The purpose of this paper is to examine some of the 'new Englishes,' focusing, in particular, on those varieties that have recently developed in the heartland of English, e.g. Spanglish in South Florida, Bengali-English and Caribbean-based varieties in London. These varieties have been recently reported on as 'emerging varieties.' In this paper I will provide a brief description of some of the linguistic features of these 'new Englishes', examine some of the social, cultural and political factors that led to their development, and to their future prospects in the global arena of English.

Localizing the global in lingua franca talk

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This paper reports recent empirical developments regarding the continued diversification of English globally. It has Abstract by now been much commented on that English is a language of wider communication, but there continues to be considerable debate surrounding the probable linguistic and sociolinguistic outcomes of this phenomenon. The globalization of English is, for the foreseeable future at least, likely to intensify still further, especially given the continued digitization of media and the increased levels of interconnectedness this facilitates. Collection and analysis of empirical data in lingua franca settings is essential if we are to properly understand how these phenomena impact on the way the language is currently spoken, learnt, and taught throughout its many contexts.

My discussion presents findings from a corpus of naturally occurring interactions in English as a lingua franca (ELF), highlighting the ongoing effects of the political and socio-cultural globalization of English, especially in light of the heightened linguacultural contact this entails (cf. Dewey 2007). Central to this is a consideration of various ideological and theoretical perspectives on globalization. A prominent concern voiced in many discussions relates to a perceived homogenization: it is often claimed that globalization is a force which emanates outward from (largely) Western centres of economic and socio-cultural power, with the result that cultural and linguistic diversity become compromised and the world becomes more Westernized (mostly Americanized). By contrast, I argue that the processes involved are more complex and multidirectional. Drawing on the notion of “glocalization” and what Pennycook has termed “transcultural flows”, I aim to illustrate how the local and global interact. On the one hand, English is globally diffuse, a language with a particularly global presence. Yet, in any situation where English is spoken it becomes locally enacted, localized to suit the purposes of actual interactional functions and forms.

The data described are presented as evidence that the language is developing in ways it has always developed, i.e. in response to the experiences of those who use it. Hitherto, these processes have taken place within particular speech communities, leading to different native-speaker and nativized varieties. What is different about the contemporary situation is the unbounded nature of these phenomena, with ELF interaction thus characterized by heightened levels of variability and hybridity. My approach has been to adopt what Roberts *et al* (2001) would describe as linguistic ethnography, exploring the data to form rather than test hypotheses about the nature of language patterns in lingua franca settings.

Making sense of how the global and local interact requires an orientation to discourse as a phenomenon that is generated during specific interactions through the enactment of linguistic and extralinguistic resources. Adopting an ethnographically situated perspective (cf. Leung 2005), I argue that language does not pre-exist a communicative event, and is therefore not an entity that can be transmitted intact and unchanged. The language we use in our interactions is not so much a set of patterns or rules we select and apply, but a rather more virtual array of communicative means, all of which become transformed to suit the purposes of actual interactants as they engage in making meaning.

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Use and perceptions of English as a Lingua Franca in European multilingual contexts

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It is now commonly known that people from all over the world use English with other bilinguals in lingua franca communication. European multilingual contexts, especially, are common settings of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) communication, as plurilingual speakers use ELF as the main medium of interaction for business, education and social purposes (Cogo and Dewey 2006; Mauranen 2005; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006). However, the relationship between multilingualism and ELF is not straightforward both in terms of the speakers' *use* of their linguistic resources, and of their *perceptions* of ELF communication and norms of correctness.

For what concerns use, recent research (Cogo 2007) has shown how ELF speakers successfully adopt their multilingual repertoire in different ways and for various purposes, such as to adjust to the intercultural situation, to facilitate understanding and ensure the efficiency of the interaction. Thus, multilingualism and ELF have been efficiently used as complementary resources in ELF speakers' repertoire.

As to ELF perceptions and attitudes, research has given more ambiguous results. On the one hand, ELF speakers still tend to consider the native speaker ideal as their ultimate attainment and reference for norms of correctness. On the other hand, there is a growing recognition of the conversational efficiency of ELF plurilingual speakers against monolingual English speakers in European contexts (Jenkins 2007; LINEE workpapers).

For the first part on ELF use of communication strategies, the data come from a case study conducted among ELF speakers, who engaged in naturally occurring conversations, in both institutional and social type of contexts. The methodology employed was drawn from conversation analysis and was enriched by an ethnographic perspective. For the second part on ELF perceptions, the data consist of semi-structured interviews and focus groups discussions collected among ELF speakers in three European settings.

The research questions that directed the research are:

what are the communicative / pragmatic strategies used by ELF speakers in naturally-occurring conversations?

what are the perceptions and attitudes of ELF speakers towards ELF communication and its communicationalists?

The paper will focus on the findings of the ongoing European-funded project LINEE (Languages in a Network of European Excellence) and will report on the extent to which European ELF speakers link effective communication with the 'correctness' of standard native English norms, and on their use of pragmatic skills and strategies for intelligible and effective ELF communication.

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Can (an) ELF have a life of its own?

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In this paper I wish to look at whether English as a Lingua Franca, at least within Europe, is likely to become a variety in its own right, decidedly separate from native or indigenised Englishes. The discussion will move from the various 'ifs' to the 'what ifs'; in particular, it will be considered whether a codification of the European ELF – an endeavour widely supported nowadays – might represent the ultimate victory or the beginning of demise of English as an international language.

Scholars are divided over the current status of ELF: while some have repeatedly striven to present Euro-English as an emergent "endonormative model of lingua franca English" (Seidlhofer 2001:15), others – like Prodromou (2007:52) – see those attempts essentially as making a model out of a muddle, seeking homogeneity within a rather unwieldy mass of linguistic material. However, even if ELF ultimately fails to acquire an identity of its own, non-native speakers (due to the sheer numerical domination) may become a force to be reckoned with, to the point of shaping the future character of L1 English (e.g. Crystal 2008, cf. Trudgill 2002) – an idea which, until recently, was generally dismissed as fanciful (e.g. Bruthiaux 2003).

What I would like to demonstrate is that we may be witnessing harbingers of major changes in the status of foreigners' English, not entirely unlike the fortunes of Medieval Latin, although the mechanisms underlying the operation of the two world languages are obviously very different. A fully-fledged, codified ELF model might not only steal the limelight on the ELT scene of the future, but also pave the way for a conceptual separation, and consequently a split, between international and native Englishes. If ELF, rather than L1 English, becomes the model to be taught to millions of foreign

learners world- (or at least Europe-) wide, the two entities may take divergent routes of development, eventually becoming distinct languages. Unthinkable as this scenario may seem, it would mean emulation of the fate of Latin, which experienced such a rupture when its international version became standardised and parted company with its native varieties in the early Middle Ages. Paradoxically, it was precisely the former – i.e. the learned, and to a large extent artificial, entity – that preserved the original name of the ancient Romans' mother tongue, thereby earning Latin its established reputation as a dead language, in spite of its Modern Romance continuations being very much alive and well (e.g. Wright 2002).

Therefore, I would like to argue that the major threat to the global position of English may nowadays be presented by English as a Lingua Franca. As Graddol (2006) concluded, "this is not English as we have known it, and have taught it in the past as a foreign language. It is a new phenomenon, and if it represents any kind of triumph it is probably not a cause of celebration by native speakers".

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Global English in the European classroom? The problems and prospects of English language pedagogy in the globalising world

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This paper explores the vital question of how English as a global language can be adapted to the European classroom in order to address the distinct communicative needs of users of English on a local and global level. It is not until recently that the pedagogical implications of the spread of English have been recognised as a significant upshot of the changed socio-political linguistic landscape across Europe. While it is true that English predominates over important societal domains, any thorough analysis of the (f)actual status of English will have to distinguish between the range and depth of functions (Kachru 1992) for which English is used.

Taking the sociolinguistic profile of German learners of English as the point of departure of the analysis, the actual discussion will assume a wider European perspective. A case in point is the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity as the cornerstones of a united Europe. Although the significance of language learning is eagerly publicized, the implementation of supranational policies is frequently incompatible with the national education systems in operation (Sing 2007).

Elaborating on these problem areas, the analysis focuses on the following research questions: To what extent are learners' attitudes to English indicative of bottom-up impulses that need to be included in education and language policies? What are the glossopolitical paradigms amenable to the 'didacticization' of English across EU member states? What are the functional and attitudinal factors to be included in analysing the status of English in a European framework?

Building on a case study on learner attitudes (Sing 2006), this paper correlates bottom-up aspects with top-down issues in order to provide a profile of the learner's context of situation. Language attitudes are typically measured by means of attitude scales, in this case a 7-point Likert scale. Accordingly, a questionnaire was distributed to 100 students aged between 15 and 17 years, supplemented by two control groups. While there are obviously significant individual differences across EU member states, the results allow for a number of compelling generalisations. For example, they point to prevailing negative attitudes towards non-native varieties of English such as ELF, revealing the extent to which the standard language ideology is entrenched as suggested by Jenkins (2007). For that reason the analysis also includes a review of the curricula used in German secondary education as well as the guidelines of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Clearly, any viable language pedagogy will link the enlarged focus of English in linguistic theorising to the learner's educational setting in order to develop sustainable pedagogical models. Moreover, the findings also corroborate the view that teaching 'communicative competence' involves a transition from traditional 'foreign' language pedagogy to 'communicative language pedagogy' (e.g. Canale 1983). Yet this would require another sea change in language teaching and learning, i.e. the inclusion of what is referred to as language awareness (e.g. Fairclough 1992).

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The globalization of English and linguistic stereotypes

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The globalization of English means that there are increasing numbers of "non-native" and "Outer Circle" speakers. The repercussions of this, especially in the case of the "non-native" speakers, have been studied mainly with an emphasis of intelligibility. Only recently has there been more interest in the role language attitudes may play in the context of the international spread of English.

However, it is known that (1) people are sensitive to sociophonetic variability even when faced with very small amounts of speech (e.g. Plichta and Preston 2004), and even when they are not "native speakers" of the given language (e.g. Bayard and Green 2005); (2) that they form attitudinal behaviours on the basis of this sensitivity due to the existence of linguistic stereotypes (e.g. Purnell et al. 1999); and (3) that these attitudinal behaviours may have all kinds of real-world behavioural consequences (e.g. Purnell et al. 1999).

The present paper will explore the relation, in the Polish context, between attitudes to selected languages (based on linguistic and national stereotypes) and attitudes to "foreign-accented" English.

Three groups of Polish learners, at three levels of proficiency, were asked to judge short recordings (30 seconds each) of an English text read by Polish, German, Russian, and Dutch learners, and to offer accent identification guesses. There were two speakers in each L1 group, varying with respect to "accent strength", as measured by an accent similarity metric against a "native standard" baseline. In a separate subsequent session, the judges were also asked to provide ratings of recordings of the respective L1s, obtained from the same speakers.

German- and Russian-accented English, but not Dutch-accented English, proved to be generally recognizable. The German and Russian L1 recordings also turned out to trigger marked attitudinal reactions. It was found that the scores for accented English recordings correlated inversely with the distance from the reference accent on a variety of indicators for all respondent groups (but to differing degrees), and that there was some correlation between the ratings for the L1 samples and the accented English samples.

It seems that accented English is mainly judged on the basis of perceived "accent strength" in the absence of existing linguistic stereotypes; if the stereotypes are present, the influence of the L1 does play at least a limited role. While the present study did not tap into the possible real-world consequences of this, it seems to point to the usefulness of a possibly neutral standard in the teaching of English as a foreign language.

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Englishes in Madeira? - An Empirical Perspective on English Use in the Globalising Era

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This paper intends to discuss the presence of the English language in Portugal, particularly in Madeira. It has been usually assumed as a foreign language, along with French and German, learnt at school, because Portuguese is the mother tongue in a supposedly monolingual European country. Still, as a privileged cosmopolitan setting in Portugal, with a long historical connection with the English-speaking world, Madeira Island has also evidenced the presence of other languages (language in contact), having played a role in Madeiran Portuguese (Elisete Almeida 1999), still worth a systematic study though beyond the scope of this paper. Apart from the influence exerted from the media and people's need to communicate globally, via internet, for example, the role played by English in everyday communicative practices is noticeable, since islanders have to communicate with English natives and non-natives, for several purposes, whether in service encounters, administration, as well as business and professional domains. They all communicate in English, but which English? Following some of the claims by Seidlhofer (2004), Jenkins (2006), Mackenzie (2007), James (2008), among others, this question figures as the starting point of this paper, namely: Which variety of English is it: ELF or international language spoken in Madeira, or is it European English?

In fact, speakers on the Island make use of the English language in everyday interactions for fast and effective communication even if, occasionally, they have not been exposed to formal instruction. Most times they argue for a native-like British accent and correctness, holding the "same kind of prescriptive views of correctness" as non-native and native English teachers and the general population (Jenkins 2007: 148), but the analysis of empirical data, carried out in 1998 and 2008, on the island, evidences both a diversity of registers and non-natives' phonological and strategic competence in the use of English more than syntactic and lexical one. Against this background this paper is meant to discuss syntactic choices in non-native speakers' output both drawing on a written corpus of 12th formers' and freshman's output to a questionnaire (1998) and data to be collected in 2009, in service encounters, business and professional domains. With the current work in progress, of an exploratory and cross-disciplinary approach, within the scope of applied linguistics, I intend to give an account of idiosyncratic features in the use of English by Portuguese speakers on the island, and further outline contrasts and similarities in broader non-native contexts, not to mention the European ones (Seidlhofer 2004, Mollin 2006, Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2006, and Jenkins 2007), in English use.

'La guerre des langues n'aura pas lieu'*!

Evidence from Southeast Asia against the notion of English in conflict with other languages

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Languages are often portrayed as being in conflict. This image underlies the call for papers and the "key research areas" listed for this workshop, where it is implied that global English is in conflict with other world *lingue franche*.

The authors of this paper contend that the multilingual context of Southeast Asia, in particular Malaysia, offers a wealth of evidence for coexistence rather than conflict, both between languages and between varieties of English.

Evidence for this contention is drawn from research studies of code-mixed language used in the print media, using textual corpus analysis methods, both manual and mechanical. The findings show frequent use of Malay lexis in English-language newspaper headlines and report texts, and corresponding influence of English on texts in the Malay-language press.

The theoretical framework for analysis of these texts is that of englishization and nativization, seen as two sides of the same coin, and we consider the evidence for and against notions of fragmentation of English and potential loss of international intelligibility.

* "the language war will not take place": allusion to Calvet (1987), and to Giroudoux (1935)

External threats to English in the globalising world

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Although it seems that the status of English as a global language remains secure for at least 50 years to come there are languages which might threaten its position in the long run. In order to regard a language as a potential global language one has to take into consideration demographic and linguistic factors but the immediate indicators seem to be the number of people who speak it as a first and more importantly second and foreign language (Graddol 1997). In this respect English is at present the undeniable winner with more second than first language speakers. However, if one analyses statistical data of other languages from the top 10 list such as Mandarin Chinese, French and Spanish the numbers of speakers are high enough to explore the potentials of each of these languages to dethrone English from its current status in the world.

Firstly, the numbers for Mandarin Chinese are high especially for the amount of native Chinese speakers, however, there is a tendency to learn Chinese as a foreign language with around 2 million Japanese learners of Chinese alone. Furthermore, a total of 80 Confucius Institutes have been launched in 36 countries and 99 institutes from 38 countries have applied to establish Confucius Institutes which is an indicator of the rising popularity of Chinese as a foreign language (Yangtze 2006).

As far as French is concerned, the Ethnologue gives a number of 51 million speakers in France and nearly 65 million speakers around the world which does not seem to be particularly significant. However, it also estimates that there are 50 million speakers of French as a second language which makes it another possible threat to English. Among other potentials of French is the fact that it is used most frequently in many international organisations which increases its use as a foreign language (Graddol 1997).

Lastly, Spanish is usually classified as the third language after Mandarin Chinese and English in terms of the absolute number of speakers in the world. Moreover, it is becoming highly influential in Northern America with around 35 million immigrants of Hispanic origin mostly making it the largest immigrant community according to the Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2006. The prognostics are even more overwhelming as one in four student of high school in the U.S.A. is presently of Hispanic origin. If this tendency continues the number of Hispanics in the U.S.A. will be doubled in the next 20 years which has consequences for the linguistic make-up of the country with the largest number of native English speakers.

The paper will analyse statistical data that concern the use of the languages mentioned above in terms of native, secondary, foreign and bilingual aspects as provided by a number of demographic surveys, the Ethnologue, the Confucius Institute and the Cervantes Institute. The goal is to establish the particular features that make the three languages under investigation plausible threats to the status of English as a global language.

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English or ELFish? A teaching dilemma of the 21st century.

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Contrary to the predictions of Jan Baudouin de Courtenay (1908), English has become the international auxiliary language worldwide. Not artificial Esperanto, but natural English. Globalization of a natural language, however, inevitably has consequences for the language itself. How English is International English?, we may ask. For linguists, this is a question of language change. For teachers, this is a matter of choice between a full-fledged native version of the language vs. the so-called ELF (English as a Lingua Franca, cf. the discussion in Dziubalska-Kolaczyk & Przedlacka 2008). The aim of this talk will be to arrive at a moderate “recipe” for teachers and learners.

The starting point will be a review of the status of English in the world, based on the most recent sources about the languages of the world, i.e., the *Ethnologue* (2005) and *WALS* (2005). I will then proceed to the discussion of the concept of a native speaker, proposing a definition originally put forward in Dziubalska-Kolaczyk & Weckwerth (in press). The definition

helps to clarify the issue whether learners need native speakers and native models. The latter will be investigated next, from the perspective of the learner, and with reference to the available sources (e.g., pronunciation dictionaries by Wells 2008, Jones 2003, Upton et al. 2003). The native models will then be juxtaposed to the non-native model of Lingua Franca Core, known as LFC (originally proposed in Jenkins 2000). The suggested phonological properties of LFC will be scrutinized from the universal functional perspective, in the sense of Natural Phonology (e.g., Donegan and Stampe 1979, Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002a,b) and Natural Linguistics (e.g., Dressler 1996). In particular, each property will be evaluated with reference to a phonological process capable of deriving it as its output. Specifically, the processes are either lenitive or fortitive in their function, depending on what kind of output they produce. Since lenitions generally serve ease of articulation while fortitions mostly enhance perceptual clarity, the former are expected to be more learner-friendly, making the outputs universally easier to produce. Ease of articulation appears to be an intended advantage of teaching LFC to the learners of English over the full-fledged phonological system of the language. The detailed scrutiny of the properties prescribed as *in* or *out* in the learner's speech by the LFC model shows, however, the lack of any universal advantage of LFC over native English.

As an overall result of the whole of the above discussion, a moderate "recipe" for foreigners' English will emerge to conclude the talk.

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English from a global perspective; factual account, overview of research and pedagogical implications

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The present contribution is intended as an introductory paper to the workshop on "How global is English in the globalising world". It aims to provide a factual account of the present status of English as a global language on the basis of the estimated numbers of its users and ranking among other leading world languages as well as the functions performed in global communication (cf. Crystal 2003, Graddol 2006).

The presentation starts with a brief historical outline of the spread of English, including its demographic, imperial and econocultural phases and attempts to account for the overwhelming nature of this process. Furthermore, various endeavours at modelling English as an international language are discussed and critically evaluated, ranging from the classical models by Quirk et al. (1972) and Kachru (1985), based on historical and geographic divisions into inner, outer and expanding circles, to Modiano's 1999 model with international English being at the core of centripetal circles. Moreover, the tripartite distinction between English as a native language (ENL), English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL) is called into question when faced with the widespread recognition of the pluricentricity of the language and numerous recent studies on non-native varieties that have contributed to the legitimisation of the concept of "Englishes" (McArthur 1998).

Next, the status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is evaluated as an independent variety with respect to the following criteria: (1) the functions performed in the society, (2) specific linguistic form, (3) users' attitudes towards the validity of ELF. The analysis is based on the overview of research into the form and attitudes towards different

manifestations of global English (e.g. Jenkins 2007, Mollin 2006) and on the existing corpora, including, among others, VOICE corpus - Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (Seidlhofer 2001), ELFA - a corpus of English used as a lingua franca in academic settings (Mauranen 2003), and a corpus of Euro-English (Mollin 2006).

Finally, the contribution looks at possible scenarios for the future development of worldwide English and points to the pedagogical implications for learners of English while implementing new EFL paradigms of international communication.

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WORKSHOP. Connectives across languages: explicitation and grammaticalization of contingency relations

Workshop description

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This workshop aims at bringing together researchers who are interested in the use of connectives (and the like) from a contrastive perspective. It raises the question to what extent and how global and/or local languages differ in the expression of contingency relations (i.e. cause-consequence, condition, hypothesis, concession, opposition or restriction etc.), more specifically in written language. We especially welcome papers that take into consideration one or more of the following questions:

- Are there significant cross-linguistic differences in the expression of contingency relations in written texts? For instance, are some languages more explicit in this domain than others (e.g. Lamiroy 1994, Nølke 1989)? If so, how can this be explained? Perhaps, one should not only look at connectives when accounting for the explicitness of contingency relations. In other words: do languages differ in the means they use to express these kinds of relations (e.g. Suomela-Salmi 1992)? And can this, in turn, be explained by some typological characteristics of the languages concerned? Or should cross-linguistic differences be reduced to cultural and rhetorical principles that rule the linguistic community? And what about the role of different text types or genres in all of this?
- Are cross-linguistic differences in the use of connectives compatible with the universal idea that connectives are some kind of cognitive signals that facilitate textual comprehension?
- Connectives obviously play a role in the cohesion of a text, but to what extent do they contribute to its cohesiveness (cf. studies referred to by Granger & Tyson 1996)? Can contrastive or crosslinguistic studies help in verifying this?
- If linguistic communities are confronted with differences in the ways and frequency of signalling textual relations, what does this mean then for the cognitive treatment of text by language users in these communities: are there cognitive differences between them?
- How are all the above cross-linguistic differences treated by translators?
- How are they acquired by second language learners?
- How do connectives arise, develop and evolve across languages?

Causal connectives provide a window on cognition

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Without much risk of overstatement, we may claim that all languages of the world provide their speakers with means to indicate causal relationships. Causal relations between discourse segments can be expressed by connectives and lexical cue phrases, such as *because*, *since*, *so* and *As a result*. What is the system behind the use of these connectives in languages like English, Dutch and German? How can we describe these systems in a cognitively plausible way? How do children acquire this connective system? And what is the role of these causal relations and connectives in discourse processing?

Starting from the idea of a direct link between linguistic categorization and cognition, we study human cognition by identifying the mechanisms underlying discourse coherence. Causality and Subjectivity are considered salient categorizing principles. Our central claim is that, together, these principles account for causal coherence and connective use, and play a pivotal role in explaining cognitive complexity in discourse. This hypothesis is tested in three ways, exploring (i) the cross-linguistic use of connectives in spoken and written discourse (ii) the acquisition of connectives and (iii) on-line discourse processing.

Meaning, discourse uses and translation of V-ing free adjuncts in popular science

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V-ing free adjuncts are characterised by their minimised morphology and their semantic underdetermination. Identification of a given contingency relationship between the free adjunct and its semantic anchor (usually the matrix clause; the term ‘anchor’ is coined in Huddleston, Payne and Peterson, 2002) depends on many factors (see Stump 1985; Kortmann 1991; Behrens 1998, 1999), both linguistic (including the event composition, the *aktionsart* and sentential aspect of both clauses) and extralinguistic (knowledge of the world, speaker intentions, etc). Much less attention has been paid to the role of genre. Focusing on a corpus of English texts, Thompson (1983: 45-57) observed differences in the frequency of free adjuncts between texts that belong to genres rich in *scene-creating passages* and texts that belong to news analysis and commentary, and academic writing in general. Webber and DiEugenio (1990: 398) claim that “the role adjuncts play in instructions differs from the role they play in narratives”, and propose ‘augmentation’ and ‘generation’ as specialised logical relations.

The aim of this talk is two-fold: in the first place, it reports on the analysis of the semantic relationships and specialised uses of V-ing free adjuncts in three science popularisation best-sellers, focusing on Cause-Result and Manner/Instrument. Science writing promotes the conventionalisation / fossilisation of certain discourse connecting patterns in the interest of efficiency. Since popularisation of science mixes scientific report with event report/ dramatization, the working hypothesis is that V-ing adjuncts fulfil specialised functions as discourse connecting patterns in this genre; for instance, Result can be understood as the resulting state in a Cause-Result textual pattern (as in “This means that light from a distant star that happened to pass near the sun would be deflected through a small angle, **causing** the star to appear in a different position to an observer on the earth (Fig. 2.9).” [S. Hawking, *A Brief History of Time*, p. 34]), and also as scientific reaction to the content of the matrix clause (as in “Channels carved by ancient rivers were seen, **fueling** hopes that evidence for past life may yet be found on the red planet”. [L. Margulis and D. Sagan, *What is Life*: 12])

Secondly, the talk addresses the difficulties involved in the translation of V-ing free adjuncts, taking the English-Catalan language pair as an example. In Catalan, as in other Romance languages, a structural correspondence for V-ing free adjuncts, called *gerundi*, is available. However, there are grammatical and usage contrasts between the two structures and no one-to-one rule may be applied (see Espunya 2007). Specifically, I intend to present the findings of my analysis of a data base of more than 300 translation pairs taken from 3 popular science best-sellers and from 2 detective novels. Each translation pair has been labelled for the contingency relationship expressed in the Source Text. I have been able to classify different ways that (implicit) contingency relationships are rendered, and more importantly, the contexts associated with each solution, including genre conventions. One relationship will be discussed in more detail, namely Result, as the Catalan *gerundi* cannot be used to express it, according to a generally accepted prescriptive norm (Mestres et al. 2007: 611). The research question is what kinds of strategies are used in the expression of Result in translations, and whether specialisation plays a key role.

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Explicitation of causality in translation: a corpus-based study on French and Dutch

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This study focuses on causal semantic relations for which several types of causal connectives are abundantly present in both French and Dutch.

This research aims to compare the use of causal connectives in target texts to their occurrences in source texts from a parallel corpus that contains both translation directions. In addition, a comparison will be made between the frequencies of causal connectives in French translated and French non-translated language.

The corpus for this study is representative of French and Dutch written texts typical of high frequencies of causal connectives (novels and persuasive texts), the gender and origin of writers and translators having been taken into account in the quantitative distribution of the texts included. The texts have been annotated both on textual and linguistic levels. All connectives have been given morphological (part of speech), syntactical and semantic-pragmatic annotations (cf. Sweetser's classification of content, epistemic and speech act) by means of a computer program called Kwalitan.

By examining the result of the translational process – the translation as a product- we can get a better insight into the translators' choices and thus formulate hypotheses on the translational process. Quantitative differences in the use of connectives in both translation directions are an indication of the translator's choices and can be used to test the explicitation hypothesis (a translation universal), which states that translated texts tend to be more explicit than source texts and than non translated texts. (Séguinot 1988, Englund 2005)

The study will reveal how translators deal with explicit markers of contingency among a range of equivalent connectives in the target language, connectives with slightly different semantic and pragmatic meanings, other lexical items and implicitations.

In case of an implicit semantic relation in the source text, the translators either tend to make this relation more explicit by means of a connective or another construction, or they maintain the same level of ambiguity as in the source text. The former case confirms the explicitation hypothesis again. However, results have shown that there is also a fair number part of explicit markers that have been omitted in the translated texts in a way that makes the causal relation more implicit and points at implicitation as a translation technique.

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Causal connectives in language use: a cross-linguistic comparison of Dutch and German

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In many languages, causal coherence relations can be marked with causal connectives (CC). A common assumption is that a direct relation exists between the lexical meaning of CC and cognitive categories of causality. Dutch CC have been characterized with reference to the cognitively important concept of Subjectivity (e.g. Pander Maat & Sanders, 2000; Pit, 2003; Stukker, Sanders & Verhagen, 2008). For example, Dutch *daardoor* typically marks objective causal (cause-consequence) relations in observable reality (*The sun was shining. Daardoor ("because of that") the temperature rose*). *Dus*, on the other hand, marks subjective relations, typically epistemic (argument-conclusion) relations, constructed in the speaker's subjective beliefs (*The lights are out. Dus ("so") the neighbours are not at home*).

If the cognitive hypothesis on CC meaning holds, we would expect that CC across languages can be described with reference to just one set of cognitive concepts. In this paper, we compare the lexical meaning of Dutch CC with the lexical meaning of German CC. On the one hand, strong similarities are suggested in the literature. Concepts like 'epistemicity' (Günthner, 1993; Keller, 1995) and evidentiality/subjectivity (Frohning, 2007) are used to characterize German CCs like *denn* ("since"), which is taken to express only epistemic relations. *Denn* and *darum* are also analyzed as relatively subjective causal relations, whereas *daher*, *deshalb*, *deswegen*, *weil* and *da* are seen as relatively objective ones. On the other hand, however, the exact ways Dutch and German 'cut up' the domain of causality in terms of subjectivity seem to differ (Pit, 2003).

Should these differences be interpreted as counterevidence against a cognitive categorization hypothesis? We will argue that this is not the case. By way of a case study, we present a detailed contrastive corpus study of Dutch *daardoor*, *daarom* and *dus* and German *dadurch*, *deshalb* and *also*. Starting point of our analysis is the 'cognitive typological' finding that the relation between language and conceptual structure may function as a cross-linguistic universal, but that this relation is usually mediated by various aspects of language use (cf. Heine, 1997; Croft, 2001; Kemmer, 2003). We characterize similarities and differences between the Dutch CC and the German CC, making use of Croft's semantic map method (2001). We interpret our findings in terms of a cross-linguistically valid 'conceptual space' of Subjectivity, which allows us to distinguish similarities between Dutch and German from inherent cross-linguistic diversity.

We discuss to what extent similarities can be attributed to a direct relation between language and cognition, as has been hypothesized. Finally, we discuss whether differences between Dutch and German CC can be explained with reference to more general mechanisms of language use, such as grammaticalization processes.

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The explicit marking of contingency relations in English and German texts: a contrastive analysis

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Stein (1979), Behrens (2005) and Fabricius-Hansen (2005) offer results which suggest that German texts tend to express contingency relations between clauses and sentences more explicitly than comparable English texts. That is, German authors seem to favor a connective in many situations where English authors prefer to leave the contingency relation in question implicit, i.e. to be inferred by the reader.

Fabricius-Hansen (2005, p. 43) argues that the communicative conventions of English prefer strategy 1, while the conventions of German are associated with strategy 2:

1. If the informational effect of using the connective is rather low, then don't use it. ("Be brief!")
2. If using the connective is more informative than not using it, then use it! ("Be precise!")

This paper reports on a study which set out to corroborate or falsify these initial results by comparing the use of connectives in a small-scale corpus of English and German economic texts. The most striking finding is a remarkable frequency mismatch between the investigated English and German texts. For example, while the combined frequency of the German causal/resultative connectives *damit* and *deshalb* amounts to 87 occurrences, their English equivalents are almost absent from the English texts: *therefore* occurs only once while *thus* does not occur at all. Results from an ongoing qualitative analysis of these and other connectives in context point to radically different conventions in the English and German genre of economy texts which, it will be argued, can be understood as representative of general differences in the expression of contingency relations between the two languages.

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L'expression de la concession et de l'opposition dans les textes littéraires et académiques: étude contrastive français-suédois

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Le but de cette étude est de faire un inventaire et de décrire l'emploi des expressions lexicales utilisées pour désigner des relations de concession et d'opposition dans les textes littéraires et académiques français et suédois. L'étude sera centrée sur les catégories suivantes : les conjonctions de coordination et de subordination (p. ex. *mais*, *bien que*), les adverbes connectifs (p. ex. *pourtant*), les prépositions (p. ex. *malgré*), les locutions adverbiales ou prépositives (p. ex. *quitté à*, *en dépit de*), les locutions bipartites (p. ex. *tout...que*), les tournures de phrase (p. ex. *il n'empêche que*) et autres locutions plus ou moins lexicalisées (p. ex. *il n'en reste pas moins vrai que*). Les données proviendront de deux sources différentes : un corpus de textes tirés de romans contemporains français et suédois et un corpus d'articles de linguistique français et suédois.

Les résultats seront analysés à la lumière de la théorie typologique élaborée par l'équipe de chercheurs en linguistique contrastive à l'École des Hautes Études Commerciales de Copenhague (voir p. ex. Korzen 2003, 2005, Baron & Herslund 2005, Lundquist 2005). Selon cette théorie, le suédois et les autres langues germaniques ont tendance à concentrer le contenu sémantique de la phrase dans les verbes (« langues endocentriques »), tandis que le français et les autres langues romanes lexicalisent davantage d'information sémantique dans les noms (« langues exocentriques »). Cette distribution différente du poids sémantique a d'importantes implications pour la structure syntaxique de la phrase dans les deux langues. On a, entre autres, observé que le suédois et les autres langues germaniques préfèrent des constructions finies et parataxiques, alors que le français et les autres langues romanes se servent d'un nombre relativement élevé de constructions non finies et de nominalisations (cf. Korzen 2003 : 99). Ces dernières langues ont également une forte tendance à préciser les relations sémantiques, aussi bien entre les arguments d'une même proposition qu'entre les propositions, le suédois et les autres langues germaniques étant moins sensibles à ces distinctions (cf. Korzen 2005 : 31). Je m'attends donc à voir un nombre relativement

important de connecteurs de coordination et d'adverbes connectifs dans les textes suédois. Les textes français, de leur côté, doivent comporter une plus grande variation d'expressions différentes et peut-être aussi un plus grand nombre total. Ils doivent en outre renfermer plus de constructions non finies (p. ex. *Bien que petite, elle est forte, Au lieu de nous aider, elle dort*) et de nominalisations précédées d'une préposition ou d'une locution prépositive à valeur concessive ou oppositive (p. ex. *Malgré sa petite taille, elle est forte*).

En comparant deux genres, le discours littéraire et le discours scientifique linguistique, nous nous proposons d'examiner dans quelle mesure la fréquence et l'emploi des expressions concessives et oppositives peuvent être expliqués par le profil typologique des deux langues (c'est-à-dire par le système langagier) et dans quelle mesure l'emploi est déterminé par les objets spécifiques et les normes stylistiques d'un certain type de texte (c'est-à-dire par l'usage).

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Connectivité et connecteurs logiques dans le discours de recherche français et finnois: différences langagières, disciplinaires et / ou génériques

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Cette communication s'inscrit à la fois dans le cadre de la linguistique et celui de la rhétorique contrastive.

Nous nous intéressons à la question de savoir quelle est la fonction et le rôle des connecteurs logiques dans l'expression de certains actes rhétoriques tels que la justification, la validation et la confirmation / infirmation (cf. Rossari 2008) dans le discours de recherche rédigé en deux idiomes différents (le français et le finnois, appartenant à des familles de langues différentes) et dans deux disciplines différentes (la linguistique et l'histoire). Nous nous focalisons sur des relations causales et adversatives. Sont inclus dans les relations causales: *cause, condition, preuve, moyen et conclusion*, et dans les relations adversatives celles qui expriment *concession et contraste / opposition*. La *comparaison* est considérée une sous-catégorie de cette dernière (cf. Golebiowski 2006).

Si l'on accepte la prémisse selon laquelle les connecteurs en général ont une fonction procédurale (cf. Sperber & Wilson 1993) ou metatextuelle (Hyland 2000), c'est-à-dire qu'ils ont un rôle de guidage textuel et qu'ils fournissent aux lecteur des informations quant à la lecture préférée du texte, en d'autres mots une fonction facilitant l'interprétation des relations de cohérence (cf. Risselada & van Spooren 1998), il serait logique de s'attendre à ce que le discours scientifique, toujours plus ou moins argumentatif par sa nature, les utilise amplement pour garantir l'efficacité de son dire. Pourtant, les relations conceptuelles étudiées peuvent aussi être signalées par d'autres moyens, par exemple par des moyens lexicaux, surtout par des expressions meta-argumentatives (Stasi 1990). Mais ni la présence des connecteurs ni celle des expressions meta-argumentatives n'est une condition nécessaire et suffisante pour arriver à une bonne interprétation des relations conceptuelles. Dépendant du genre textuel, des conventions disciplinaires, mais aussi des caractéristiques linguistiques de la langue en question (par exemple le nombre, la polyfonctionnalité et la fréquence de connecteurs en français par rapport à d'autres langues, (cf. entre autres Siepmann 2007) les relations conceptuelles peuvent aussi bien être marquées implicitement (confiance sur la simple progression linéaire du texte, ponctuation).

En ce qui concerne le discours scientifique, un certain nombre de travaux (Fløttum et al. 2006, 2007, Hyland 2004) ont montré que les conventions disciplinaires jouent un rôle plus important que la variable *langue* dans la structuration textuelle en général. Dans cette communication nous nous proposons donc d'examiner le marquage des relations causales et adversatives (avec ou sans connecteurs logiques) dans les articles de recherche en linguistique et en histoire pour le français et le finnois.

From adverbs to connectives and beyond. A contrastive study of the development of French *en fait* and *de fait* and English *in fact* and *actually* in their contemporary uses.

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The selection of forms we aim to examine are French *en fait* and *de fait*, and English *in fact* and *actually*. In their present-day use, these four forms share a wide variety of pragmatic values. In certain contexts, they fulfil a clear connective function. Earlier research (Defour et al 2008) has shown that their role as sentence connectors can be historically motivated. All of these forms initially had a strictly adverbial function but gradually acquired a pragmatic value. However, their function as sentence connectors appeared in an intermediate stage of their development.

As sentence connectors, the selected forms can indicate either an opposition or a specification between two clauses. Our paper will pay specific attention to contexts where the connectors indicate a contrast, and examine whether a co-occurrence with other contrast forms such as *mais* or *but*, or even negation particles can trigger their role as opposition marker.

The analysis of the selected forms takes place within a broader framework of grammaticalization theories. Our approach is corpus-based and makes use of a number of synchronic and diachronic corpus collections, both in English and in French (e.g. *Helsinki Corpus*; *Corpus of English Dialogues*; *British National Corpus*; *Base textuelle du Moyen Français*; *Frantext*; *Corpus Le Monde*; *CORPAIX*; *Namur Corpus - Parallel Translation corpus*). Our study takes into account written as well as oral data and examines various language registers, offering a broad perspective for a further analysis of structural and semantic-pragmatic features of our corpus material.

The research questions we want to focus on are the following. First of all we want to consider how the selected connectives arise and evolve across languages. In this context, we aim to examine whether the contrastive textual value of these connectors – through which two clauses can be opposed – can be traced back to the early uses of the studied forms, viz the nominal groups *en fait*, *de fait*, and *in fact* and *in act(s)* which are found in lexical contrast to *en droit*, *en/de pensée(s)*, *en/de parole(s)*, *in law*, *in theory* or *in words* respectively. In addition, we also want to verify to what extent the studied forms become dissociated from their role as connectives when combined with another conjunction.

Within a broader theoretical frame, it is our hypothesis that the evolution from adverb to pragmatic marker via its role as a sentence connector could be identified within a broader pattern of grammaticalization (i.e. following an evolution from a sentence use to a textual use and from a less subjective to a more subjective use). This pattern might also be applicable to the development of other connectives. Finally, we aim to contribute to a further semantic-pragmatic description of the selected forms by placing them on an axis of factuality – actuality, which will help to illustrate the complex semantic relationship between the various selected elements.

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The Expression of Contingency Relations from an Historical Point of View: Patterns in the Rise and Ausbau of Subordinator Inventories in Germanic Languages

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The hypotactic expression of contingency relations has a long tradition as an object of historical research (see e.g. Paul 1920: 144-150 and the references in Hopper / Traugott 2003: 175-211). A would-be turning point is Harris / Campbell's book *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, where an entire chapter (1995: 282-313) is dedicated to the deconstruction of one particular notion: the idea that hypotaxis could arise historically from combinations of independent sentences in discourse. It is true that this time-honoured theory, the so-called Parataxis Hypothesis (ibid.), has never been subjected to rigorous theoretical reflection. But that does not mean that Harris / Campbell's radical countertheory is itself necessarily tenable, nor that the parataxis issue is really all that important beyond Harris / Campbell's own frame of reference.

Much more interesting is the general historical evolution of hypotaxis towards the modern, prototype-like state of affairs (cf. Leuschner / van den Nest forthc.). In my paper, I will focus on one particular aspect, viz. patterns in the rise and *ausbau* of subordinator inventories that express contingency relations in several (mainly medieval) Germanic languages, using grammaticalization/lexicalization theory as my framework (cf. Hopper / Traugott 2003). Examples will be drawn mainly from English, German and Dutch, with Vandenberghe's study of Middle Dutch connectives (2006) as an important source of methodological inspiration. With Harris / Campbell's ideas and their problems as backdrop, I will then suggest an empirically tenable hypothesis concerning the paratactical origins of hypotaxis, called the Moderate Parataxis Hypothesis, that will allow us to finally defuse the debate and move on.

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How equivalent are infinitival temporal and causal constructions introduced by *al/ao* in Portuguese and Spanish?

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Spanish and Portuguese adverbial infinitival clauses introduced by *al/ao* seem quite similar at first sight. They are both semantically hard to define, combining meanings of simultaneity, cause, reason, and even condition. Syntactically, both constructions can contain an overt nominative subject (*al acabar la sesión* (Sp.) "at the end of the session", literally *at coming to an end the session*) or a genitive subject (*ao aproximar da manhã* (Ptg.) "at the beginning of the morning", literally *at approaching of the morning*). The main goal of this contribution is to examine to what extent these closely related constructions are equivalent in both languages. A detailed empirical analysis of a written corpus of present-day literary and journalistic texts containing about 1600 *ao/al* clauses (with and without overt nominative or genitive subjects) remarkably shows that:

- (a) these constructions occur far more often in Spanish texts than in Portuguese texts.
- (b) although the adverbial infinitive with nominative subject construction is more current in Portuguese than in Spanish when introduced by other prepositions, the *al/ao* constructions accept more easily overt nominative subjects in Spanish than in Portuguese (cf. Gawelko 2005). Conversely, the genitive subject variant appears to be more frequent in Portuguese than in Spanish.

Consequently, this paper will further investigate the divergent use of the *al/ao* constructions in both languages, by focusing on the following research questions:

- (a) Why is Portuguese more reluctant to these constructions than Spanish?
- (b) What kind of semantic links do these clauses express and how do semantic and syntactic properties interact in both languages (nature of the subject, verb type, position and integration of the clause with respect to the main clause)? In particular, what semantic contexts favour the use of nominative or genitive subjects in both languages and how can the usage differences between both languages be explained?

The nominal Portuguese *ao* constructions with a genitive subject will be shown to appear in specific semantic contexts, namely framing, static temporal settings. In Spanish, similar settings are expressed by a construction with an overt nominative subject, therefore construing it as a more dynamic event (cf. the above-mentioned examples).

It will be argued that the nominalizing strength of the connectors *al/ao* (being the contraction of the semantically vague preposition *a* and the definite article *el/o*) plays a significant role in the divergences between both languages. The lower frequency in Portuguese will be related to the competition between the nominal character of the construction and the inherently more verbal character of the Portuguese infinitive, which can be inflected for person and number. Therefore, Portuguese more often has recourse to other connectors to express the same semantic links.

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Cohesive explicitness and the use of argumentative connectives in French and Dutch newspaper editorials

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Lamiroy (1994: 195) hypothesizes that “French and Dutch may differ as to the organization of argumentative texts, in particular with respect to connectives”. First, she claims that French has a broader inventory of argumentative connectives than Dutch. Second, French is said to argue in a more explicit manner, using a rather high amount of connectives, whereas Dutch is said to prefer a more implicit kind of argumentation “by ordering the arguments in a particular way, or by choosing particular lexical items other than connectives” (ibid.). Evidence for this second claim is given by a sample study of translations from French texts into Dutch. However, quantitative data are only provided for two novels² and their translations, and these can hardly be considered prototypical argumentative texts.

The existence of typological differences with respect to the use of connectives and the explicit marking of contingency relations has also been hinted at by other studies (Kielhöfer & Poli 1991, Nølke, 1989, Altenberg & Tapper 1998, Mauranen 1993, Suomela-Salmi 2004, Granger et Tyson 1996). One of the hypotheses is that Romance languages differ from Germanic languages more in general, the former being more explicit and the latter more implicit.

This study sets out to further test Lamiroy’s hypothesis (1994) by examining the use of connectives in French and Dutch newspaper editorials and deals with the following research questions:

² S. De Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième Sexe* and A. Camus, *La Peste*.

- (i) Does French use more connectives than Dutch in argumentative texts?
- (ii) Does French use a more varied range of connectives than Dutch in argumentative texts?
- (iii) If any significant differences are to be found between French and Dutch, are some logical relations more affected than others?

To answer these questions, a corpus of Dutch/Flemish editorials and one of French editorials has been examined. The Dutch corpus was compiled by the *Centre de traitement automatique du langage* de l'UCL using their Corporator tool³ (863,880 words). The French corpus was compiled by using cd-roms of *Libération*, *Le Monde* and *Le Soir* and contains (3,487,723 words).

An extensive list of connectives retrieved in both corpora was built using various sources: two handbooks (Dalcq et al. 1999, Ruquet & Quoy-Bodin 1988), the e-ANS and the van Dale dictionaries. It includes connectives introducing an NP (e.g. *par suite de*, *gezien*), an infinitive (e.g. *à moins de*), a sentence or clause (e.g. *pourvu que*, *althoewel*) and more autonomous connectives (e.g. *sans quoi*, *echter*). We will focus on connectives that express or introduce a cause-consequence relation, an opposition, a condition, a concessive relation or a supposition (hypothesis).

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Wh-items evolving into connective devices: Germanic and Romance

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Even though detailed accounts exist of the use of individual *wh*-items as connective devices in individual languages (cf. Declerck 1997 on *when*, Benzitoun 2006 on *quand*), sometimes even in a contrastive perspective (Pit 2007 on *want*, *car* and other causal markers), there seems to be no systematic contrastive or typological description of the whole set of items. Some

³ I would like to thank Cédric Fairon and his colleagues from the CENTAL for sharing this corpus with me.

elements of such a description can be found in Kortmann 1997 but that study embraces *wh*-items as a category and does not single out the actual items different languages use. Such singling out can, however, yield interesting results: *wh*-items represent a basic ontology typical of natural language which has been thought of as representative of human conceptual structure (Jackendoff 1983). Category changes between autonomous uses (e.g. in questions) and uses as connective devices can therefore confirm cognitive patterns observed in other research on connectives (Kortmann 1997; Haspelmath 2004) and reveal new ones.

The aim of my paper is to analyse the use of *wh*-items as connective devices cross-linguistically in a relevant set of Germanic and Romance languages: Dutch, German, English, French, Spanish and Italian. I will leave aside cases in which *wh*-items are interpreted as variables (embedded interrogatives, universal concessive conditionals, free relatives) or as strictly anaphoric items (relative pronouns and adverbs), as these do not link contents at the clausal level. I will, on the other hand, include uses of *wh*-items that are part of the ‘linking adverbs’ (Quirk et al. 1985). As a starting point I will take Kortmann’s typology of semantic relations between clauses and map the *wh*-items onto it for each language involved. Supplementing Kortmann’s approach, I will take into account the interpersonal parameters put forward by Verstraete 2007 to provide a more fine-grained analysis of the use of *wh*-items.

It will be shown that some semantic areas such as causality, conditionality, temporality and concessivity are privileged areas in which *wh*-items are used in most languages. It will also appear that *wh*-items tend to be used in clauses ranking high on the interpersonal level. With regard to the meaning shift between autonomous uses and uses as connectives, the data show that meaning shift is the rule rather than the exception. Differences tend to reflect known cognitive relationships (e.g. between ‘time’ and ‘cause’) and some clearly are a ‘family trait’ (e.g. the shift between ‘manner’ and ‘cause’ in Romance items such as *comme*, *como*, *come*).

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Workshop on Saturday 12 September 2009

WORKSHOP. Listening to silent Languages:**Workshop description**

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Deaf studies comprise a large number of subject matters, but it is not unlikely that language issues emerge when dealing with most of them. Linguistics, on the other hand, is by now a quite sophisticated scientific domain that could, nevertheless, profit from a wider knowledge of what we called ‘silent languages’. Our workshop is at the crossroads of these two pathways.

Sign languages are spread all over the world (121 are mentioned at *The Ethnologue* website), but their paths, their status, their similarities and their differences have not yet been thoroughly unveiled. Similarly, education and the social integration of deaf children are differently pursued in different geographies. We intend to present a survey and a comparative assessment of some national stands, as a background for subsequent discussion.

Likewise, research on these languages is unevenly developed and sign language linguistics is at the dawn of its own history making. Seminal work, such as Stokoe (1960) has demonstrated that oral languages and sign languages share most of their linguistic foundations: language acquisition follows the same pattern (cf. Petitto & Marentette 1991, Petitto 2000), the language structure is similarly complex (cf. Stokoe 1960) and the way language is used also illustrates a high degree of resemblance (cf. Poizner, Bellugi & Klima 1987). We will also report the state of the art on sign language linguistics and on the importance of its findings to theoretical linguistics.

Finally, we will launch the discussion, ranging from social questions of major relevance to the deaf communities to theoretical issues that the analysis of sign languages may allow to reevaluate.

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Which language for deaf people?

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The importance attributed to Sign Languages has changed during the last 40 years and nowadays these languages are at the core of much linguistic investigation in many countries (Chamberlain et al. 2000). When deaf people interact with each other within their community, it is natural that they use the sign language as primary means of communication (Kegl et al. 1999). Sign languages are the most natural language of deaf communities and represent a local language overall, if we consider that they are spoken by a small group of individuals and that they differ cross-linguistically. Nevertheless, the deaf individual is surrounded by hearing people using the oral language, and consequently he/she has to use it as well in order to avoid isolation from the “world” around him/her.

Educationally, deaf people constitute a very heterogeneous group. Every deaf individual seems to be unique as far as the level of competence in his/her mother tongue he/she manages to achieve.

Deaf people born to deaf parents acquire naturally the sign language as their first language and the oral language represents the L2. Some deaf individuals born to hearing parents (mainly immigrant families) are instead exposed to the sign language late, in some cases at adolescence. Consequently, both the oral language and the sign language are not acquired naturally, with strong consequences for the development of linguistic abilities. The only way for deaf people to approach their global (first) language is through the written modality. In most cases, profoundly deaf children born to hearing parents can access spoken language by means of a cochlear implant and are therefore trained to process language primarily by ear. Nonetheless, in both cases, the acquisition is often problematic and the development of linguistic abilities is often delayed.

The core of the problem is: “Which language for deaf people? Is it possible to learn an oral language without any mother tongue?” The aim of our research is to try to give an answer to these questions by comparing the linguistic competence in Italian of different groups of deaf people.

Data on the general linguistic competence in Italian were collected from six young deaf signers (age: 15;5-17;6) (Grosselle 2008) and six cochlear implanted hearing impaired children (age: 6;10-8;10) in order to determine their linguistic age. General linguistic abilities were assessed by using the TCGB (Test di Comprensione Grammaticale per Bambini (Chilosi et al. 2006)). The analysis of responses revealed that the linguistic age of deaf adolescents is between 5;6 and 7 and that of implanted hearing impaired children is between 5 and 6;6. This study wants also to explore the language of deaf children exposed both to the sign language and to the oral language too late to develop good linguistic skills in one of the two linguistic systems. In such cases, every child is led to invent “his/her own language”, and the teaching of an oral language becomes a very difficult task. Our research wants to investigate the complexity of these aspects and to try to find an answer to guarantee a suitable level of education to deaf individuals.

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Verbal morphology in sign languages and sign language acquisition: the imperative case

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The study of verbal morphology of sign languages has received some attention, because of its peculiarity. There is a traditional classification of the verbs into three classes: plain verbs, agreement verbs and spatial verbs (Padden, 1983/1988). Quadros (1999) and Quadros and Quer (2008) discussed some of the problems of this classification and proposed a revision: verbs are plain or not plain and the border between them is not so strict. They observed that the differences between these two classes are related with the morphology and not exactly with the verbs.

The same can be said about language acquisition. We analyzed data from children in Brazilian Sign Language (LSB) and in American Sign Language (ASL) and we found evidence for early verbal morphology acquisition that substantiates Quadros and Quer's proposal. The results that we found are different from those of other studies on sign language acquisition, since they report late agreement acquisition (Meier, 1982; Casey, 2003; Morgan et al., 2006). This divergence may be due to the fact that these authors did not look at the morphology, since they oriented their survey along the lines of the traditional classification of verbs in sign languages. By looking at the morphology, we found a very productive use of imperatives, for example.

Our analysis is also compatible with the proposal of Salustri & Hyams (2003, 2006). They argue that there is a ‘universal core’ of the root infinitives (hence, RI) stage, that constrains all children similarly for the acquisition of mood. Furthermore, they show that RIs typically have a modal/irrealis interpretation and that they are eventive. These properties indicate that RIs are grammatically-based and might be expected to be found universally. They also argue that children learning a null subject language (hence, NSL) use the imperative form as an analogue to the RI. Although imperatives do not convey the full range of interpretations found in RIs, they are irrealis and eventive, and they are used much more frequently in the acquisition of non-NSLs than NSLs, even by children who are bilingual in one language of each type. We tested the Imperative Analogue Hypothesis (IAH) of Salustri & Hyams (2003, 2006) by looking at the acquisition of languages that have two verb types, one of which allows (agreement-licensed) null subjects and the other does not. American Sign Language (ASL) and Brazilian Sign Language (LSB) have both person- and location-agreeing verbs, that license null subjects, and non-agreeing ‘plain’ verbs, that do not license null subjects (Lillo-Martin 1986; Quadros 1997). The IAH contrasts with a non-analogous hypothesis (NAH) in predicting the distribution of imperatives in the acquisition of these two languages as follows (Lillo-Martin e Quadros, 2008):

IAH – imperatives with agreeing verbs > imperatives with plain verbs

NAH – imperatives with agreeing verbs = imperatives with plain verbs

We analyzed data from children acquiring these languages and found that both ASL and LSB acquisition bring evidence for the prediction IAH. Children produce imperatives with agreeing verbs much more frequently than they do with plain verbs. This is very surprising because a large proportion of the verbs that children use are plain verbs. As expected, imperatives are irrealis and eventive. Plain verbs were used to express eventive and stative, realis and irrealis interpretations. (There is no infinitive/bare form of plain verbs.)

The data analyzed also provide additional evidence for the analysis of plain versus agreeing verbs presented in Quadros (1999). According to this analysis, agreeing verbs must raise to check an agreement feature. As Salustri & Hyams argue, such movement for checking an agreement feature is what makes the less economical imperative form to be used rather than the RI form in non-NSLs. The same explanation applies to distinguish between the two forms used in one and the same language.

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Second language acquisition of sign language: Handshape transfer from gesture

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This presentation discusses transfer of handshape in M2 (second language plus second modality) acquisition of American Sign Language (ASL) by hearing, non-signing subjects. Phonological transfer from L1 to L2 has been documented extensively as a major contributing factor to non-target accent. However, it has been assumed that such transfer does not occur in cross-modality M2 acquisition, since signed and spoken languages do not share a common phonetic base (Rosen 2004). This study proposes that hearing non-signers nevertheless possess previous experience with formational parameters of ASL signs, including handshape, through their use of conventionalized gestures (emblems), and that this experience brings potential for transfer from L1 gesture to M2 sign.

Transfer errors are generally predicted to occur when the learner fails to notice the difference between an L2 target form and a very similar L1 form (Wode 1981; Flege 1987, 1995). The typical American non-signer's inventory of handshapes overlaps with that of ASL, including many configurations that are potentially similar but not identical to those used in ASL signs. For example, some non-signers produce the American gesture of raising one's fists in the air to signify victory with a handshape where the thumb is aligned with the closed fingers. This configuration differs minimally from the S-configuration used in ASL, where the thumb lays opposed across the closed fingers. Non-signers failing to notice this difference in thumb opposition are predicted to transfer their preferred fist configuration for ASL targets requiring the S-configuration.

Four non-signing subjects were instructed to reproduce 39 ASL signs and 9 conventionalized American gestures potentially involving handshapes found in ASL. All stimuli involved simple movements, unmarked locations, and a single handshape throughout the duration of the sign. They were produced by a native Deaf model and presented on a laptop, showing two different viewing angles for each sign. Stimuli were chosen to include both highly unmarked and highly marked handshapes, as determined by markedness hierarchies from the L1 ASL acquisition literature (Boyes-Braem 1990).

Subjects' production was coded for accuracy in thumb position, selected fingers and degree of finger splay. Subjects generally imitated most ASL signs accurately with respect to these three features, but several instances of transfer were observed: e.g. subjects who produced the fist gesture with unopposed thumbs substituted this handshape for the S-configuration in ASL signs such as SENATE and SYMBOL. Interestingly, transfer occurred less often for highly marked handshapes. For instance, one subject crossed his index over his middle finger for the gesture *keep your fingers crossed* in a matter identical to the R-configuration in ASL. When presented with an ASL sign employing the same configuration, this subject incorrectly crossed his middle finger over his index. While preliminary, these results suggest that non-signers are able to recognize and transfer unmarked handshapes from L1 gesture to M2 sign. The fact that recognition appears blocked for marked configurations indicates that complex interactions between universal and language-specific factors characterize cross-modal M2 phonology in much the same way as they do spoken L2 phonology.

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The Kernels of Phonology in a New Sign Language

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The property of duality of patterning – the existence of two levels of structure, a meaningful level of words and sentences alongside a meaningless level of sounds – has been characterized as a basic design feature of human language (Hockett 1960). Some have also argued that a meaningless level, i.e., phonology, must have existed prior to hierarchical syntactic structure in the evolution of language (Pinker & Jackendoff 2005). Sign languages were admitted to the 'bona fide' language

club' only after Stokoe (1960) demonstrated that they do exhibit duality. But is it possible for a conventionalized language to exist without a fully developed phonological system – without duality?

Using evidence from a sign language that has emerged over the past 75 years in a small, insular community, I will show that phonology cannot be taken for granted. The Al-Sayyid Bedouins have a conventionalized language with certain syntactic and morphological regularities (Sandler et al 2005, Aronoff et al 2008), but the language is apparently still in the process of developing a level of structure with discrete meaningless units that behave systematically. In other words, we don't find evidence for a full-blown phonological system in this language.

Can a language go on like this? Data from children and from families with several deaf people help to pinpoint emerging regularities and complexity at the level of meaningless formational elements in ABSL. While phonology in language cannot be taken for granted, then, its existence in all older languages, spoken and signed, suggests that it is inevitable. Rather than assume that phonology is somehow 'given' or hard-wired, this work leads us to ask, Why and how does it arise?

Writing Sign Languages

Adam Frost

Deaf Action Committee for SignWriting (DAC) and Center for Sutton Movement Writing

Valerie Sutton, inventor of the signwriting system

Why SignWriting?

I was born Deaf, and I am native to American Sign Language. I personally use SignWriting to express my innermost thoughts and feelings. I don't have to take the focus of trying to express them into English to write them. Writing in SignWriting also gives me the ability to place ASL and English side by side and learn both languages better than without SignWriting. I strongly believe that all Sign Languages can and should be written. Many Deaf people throughout the world agree with me. Several of us form the DAC, Deaf Action Committee for SignWriting, who work everyday with SignWriting and spread the knowledge that Sign Languages are written languages.

What is SignWriting?

Because SignWriting is not based on any one Sign Language but on how the body moves, it can write any sign in any Sign Language even if the sign is something that has never been seen before. SignWriting is used to write as much detailed information about a sign as needed, for linguistic research. SignWriting is also used for everyday use, to write a quick note between two people.

SignWriting is not a language in of itself, just as any alphabet is not a language in of itself. It also does not change a Sign Language, but writes what the language is, at that moment in time, again just like alphabets do for many spoken languages. SignWriting is not any harder to learn than any other alphabet, even though it has more symbols than most alphabets. This is because, unlike most spoken language alphabets, the SignWriting symbols have a simple methodology behind how the symbols are created, thus making the symbols connected to one another, rather than random arbitrary symbols.

Where and How to use SignWriting?

SignWriting can be written on paper just like any other alphabet. However, since we live in an age of computers and many people may not be comfortable with constructing symbols when they don't know them all, there are many great computer programs out there. The one that I am most familiar with is SignPuddle because it is one of the most thorough programs and most accessible via the internet.

Conclusion

SignWriting is not that hard to learn. Most people can read and write signs within an hour if not mere minutes. Those that learn SignWriting the fastest are the ones that already know a Sign Language. I learned SignWriting just by finding documents on the web with it and started reading it almost immediately. If there are those that would be interested in learning SignWriting, I would be more than willing to teach it during the workshop if time allows. If not and there are people who would like to learn SignWriting, I am willing to teach privately or show how SignWriting can be learned elsewhere. If Sign Language is used in any shape or form, SignWriting will be a great asset to have as a tool to record Sign Languages on paper and with SignPuddle.

Why SignWriting? Video & SignWriting in ASL

<http://www.signbank.org/SignPuddle1.5/canvas.php?ui=1&sgn=5&sid=352>