

40th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea

Abstracts

**29 August – 1 September, 2007
University of Joensuu, Finland**

Layout and cover design Hanna-Maija Laaksonen

Joensuun yliopistopaino
Joensuu 2007

40th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea

is hosted by

Foreign Languages & Translation Studies
Finnish Language & Cultural Research
University of Joensuu

Scientific Committee

Anders Ahlqvist (Galway)
Markku Filppula (Joensuu)
Eva Hajicová (Praha)
Christian Lehmann (Erfurt)
Jussi Niemi (Joensuu)
Marjatta Palander (Joensuu)

Local Organising Committee

Markku Filppula (Chairperson)
Marjatta Palander (Vice chairperson)
Esa Penttilä (Conference Secretary)
Helka Riionheimo (Assistant Secretary)
Ossi Kokko (Webmaster)

in co-operation with

Suomen Akatemia	Academy of Finland
Emil Öhmannin säätiö	Emil Öhmann Foundation
Joensuun yliopisto	University of Joensuu yliopisto
Joensuun kaupunki	City of Joensuu

Plenary lectures

Butler, Christopher S.: Criteria of adequacy for functional theories of language	13
Davidse, Kristin: The expression of aspectual meanings by grammaticalized complex prepositions in English	14
Gries, Stefan Th.: Frequency effects in cognitive-functional linguistics: Some problems and some strategies	16
Hajičová, Eva: On some aspects of Praguian functionalism	17
Malchukov, Andrej: Functional typology and optimality theory: Competing motivations in the domain of case-marking	18
Ventola, Eija: From contextual functionalism in linguistics to contextual functionalism in multisystemiotics	20

Presentations

Aragon Cobo, Marina: La sauce des tropes dans la langue de la gastronomie française: approche sémantique et pragmatique	23
Bahman, Zhila: Interpersonal function and its textual manifestations in English	25
Bakker, Dik: Measuring the stability of typological parameters	26
Batova, Natalia: On functional dominant units of a text as determiners of translation strategies	28
Bauer, Brigitte L.M.: Nominal apposition in Indo-European: Development and function	29
Benešová, Václava: Modal verbs in dependent content clauses after imperative verbs in Czech	30
Bogdanova, Svetlana: Types of reconceptualization of spatial relations	31
Cordovani, Irene: Spatial uses of prepositions and polysemy	32
Dembry, Claire: The grammaticalization of <i>have to</i> towards a modal function in Lancashire dialect: evidence from spoken and literature corpus data	34
Edygarova, Svetlana: Functions of the possessive suffixes in Udmurt language	35
Fernández Leal, Maria Carmen: Probabilities of change	37
Fernandez-Vest, Jocelyne M.M.: Actualité paradoxale d'André Martinet: His notions of orality, function and semantics revisited in a pragmatic and textual perspective	38
Forsberg, Hannele: Non-directive uses of the Finnish imperative	39
García Castillo, Jose Fernando: In search of an adequate "tertium comparationis": A typological study of English and Japanese constructions	41
García de la Maza, Casilda: Restrictions on middles: An account at the grammar-pragmatics interface	42
Gunkel, Lutz & Susan Schlotthauer: Attribution in Basque, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish: Morphology vs. syntax	44
Hanegreefs, Hilde: A cognitive-functional account of the two main verbs of visual perception in Spanish: <i>ver</i> 'to see' and <i>mirar</i> 'to look'	46
Heuel, Hanno: Syntactic and stylistic effects of expressional variation of causal relations in Romance languages	48

Higashimori, Isao: Jokes and reference assignments: Functionalism vs. cognitive pragmatics	50
Hoch, Hans Heinrich: Some problems in agreement with multiple antecedents	52
Hrisonopulo, Katherine: The aspectual auxiliary as a marker of stance: The case of progressive BE	53
Hurch, Bernard: A look at the German syllable structure from a typological perspective	55
Ji, Meng: SFG in corpus-based translation studies	56
Karlsson, Fred: Explaining restrictions on multiple clausal embedding in sentence	57
Kirsanov, Nikolai O.: Baltic Finnic and Eastern Slavic multilingualism and boomerang loans in Ingermanland	59
Kuzina, Irina: Some semantic peculiarities of dimensional adjectives: The cases of asymmetry	60
Laeuffer, Christiane: The phonological treatment of French loanwords in Alsatian	61
Lahousse, Karen: VOS word order as a specificational clause: A functional analysis	63
Langleben, Maria: Implicit themes and the economy of text	65
Lindtröm, Liina & Ilona Tragel: Is there a European possessive perfect construction in Estonian?	66
Lozowski, Przemyslaw: Cognitivism and functionalism <i>vis-à-vis</i> the non-autonomy postulate: Together or apart?	68
Mackenzie, J. Lachlan: Towards an inventory of semantic categories in Functional Discourse Grammar: Content interrogatives in a sample of 50 languages	70
Markic, Jasmina: The translation of Spanish aspectual verbal periphrases into Slovene	72
Martín Arista, Javier: Morphological constructions and the functional definition of categories	73
Martinet, Jeanne: Saussure et Martinet	75
Mauri, Caterina: The grammaticalization of contrast markers	76
Mela-Athanasopoulou, Elizabeth: The function of semantically motivated suffixes in gender inversion of Modern Greek derivatives	78
Metin, Mehmet: Turkish-German-Comedy	79
Muikku-Werner, Pirkko: Book reviews: Yours effectively and affectionately	80
Määttä, Simo: <i>Théorie de l'énonciation</i> Meets Functional Grammar: Context and Illocution in EU Law	81
Nakamura, Fujio: Uncovering of rare or unknown usage: A history of <i>seem</i> meaning 'to pretend'	83
Nenonen, Marja: <i>Mönkä</i> and <i>leipäläpi</i> : Unique components in Finnish idioms	84
Nikolaenko, Elena: Russian Aspect, Aktionsarten and aspectual adverbials: Established rules vs. contextual representation	85
Nikolaev, Ilya: Grammatical variability in Ingrian epic poetry	87
Ou Yang, Vanessa: Address forms to God in Mandarin Chinese Christians' prayers	88
Panov, Vladimir: On verb functions in Russian	89
Pastor Gomez, Iria: Nominal modifiers in Noun Phrase structure: Evidence from contemporary English	90

Penttilä, Esa & Seppo Sajama: Do one-word idioms exist? The problem of defining idiomaticity	91
Podolski, Ludmila: Marked word order in English, Russian and Estonian	92
Prado-Alonso, José Carlos: The pragmatic function of full inversion in English press reportages	94
Quochi, Valeria & Basilio Calderone: Emergent noun phrase cognitive functions	95
Rawoens, Gundrun: A functional analysis of syntactic and semantic patterns of analytical causative constructions in Swedish	97
Rijkhoff, Jan: On the co-variation between form and function of adnominal possessive modifiers	98
Ronan, Patricia: The function of support verb constructions: An investigation based on English, Irish and Basque constructions	100
Rostila, Jouni: A truly sign-based Construction Grammar approach to the German passive	101
Rueter, Jack: Asymmetries in word class divisions with examples pertaining to person in Erzya (myv)	103
Ruiz Quemoun, Fernande: La fonction dialogique de la pause dans la gestion de la parole et son signifié	104
Sakuma, Junichi: Case marking of core arguments in the Finnish language	106
Schweiger, Fritz: The comparative in Australian languages	108
Šefčík, Ondřej: Alternations and functions of the phonemic system	109
Seuren, Pieter A.M. & Camiel Hamans: Semantic conditioning of syntactic rules: Evidentiality and auxiliation in English and Dutch	110
Siemund, Peter: Pronominal gender in English: Varieties of English from a cross-linguistic perspective	111
Silvestre Lopez, Antonio José & Ignasi Navarro i Ferrando: A cognitive approach to the semantic contribution of In and On to English prepositional verbs	112
Sinnemäki, Kaius: Functional load and complexity compensations in core argument marking: A typological study	114
Smit, Niels & Miriam van Staden: Representational layering in Functional Discourse Grammar	116
Sokół, Malgorzata: Engagement resources in academic e-discourse	118
Sroka, Kazimierz A.: Categories for a functional description of textual entities	119
Steponavicius, Albertas: Notes on paradigmatic phonologization	121
Sustarsic, Rastislav: Typology of errors in subtitles of English films and TV programmes	123
Tambovtsev, Yuri: The distances between Ainu and the other world languages based on typological data	124
Tárnyiková, Jarmila: Clause complexing in text (processing strategies)	125
Toguchi, Sachiko: Information structure of Eastern Khanty: Topic continuity and referential distance	127
Tomaszewicz, Barbara: Polish <i>żeby</i> and <i>gdyby</i> as complex complementizers	129
van Goethem, Kristel: Grammaticalization of prepositions into prefixes: A case study of nouns and adjectives beginning with French <i>sur-</i> and Dutch <i>op-</i> and <i>over-</i>	131

van Linden, An: Deontic-evaluative adjectives in extraposition constructions (ECs) and their clausal complementation: A functional diachronic approach	133
Wasik, Elzbieta: Against the indiscriminate pursuit for linguistic functions: An inquiry into the nature of language as a tool	135
Wasik, Zdzislaw: Detecting the meaning of <i>function</i> from the paraphrases of functional statements	137
Wildgen, Wolfgang: Linguistic functionalism in an evolutionary context	139
Wischer, Ilse: Grammaticalization of periphrastic constructions	141
Witkos, Jacek: Genitive of negation in Polish and single cycle derivations	142

Workshops

Typological, psycholinguistic and corpus-linguistic approaches to animacy	149
van Bergen, Geertje: Animacy effects on Dutch possessive constructions	150
de Hoop, Helen & Monique Lamers: Animacy and object fronting	151
Kittilä, Seppo: Animacy effects in ditransitives	152
Palolahti, Maria: Language processing in the brain: Animacy constraints modulate syntax-semantics interaction during sentence comprehension	153
Malchukov, Andrej & Peter de Swart: Animacy: Distinguishability and prominence	155
Vartiainen, Turo: Variation in the animacy of subject referents in different tenses in English	156
Zúñiga, Fernando: Animacy in Basque	157
Bridging the gap between functionalism and cognitivism: The Lexical Constructional Model	153
Mairal Usón, Ricardo & Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez: An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). Part I: lexical templates	155
Mairal Usón, Ricardo & Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez: An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). Part II: subsumption processes	165
Gonzálvez-García, Francisco: Situating the Lexical Constructional Model in functional-cognitive space: Some preliminary considerations	167
Cortés Rodríguez, Francisco José: Constructional templates and unification constraints: The case of the inchoative construction	169
Baicchi, Annalisa: High-level metaphor in the caused-motion construction	171
Jiménez Briones, Rocío: The lexical representation of the English verbs of feeling within the Lexical Constructional Model	174
Navarro, Ignasi, José Fernando García & Antonio José Silvestre: Internal constraints in lexical-constructional unification of perception verbs	176
ChenXianlang: Metonymy-based pragmatic inference in the Lexical Constructional Model: Accounting for speech act type transitions	177
The expression of stance in talk-in-interaction	181
Du Bois, John W.: Why stance changes everything	183

Keisanen, Tiina: Interrogatives in interaction: The structural patterns of stance in English conversations	185
Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie: Graduating modal certainty: adverbs in interaction	186
Cornillie, Bert: Epistemic adverbs in conversational Spanish: On the (inter)subjectivity of harmonic uses and clustering	187
Niemelä, Maarit: The embodiment of direct reported speech: Reporting through an ‘other body’	189
Sciubba, Eleonora: Epistemic stance in an Italian fraud trial: The case of multiple narratives	191
Reber, Elisabeth: Managing affectivity in talk-in-interaction: The case of <i>sound objects</i> in informings	192
Kärkkäinen, Elise: Digressing with a stance: Sequential, linguistic and embodied practices of stance taking	194

Plenary lectures

Criteria of adequacy for functional theories of language

Christopher S. Butler
University of Wales Swansea, UK

The aims of this lecture are to offer a view on what criteria of adequacy a functionalist theory of language should set for itself, to assess a small set of structural-functional theories with respect to such criteria, and to suggest some steps the functionalist community might take towards achieving higher standards of adequacy. I begin by reviewing the main claims which underlie functional theories, and then discuss a set of criteria of adequacy which can be derived from these claims. These criteria, however, are still subject to different interpretations, two distinctions – between theories of grammar and theories of language, and between pattern and process models – being particularly relevant to the debate. Having argued that we need theories of language which include process as well as pattern, I go on to characterise, in terms of the criteria of adequacy, a set of approaches which have been described as ‘structural-functional’. I then suggest that in order to attain higher levels of adequacy, functionalists need to be more open to work in theoretical approaches other than that which they themselves espouse. I look briefly at three types of relationship: between functional theories and cognitive and/or constructionist theories; between functionalism and formalism; and between theoretical linguistics and psycholinguistics/psychology of language. Finally, some problematic issues are raised for future discussion.

The expression of aspectual meanings by grammaticalized complex prepositions in English

Kristin Davidse
University of Leuven

Verbal aspect is defined by Comrie (1976) as being concerned with “viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation”. Whereas the coding of aspect was traditionally confined to auxiliaries and verbal morphology, more recent work has identified other coding means such as particles, e.g. perfective *eat up* (Brinton 1998) and grammaticalized lexical verbs, such as Dutch *zitten te werken* (‘sit to work’, be working). In this paper I will focus on another linguistic resource for expressing verbal aspect, viz. grammaticalized complex prepositions that have come to function as secondary auxiliaries, e.g.

- (1) Brosnan vehemently denies that he is on the brink of tying the knot (quoted in Vanden Eynde 2004: 39; see also Navalpotro Gómez 2000)
- (2) I know that you’re in the midst of quoting term papers ... (quoted in Koops 2001: 65)
- (3) Detroit is more than on its way back, we’re on our way to becoming the new city of tomorrow (quoted in Petré 2005)

This hitherto relatively neglected phenomenon is of interest both to grammaticalization studies and functional linguistics.

Firstly, aspectual markers deriving from complex prepositions thwart a number of predictions made in grammaticalization theory. For instance, contrary to the assumption that more general lexical items lend themselves most readily to grammaticalization (e.g. Bybee 2003), it is the semantically more specific *verge* and *brink* that have grammaticalized most strongly in Present-day English. Also, the advanced degree of grammaticalization of these aspectual markers is not always accompanied by overt reflexes of decategorialization such as dropping of the determiner (cf Hoffmann 2004: 180). On the other hand, these markers of aspect are interesting positive examples of specialization in the sense of Hopper (1991) in that the originally nominal construction leads to the formation of complex prepositions and secondary auxiliaries through a combination of restrictions and generalizations in its variables. They also demonstrate the importance of collocational patterns as a facilitating factor, particularly semantic prosody, or the predominance of affectively marked (negative or positive) collocates (Stubbs 1995). Thus, the affective prosodies engendered by the elements of ‘risk’ and ‘abruptness’ present in the source semantics of *brink* and *verge* but absent in *edge*, helped establish the ‘imminence’ use of the former.

Aspectual markers deriving from complex prepositions also pose a challenge to functional linguistic description. Firstly, they raise interesting questions as to how the various layered uses should be analysed in terms of function-form correlates. For instance, can expressions in which the complex preposition is followed by a noun be analysed as aspectual markers, if the noun is deverbal or implies an event, e.g. *be on*

the brink of victory / on the verge of tears? Secondly, the semantic enrichment contributed to the system of verbal aspect by these new markers has to be captured adequately. For instance, is there semantic-pragmatic specialization with regard to features such as ‘animate’, ‘intentional’, ‘counterfactual’, ‘avertive’ (Kuteva 1998), etc. of all the resources expressing ‘imminence’, i.e. besides *be on the verge/brink/edge of*, also *be about to*, *be on the point of*, *be going to*?

In this way, these aspectual markers wake us up to the necessary dialectic between grammaticalization studies and grammatical description. Due to our awareness of grammaticalized patterns, many grammatical systems turn out to be much larger and richer than they are presented to be in traditional grammars.

References

- Brinton, L. 1998. *The development of English aspectual systems. Aspectualizers and postverbal particles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bybee, J.L. 2003. Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization: The role of frequency. In B.D. Joseph & L. Janda (eds) *The handbook of historical linguistics*. London: Blackwell. 602-623.
- Comrie, B. 1976. *Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffmann, S. 2004. Are low-frequency complex prepositions grammaticalized? On the limits of corpus data – and the importance of intuition. In H. Lindquist & C. Mair (eds) *Corpus Approaches to Grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 171-210.
- Hopper, P. 1991. On some principles of grammaticalization. In E. Traugott & B. Heine (eds) *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. Vol. I, 17-35. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Koops, C.. 2001. *Emergent progressive aspect constructions: a study of Present-day English from a cross-linguistic perspective*. M.A. Thesis. University of Hamburg.
- Kuteva, T. 1998. On identifying an evasive gram: action narrowly averted. *Studies in Language* 22/1: 113-160.
- Navalpatro-Gómez, A. 2000. The expression of imminence in English, Spanish and Galician/ some questions. *Düsseldorf Working Papers in Linguistics*. Vol. II: 33-48.
- Petré, P. 2005. On ways of being on the way. Paper presented at ICAME 27, Helsinki, 24-28 May 2006.
- Stubbs, M. 1995. Collocations and semantic profiles: on the cause of the trouble with qualitative studies. *Functions of Language* 2, 1: 23-55.
- Vanden Eynde, M. 2004. *Edge-noun expressions as markers of imminence: a case of grammaticalization*. M.A. Thesis. K.U.Leuven.

Frequency effects in cognitive-functional linguistics: Some problems and some strategies

Stefan Th. Gries
University of California, Santa Barbara

While pre-computational corpus-linguistic work enjoyed quite some prominence up to the 1950s, the transformational-generative paradigm shift turned much of 20th-century linguistics into a strongly rationalist, formalist approach which aimed at investigating the linguistic competence of an idealized speaker. This change of theoretical perspective was coupled with a methodological switch from corpus-based frequency data to largely introspective acceptability judgments of isolated words or sentences.

However, the increasing interest in what performance data reveal about the linguistic system together with (i) a growing dissatisfaction with many assumptions underlying the formalist approach and (ii) increasingly powerful and available computational technology have resulted in a considerable revival of usage-based empiricist linguistics and its reliance on frequency data; this has had particularly strong implications within, for instance, functional linguistics, work on grammaticalization, and lexicography.

In this talk, my main point will be twofold. First, I will argue that frequency data are an immensely powerful methodological tool that can be applied to an astonishingly diverse array of linguistic questions, even questions which at first glance appear to defy frequentist operationalizations. Second and more importantly, however, I will also argue that the search for frequency-based explanations comes with a wide range of methodological issues which are not addressed as often as would be desirable. These issues arise (without exception!) when the researcher has to choose

- the operationalization(s) of phenomena to be counted;
- the level of (corpus and/or linguistic) granularity from which the relevant frequency data must be obtained;
- the right method of obtaining as well as comparing/evaluating frequency data.

I will exemplify these problems and attempts at their solution on the basis of several brief case studies involving

- predictors of constituent order alternation;
- constructional/syntactic priming;
- co-occurrence at the syntax-lexis interface;
- morphophonology;
- first language acquisition.

The discussion of these case studies will be based on both corpus and experimental data and will give rise to a variety of methodological implications, most of which should be of interest to anyone analyzing and evaluating authentic language data.

Presidential Address

On some aspects of Praguian functionalism

Eva Hajičová
Charles University, Prague

There are two attributes the Prague School of Linguistics is generally ascribed: structural and functional. None of these, however, can be taken to have a single interpretation; rather, as one of the most prominent “second-generation” Prague School representatives, Oldřich Leška, put it, in both of these fundamental features, there was (and still is, because the School is by no means dead) unity in diversity among the Prague scholars. In our talk we focus our attention on this unity in diversity of the original interpretation of the characteristics functional (means and ends, the articulation of the function – form relation into substeps, and the regard to the communicative function) and we try to consider in which respects the original interpretations are still alive.

Functional typology and optimality theory: Competing motivations in the domain of case-marking

Andrej L. Malchukov

Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology (Leipzig), Germany /
Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg), Russia

The present talk (based on my previous work, partially, joint work with Helen de Hoop; see References) deals with competing motivations in the domain of case-marking. Methodologically, I will argue that the competing motivations approach, as practiced in functional typology, is compatible with (functional) optimality-theoretic approaches. First, I address asymmetries in differential case marking, showing that differential object marking (DOM), as investigated by Bosson (1985), Aissen (2003) and others, is cross-linguistically more consistent as compared to differential subject marking (DSM). It is shown how this asymmetry can be accounted for on the standard assumptions in functional typology concerning the basic functions of case marking, encoding of semantic roles (cf. the indexing approach) and ensuring distinguishability between arguments (cf. the discriminating approach). Indeed, the asymmetry is expected given that both factors converge in the domain of DOM, while they are in conflict in DSM. Further, it is shown how encoding of transitivity alternations relates to ‘transitivity parameters’, identified by Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Tsunoda (1981). It is suggested that encoding of transitivity alternations is constrained by two competing principles, Relevance (ensuring encoding of the parameter on the relevant constituent) and Economy (cf. Tsunoda’s Unmarked Case Constraint). This approach can also account for differences between accusative and ergative languages in encoding of individual transitivity parameters. The same approach can be also extended to account for ‘transitivity splits’ (described by Tsunoda), that is, different extensions of the transitive frame across different verb classes. It is shown how a few functional principles can be used to predict the preferred case frames for individual verb classes on Tsunoda’s hierarchy. In conclusion, I will address the question of how functional typology and optimality theory relate to each other, capitalizing on convergent tendencies rather than on conceptual differences (on the latter see Haspelmath 1999).

References

- Aissen, J. (2003). ‘Differential Object Marking: Iconicity vs. Economy’, *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21: 435-83.
- Bosson, G. (1985a). *Differentielle Objectmarkierung in den neuiranischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Haspelmath, M. 1999. ‘Optimality and diachronic adaptation.’ *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 18.2: 180-205.
- de Hoop, H., and Malchukov, A.L. (2007). ‘On fluid differential case marking: A bidirectional OT approach’. *Lingua* 117 (special issue on *Recent Developments in Optimality Theory*; edited by V. Samec-Lodovici), 1636–1656.
- Hopper, P.J., and Thompson, S.A. (1980). ‘Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse’, *Language* 56: 251-99.

- Malchukov, A.L. (2005). 'Case pattern splits, verb types, and construction competition', in M. Amberber and H. de Hoop, H. (eds), *Competition and Variation in Natural Languages: the Case for Case*. Oxford: Elsevier, 73-117.
- Malchukov, A.L. (2006). 'Transitivity Parameters and Transitivity Alternations: Constraining Co-variation', in L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov, and P. de Swart (eds), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 329-58.
- Malchukov A. 2007+. 'Animacy and asymmetries in differential case marking.' Forthcoming in *Lingua* (special issue on Animacy edited by M. Lamers and P. de Swart).
- Tsunoda, T. (1981). 'Split case-marking in verb types and tense/aspect/mood', *Linguistics* 19: 389-438.

From contextual functionalism in linguistics to contextual functionalism in multisystemiotics

Eija Ventola
University of Helsinki

This presentation takes as its basic assumption that language is functional in context. It captures functionalism in linguistics and its developments from the times of Malinowski and Frith and their views on contexts of culture and contexts of situation. It traces the developments from early contextual functionalism to Hallidayan theory of viewing language and its ranks from the point of view of system and structure – to his views on how language construes meanings in contexts. The systemic-functional model and its explicit analysis of language are particularly apt for capturing these contextual meanings and the overt and hidden ideologies thus encoded. Some examples will be shown that display this kind of functionalism in language.

But other modes of meaning-making than language are playing an ever growing importance in our ways of communication. This process has been enabled by the technologization of our societies; to give a simple example, we no longer ‘write’ letters or ‘talk’ on the phone – when we skype we can ‘see’ the persons we talk to and we are being seen – and this ultimately influences our linguistic behaviour. How is linguistics going to deal with making sense of the ever growing visualization and other multimodal meaning-making ways and how they interact with the linguistic systems and functions?

This presentation argues and illustrates that the steps necessary for making the move from traditional contextual linguistic functionalism to contextual multisemiotic functionalism are not huge, as the Firthian – Hallidayan tradition indeed provides us the basics of system – and structure principles for developing a useful theory of multisystemiotics for the technological era of our futures in this millennium.

Presentations

La sauce des tropes dans la langue de la gastronomie française: approche sémantique et pragmatique

Marina Aragon Cobo
University of Alicante, Spain

La notion de tropes, clef de voûte de l'édifice rhétorique, trouve une place de choix dans l'univers de la gastronomie. Quelle en est la raison ? Le repas est un acte important de la vie quotidienne. Tout le monde se nourrit peu ou prou, il est donc normal que le vocabulaire touchant à l'alimentation enrichisse la langue dans tous ses registres : de l'argot, des parlers populaires jusqu'à la plume des écrivains de tous styles.

Grâce à la gastronomie, la langue se colore, devient « savoureuse », en recourant aux tropes. Mais qu'est-ce qu'un trope ? Je définirai tout d'abord ce concept linguistique, et j'aborderai des figures apparentées telles que la métaphore, la catachrèse, la métonymie et la sinecdoque. Il est vrai que leur rapport suscite de nombreuses controverses, mais je n'entrerai pas dans les méandres de ces discussions. L'objectif, plus modeste, consistera à voir un lien d'ordre analogique dans métaphore et catachrèse, et un lien associatif dans l'emploi de la métonymie et la synecdoque.

D'abord une approche sémantique, à l'aide d'exemples lexicographiques, permettra d'analyser des cas de tropes lexicalisés, où la déviance du sens dérivé au sens littéral s'est estompé au fil des temps ; puis, nous continuerons à suivre un axe graduel pour aller vers des types « clichés », moins transparents, et donc plus vifs.

Nous fournirons des exemples de transposition de la langue de la gastronomie à la langue générale, cas les plus courants, pour faire ensuite un parcours inverse : du domaine de la langue générale vers la langue de la gastronomie.

Nous verrons des cas d'hypostase, où les termes changent de catégorie grammaticale, comme pour les noms de couleur provenant, pour la plupart, de noms de fruits.

Nous citerons des occurrences d'eupémismes, d'hyperbole, des procédés expressifs consistant en redoublement de consonnes ou de syllabes ; un espace sera consacré à l'utilisation d'un vocabulaire anthropomorphique.

Notre deuxième approche sera pragmatique. Nous nous occuperons alors des termes ou des expressions susceptibles de polyphonie : là, les occurrences sélectionnées pourront être prises dans leur signification référentielle, ou bien dans leur richesse pragmatique, à savoir avec leur force illocutionnaire et leurs sous-entendus.

Pour leur décodage, au niveau du discours, tout dépendra de la nature du contexte et de la situation d'énonciation ; là, les tropes pourront être beaucoup plus « vifs » que dans l'approche sémantique. Dans cet univers souvent ironique, nous distinguerons la valeur informationnelle des termes ou expressions : soit valorisants (effet positif), soit dévalorisants (actes menaçants).

En conclusion, nous pourrions dire que ce panorama s'avère trop complexe pour en faire une étude exhaustive. Notre objectif n'est, en fait, que d'effectuer un relevé cohérent d'exemplifications de tropes, pour montrer à quel point ils matérialisent un pouvoir imaginaire et créatif extraordinaire, incessant par ailleurs, dans un domaine particulièrement pimenté et copieux, tel que la langue de la gastronomie.

Références bibliographiques

- Dürrenmatt, J. (2002), *La métaphore*, Paris, Honoré Champion.
- Guillemard, C. (1992), *Les mots d'origine gourmande*, Paris, Belin.
- Henry, G. (1989), *Dictionnaire des mots qui ont une histoire*, Paris, Tallendier.
- Kerbrat-Orecchioni, C. (février 1994) « Rhétorique et Pragmatique : les figures revisitées », in *Langue française*, n° 101, Paris, Larousse.
- Lakoff, G. et Johnson, M. (1985), *Les métaphores dans la vie quotidienne*, Paris, Minuit.
- Le Guern, M. (1973), *Sémantique de la métaphore et de la métonymie*, Paris, Larousse
- Weil, S. et Rameau, I. (1981), *Trésors des expressions françaises*, Paris, Belin.

Interpersonal function and its textual manifestations in English

Zhila Bahman
University of Sydney, Australia

Language functions have been variously categorised by different authors. Halliday (1985), for example, has talked of three meta-functions: ideational, interpersonal, and textual. Each of these functions are textually represented by choices the discourse producer opts for from the language choices available to him. In the present paper, we focus on interpersonal function and want to illustrate the way choices the producer makes would reflect his/her personality-type. The textual choice we have isolated for this purpose are pre-that verb type and the type of verb in V1 position of V1+ to + V2 constructions. We categorise the verbs occurring in such positions in English into different types in terms of their semantic value and try to investigate the relationship between a producer's choice from such categories and his personality-type.

Keywords: Pre-that-verb strategy: verb1+ verb2 strategy (v 1+ v 2 strategy)

References

- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the News*. London: Routledge.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hodge, R. and Kress, G. (1988). *Social Semiotics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Kress, G. (1985). 'Ideological structures in discourse' in van Dijk (1985, PP. 27-42).
- Lotfipour-Saedi, K. and Rezai-Tajani, F. (1996). 'Explorations in thematization strategies and their discursual values' in *Text* 16(2): 225-249. T. A. van Dijk (ed.). Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Measuring the stability of typological parameters

Dik Bakker

University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

Typically, studies in linguistic typology characterize languages in terms of a number of parameters, i.e. values for variables such as basic word order and morphological type. It is generally accepted that these parameters may differ considerably in regard to their diachronic stability, both as a result of internal change and of language contact. For example, morphological type (agglutinating, inflecting) is assumed to be more stable over time than constituent order. And order at the phrase level is taken to be more stable than order at the clause level. Furthermore, as the Greenbergian type of universal implications suggests, some parameters seem to be tied to others, e.g. adposition type and several constituent order parameters. As far as I am aware, not much attention has been paid to this topic to date, despite its obvious importance for the establishment of typologies, genetic affiliations and the impact of language contact. The main reason for this gap in the literature is of course the lack of substantial data on earlier stages of most of the world's languages. Among the few exceptions is Nichols (2003), who defines a theory of stability, and gives examples from a selection of linguistic areas. And Heggarty et al. (2005) present a quantitative method for assessing the distance between dialects and languages on the basis of phonological change.

In this paper, I will discuss the results of an explorative analysis of the data used for the WALS atlas of linguistic structures (Haspelmath et al 2005). WALS presents maps giving the distribution of around 140 variables, from all major subdomains of linguistics. On average, there is a value available for around 420 languages of the world for each of the variables. Taking the underlying database as a point of departure, I try to establish a stability factor for each of these variables and for each of their values. Two different approaches are used. On the one hand, the database languages are grouped on the basis of genetic groupings with a more or less established time depth (language families as used in classifications such as the Ethnologue and Ruhlen 1991; genera as introduced in Dryer 1989). The overall amount of variation for a parameter within these groups is taken as the measure for its stability, using a Monte Carlo approach to measure the probabilities of the configurations encountered. On the other hand, the classifications mentioned above are used in a bottom up, recursive fashion to establish the time depth of any variation that takes place at the respective levels of classification. Finally, a short digression will be made into some variable pairs of which the mutual dependence has been suggested in the literature on language universals.

References

- Dryer, Matthew S. (1989). 'Large Linguistic Areas and Language Sampling'. *Studies in Language* 13: 257-292.
- Haspelmath, Martin, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie (eds) (2005). *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heggarty, Paul, April McMahon & Robert McMahon (2005). 'From phonetic similarity to dialect classification: A principled approach'. In Nicole Delbecq, Johan van der Auwera & Dirk Geeraerts (eds) *Perspectives on Variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 43-92.
- Nichols, Johanna (2003). 'Diversity and stability in language'. In Brian Joseph and Richard Janda (eds) *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. London: Blackwell, 283-310.

On functional dominant units of a text as determiners of translation strategies

Natalia Batova
State University of Management, Moscow, Russia

This paper is devoted to trying to define once again what a proper translation (as a result) should be – the dependence of translation strategies (TS) upon functional dominant units of a text.

In researching this question we stick to the basic principles of a functionalistic approach to language – semantics stratification; presentation of translation units in terms of invariants – variants, the dominant units of a certain text type being *invariants* which are realized in contexts by a number of *variants*, for each of them there is defined combinability of different lexical and syntactical means.

In many a psychological and functionalist linguistic work (Bühler 1933, Jakobson 1961) we find an approach focused on the way in which language's structure serves its basic function - to communicate information between speakers. To put it short, the six dimensions of the communication process (Jakobson 1961) – context, message, sender, receiver, channel and code – are associated with six communication functions – *referential, poetic, emotive, conative, phatic and metalingual*, – each being dominant in a certain type of text and represented by a number of lexical and syntactical language units.

The definition of functional dominant units of a text, subject to obligatory delivery when translating, put forward by A. Shveitser (1973) and applied by N. Diakonova (2004) when classifying the dominant units in accordance with text types and speech functions is applicable to this description.

What happens in the translation process, with its collision of the two basically different mental and language systems?

The translator has to search for a certain strategy (TS) or a set of strategies, helping him best to render the utterance of the source language (SL) to the translation language (TL).

A type of text and its functional dominant units can serve a selection criterion for this purpose. According to the text typology relevant to translation and based on communicative functions (Reiss 1976) there appear to be three types of texts – *informative, expressive and operative*, – each with a definite number of lexical and syntactical dominant units, such as terms, conjunctions and conjunction words, word order, attributes, gerundial and infinitive complexes, imperative mood forms, passive voice forms, emotionally coloured words, rhetoric question and others.

Considering TS a cognitive substratum determining translator's actions when solving a definite translation problem as determined by a certain translation task, the conducted linguistic survey shows that depending on the type of text and its functional dominant units a translator resorts to one or several of the following translation strategies:

- the strategy of defining the style and genre of the text to be translated;
- the strategy of probabilistic forecasting;
- the “cut-and-try” strategy;
- the strategy of compression/decompression of the SL;
- the strategy of compensative modifications of the SL;
- the strategy of reproducing the author's attitude and
- the strategy of word-for-word translation.

Nominal apposition in Indo-European: Development and function

Brigitte L.M. Bauer
The University of Texas, United States

Nominal apposition—the combining of a noun with a substantive attribute—has been *l'enfant pauvre* of grammatical analyses. Yet the phenomenon is widespread as the following diverse examples from a variety of languages illustrate: *President Washington*, *Lord Mountbatten*, *Mr Bill Warmington*, *Queen Elisabeth*, *San Giovanni*, *Via Giulia*, *Palazzo Doria*, *le Roi-Soleil*, *la ville de Paris*, or Japanese *Harupo-Marukusu san* ‘Mr Harpo Marx’, *Tookyoo-to* ‘the capital city of Tokyo’, *Tone-gawa* ‘the (river) Tone’, and Turkish *Doktor Adnan* ‘Dr Adnan’, but *Cem Sultan* ‘Prince Jem’.

In many Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages nominal attributes are basic to terms and formulae of address (e.g. La. *Mars pater*; *Iane pater*, Gk. *Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι* ‘to the ruler Apollo’), they may convey kinship relations (e.g. La. *T. Iunius N. f.*, Skt. *ágne bhrātah* ‘brother Agni’), divine functions as reflected in theonyms (e.g. La. *Iupiter* [*Dies-piter*], Skt. *dyaus pitā*), and state and other official functions (e.g. Toch B *Candramukhi lānte* ‘of king Candrahka’, La. *L. Sentius C. f. praetorr*; *M. Aemilius M. f. M. n. Lepidus cos.*); they may also underlie names of rivers, mountains, or towns (e.g. *flumen Rhenum* ‘the Rhine river’, *urbs Roma* ‘the city of Rome’), and terms referring to fauna or flora (e.g. Gk. *λάρω ορνιθι* ‘cormorant’ La. *arbor olea* ‘olive tree’).

Focusing on Latin, a syntactically archaic language, I will discuss how patterns inherited from earlier stages disappeared or changed with time. It is my aim to show how developments of this type of nominal group not only are related to important linguistic changes (e.g. word order change and case loss), but also reflect the basic function of apposition.

Modal verbs in dependent content clauses after imperative verbs in Czech

Václava Benešová
Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic

This contribution focuses on modality in dependent content clauses (DCCs) after verbs with imperative features in Czech (e.g., *nařídít* (order), *zakázat* (prohibit), *dovolit* (permit), *doporučit* (recommend)). Firstly, we briefly characterize the syntactic behavior and semantic features of the given verbs.

DCCs after imperative verbs (IVs) realize one of the obligatory valency complementations of these verbs. They express actions which are desired but so far not realized. They are typically introduced by the subordinating conjunction *aby* (in order to).

Mluvnice češtiny III (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987) introduces the hypothesis that this conjunction can be replaced by the conjunction *že* (that) under the condition that the modality of DCCs is lexically expressed by a modal verb. We verify this hypothesis on the basis of corpus evidence (Czech National Corpus¹).

Our description is based on the Functional Generative Description (Sgall et al., 1986) where three modal categories are distinguished: (1) necessity expressed by debitive (*muset* (must)) and hortative (*mít* (should)), (2) possibility realized by possibilitive (*moci* (can, may)), permissive (*smět* (be allowed)) and facultative (*umět* (be able)) and (3) volition rendered by volitive (*chtít* (want)) (Panevová et al., 1971).

IVs exhibit a tendency to bind DCCs either with debitive and hortative (*nařídil mu, že musí odejít* (he ordered him to leave)), or with possibilitive and permissive (*dovolil mu, že může zůstat* (he allowed him to stay)). Thus we can further divide IVs into these two groups: (1) IVs associating with the modal meaning of necessity (e.g., *nařídít, přikázat, doporučit, uložit, ...* (command, order, recommend, impose, ...)) and (2) IVs preferring the modal meaning of possibility (e.g., *dovolit, navrhnout, ...* (allow, permit, suggest, ...)). (The volitive and facultative do not occur in DCCs after IVs.)

Finally, we analyze the cases which violate the mentioned tendency. We outline the conditions under which the possibilitive or permissive is used after IVs preferring the modal meaning of necessity (e.g., *nařídil mu, že může ...*) and conversely the conditions under which the debitive and hortative occur in the DCCs depending on IVs preferring possibility (e.g., *navrhla mu, že by měl...* (she suggested him that he should...)). Nevertheless, the corpus evidence does not fully confirm the aforementioned assumption that the presence of a particular modal verb is necessary in the given DCCs.

References

- Mluvnice češtiny III (1987), Praha, Academia.
Panevová, Jarmila, Benešová, Eva, Sgall, Petr (1971) Čas a modalita v češtině. Praha, Univerzita Karlova.
Sgall, Petr, Hajičová, Eva, Panevová, Jarmila (1986) The Meaning of the Sentence in its Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects. Prague, Academia.

¹ <http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>.

Types of reconceptualization of spatial relations

Svetlana Bogdanova

Irkutsk State Linguistic University, Russia

The reconceptualization of the world's fragments (objects, events, situations, etc.) is always preceded by their conceptualization. It is stated in the paper that the reconceptualization of spatial relations is the rethinking of their presentations in the human mind. This rethinking of the presentations of spatial relations, which is reflected in the system of English phrasal verbs, can run in different directions. Due to this fact, the reconceptualization of spatial relations can be classified according to a) the degree of rethinking; b) the direction of the meaning transfer.

According to the first classification, the reconceptualization of spatial relations can be zero (e.g. the particle *away* in *Go away immediately* expresses the direction of motion), partial (e.g. the particle *down* in *You should cool down, let's make a stroll* expresses the metaphorically rethought direction from the overexcited state to the normal one), and complete (e.g. the particle *up* in *Give up smoking* expresses the completion of action, but not the upward direction). Zero reconceptualization represents spatial relations between the objects of the world, which can be perceived. Partial reconceptualization affects the metaphorically or metonymically rethought spatial relations. The spatial component can still be singled out within the concept. Complete reconceptualization, however, often leads to breaking down and wiping off the boundaries between the presentations of different spatial relations. As a result of these processes, the meanings of spatial particles within phrasal verbs become more and more abstract, and the fact of desemantization of such spatial particles can be stated.

According to the second classification, the reconceptualization of spatial relations can lead into different abstract areas, such as temporal, aspectual, social, etc. In some cases the reconceptualization of spatial relations can be directed into the area of temporal relations. It is represented in the English language by the usage of phrasal verbs with the particle *on* (*Go on, please*), which used to have spatial meaning, and the particle *away* in the constructions with the direct object of time period (*We talked the night away*). Phrasal verbs with the particle *away* represent the spatial relation of extent that was reconceptualized in the direction of the area of temporal relations. The reconceptualization of spatial relations in the direction of the area of aspectual characteristics is mainly represented in the system of phrasal verbs by the particles with a great number of extended meanings: *up, out, down, off, away* and some other. In Modern English with its analytical tendencies, it can be explained by the lack of subtle aspectual meanings, which in many languages, including Russian, can be expressed with the help of different affixes (*delat'-sdelat'*). The number of phrasal verbs with the particles denoting the completion of action has been growing, and such particles can be used to specify the aspectual (perfective) characteristics in the pairs *eat – eat up; speak – speak out, etc.*

It must be noted that, due to the constant changes of meaning and the growth of the number of contexts in which phrasal verbs with spatial particles can be used, there are no distinct boundaries between the mentioned types.

Spatial uses of prepositions and polysemy

Irene Cordovani
University of Pavia, Italy

The aim of this paper is to go back to the problem of the semantics of prepositions, by studying in a functional-typological approach the spatial uses of a group of prepositions (I use the term “preposition” in a widely extended sense, including prepositions, postpositions, case markers and prepositional locations).

I have worked in an onomasiological perspective, by collecting data for 23 European languages through a questionnaire made of 22 pictures that I asked some native speakers to describe; this kind of approach is different from the one normally taken in the study of prepositions, where the scholar usually selects the preposition/s of a given language he/she wants to study and then he/she searches for their distribution and their uses.

In this case I have first selected the conceptual domain whose linguistic encoding I want to study: the static spatial relations on the vertical axis. Then I selected a series of (in my opinion) interesting spatial relations to study (cases in which we have contact between figure and ground, lack of contact and superiority of the figure, contact between the figure and a horizontal/vertical/inferior surface of the ground and so on...) and I studied the prepositions used by native speakers in the so collected data.

The aim of the paper is to demonstrate that every prepositions of every language, when used in a locative sentence, has a “conceptual” meaning. In fact the function of a spatial preposition in a locative sentence is to highlight a determined region of the ground-object (see for example Italian “Il libro è sulla scatola” vs. “Il libro è nella scatola”, two sentences that have a different meaning which can be done only by the different prepositions because the context is the same. In the first case the preposition highlights the superior surface of the ground, in the second the interior volume).

This meaning is made of conceptual features that a preposition has got but that are activated only in presence of particular ground objects (for example the English preposition “on” has got the feature [+contact] in The spider is on the ceiling, and the features [+contact] and [figure vertically higher than ground] in the book is on the table). This theory has the advantage of reconcile the idea that prepositions have their own meaning with the idea that they build their meaning in the context.

Every preposition of every language has got a certain list of features that could be different from the ones of the so called “correspondent” preposition of another language (this could explain the different extension of prepositions in different languages). This has lead to the trial of building a semantic map for the static spatial relations on the vertical axes, observing the different cut that languages do of this conceptual domain, even if, as Miller and Johnson Laird (1976) stated: “locative prepositions are a heterogeneous collection of special-purpose devices exhibiting little of the contrastive or hierarchical simplicity of color names or kin terms” (p. 394).

Observing the data of a single language we can see that two prepositions could sometime be used to describe the same spatial location, but we can’t meet two different prepositions that have the same extension (it wouldn’t be economical for the language!). Comparing the cases in which two prepositions can be used we can detect

the conceptual features they have in common and then observe the ones that differentiate them.

To conclude I will argue that the conceptual features of every preposition don't stand all on the same level but there is a hierarchy between them. I'll try to demonstrate this with Italian examples.

Bibliography

- Bellavia E.(1996), The german ÜBER, in M. Pütz & R. Dirven (eds.) The construal of space in language and thought , Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin- New York , pp.73/107;
- Bennet D.(1975), Spatial and temporal uses of English prepositions . An essay in stratificational semantics, Longman group, London
- Brugmann C. (1981), The story of over: polysemy, semantics and the structure of the lexicon, New York, Garland Press;
- Colombo L., Flores d'Arcais G.(1984), The semantics of Dutch prepositions : a psycholinguistic study of polysemy, in «Linguistics» XXII, pp. 51/98;
- Cuyckens H. (1993), Spatial prepositions in French revisited, in «Cognitive linguistics» V(3), pp.291-310;
- De Lancey (2005), Adpositions as a non-universal category, in Frajzyngier Z. et al. (eds.) , John Benjamins, pp. 185-202;
- Dewell R. B. (1994), Over again: image-schema transformations in semantic analysis, in «Cognitive Linguistics» V-4, pp. 351-380;
- Herskovits A. (1987) , Spatial prepositions in english, Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press;
- Jackendoff R: (1973), The base rules for prepositional phrases, in Anderson S. R. e Kiparsky P. (eds.), A Festschrift for Morris Halle, pp. 345-356;
- Lindkvist K. G. (1968), Studies on the local sense of the prepositions “in”, “at”, “on” and “to” in modern English, Lund studies in English n.20;
- Lindstromberg S.(1998), English prepositions explained, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins;
- Luraghi S.(2003), On the meaning of prepositions and cases, John Benjamins;
- Miller G. A., Johnson Laird P. N.(1976) , Language and perception , Cambridge University Press;
- Pontiggia P.(1985), Problemi di descrizione delle preposizioni. Il caso di “an” in tedesco, in «Quaderni del dipartimento di linguistica e letteratura comparate dell'università di Bergamo» 3, pp.215/227;
- Rice S. (1996), Prepositional prototypes, in M. Pütz & R. Dirven (eds.) The construal of space in language and thought , Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin- New York, pp.135/165
- Rizzi L. (1988), Il sintagma preposizionale. In Renzi L. (a cura di), Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione, vol.I, Bologna, Il Mulino, pp. 507-531;
- Rosenkranz L., Le preposizioni in russo, Snidata, 1999;
- Schwarze Ch. (ed.) (1981), Analyse des prépositions , III^{me} colloque franco allemand de linguistique théorique du 2 au 4 février 1981 à Constance, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen ;
- Stolz Th.(1992), Lokalklassensysteme: Aspekte einer strukturellen Dynamik, Wilhelmsfeld: Egert;
- Taylor J. R. (1993), Prepositions: patterns of polysemisation and strategies of disambiguation, in C. Zelinsky-Wibbelt (ed.), The semantics of prepositions , Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter , pp. 151/175;
- Tyler A., Evans V. (2003), The semantics of English prepositions. Spatial scenes, embodied meaning and cognition, Cambridge University Press;
- Tyler A., Evans V. (2003), Reconsidering prepositional polysemy networks: the case of over, in Nerlich B., Todd Z., Herman V., Clarke D.D. (eds.), Polysemy, patterns of meaning in mind and language, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin- New York,
- Vandeloise C. (1986), L' espace en francais, Paris, Editions du Seuil.

The grammaticalization of *have to* towards a modal function in Lancashire dialect: evidence from spoken and literature corpus data

Claire Dembry
Lancaster University, United Kingdom

Grammaticalization theory suggests that over time constructions may undergo a functional change, moving from more lexical to more grammatical semantic functions (cf. Hopper & Traugott, 1993). This paper focuses on the change of the *have to* construction in Lancashire dialect as compared to standard English.

In current Lancashire dialect negated *have to* does not always require *do* support, e.g. *no no you haven't to change or anything, come just as you are* (from a Lancashire corpus based on the North West Sound Archive, see e.g. Hollmann & Siewierska for a description). Compare this to standard English, where *do*-support is compulsory, e.g. *people do not have to pay their charges* (from the BNC). A lack of *do*-support is one of the well-known NICE properties of English auxiliary verbs (Quirk et al, 1985) so this paper argues that in current Lancashire dialect *have to* is further on its way to becoming a true modal auxiliary verb (such as *should*) than it is in standard English.

In addition to offering a synchronic description of the status of *have to* in Lancashire as against standard English, the present paper sets out to ascertain how recent this change in function was. In order to do so it is necessary to look at a diachronic corpus. The above-mentioned North West Sound Archive (NWSA) consists of around 300,000 words of spoken language from the present day. It provides some apparent time depth since the speakers are of different ages, but there is no proper historical corpus for this dialect. In order to examine the diachronic change, it is therefore necessary to compile a corpus of literature written in Lancashire dialect spanning from early 19th century to the present day. While literature is not an ideal source of data, it should still provide useful evidence on the development of the *have to* construction.

By examining the frequency of *haven't to*, *do not have to* and their related forms in the NWSA (along with the so-called incidental recordings from the Survey of English Dialects, and BNC), in comparison to the dialect literature corpus, the data will shed light on the exact historical trajectory of the grammaticalization of the *have to* construction in Lancashire.

Bibliography

- Hollmann, Willem & Anna Siewierska. 2006. Corpora and (the need for) other methods in a study of Lancashire dialect. *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 54:203-216.
Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP.
Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman, Harcourt.

Functions of the possessive suffixes in Udmurt language

Svetlana Edygarova
University of Tartu, Estonia

The system of possessive suffixes in Udmurt language is very various and intensively used. In contemporary language the possessive suffixes appear with nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numbers, verbs, verbal formations, adverbs, postpositions and they have following functions: 1) they express the possessive relationships and 2) other relationships.

Suffixes are very regular, when they express possessive relationships. In this case they are used mostly with nouns or substantival formations.

In the second case they can have a) word formative and b) forming function.

Nouns can be formed with possessive suffixes from nouns: *ataj* (father) < *ataj-zʲi* (father-in-law); from adjectives: *todmo* (known) < *todmo-e* (my acquaintance); adverbs can be formed from postposition: *uél iča kuža* (along the street) < *kuža-z vetlʲinʲi* (literally to walk along him: to be led by him) (Каракулова М.А., Каракулов Б.И. 2001: 112); substantival formations from adverb: *tatʲin-me so ug todʲi* (literally he doesn't know my here being: he doesn't know that I am here) (Каракулова М.А., Каракулов Б.И. 2001: 111); pronouns from verbs: *van'* (to have) < *vañmʲi* (we all), *vañdʲi* (you all), *vañzʲi* (they all).

They can give different meaning to the words:

- Diminutive and affectionate (Грамматика современного удмуртского языка 1962: 84) or vocative meaning (Каракулова М.А., Каракулов Б.И. 2001: 111) in following examples: *pi* (sun or boy) < *pi-e* (literally my sun), *dʲidʲik* (dove, metaphorical meaning darling) < *dʲidʲik-e* (my darling).
- Subjective appraisal which includes expressing of positive relationship: *skal-me É luktanʲi poto* (literally I will go to feed my cow) or negative relationship: *ta korka-*

ze adʲi i#em no ug pot (literally I can't see his this house: I hate this house) (Каракулова М.А., Каракулов Б.И. 2001: 111). Sometimes the possessive suffixes create special style in folklore texts like *zarni šundʲi-ed*

β#uβzalož (literally your gold sun will rise).

- The possessive suffix of the third person **-ez**, **-ʲiz** very often has demonstrative and definite meaning: *vož vʲilʲin šaška-ez tros* (there are many flowers on the meadow); partitive meaning: *kʲikez nʲilʲi školae vetle ini* (my two daughters (two from several) go to school already).

- They express the subject of action. Suffixes have this kind of meaning when they are used with verbs and verbal formations: *mʲinam veram-e pote* (I want to say).

The Udmurt possessive suffixes are very regular, except some cases. These cases appear in use of possessive suffixes with verbs. The conditional has always in plural possessive suffixes: *mi lʲiktʲi-sal-mʲi* (we would come), *ti lʲiktʲi-sal-dʲi* (you would

come), *soos lʒiktʒi-sal-zʒi* (they would come). In singular possessive suffixes for second and third person is facultative: *mon lʒiktʒi -sal* (I would come), *ton lʒiktʒi-sal(-ʒid)* (you would come), *so lʒiktʒi-sal(-ʒiz)* (he would come). The same phenomenon appears in the unknown past. Possessive suffix appears as a rule with the first plural person: *mi vera-ʃk-em- mʒi* (probably we said) and as a facultative suffix in others: *ton vera-m(-ed)* (probably you said *sing.*), *so vera-m(-ez)* (probably he said), *ti vera- Élélam(-dʒi)* (probably you said *plur.*), *soos vera-Élélam(-zʒi)* (probably they said). For first person possessive suffix appears sometimes in negative form: *mon vera-ʃkʒi-mte-e* (probably I didn't say). Even in different grammars of Udmurt language the variation of possessive suffixes is different (Udmurtin kielioppia ja harjoituksia (1999), Грамматика современного удмуртского языка (1962)). The variation of possessive suffixes with verbs is also different in speaking language, newspapers, television and radio.

According to these examples, we suppose, that 1) the function of the possessive suffixes to express possessive relationships is initial function, but with time 2) the possessive suffixes started to have other functions and they distributed to other parts of speech. So, the present days the system of the Udmurt possessive suffixes is still flexible and suffixes are still distributing.

Bibliography

- Kel'makov V., Hänikäinen Sara. Udmurtin kielioppia ja harjoituksia. Suomalais-ugrilainen seura, Helsinki, 1999.
- Вахрушев В.М. Изафетные конструкции в удмуртском языке / Записки УдНИИ. Вып. 21. Ижевск, 1970.
- Грамматика современного удмуртского языка: Фонетика и морфология / Удм. НИИ ист., экон., языка и лит.; Отв. ред. П.Н. Перовщиков. Ижевск: Удм. кн. изд-во, 1962.
- Каракулов Б.И. О проблемах, связанных с категорией посессивности в удмуртском языке. Пермистика 6: проблемы синхронии и диахронии пермских языков и их диалектов. Сб. Статей, Ижевск, 2000.
- Каракулова М.А., Каракулов Б.И. Сопоставительная грамматика русского и удмуртского языков: Учеб. пособие для выс. уч. зав. Гос. пед. ин-т. Глазов, 2001.
- Перовщиков П.Н. Притяжательные формы связи имен в определительных словосочетаниях удмуртского языка / Записки УдНИИ. Вып. 18. Ижевск, 1957.

Probabilities of change

Maria Carmen Fernández Leal
University of La Laguna, Spain

Pairs of English lexical terms, mainly monosyllables, are compared to observe the effects of several changes. The possibilities of change are analysed following phonological, semantic and spelling parameters. Differences in pronunciation, meaning and spelling between two English lexical terms provide a number of combinations in which homophony, homonymy, ambiguity or synonymy are involved. Such differences can also be the source for varieties of the English language and regional differences in the British English variety.

The analyses carried out give as a result that a difference in pronunciation between two lexical terms can be the cause of regional options concerning the British English variety, as well as the reason for varieties of the English language, being it a cause of ambiguity. A difference in meaning between two English lexical terms can result in ambiguity by means of homonymy, and a difference in spelling brings about varieties of English. When the two contrasted words differ in two parameters, meaning and spelling, the result is the emergence of ambiguity by means of homophony. Differences in pronunciation and spelling are the source of synonymy and varieties of English, while differences in pronunciation and meaning provide varieties of English that can result in ambiguity.

The connected speech processes of assimilation, elision and juncture can be the source of a change in meaning, as well as the medium for phonetic and phonological changes.

The reasons for the change of sounds in connected speech processes are intrinsic due to permutation, omission and association of sounds. Extrinsic reasons for sound change are due to discourse timing and individual characteristics.

Actualité paradoxale d'André Martinet: His notions of orality, function and semantics revisited in a pragmatic and textual perspective

M. M. Jocelyne Fernandez-Vest
C.N.R.S. & E.P.H.E. Sorbonne, France

André Martinet (1908-1999), the founder of French-speaking Functionalism, is one of the most quoted, translated and controversial linguists of the XXth century. Martinet's rigorous definition of languages, based on a phonological model, as doubly articulated instruments of communication both stimulated original investigations of the specificity of oral languages and the interface syntax-axiology, and on the other hand condemned for decades as linguistically non relevant several modern perspectives nowadays recognized as core domains of linguistics. Significantly enough, some of Martinet's most inventive students, after reflecting upon these severe exclusions, have developed their own theories aimed at reintegrating the banned notions (intonation, text, universals of language). I will refer here particularly to Denise François-Geiger (1934-1993)'s scientific itinerary from intrasentential syntax to discourse semantics and, applying comparatively these two language theoreticians' respective conception of the central notion of function to oral corpora of French and North Western Uralic languages (Finnish, Sami) document how a genial precursor can, despite or thanks to his own limitations, generate in reaction a parallel innovative research and thus indirectly insure his scientific posterity.

References

- François-Geiger Denise, 1990, *A la recherche du sens. Des ressources linguistiques aux fonctionnements langagiers*, Paris, Peeters-Selaf; Selaf N° 316.
Martinet André, 1985, *Syntaxe générale*, Paris, Armand Colin[]; (dir.), 1979, *Grammaire fonctionnelle du français*, Paris, Didier-Crédif.
Walter Henriette & Feuillard Colette (dir.), 2006, *Pour une linguistique des langues*, Paris, PUF.

Non-directive uses of the Finnish imperative

Hannele Forsberg
University of Joensuu, Finland

Imperative sentences are of special interest to functional typology, since they are found in practically all languages (see Xrakovskij 2001). In addition to primary directive uses (e.g. imperative as a command, a request, an instruction, an advice, a permission), imperative has also been reported to have various non-directive uses in many languages.

The paper examines the non-directive uses of the Finnish imperative from a functional, discourse-pragmatic perspective. The border-line between directive and non-directive uses is not clear-cut, and in some contexts the imperative sentences can be regarded as expressing directive and non-directive meanings at the same time. The study is based on empirical data from spoken and written language consisting of about 700 occurrences of non-directive uses of imperative sentences. The data are gathered from the collections of Finnish dialectal archives, tape-recorded interviews, television, novels, internet, and field-notes taken by individual researchers.

There are at least five constructions in which imperative does not convey the prototypical directive meaning but, instead, expresses various modal or affective (and sometimes also textual) meanings. The focus of the presentation will be on introducing the non-directive uses in simple sentences (exemplified in 1–3) and their discourse contexts. In addition to these constructions, non-directive uses of imperative are found in conditional-like sentences and in concessive constructions.

(1) Sentences indicating that the speaker strongly disapproves of the action performed by the addressee; at the same time the speaker may warn the addressee of the unfavourable consequences of the action.

[A mother to her two daughters who are playing wildly with mother's skirt:]

repikää nyt se mun hame siinä

tear-IMP-2PL now that my skirt there

'You are tearing my skirt there; you should not do that.'

(2) Sentences indicating that it is (or was) necessary or possible for the agent to carry out the action.

[An informant is telling about her migrain:] (*When the headache came*)

ei muuta kum pysyk kotona ja oksennap par vuorokaotta

nothing but stay-IMP-2SG at home and vomit-IMP-2SG a couple of days

'You just had to stay at home and vomit a couple of days.'

(3) Sentences indicating that a certain action is (or was) difficult or impossible for the agent to perform in the described situation.

[From an internet diary:] (*At night they have started to run up and down the stairs.*)

Nuku siinä sitten kun kolme koiraa juoksee portaissa.

sleep-IMP-2SG there then when three dogs are running in stairs

‘It is almost impossible to sleep when three dogs are running up and down the stairs.’

The construction exemplified in (1) resembles the prototypical directive use of imperative directed to a specific addressee, whereas in the two other constructions (2, 3) the second person is generic. These generic imperative constructions are typically used when speakers report their unfavourable experiences. The constructions in (1) and (2) are typical of eastern Finnish dialects but rare in standard Finnish, while the construction in (3) is frequent in spoken and written standard Finnish as well.

References

Xrakovskij, Victor S. (ed.) 2001. *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. Lincom Studies in Theoretical Linguistic 9. Lincom Europa.

In search of an adequate “*tertium comparationis*”: A typological study of English and Japanese constructions

Jose Fernando García Castillo
Universitat Jaume I de Castello, Spain

Trying to find an adequate *tertium comparationis* for language comparison has been one of the main concerns among linguists in recent years. (Bernárdez, 2005). Functionalists have worked hard in this direction (Givón, 1984; Moreno, 1997; Luque Durán, 2001; Croft, 2003).

At the same time, Cognitive linguists have also explored the topic in search for right answers: Wierzbicka (1997) and Goddard (1998)

Drawing on the basic tenets of Cognitive Linguistics, this paper aims at bringing together the contributions of both paradigms in a contrastive analysis of Japanese and English constructions.

A set of 43 constructions have been analysed, taking as framework the syntactic model of ‘event-schemas’ as presented by Dirven and Verspoor (1998) and the Gestalt Perception Theory as applied by Langacker (1987) –Tr/Lm profiling- in structuring language.

Closely related to the main topic of the former edition of SLE, namely, *Relativism and universalism in linguistics*, this study departs from a relativist point of view on language, assuming that a typologically distant language such as Japanese may result in a different *worldview* from that of English, as a representative of Indo-European languages. Evidence in this line is searched in comparing a corpus of constructions from both languages: English and Japanese. The analysis is carried out in constant reference to previous analysis and classifications provided by functionalists.

References

- Bernárdez, E. (2005): “Social cognition: variation, language and culture in a cognitive linguistic typology” in *Cognitive Linguistics Research 32* (Ruiz de Mendoza. F.J. & Peña, S. eds.) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Croft, W. (2003): *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dirven, R. & Verspoor, M. (1998): *Cognitive Explorations of Language and Linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Givón, T. (1984): *Syntax: A Functional Typological Introduction*, vol.1. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Goddard, C (1998): *Semantic Analysis. A practical introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Langacker, R. (1987): *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar, vol. 1. Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Luque Durán, J (2001): *Aspectos universales y particulares del léxico de las lenguas del mundo*. Granada: Granada Lingüística.
- Moreno J.C. (1997) *Introducción a la lingüística. Enfoque tipológico y universalista*. Madrid: Síntesis.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1997): *Semantics: Primes and Universals*. New York. Oxford University Press.

Restrictions on middles: An account at the grammar-pragmatics interface

Casilda García de la Maza
University of the Basque Country, Spain

It is well known that the English middle construction is subject to certain restrictions. Whereas some middles like *This book reads well* or *Her new car drives beautifully* are perfectly acceptable, others like *Some children educate easily* or *This book reads not (so) good* English sentences. Yet no comprehensive account exists of the actual scope and nature of such constraints. Some proposals have linked middle formation with aspectuality or with the affectedness constraint. Specifically, the claims have been that middles have to be formed from accomplishment and/or activity predicates (Roberts 1987, Fagan 1992) and that they are restricted to verbs with affected objects (Doron and Rappaport-Hovav 1991; Levin 1993). These accounts, however, are based on a very limited range of *ad-hoc* examples. They also tend to focus on the internal structure of middles, and ignore the possibility that syntax-external or pragmatic factors might help explain what a middle sentence can or cannot be. As a result, a wide range of data are left unaccounted for.

This paper presents the results of an investigation aimed at identifying and characterizing the restrictions on middle formation in English. The study is based on real data obtained by eliciting acceptability judgments from native speakers. It is also based on the crucial assumption that linguistic data are not amenable to binary grammaticality judgments, but call instead for a theory of competence that allows for gradience and degrees of acceptability. The framework adopted for the analysis is Sorace and Keller's (2005) model of linguistic constraints, which distinguishes between hard constraints, whose violation leads to strong unacceptability and triggers categorical acceptability judgements, and soft constraints, whose violation leads only to mild unacceptability and induces gradience.

The experimental results showed that affectedness does *not* play a role in middle acceptability. Aspectuality does matter, to a certain extent. The most revealing result of the study, however, concerns the interaction between pragmatics and middle acceptability. Contextual factors emerged as the main determinant of middle acceptability, taking precedence over the aspectual constraints. This provides support to defend the essentially 'pragmatic value' (Green 2004) of the construction, in line with much current research into the grammar/pragmatics interface. Some of the formal properties of middles which had been formerly put down to syntactic constraints are then reanalysed in the light of this characterization. Together, aspectual and pragmatic constraints offer a novel, data-supported solution to the debate surrounding the restrictions on middles, including some long-standing puzzles such as the apparent requirement for adverbial modification, which can now be approached from a fresh perspective.

References

- Doron, Edith and Malka Rappaport Hovav (1991) 'Affectedness and externalization.' *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the North Eastern Linguistic Society* 21:81-94.
- Fagan, Sarah M. (1992) *The Syntax and Semantics of Middle Constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Green, Georgia M. (2004) 'Some Interactions of Pragmatics and Grammar.' In Horn, Laurence R. and Gregory Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 408-426.
- Levin, Beth (1993) *English Verb Classes and Alternations*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, Ian G. (1987) *The Representation of Implicit and Dethematized Subjects*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Sorace, Antonella and Frank Keller (2005) 'Gradience in linguistic data.' *Lingua* 115.11:1497-1524.

Attribution in Basque, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish: Morphology vs. syntax

Lutz Gunkel & Susan Schlotthauer
Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim, Germany

Languages such as Basque, Finnish, Hungarian and Turkish have to use special segmental markers, so-called attributors, in order to relate certain types of NP/PP-attributes to their respective nominal heads. Such attributors often occur as bound markers, i.e. affixes or clitics, as the following examples from the 4 above-mentioned languages show:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(1) Turkish (GK 2005: 196)
Bahçe-de-ki ağaç-lar
garden-LOC-ATTR tree-PL
‘The trees in the garden’</p> | <p>(2) Hungarian (KVF 1998: 97)
a polc mögött-i könyv
the shelf behind-ATTR book
‘the book behind the shelf’</p> |
| <p>(3) Basque (de Rijk 1993: 148)
Etsaiareki-ko loturak
enemy.SOC-ATTR ties
‘ties with the enemy’</p> | <p>(4) Finnish
Helsingin ja Turun väli-nen rautatie
Helsinki. and Turku. distance- train
GEN GEN ATTR
‘train between Helsinki and Turku’</p> |
-
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(1) Turkish (GK 2005: 196)
Bahçe-de-ki ağaç-lar

garden-LOC- tree-PL
ATTR
‘The trees in the garden’</p> | <p>(2) Hungarian (KVF 1998: 97)
a polc mögött-i könyv

the shelf behind- book
ATTR
‘the book behind the shelf’</p> |
| <p>(3) Basque (de Rijk 1993: 148)
Etsaiareki-ko loturak

enemy.SOC- ties
ATTR
‘ties with the enemy’</p> | <p>(4) Finnish
Helsingin ja Turun väli-nen rauta-
 tie
Hel- and Turku distance- train
sinki.GEN .GEN ATTR
‘train between Helsinki and Turku’</p> |

The constructions in (1) to (4) share a number of important characteristics: the constituents linked by such attributors can be (i) phrasal, (ii) internally complex, and (iii) referential. On the other hand, there are morphosyntactic differences that appear to contradict a uniform analysis, be it in terms of a morphological solution – by treating the attributor as a derivational affix – or in terms of a syntactic solution – by treating it as a phrasal clitic. For example, in Basque, the attributor seems to be most flexible with respect to the category of its base, which may be either a N(P), P(P), Adv(P) or – to a limited extend – even a clause. In Turkish the attributor is more or less restricted to N(P)s with locative case marking, certain types of P(P)s and “adverbials” expressing

location in time (GK: 2005: 196). The situation is different in Hungarian and Finnish, where the attributor attaches only to NPs with uninflected heads, certain types of P(P)s and adverbs, which – except for some lexical – gaps – are unrestricted in terms of their meaning.

Considering the “adjectival character” of each of the 4 constructions we will argue that their commonalities and difference can be captured in a systematic way when viewing “adjectivality” as a scalar concept. Following the idea of a “hierarchy of attributivity” as proposed in Lehmann (1984: 207) it will be shown that the 4 constructions are to be ranked differently in terms of their adjectival character: The Finnish construction exhibits the highest degree of adjectivality, the Basque one the lowest, while Hungarian and Turkish (in that order) are located in between. In terms of morphosyntactic categorization this means that the Finnish attributor is a derivational affix (forming adjectives), the Basque one in contrast a phrasal clitic.

The ranking proposed will be motivated by a detailed analysis of the four language-specific constructions and a comparison of their morphosyntactic features.

References:

- de Rijk, Rudolf P. G. (1993): Basque Hospitality and the Suffix *-ko*. In: Hualde, J. I. & Ortiz de Urbina, J. (ed.): *Generative Studies in Basque Linguistics*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia. 145-162.
- GK (2005) = Göksel, Asli & Kerslake, Celia (2005): *Turkish. A Comprehensive Grammar*. London / New York.
- KGV (1998) = Kenesei, István, Vago, Robert M. & Fenyvesi, Anna (1998): *Hungarian*. London / New York.
- Lehmann, Christian (1984): *Der Relativsatz. Typologie seiner Strukturen. Theorien seiner Funktionen. Kompendium seiner Grammatik*. Tübingen.

A cognitive-functional account of the two main verbs of visual perception in Spanish: *ver* ‘to see’ and *mirar* ‘to look’

Hilde Hanegreefs
Lessius Hogeschool, Antwerp, Belgium

In Spanish, as well as in English, *ver* ‘to see’ and *mirar* ‘to look’ are considered to be the two pillars of the domain of visual perception. What is more, they are often claimed to be each others opposite. Although quite a few studies touch on the different behavior of *ver* and *mirar* (García-Miguel 2005, Miller 2003, Horno Chéliz 2002, etc.), only a few are primarily concerned with it. These studies mainly deal with lexico-grammatical differences between the two verbs, such as the difference between active and passive perception (Rodríguez Espiñeira 2002, Halliday 1999, Van Valin & La Polla 1997, etc.), direct and indirect perception (Cipria 2003, Rodríguez Espiñeira 2000, Guasti 1993, Willems 1983, etc.) and aspectual differences (Franckel & Lebaud 1990, García Hernández 1976, Collinot 1966, etc.). For the present, grammar still lacks an in-depth and integrated analysis of the two verbs.

The aim of the present investigation is thus, firstly, to give a corpus-based description of the differences between *ver* and *mirar* and, secondly, to provide a cognitive-functional explanation for their different behavior. Whereas *ver* is obviously the most polyvalent verb of the couple, allowing for a whole range of constructions and ditto meanings, *mirar* only allows for a more limited range of constructions and seems to resist meaning extensions beyond the field of visual perception. Inspired by Achard’s analysis of French verbs (1998, 2000), I relate the different lexico-grammatical behavior of *ver* and *mirar* to a difference in conceptualization. The analysis of authentic text material shows that *ver* is construed *objectively*; that is to say, the percept or ‘object’ of perception is the most prominent element in the conceptual scene of vision (cf. Figure 1). Its specific form and semantics is decisive when determining the meaning of the verb. *Ver* is semantically infra-determined: depending on contextual elements it takes either a physical, a cognate or an evaluative interpretation.



Figure 1. The prominence of the percept in the perceptual scene of *ver*

Mirar, on the contrary, is construed *subjectively* (cf. Figure 2): with the subject as the most prominent participant, *mirar*’s conceptual frame takes a third participant, namely the ‘gaze’ or instrument of perception. Its dynamic nature becomes most evident in the constructions with a prepositional complement, such as *Juan miró hacia el balcón* ‘John looked at the balcony’. The direct object is pushed into the background and depends entirely on the subject’s intent.

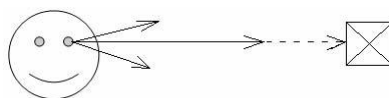


Figure 2. The prominence of the perceiver in the perceptual scene of *mirar*

The results of this study are in line with the cognitive/functionalist paradigm that states that a constructional difference entails semantic and often also pragmatic implications. Needless to say, these basic conceptual differences can also account for the different intransitive constructions with *ver* and *mirar*.

References

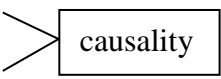
- Cipria, A. 2003. "Spanish perception verbs and sequence of tenses: Aktionsart effects". In: Núñez-Cedeño, R. (et al.) (eds.). *A Romance perspective on language knowledge and use. Selected papers from the 31st linguistic symposium on Romance languages (LSRL), Chicago, 19-22 April 2001*, pp. 253-272. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Collinot, A. 1966. "L'opposition voir/regarder en français contemporain". In: *Bulletin Des Jeunes Romanistes* 14, pp. 3-13.
- Franckel, J. J. & D. Lebaud. 1990. *Les figures du sujet. A propos des verbes de perception, sentiment, connaissance*. Paris: Orphys.
- García Hernández, B. 1976. *El campo semántico de 'ver' en la lengua latina. Estudio estructural*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca.
- Guasti, M. T. 1993. *Causative and perception verbs: a comparative study*. Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1999. *Construing experience through meaning: a language-based approach to cognition*. London / New York: Cassell.
- Horno Chéliz, M. d. C. 2002. "Aspecto léxico y verbos de percepción: a propósito de *ver* y *mirar*". In: Castañer Martín, R. M. & J. M. Enguita Utrilla (eds.). *In memoriam Manuel Alvar. Archivo de Filología Aragonesa*, Vol. LIX, pp. 555-575. Zaragoza: CSIC de la Excma. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza.
- Miller, P. 2003. "La complémentation directe et indirecte des verbes de perception en anglais". In: Pauchard, J. (ed.). *Actes des Journées Scientifiques 2000/2001. La préposition dans la rection des verbes (domaine anglais)*, Vol. 19, pp. 115-135. Reims: Presses Universitaires de Reims.
- Rodríguez Espiñeira, M. J. 2002. "Las oposiciones léxico-gramaticales entre *mirar/ver* y *escuchar/oír*". In: Lorenzo, R. (ed.). *Homenaxe a Fernando R. Tato Plaza*, pp. 473-489. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servicio de Publicacións.
- . 2000. "Percepción directa e indirecta en español. Diferencias semánticas y formales". In: *Verba* 27, pp. 33-85.
- Van Valin, R. D. & R. J. Lapolla. 1997. *Syntax: structure, meaning and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Willems, D. 1983. "'Regarde voir': les verbes de perception visuelle et la complémentation verbale". In: Roegiest, E. & L. Tasmovski (eds.). *Romanica Candensia XX. Verbe et phrase dans les langues romanes*, pp. 147-158. Gent: Rijksuniversiteit Gent.

Syntactic and stylistic effects of expressional variation of causal relations in Romance languages







Hanno Heuel
University of Siegen, Germany

This presentation demonstrates different ways of expressing causality and illustrates their respective effects on syntax and style. In the formal analysis the focus will be on the Spanish language. The following sense structure is expressed by three exemplary phrases – one of them contains a conjunctive (I), another one a prepositional (II) and the third one a verbal relation (III).

Sense

<u>Spanish</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Issue</u>	<u>Relation</u>
Juán estaba desesperado.	Juan was despaired.	effect	
Juán tenía grandes deudas.	Juan had many debts.	cause	

Expression

- I)  Juan estaba desesperado porque tenía grandes deudas
 Juan was despaired because he had many debts. (*conjunctive relation*)
- II)  Juan estaba desesperado debido a sus grandes deudas.
 Juan was despaired because of his many debts. (*prepositional relation*)
- III)  La desesperación de Juan fue provocada por su endeudamiento.
 Juan's despair was provoked by his indebtedness. (*verbal relation*)

As becomes obvious in the expressional variants the type of causal relation (conjunctive / prepositional / verbal) and the two issues (cause – effect) are dependent on each other. In phrase I both issues are expressed verbally; so is the effect in phrase II (*Juán estaba desesperado*), but the cause appears in a nominal form; in phrase III both issues are expressed by noun phrases.

But how can this expressional dependence of issues and relation be characterised? Concerning expressional variants, do relations determine issues or is it vice versa? Answers to this question will be given on the basis of a qualitative investigation in the second part of this presentation.

Apart from syntactic effects, stylistic effects of the way of expressing causality will be dealt with. Language used in technical fields has its specific sentence structure patterns. Conjunctive and prepositional relations often occur in neutral (everyday) language; verbal relations, however, do not. They are rather characteristic of LSP texts

from fields like *economics*, *politics* and *trade*. With focus on verbal relations, results of a respective quantitative analysis will be presented to justify this statement. The procedure in order to come to conclusions is as follows: The entirety of causal relations will be related to the frequency of verbal expressions. The result is that the percentage of verbal relations of the entirety of causal relations is much higher in texts from the mentioned technical fields than in neutral texts.

Thus, the conclusion of this presentation is that verbal expressions of causality are the nucleus of a sentence in which two semantic issues are linked and that these verbal relations can therefore be regarded as a functional tool to create LSP.

Bibliography

- Aguilar, Rafael Cano: *Estructuras sintácticas transitivas en el español actual*, Madrid, Gredos, 1981.
- Cartagena, Nelson und Hans-Martin Gauger: *Vergleichende Grammatik Spanisch – Deutsch*, Mannheim / Wien / Zürich, Duden, 1989.
- Forner, Werner: *Fachsprachliche Aufbaugrammatik Französisch*, Wilhelmsfeld, Egert, 1998
- Murcia-Serra, Jorge: *Grammatische Relationen im Deutschen und Spanischen*, Frankfurt, Lang, 2001.

Jokes and reference assignments: Functionalism vs. cognitive pragmatics

Isao Higashimori
Ryukoku University, Japan

From the pioneering work on functionalism by the scholars called “Prague School” to modern functionalist approaches to syntax by Prof. Susumu Kuno, linguistic analyses based on functionalism mainly have attempted to explain the linguistic structures by their functional tools such as new information, old information, topic, focus, end-focus principle and so on. I am interested in understanding verbal communication, so in this paper I argue that so called New Information-based functional approach to reference assignments for pronouns and interrogatives is insufficient, but a newly developed cognitive pragmatics approach (Relevance Theory) can capture the phenomena quite naturally and exhaustively.

In (1), according to our encyclopaedic knowledge, the reference assignment for ‘who’ in the teacher’s question is normally Columbus, not the boy who went to the map and found North America. But here the humour comes from the unusual reference assignment for ‘who’, that is, the boy who went to the map and found North America on that paper.

- (1) TEACHER: George, go to the map and find North America.
GEORGE: Here it is!
TEACHER: Correct. Now, class, who discovered America?
CLASS: George!—E-Tales2, p.184

In (2), ‘where’ is normally assigned as the actual place name in the United States, but here the answer shows that it signed at the bottom of the Declaration of Independence. So different place assignments create the humorous effect.

- (2) Where was America’s Declaration of Independence signed?
At the bottom.—Howell (2003:58)

In RT, pronouns such as ‘I’ and ‘it’ can be handled in procedural terms and seen as pointers to particular pointers of referent. In (3), the pronoun ‘it’ normally refers to ‘Constantinople’, but in this joke, it does not refer back to ‘Constantinople’. So in order to explain the linguistic use, we have to consider not only the form or structure, but also some other relevant knowledge.

- (3) A: ‘Constantinople’ is a very long word. Can you spell it?
B: Er, C.O.N.S.T.A.N.T.I.N.O.P.L.E?
A: Wrong! I.T.
Kobayashi and Cheetham (2005:126)

In (4) and (5), the pronoun ‘I’ refers to something, but not someone.

- (4) I live above a star, but do not burn. I have 11 friends around me. My initials are PRS. What am I?

Answer: I am the number 7 on a touch –tone telephone.—Kim (2002:56)

- (5) I start with the letter “E”, and I end with the letter “E”. I contain only one letter, but I am not the letter “E”! What am I?

Answer: I am an envelope.

Kim (2002:57)

Some problems in agreement with multiple antecedents

Hans Henrich Hock

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, United States

This paper addresses a generally under-researched aspect of agreement, namely the question of gender agreement in demonstratives and predicative adjectives with mixed-gender antecedents.

Four strategies to deal with this issue are observed:

- Agreement with nearest antecedent
- Default gender marking: Neuter (Gothic, Old Norse) or Masculine (Romance, Lithuanian)
- Marking by animacy: Personal or animate masculine vs. other (Czech, Polish).
- Avoidance: Gender neutralization in plural (East and Southeast Slavic).
Note also total neutralization in German.

While in some languages, the choice of gender marking is highly streamlined and predictable, other languages exhibit a fair amount of variation. This variation can range from the Classical Sanskrit situation, where exclusively human/animate antecedents with mixed gender take masculine agreement and everything else, neuter, to cases such as Classical Greek and Latin, where the agreement patterns are much less predictable, except for a tendency in Latin to opt for agreement with the nearest antecedent.

The variation that can be observed, synchronically, diachronically, and typologically, suggests that Corbett's account (1991) needs to be supplemented. Especially the evidence of Polish (Rothstein 1993) suggests that mixed-gender antecedents present a cognitive crisis for gender agreement and that streamlined, predictable solutions may be an often imperfect attempt to deal with this crisis.

The aspectual auxiliary as a marker of stance: The case of progressive BE

Katherine Hrisonopulo
Herzen University, St. Petersburg, Russia

Using English-language material, the proposed paper aims to reveal the contribution of the auxiliary BE to creating pragmatic effects when the progressive construction is used in cases such as the following: (1) *You ARE looking great* (compliment making); (2) *I AM hoping you would come* (tentative discourse). It is remarked that the functioning of BE in either (1) or (2) could hardly be accounted for in terms of the Location schema which is commonly referred to (cf. Heine 1993: 32 – 33) as the basis for more “abstract” aspectual uses of BE due to the process of metaphoric transfer (Hopper, Traugott [1993] 2003).

Considering the problem(s) with the locative model, one could (plausibly) assume that the meaning of the progressive auxiliary, similar to meanings of expressions representing English grounding systems (in the sense of Langacker [1994] 2002), is not domain-specific but, rather, depends for its content on the mode of the speaker’s mental contact with, or evaluation of, the proposition in question (as supposed in Brisard (2002) with reference to grounding predications). In developing the formulated assumption recourse is made to Adamczewski’s ([1976] 1978) account of the English progressive which claims that BE functions as the predicative node of the respective utterance and that it results (among other things) in representing the grammatical subject as a mere object of discourse and, on the other hand, in vesting with significance the role of the speaker as the subject of observation, mental apprehension and judgment. Adamczewski’s claim provides support for the previously expressed assumption on subjective implications of progressive BE and allows to suppose, further on, that the auxiliary could be treated as a marker of stance alongside other grammatical expressions of stance, as identified and accounted for in Biber et al. (1999, ch. 12).

In substantiating the formulated supposition the paper focuses on two main points. First, it is argued that stance implications are intrinsically rooted in the meaning of BE and could consequently be conveyed in any, including non-auxiliary, uses of the verb. The claim proves plausible in the light of some paradigmatic correlations of locative-existential BE with perception verbs (*There WAS a noise – He HEARD a noise*) that are suggestive of the verb’s (regular) connotation of perceptual awareness/stance, and in view of correlations of copular BE with verbs of inclusion (*Her breakfast WAS* vs. *CONSISTED OF a cup of tea*) that reveal the verb’s association with judgment making rather than statement of facts. Second, it is suggested, with reference to examples from English-language fiction, that the contribution of BE to pragmatic effects of (1) and (2) consists in evoking the viewing scene (as treated in Langacker 2000: 204 – 206) and in signaling the speaker’s positioning within this scene. Specifically, it is shown that progressive BE serves to signify the following stancetaking strategies of the speaker: (a) treating the grammatical subject as the focus of attention (rather than subject of the

designated event); (b) establishing a perceptual relationship with the addressee (in compliment making); (c) self-distancing from the grammatical subject's referent (in tentative discourse).

References

- Adamczewski, H. [1976] 1978. *BE + ING dans la grammaire de l'anglais contemporain: These presentee devant l'universite de Paris 7 le 27 Fevrier 1976*. Lille 3; Paris.
- Biber, D., Johansson, S. et al. 1999. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow, Essex: Pearson Education Limited.
- Brisard, F. 2002. Introduction: The epistemic basis of deixis and reference. In: F. Brisard (ed.). *Grounding: The Epistemic Footing of Deixis and Reference*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. xi – xxxiv.
- Heine, B. 1993. *Auxiliaries: Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization*. New York; Oxford: OUP.
- Hopper, P. J., Traugott, E. C. [1993] 2003. *Grammaticalization*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Langacker, R. W. [1994] 2002. Remarks on the English grounding systems. In: F. Brisard (ed.). 29 – 38.
- Langacker, R. W. 2000. *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

A look at the German syllable structure from a typological perspective

Bernhard Hurch
University of Graz, Austria

Virtually all linguistic theories, formal or functional, traditional or modern (van der Hulst 1999, Vennemann 1988, Kager 1999) make crucial reference to the unit *syllable* and to *syllabic laws* in their structuring of grammar, viz. of phonology. And as prosody has received more attention during the last two decades, the importance of the syllable has become still more widely accepted. In addition, the syllable seems to follow very clear structural principles, which on their turn may work as basic organizing principles all over the field of prosody.

The central claim of the presentation will be that not all prosodic units, although some of them are part of the universals of human language, do play the same role in all languages and that specifically the syllable does play the role conveyed to it by all modern theories only in one specific prosodic type, namely the syllable-based languages. Languages like German do systematically violate the laws of syllable structure, both in underlying representations as well as in surface productions. In its empirical part the paper will illustrate with reference to corpus-based studies that a series of principles (processes in Naturalness Theory, constraints in OT) simply do not hold here: ONSET, NOCODA, Vennemann's Syllable Laws, etc. Moreover, a series of syntagmatic processes does heighten syllable complexity by reducing the number of vowels, assimilations, etc. A thorough theory of phonology has to deal with these apparent contradictions. The parallels to other languages will support this view.

The paper aims at establishing two structurally different phonological/prosodic types (syllable based vs. accent based languages) illustrating some of the further reaching implications for grammar. The types proposed here in various respects go one step further than the syllable and accent-timed types as proposed by Bertinetto (1988) and others. In addition, this view questions the simplistic notion of prosodic hierarchy as proposed by Selkirk, Nespor & Vogel, and others, and it advocates for a dialectic view of each unit in the area of conflict between higher and lower ranked properties (e.g., segmental vs. accentual in the case of the syllable).

SFG in corpus-based translation studies

Meng Ji

Imperial College London, United Kingdom

Despite the increasing prominence of SFG (or SFL) theory in a wide field of linguistics and discourse analyses, its application in corpus-based translation studies does not seem to have been fully explored. Against such background, the prolific research results reported in the present paper provide important evidence for the potentially huge application of SFG theory in corpus-based Translation Studies as an emerging linguistic discipline in its own right. The current study, which serves as a good test case for such purpose, focuses on a corpus-based analysis of stylistic features in two contemporary Chinese versions of *Don Quijote* at a phraseological level. The highlighted SFG entities are Chinese four-character expressions which is the formal representation of a range of important Chinese phraseological categories, including among others, idioms, figurative expressions, archaic expressions, collocations, etc.. The SFG-based framework is established with a view to furnishing an effective mechanism for the classification and interpretation of stylistic features identified in the two Chinese subcorpora of CSCHDQ (a parallel Castilian-Chinese corpus of *Don Quijote*) through the modelling and extraction of quantitative relevant corpus data. The corpus-based and SFG-framed approach developed in the present paper has proved to be a most efficient analytical device in studying the underlying phraseological patterns in the two Chinese translations, which seems to suggest that it may be more widely used in future similar corpus-based textual projects.

Keywords: SFG; Corpus Linguistics; Translation Studies; stylistic features; phraseology

Explaining restrictions on multiple clausal embedding in sentence

Fred Karlsson
University of Helsinki, Finland

Background

The mainstream view is that there are no grammatical restrictions on clausal embedding complexity in any sentential position. This opinion has been voiced by many linguists from different camps: the comparatist Meillet (1934: 355), the generativist Chomsky (1956: 65), the historical linguist Admoni (1980: 23), the descriptive grammarians Quirk et al. (1989: 44), and writers of textbooks (Akmajian et al. 1985: 163) and overviews (Langendoen 1998: 239).

Three recent papers dated 2007 (**1, **2, **3, anonymized in the references) have, on the basis of extensive corpus work on several ‘Standard Average European’ languages such as English, Finnish, German, Latin, and Swedish, demonstrated that there are in fact (at least in these languages) several restrictions on the quantitative and qualitative limits of clausal embedding complexity in sentences. These restrictions include:

- (1) The maximal degree of initial embedding is two.
- (2) In an initial double embedding, the upper clause must be an *if*-clause.
- (3) Initial self-embedding is prohibited.
- (4) The maximal degree of multiple center-embedding is three in written language.
- (5) The maximal degree of multiple center-embedding is two in spoken language.
- (6) Only clauses postmodifying nouns allow central self-embedding.
- (7) A double center-embedding must contain at least one postmodifying clause.
- (8) The typical location of a double center-embedding is at the end of the grammatical subject immediately before the main verb.
- (9) Syntactically simple genres avoid final clausal embedding in excess of degree 3, complex genres in excess of degree 5.
- (10) Relative clauses alone allow unlimited final self-embedding, but only in stereotypical discourse.

Purpose

The purpose of the present paper is to propose causal and other types of *explanations* for these empirically observed restrictions. Gibson (1998) developed a widely cited theory of how short-term memory limitations affect many different types of sentence processing. I shall evaluate the explanatory force of Gibson’s theory with regard to the restrictions (1-10) and propose a number of changes and amendments.

References

- Admoni, W. G. (1980). *Zur Ausbildung der Norm der deutschen Literatursprache im Bereich des neuhochdeutschen Satzgefüges (1470-1730)*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Akmajian, A., Demers, R. A. & Harnish, R. M. (1985). *Linguistics*. (2nd edn.). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1956). On the limits of finite-state description. MIT Research Laboratory for Electronics, Quarterly Progress Report 41. 64-65.
- Gibson, E. (1998). Linguistic complexity: Locality of syntactic dependencies. *Cognition*, 68, 1-76.
- Langendoen, D. T. (1998). Linguistic theory. In Bechtel, W. & Graham, G. (eds.), *A companion to cognitive science*. Oxford: Blackwell. 235-244.
- Lehmann, C. (1984). *Der Relativsatz*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Meillet, A. (1934). *Introduction a l'étude des langues indo-européennes*. Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1989). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Baltic Finnic and Eastern Slavic multilingualism and boomerang loans in Ingermanland

Nikolai O. Kirsanov
University of Helsinki, Finland

Comparing such West Ingrian Baltic Finnic and Eastern Slavic twinplace-names as Fi *Suomen Vuissakkavs* R *Русско-Высоцкое*, Fi *Kirnuvs* R *Мустово*, Fi *Mahuvs* R *Подмошье*, Fi *Karstalavs* R *Коростовицы*, Fi *Laukaa* vs R *Луга*, Fi *Hatsina* vs R *Гатчина* etc. one can speak about clear regularities in their phonetic relationships, which can be easily traced to times before Slavic first palatalization of velars (Fi *Kirnu* < CSI **kir(s)nu* 'black': cf Fi *musta* 'black' > R *Мустово* and boomerang R *Корново/Кёрново*; cf Fi *Kuippina* vs R *Купень* < **Кыпень* < CSI ***Kuipini* where the palatalization was impossible before back vowel), second delabialization of rounded vowels and rise of *o* (Fi *Vuissakka* vs R *Высоцкое* and possible boomerang R *Войсковоро*; Fi *Hatsina* < OR **Хотчино* and boomerang R *Гатчина*), monophthongization of *u*-diphthongs (Fi *Laukaa* vs possible boomerang R *Лавга*) and development of pleophony in Eastern Slavic (Fi *Karstala* and boomerang R *Карстолово*).

These regularities are, however, complicated by several layers of boomerang borrowings caused by several language and/or ethnicity changes occurred in this area. I demonstrate some multilayer etymologies for such place-names.

Accepting a chronology of principal sound changes in Common Slavic and Early Slavic (for example such one by Shevelov (1964)) allows me to state that first contacts between Baltic Finnic and {Eastern} Slavic languages on the Southern coast of the Finnish Gulf should occur before 5–6th centuries A.D.

References

Shevelov, George 1964: A Prehistory of Slavic. Heidelberg, Carl Winter; Universitätsverlag.

Some semantic peculiarities of dimensional adjectives: The cases of asymmetry

Irina Kuzina

Irkutsk State Linguistic University, Russia

Generally speaking a dimensional adjective picks out a particular, possibly complex, dimensional aspect of an entity it applies to and assigns it a quantitative value. Characteristically, dimensional adjectives come in antonymous pairs like **long** and **short**, **high (tall)** and **low**, **deep** and **shallow**, **thick** and **thin**, **wide (broad)** and **narrow**, specifying somehow opposite quantitative values with respect to the same dimension.

In each pair the first adjective describes extent along the dimension, and the second one describes lack of extent. The terms that describe “having extent” are linguistically *unmarked, or positive*; the terms that describe “lacking extent” are linguistically *marked and negative*. It is fairly obvious however that a system of object measuring in language is different from that in geometry and is characterized by asymmetry in the linguistic behavior of semantically identical dimensional adjectives.

In order to look into the nature of these asymmetries, we are going to analyze the facts of asymmetry in compatibility of dimensional adjectives with the names of objects in the light of markedness and opposition “positive-negative” and search for the sources of compatibility restrictions. Let us summarize in brief the results of this analysis:

1. There exist language-specific collocation restrictions on certain object names, therefore antonymous dimensional adjectives possess different combining potential. Collocation restrictions are based on lexical compatibility, and their violation may lead to the so-called “antonym gap”, which results in ungrammatical expressions. Thus combinations of some nouns with negative dimensional adjectives such as **short table, *short face, *short room*, shallow sand, *shallow wardrobe* are considered unacceptable, while combinations of the same nouns with positive counterparts of the recorded adjectives are quite normal.: *long table, long face, long room, deep sand, deep wardrobe*.

2. The opposition “positive-negative” is closely connected with the notion of norm. Dimensionally unmarked positive terms (high, deep, thick, wide, long) describe measurement in the normal direction on the size scale, whereas marked negative terms (low, shallow, thin, narrow, short) describe measurement in the abnormal direction.

3. The measure phrase like *ten meters* can naturally be combined only with the unmarked positive dimensional adjectives: *the house is 20 meters high/ *low; the boat is 3 meters long/*short, the board is 1 meter wide/*narrow; the mine is 20 meters deep/ *shallow*. In their turn special questions with positive dimensional adjectives like *How long is the boat* or *How wide is the cloth* are more common than the same questions with their negative counterparts: *How short is the boat, How narrow is the cloth*.

4. English parametrical adjectives can be classified on the principle of the extensional-positional split in conformity with which they identify either the extent of an object or its position with respect to another object. The positional use of parametrical adjectives for indicating depth and width is defective. Whereas the unmarked terms *deep* and *wide* can be used positionally (*the deepest level in the mine, The arrow is wide of the mark*) their antonyms *shallow* and *narrow* can not (**the shallowest level in the mine, *the arrow is narrow of the mark*).

The phonological treatment of French loanwords in Alsatian

Christiane Laeuffer
Ohio State University, United States

Now located in the north-east of France, between the Rhine and the Vosges (French counter-part of the Black Forest), and bordered in the South by Switzerland and in the North by the German Palatinate, the region of Alsace has had an eventful history. In the last four centuries, since its first separation from Germany at the end of the so-called Thirty Year War until the end of the Second World War, Alsace has repeatedly gone back and forth between France and Germany, and the Alsatian dialect of German has been repeatedly influenced by French and German. This influence is particularly noticeable in the great number of French loanwords which have come in since 1648. These loans have come in either DIRECTLY from French or INDIRECTLY via German. Frequently even, a same French word came in indirectly through German and also directly from French. The result is a number of doublets, such as the ones illustrated in (1).

(1) German		French	
<i>Etappe</i>	[etapə]	<i>étape</i>	[etap]
<i>Melone</i>	[melo:nə]	<i>melon</i>	[møl]
<i>Manöver</i>	[manø:vər]	<i>manœuvre</i>	[manœvrə]
<i>Garnitur</i>	[garnitu:r]	<i>garniture</i>	[garnityr]

Alsatian			
INDIRECT		DIRECT	
[edəp]	‘halting place, stage’	[ødap]	‘leg of the Tour de France’
[melo:n]	‘fruit’	[mølø]	‘bowler hat’
[møne:vər]	‘manners, maneuvers’	[manø:vər] ~	
		[manœ:vrə]	‘laborer’
[gørnidy:r]	‘decoration’	[garnidy:r]	‘reinforcement, protection’
	(e.g., of a cake)		(e.g., of car breaks)

The segmental evidence shows that direct and indirect French loanwords are treated very differently during the borrowing process. As shown by the vowels in (1), in direct loans, the primary borrowing mechanism is IMITATION of the original French pronunciation. Alsations imitate as best as they can the vowels in the original French words: French /a/ remains /a/, front rounded vowels (including French schwa) remain rounded, and French nasal vowels remain single segments (more or less nasalized).

In indirect loans, on the other hand, the primary borrowing mechanism is ADAPTATION of the German pronunciation to the phonology of the dialect, through the existing German - Alsatian phonological correspondence rules which every Alsatian has internalized. Rather than being identified with the phonetically identical segments existing in the dialect (/a/ as in Alsatian /vak/ ‘away’, /œ/ as in /œj/ ‘eye’, or

the loan phoneme /u/ as in /pudər/ ‘powder’, strictly reserved for direct loans), in indirect loanwords /a/ is backed to native /ɔ/, front rounded vowels are unrounded, /u/ is fronted to /y/, and final schwa (a plural marker in the dialect) is deleted, just as they are in native words, as illustrated in (2). Phonologically speaking, indirect loanwords are thus never felt as loans, while direct loanwords are.

(2)	German	Alsatian	
	<i>Juli</i>	[ju:li]	‘July’
	<i>Waffe</i>	[vafə]	‘weapon’
	<i>Löcher</i>	[ləçər]	‘holes’

Sociolinguistically speaking, the differential treatment of the two types of loanwords is linked, among other things, to socio-cultural factors typical of diglossic contact situations, like the prestige attached to French as the language of a culture considered worthy of imitation, as opposed to the lack of prestige associated with the dialect and its German standard.

VOS word order as a specificational clause: A functional analysis

Karen Lahousse
University of Leuven, Belgium

In the large literature on specificational sentences, it is sometimes mentioned that the particular semantics and discourse function of specificational sentences is not only shared by copular sentences (*It was John who ate the cake*) and sentences with a neutral word order and a marked intonation pattern (*JOHN ate the cake.*), but also by some types of verb-subject word order configurations (cf. Declerck 1988, Lambrecht 1994). However, the semantic and discourse properties of the latter have never been compared in detail with those of prototypical (i.e. copular) specificational clauses.

This paper focuses on the verb – object – subject word order (henceforth: VOS) in Spanish (1), Italian (2) and French (3).

- (1) - *Quién ganó la lotería ayer?* ‘Who won the lottery yesterday?’
- *Ayer [Vganó] [Ola lotería] [SJuan].*
yesterday won the lottery Juan.
‘Yesterday, it was John who won the lottery.’ (Ordóñez 2000: 29)
- (2) - *Chi ha scritto questo libro?* ‘Who wrote this book?’
- *[VHa scritto] [Oquesto libro] [SDante]*
has written this book Dante
‘It was Dante who wrote this book.’ (Pinto 1997: 228)
- (3) - *Qui a mangé les gâteaux?* ‘Who ate some / the cakes?’
- *Ont mangé des / les gâteaux: Marie, Pierre et Stéphanie.*
have eaten some / the cakes: Marie, Pierre and Stéphanie
‘Marie, Pierre and Stephanie are those who ate the cakes.’
(Kesik 1985: 60)

In the first section of my talk, I will argue that VOS in Romance shares the two fundamental **semantic properties** of specificational clauses: (i) with respect to phenomena such as quantifier scope and anaphora interpretation, it exhibits *connectedness* or *connectivity* effects (cf. Akmajian 1970, Ross 1972, Higgins 1979, and many authors following them), and (ii), VOS appears in contexts where it specifies a value for a variable (cf., among others, Declerck 1988), as the context in (1), (2) and (3) shows.

In the second section of my talk, I will present the results from my corpus research in *Frantext*, *La Stampa* and the *Base de Datos Sintácticos* of the *Arthus Contemporáneo* corpus. These show that, in spite of the similar semantic properties of VOS in French, Spanish and Italian, the **discourse use** of VOS is considerably different across these languages. VOS in Spanish exhibits two discourse uses. In the first (unmarked) use (“Type A”), VO is discourse-old, while the subject conveys new information. In the second (marked) type (“Type B”), both VO and the subject are new (i.e. not mentioned, nor inferable) in the discourse context. French instantiates a still different type (“Type C”): in all the VOS cases in French, VO presents discourse-old information, and the subject is necessarily an exhaustive focus. In Italian then, where

VOS seems to be even more restricted than it is in French, only Type B appears.

These data raise the following question: how can one particular type of word order, which has similar semantic properties in three related languages, have a different distribution in these languages? In the third section of my talk, I will argue that this question can only be answered by a functional analysis which considers VOS in Romance as a specificational clause. More particularly, I show that the different distributional properties of VOS in Spanish, French and Italian correspond exactly with the functional taxonomy of (specificational) cleft constructions advocated for in Lambrecht (2001): Type A of VOS corresponds to his *non-exhaustive specificational clefts*, Type B to his *exhaustive specificational clefts*, and Type C to his *presentational and eventive sentence-focus clefts*.

References

- Akmajian, A. 1970. On deriving cleft sentences from pseudocleft sentences. *Linguistic Inquiry* 1, 149-168.
- Declerck, R. 1988. *Studies on copular sentences, clefts and pseudo-clefts*. Dordrecht: Foris; Leuven: University Press.
- Higgins, F. 1979. *The pseudo-cleft construction in English*. Garland: New York.
- Lambrecht, K. 1994. *Information structure and sentence form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lambrecht, K. 2001. A framework for the analysis of cleft constructions. *Linguistics* 39:3. 463-516.
- Ordóñez, Francisco. 2000. *Clausal structures of Spanish: a comparative analysis*. New York: Garland publishers.
- Pinto, M. (1997), *Licensing and Interpretation of Inverted Subjects in Italian*, Utrecht University, Utrecht.

Implicit themes and the economy of text

Maria Langleben

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel

Thematic units in the text are coherently arranged along the line of reading. However, the overt thematic progress coexists with the latent vertical dimension that endows the text with deeper meaning. In the vertical space, an alternative thematic organization is developed. Semantic and pragmatic connections, unrestricted by distance, syntax, or narrative causality, give rise to paradigmatic *micro-motives* (MM), specific for each text.

The members of each MM-paradigm are distributed in the text with no regard to continuity, but, combined with each other, MMs cover the line of text with no gaps left. At the surface level, MMs are absorbed by the dominant linear thematics, and are effectively hidden from the reader. At a deeper level, covert paradigms connect to each other as whole units, to create a system of implicit *themes*.

As a powerful source of implicit thematics, MM-structures are frequently ingrained in the masterpieces of verbal art. A short text supported by ingenious vertical dimension, is enriched and expanded from within.

Uncovering the implicit thematics is a comprehensive procedure based on my earlier work: (a) the distinction between two modes of reading, *scanning* and *digesting* (Langleben 1994); (b) a routine for the analysis of MM-structures (Langleben 1995); (c) a taxonomy of explicit and implicit themes in dialogue (Langleben 2007, in press); (d) a number of analyses of fiction and poetry (e.g. Langleben 2000)

References

- Langleben, M. (1994) Scanning and digesting the text: The direction of text and the direction of interpretation, in: *Writing vs Speaking: Language, Text, Discourse, Communication*, ed. by S. Čmejrková, F. Daneš, E. Havlová; Tübingen: Günther Narr Verlag. pp. 259-265.
- Langleben, M. and Langleben D. (1995). Iterational structures in anomalous texts; in: *Organization in Discourse: Proceedings from the Turku Conference*, ed. by B. Wårwik, S.-K. Tanskanen and R. Hiltunen. Turku: University of Turku (Series: Anglicana Turkuensia, vol. 14), pp. 329-340.
- Langleben (2000) Срединный стержень в *Конармии* Бабеля: «Кладбище в Козине» и «Прищепа». (The Middlepoint Pivot in 'The Red Cavalry' by Babel: "The Cemetery in Kozin" and 'Prishchepa'). *Russian Literature*, XLVII-II, pp.159-198
- Langleben, M. (2000) The rhythmical composition of 'Doctor Zhivago'. *Twentieth-Century Russian Literature. Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies*. Edited by Karen L. Ryan and Barry P. Scherr. Houndmills: Macmillan, pp.126-151.
- Langleben, M. (2007, in press). On explicit and implicit themes in dialogue. In: *Theoretical Approaches to Dialogue*. ed. by L. Berlin. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Is there a European possessive perfect construction in Estonian?

Liina Lindström & Ilona Tragel
University of Tartu, Estonia

Estonian is a Finno-Ugric language spoken in the so-called periphery of Europe. Due to grammatical replication (Heine and Kuteva 2006), there are quite a number of European features in Estonian: resultative passive, interrogative-subordination polysemy, rise of articles (in spoken Estonian), etc.

In this paper, we will discuss a construction which is usually regarded as belonging to the impersonal/passive paradigm in Estonian linguistics (Pihlak 1993: 81, Rajandi 1999): [NPADE *olema* ‘be’ (P) VPPP]

- (1) *Mu-l on auto pes-tud.*
I-ADE be:SG3 car wash-PPP
‘My car is washed’ / ‘I have washed my car’ / ‘I have washed the car’

In ex. 1, there are two events (states): possessive construction *Mul on auto* ‘I have a car’; and *auto on pestud* ‘the car is washed’. In this construction, the adessive argument (AdA) can be a Possessor or an Agent, more often the Agent.

Clause (1) means approximately: I am in a situation, where somebody has washed my car. The construction does not specify, who has performed the action expressed with the *tud*-participle (PPP). However, the most typical situation is where the Possessor (*mul* in ex. 1) is also the Agent of the event described by PPP. Such an experience or a typical situation has given rise to the possibility of interpreting the Possessor role as the Agent; the overall construction describes only one event and no longer two events.

We argue that in this construction, the Agent is not hidden (Agent is the topic). Thus, it is not a typical impersonal. Moreover, the construction does not foreground P (and P may be missing, like in ex. 2), which means that it is not a typical (resultative) passive either.

- (2) *Mu-l on poe-s käi-dud.*
I-ADE be:SG3 shop-INE go-PPP
‘I have done the shopping’ / ‘I have been to the store’

The construction is more likely used to mark the completedness of the action of Agent.

What seems to be happening in Estonian is a grammaticalization process very similar to many European languages. The source of this process is the possessive construction (in European languages, the transitive *have*-construction) (Heine, Kuteva 2006). Possessives are central to human cognitive abilities and they invoke a reference point to access another entity and can thus be extended to other domains very easily (Langacker 1990: 338).

The result of this process in European languages is possessive perfect. In this paper, we will analyse the stage of grammaticalization of this construction in Estonian (Heine and Kuteva 2006) and we will also have a closer look at some of the peculiarities of this construction in Estonian.

References

- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva 2006. *The Changing Languages of Europe*. Oxford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald 1990. *Concept, Image, and Symbol: The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Pihlak, Ants 1993. A comparative study of voice in Estonian. *Eesti Sisekaitse Akadeemia toimetised*. Tallinn.
- Rajandi, Henno 1999 [1968]. *Eesti impersonaali ja passiivi süntaks*. Eesti Keele Instituudi toimetised 3. Tallinn.

Cognitivism and functionalism *vis-à-vis* the non-autonomy postulate: Together or apart?

Przemysław Łozowski
Maria Curie-Skłodowska University, Lublin, Poland

Most generally, in the paper we doubt a possibility of what Langacker once (1990: 344) called “the prospect of a comprehensive synthesis” and “the further interaction and progressive integration of cognitive grammar and functional approaches to language structure”. Among the reasons why we find Langacker’s words still to be more of a manifesto, rather than a program of research, there is cognitivists’ vague position on the so-called **non-autonomy postulate**, which is, in Givon’s (1995: xv) words, this “one fundamental assumption *sine qua non* [to which all functionalists subscribe]: that language (and grammar) can be neither described nor explained adequately as an autonomous system”.

More specifically, the problem is this. Cognitivists have repeatedly expressed the belief that their paradigm is “profoundly Saussurean in conception” (Taylor 1998: 159), or emphasized “the Saussurean roots of Cognitive Grammar” (Taylor 2002: 39; cf. Langacker 1987: 11, Heyvaert 2003: 17-19, Broccias 2003: 11). Taken on its face value, this requires reconciling two conflicting standpoints. One is the Saussurean idea of language as a **system of arbitrary signs**, whereas the other is the cognitivist thesis that language is a **symbolic system**. It is more than often that these two conceptions of language are mistakenly ascribed by cognitivists to Saussure, sometimes even within one and the same paragraph:

(...) [T]here has to be a distinctively ‘linguistic’ way of studying language. And this resided, for Saussure, in recognizing language as a *symbolic system*. (...) The sign (...) was the association of a concept (...) and an acoustic image (...). And a language was characterized as a *system of signs*. (Taylor 2002: 41; emphasis changed; cf. also pp. 38, 39, 43, 45, 53, 57)

What is incompatible here is that if we go for language as a symbolic system, we assume the motivated character of linguistic units and structures, whereas if we side with the notion of language as a system of arbitrary signs, we deprive language of its experiential basis and motivation.

Instead of trying to prove the unlikely, which is that Saussure believed that language was a system of **symbols** (or: „a symbolic system”), or attempting to show the undesirable, which is that cognitivists see symbols as **arbitrary signs**, in the paper we briefly explore both (i) Saussure’s struggle to reject any notion of symbols in favour of arbitrary signs, and (ii) Peirce’s classification of signs as a possible source of evidence on the way towards language taken to be a thoroughly motivated symbolic system.

Finally, we set our argumentation in the context of the growing pressure towards bringing formalism and functionalism together (see Fischer 2007: ch. 2, Mairal and Gil 2006: ch. 1, Eckardt 2006: 28-29, Brinton and Traugott 2005: 4, 8), which may soon make cognitivists have to take an unequivocal position with regard to the functionally-oriented non-autonomy postulate.

References

- Brinton, Laurel J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (2005) *Lexicalization and Language Change*, Cambridge: CUP.
- Eckardt, Regine (2006) *meaning Change in Grammaticalization. An Enquiry into Semantic Reanalysis*, Oxford: OUP.
- Fischer, Olga (2007) *Morphosyntactic Change: Functional and Formal Perspectives*, Oxford: OUP.
- Mairal, Ricardo and Juana Gil, eds. (2006) *Linguistic Universals*, Cambridge: CUP.

Towards an inventory of semantic categories in Functional Discourse Grammar: Content interrogatives in a sample of 50 languages

J. Lachlan Mackenzie
VU University Amsterdam, Netherlands

For each unit of language, Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2006) offers analyses at four levels: the interpersonal, representational, morphosyntactic and phonological levels. Corresponding to each level there is a language-specific set of primitives on which the respective levels draw when formulating their analyses. The primitives at the representational level include the possibility of a ‘complex head’, which involves the expansion of a variable by more than one unit. The analysis of a state-of-affairs, for example, will involve just such a complex head, with a predicate and its arguments. The semantic relations between the predicates and their arguments will be shown as semantic *functions* such as Actor and Undergoer, while the semantic *categories* to which the arguments and any additional modifiers belong will be drawn from a set that will include the following: (x) – individual; (e) – state-of-affairs; (l) – location; (t) – time; (m) – manner; (q) – quantity; (r) – reason.

The purpose of this research is to examine content interrogatives (wh-questions) in a representative sample of 50 languages (cf. Rijkhoff et al. 1993), identifying patterns in the set of highly grammaticalized forms used to distinguish the elicitation of each semantic category. The purpose is to test the hypothesis that a postulated increase in cognitive complexity from (x) through to (q) or (r) is matched by an increase in morphosyntactic complexity, such that an implicational hierarchy could be established as follows:

$$x \subset l \subset t \subset m \subset q \subset r$$

Alternatively, it may prove more appropriate to formulate semantic maps for this area (cf. Cysouw 2004a, 2004b). A related hypothesis is that examples of formal identity of interrogative forms will apply to adjacent elements on the hierarchy: an extreme example supporting this hypothesis is provided by Asheninca Campa (Cysouw 2005), which uses one form for all five categories {l, t, m, q, r}.

The paper will address such problems as (a) the question of how to measure morphosyn-tactic complexity in such forms (with reference to Dahl 2004); (b) the problem of submorphemic structure, i.e. the existence of ‘eidemic resonance’ (Bickel and Nichols *fc.*) in a paradigm; (c) the identification and distribution of interrogative verbs and their status as possible challenges to the proposed hierarchy; (d) the analysis of the forms in question as ignoratives in the sense of Evans’s (2003: 273) analysis of Bininj Gun-Wok, in which there is “triple polysemy between interrogative, indefinite pronoun and negative pronoun uses” (cf. also Wierzbicka 1980); and (e) the best treatment of languages which appear to signal interrogativity indirectly, e.g. Wari’ (Everett & Kern 1997), in which content is elicited by the initial placement of a demonstrative and the presence of a gap in clausal syntax.

The relevance of the results for FDG will be as follows: (a) they will help to establish the correctness (or otherwise) of the proposed etic categories {l,t,m,r,q}; (b) they will provide principles for languages' selection of the emic categories required for their individual grammars, i.e. for the inventory of representational frames made available to language users. The more general relevance of the research will lie in its contribution to the understanding and systematization of the typology of interrogative constructions.

References

- Bickel, Balthasar and Johanna Nichols (fc.). Inflectional morphology. In Tim Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cysouw, Michael (2004a). Interrogative words: an exercise in lexical typology. Workshop on Bantu grammar, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available from <http://email.eva.mpg.de/~cysouw/pdf/cysouwQUESTION.pdf>.
- Cysouw, Michael (2004b). Minimal systems of interrogative words. Workshop on questions, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available from <http://email.eva.mpg.de/~cysouw/pdf/cysouwHANDMINQ.pdf>.
- Cysouw, Michael (2005). Content interrogatives in Asheninca Campa (Arawak): Corpus study and Typological Comparison. Unpublished paper, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. Available from <http://email.eva.mpg.de/~cysouw/pdf/cysouwASHENINCA.pdf>.
- Dahl, Östen (2004). *The growth and maintenance of linguistic complexity*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia PA: Benjamins.
- Evans, Nicholas (2003) *Bininj Gun-Wok: A pan-dialectal grammar of Mayali, Kunwinjku and Kune* (2 volumes). Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Everett, Daniel and Barbara Kern (1997). *Wari': The Pacaas Novos language of western Brazil*. London: Routledge.
- Hengeveld, Kees and J. Lachlan Mackenzie (2006). Functional Discourse Grammar. In Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*, 2nd Edition. Volume 4, 668-676. Oxford: Elsevier.
- Rijkhoff, Jan N.M., Dik Bakker, Kees Hengeveld and Peter Kahrel (1993). A method of language sampling. *Studies in Language* 17.1, 169-203.
- Wierzbicka, Anna (1980), *Lingua mentalis: The semantics of natural language*. Sydney: Academic Press.

The translation of Spanish aspectual verbal periphrases into Slovene

Jasmina Markic
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

The aim of this article is to present how some Spanish verbal periphrases, which function mainly as indicators of aspectuality, are translated into Slovene. The examples are taken from literary texts of contemporary Spanish and Latin American authors (Javier Marías, Bernardo Atxaga, Gabriel García Márquez, Marcela Serrano) and the corresponding translations into Slovene.

The problem of verbal aspect is a very complex one and is approached from different points of view by different authors. In this paper aspectuality is presented in its broader sense including not only aspect as the opposition between perfective and imperfective actions but also the so called phases of an action (beginning, duration, end of an action), the characteristics of the development of an action in time (momentary, repetitive, resultative, habitual actions) frequently called *Aktionsart* and the types of an action (state, non state, telic, atelic actions).

In Spanish the aspectual and temporal values are strongly linked but the notion of time is predominant while in Slovene prevails the notion of aspect. Both languages have different linguistic means to convey the aspectual values. In Slovene the aspect is mainly a morphological category expressed in a binary opposition: perfective and imperfective aspect and the mark of aspectuality appears in the infinitive of the verb with prefixes or infixes: *priti* / *prihajati*; *jesti* / *pojesti*. In Spanish there are other ways of conveying these values: some verbal tenses, some verbal prefixes and, mainly, the verbal periphrases.

The approach used in this paper will be a contrastive one, the analyzed data are the corpora of narrative texts from Spanish and Latin American authors mentioned above and the expected result is the illustration of different ways of conveying aspectual meaning in two different languages: a Slavic language (Slovene) and a Romanic one (Spanish).

Morphological constructions and the functional definition of categories

Javier Martín Arista
University of La Rioja, Spain

Functional theories of language of a structural basis, such as Functional Grammar (Dik 1997 a, b) and Role and Reference Grammar (Foley and Van Valin 1984, Van Valin and LaPolla 1997, Van Valin 2005), are currently discussing the nature, components and interaction of the part of the theory that accounts for the syntagmatic and paradigmatic form of linguistic expressions, that is, morphology. Role and Reference Grammar has generalised the Layered Structure of the Clause to the Word (Everett 2002), thus identifying word-internal categories and relations (Cortés 2006, *fc*; Martín Arista 2006, *fc*). As a contribution to this debate in general and to derivational morphology in particular, this paper provides an external motivation for the distinction between endocentric and exocentric morphological constructions. The thrust of the argument is that categorial distinctions like compounding and derivation are not explanatory, since they have little to say about word-internal generalizations that play a role in the linking with syntax. Moreover, the distinction between compounding and derivation is ultimately based on the notion of lexeme. Functional descriptions of the lexicon (Dik 1997a, Mairal and Cortés 2000-2001) consider as predicates not only free forms but also bound derivatives, given that they are fully significative, display category and undergo combination restrictions, exactly as free forms do. Functional labels, on the other hand, guarantee the linking of word structure with syntax, while allowing an analysis of the properties of bases and the properties of adjuncts. Furthermore, functional labels relate to a definition of the lexical categories Noun, Adjective, Adverb and Verb based on discourse function. Category and category change, being central notions in derivative morphology, constitute the basis of the distinction between endocentric and exocentric morphological constructions. The language of analysis of this paper is Old English, but a look at these constructions in other languages demonstrates that the distinction between endocentric and exocentric morphological constructions is typologically relevant.

References

- Cortés Rodríguez, F. 2006. Derivational Morphology in Role and Reference Grammar: A New Proposal. *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* 19: 41-66.
- Cortés Rodríguez, F. Negative Affixation within the Lexical Grammar Model. *R&L* (forthcoming).
- Dik, S. 1997a (1989). *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Dik, S. 1997b. *The Theory of Functional Grammar, Vol. 2: Complex and Derived Constructions*. Edited by K. Hengeveld. Berlin: De Gruyter
- Everett, D. 2002. Towards an RRG theory of morphology. Lecture delivered at The 2002 International Conference on Role and Reference Grammar, held at the University of La Rioja.
- Foley, W. and Van Valin, R. 1984. *Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Mairal Usón, R. and Cortés Rodríguez, F. 2000-2001. Semantic packaging and syntactic projections in word formation processes: the case of agent nominalizations. *Revista Española de Lingüística Aplicada* 14: 271-294.
- Martín Arista, J. 2006. Derivation and compounding in a structural-functional theory of morphology. Paper delivered at the meeting of the Danish Functional Grammar Group held at the University of Copenhagen, April 2006.
- Martín Arista, J. Unification and separation in a functional theory of morphology (forthcoming).
- Van Valin, R. 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Van Valin, R. and LaPolla, R. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, meaning and function*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Van Valin, R. 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: CUP.

Saussure et Martinet

Jeanne Martinet
France

Pour André Martinet (Some Basic Principles of Functional Linguistics, *La linguistique*, 13,1, p.7-14), le fonctionnalisme linguistique découle de l'enseignement de Saussure, "fertilisé" par celui de Baudoin de Courtenay et ses disciples russes. Pour l'École de Prague, l'étude du langage est structurale et fonctionnelle, le point de vue structural étant privilégié, même si le principe (fonctionnel) de pertinence est constamment appliqué. Pour André Martinet, en revanche, c'est la fonction qui prime ainsi qu'il l'a exposé dans une série de conférences prononcées à Londres en 1946 (cf. *Phonology as Functional Phonetics*), puis à Oxford en 1961 (cf. *A Functional View of Language*).

Martinet rappelle ensuite comment, à partir du même fonds saussurien, la glossématique s'est constituée dans les années 30 en réaction à l'enseignement de Prague. Il relève les divergences fondamentales qui opposent la glossématique au fonctionnalisme. Tout ceci est schématisé dans un RÉSUMÉ présentant : A. Principes saussuriens de départ et corollaires, B. Propositions hjelmsléviennes, C. Développements fonctionalistes.

A partir du cadre qu'offre cette présentation, nous nous sommes proposé d'inventorier, dans l'ensemble de l'oeuvre de Martinet, lecteur assidu et exigeant, les références à Saussure, qu'il se rallie aux prises de position du maître ou qu'il les récuse : oui à l'arbitraire du signe, non à l'identification de synchronie à statique.

On ne peut s'empêcher de rapprocher la théorie de la double articulation de ce passage du *Cours* : "on pourrait appeler la langue le domaine des articulations...: chaque terme linguistique est un petit membre, un *articulus* où une idée se fixe dans un son et où un son devient le signe d'une idée". Mais avec Saussure on en reste à la première articulation. Il faut le phonologue et les travaux de l'École de Prague pour donner au phonème son statut et sa fonction distinctive.

Si André Martinet met à contribution l'enseignement du *Cours*, il n'en est pas esclave, mais il y trouve le tremplin et les repères à partir desquels il fonde et affine sa propre théorie.

The grammaticalization of contrast markers

Caterina Mauri
University of Pavia, Italy

The aim of this paper is to analyze and compare the processes of grammaticalization that lead to the development of contrast markers, such as *but* in English or *però* in Italian.

Heine and Kuteva (2002: 291) indicate temporal constructions as the main source for adversative markers, along the pattern *temporal* > *adversative*, exemplified by the English connective *while*. As Hopper and Traugott (1993: 104-105) argue, *while* was a noun designating a length of time, which then acquired a conjunctive function of simultaneity and nowadays may be used to oppose two clauses, even if they are not simultaneous. This grammaticalization pattern is well attested across languages (Italian *mentre*, German *während*, French *alors que/tandis que*). However, it seems to be restricted to a specific type of contrast markers, namely those coding an OPPOSITIVE contrast (Haspelmath to appear and Mauri 2007), and does not account for connectives such as Italian *ma*, *però*, French *mais*, Spanish *pero*, *sino*, German *aber*, *sondern*, Dutch *maar*, English *but*.

Whereas the grammaticalization patterns of conjunctive markers have been widely investigated by Mithun (1988), no similar study has been conducted for contrast markers. This research seeks to identify the recurrent patterns of semantic change that characterize the grammaticalization of contrast markers. The core of data examined consists of markers attested in three Romance languages (French, Italian and Spanish) and four Germanic languages (German, English, Dutch and Swedish), due to the availability of high quality historical data. However, a broad cross-linguistic perspective is maintained throughout the whole work.

Two main results will be presented. First of all, it is possible to identify a limited set of semantic change patterns that recur across languages and are characterized by a subjacent process of subjectification (the process whereby meanings become more based in the speaker's subjective belief or perspective, Traugott 1995: 31). Besides the (i) *temporal* > *adversative* change, at least three other patterns account for the development of contrast markers:

- (ii) *cause* > *conclusion* > *contrast* (Italian *però*, Spanish *pero* < Lat. *per hoc*, German *dafür*)
- (iii) *separation*, “*without*” > *contrast* (English *but* < O.E. **be-utana*, Swedish *utan*, German *sondern*)
- (iv) *comparative*, *repetition* > *contrast* (Italian *ma*, French *mais*, Portuguese *mas* < Lat. *magis*, Dutch *maar* < Proto-Germ. **mērī*, **mēri*)

Secondly, particular patterns of semantic change tend to originate particular types of contrast markers, crucially depending on the lexical source of grammaticalization. A process like (i) accounts for markers of OPPOSITIVE contrast (caused by a symmetric opposition); process (ii) gives rise to markers of COUNTEREXPECTATIVE contrast

(caused by the denial of some expectation); process (iii) tends to originate markers of CORRECTIVE contrast (caused by a correction); process (iv) originates general markers, used for all contrast types. Specific markers may acquire new functions and end up expressing all contrast types (like English *but*).

To conclude, the functional motivations underlying both the attested grammaticalization processes and the correlations between particular patterns of semantic change and particular types of contrast markers will be discussed.

References

- Haspelmath, M. (to appear). Coordination. In T. Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and linguistic description* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Heine and Kuteva (2002). *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, P. J. and E. C. Traugott (1993). *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mauri, C. (2007). Conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative constructions in Europe: some areal considerations'. In Ramat P. e Roma, E. (eds.), *Europe and the Mediterranean linguistic areas*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Mithun, M. (1988). The grammaticization of coordination. In J. Haiman and S. Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*, pp. 331–60. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs (1995). Subjectification in grammaticalisation. In Dieter Stein & Susan Wright (eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation. Linguistic perspectives*, 31–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The function of semantically motivated suffixes in gender inversion of Modern Greek derivatives

Elizabeth Mela-Athanasopoulou
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The main issue of this study is to show that semantically motivated suffixes, such as diminutives and augmentatives, for instance, may change the grammatical gender of nouns in highly inflected languages such as Modern Greek (hence MG). For example, a semantic marker of diminution, say {-aki} of neuter (NTR) gender, attached to a stem of masculine (MSC) gender (by nature), will convert it into neuter, e.g. andr(as)Msc 'man' (natural gender), plus the diminutive {-aki}NTR will invert to andrakiNTR 'little man'. Similarly, korits(i)NTR 'girl', feminine (natural gender), plus the augmentative {-aros}jvisc will become koritsaros 'big girl'. Also aet(os)Msc 'eagle' masculine (natural gender), plus the diminutive {-opoulo}JNiR will turn into aetopouloNTR 'baby eagle'.

Moreover, other categories of semantically motivated suffixes capable of changing gender, such as the case of -ierapEM or -ierisMsc denoting a container and an agent respectively, as well as -iapEM standing for a fruit tree will also be investigated. The scope of the paper will be to show not only that, in MG, gender is inherent to the stem noun and not to the word (Ralli 1999), but also discuss the incompatibility between natural or biological gender and grammatical one (normally shown formally by an inflectional suffix) as an inevitable consequence of gender inversion by means of the afore mentioned suffixes. The notion of agreement regarding the gender of the noun qualifiers, e.g. enasjusc isichosMsc andrasMsc, 'a quiet man' vs. ena^TR isichoNTR andrakiNTR 'a quiet little man', will also be thoroughly investigated as a result of gender inversion.

Furthermore, particular attention will be paid on the fact that the natural/biological gender remains the same at least semantically -as it is inherent to the stem- despite the attachment of a different gender grammatical suffix, only when the latter is either a diminutive or an augmentative. In all other cases, where the gender is indicated by form only, and not by sex, i.e. it is not natural, it converts to the gender of the suffix, e.g. tsaiNTR 'tea' plus -ieraprWcontainer will be tsayieraFEM 'teapot'; miloNTR 'apple' plus —iapEM/'fruit tree' will be miliapEM 'apple tree'. Finally, the gender of deadjectival/deverbal nominals will also be examined. It is proposed that the gender of such nouns is regularly feminine, identified by the stem and marked by the suffix, e.g. [[XJSXEM SU^KM]derived nominalFEM as in omoloy-ia^M 'confession', kalo-sinipEM 'kindness' mousiko-titapEM 'musicality', etc.

Turkish-German-Comedy

Mehmet Metin
Bielefeld University, Germany

Considering that many Turks have lived in Germany for many years, there is a surprising lack of research focussing on the different kinds of humour Turks and Germans use in everyday situations. Especially, when it is apparent, that understanding humour is one of the most important parts of learning a foreign language, as the humour often mirrors the culture of the country:

Beyond simply adding to the range and flavor of Germany's comedy options, these Turkish comedians and comic characters have played an important societal role – provoking Germany to examine often prickly social issues. Much of Kaya Yanar's comic material, for instance, explores German stereotypes of Turks, and the sometimes- awkward cross-cultural exchange between the two. Although his jokes mainly deal with ethnicity they are accepted by the press and a fan community of adolescents; they all laugh with him although they ask themselves: Is it politically correct. The humor of Yanar's figures lives on the activities of hyperstylized foreigners in typical German everyday situations. He plays these figures in his program, and they are not only so caricatured that a play with stereotypes arises, but they are also played in the center of German themes.

Since the time of Aristophanes, comedy has been a potent force in fomenting social and cultural change. The Turkish humorists (Kaya Yanar and Serdar Somuncu or Jango Asül....) have played an important role changing attitudes and challenging taboos. In Germany, too, the cabaret has influenced political attitudes. And cabaret artists have long played an important function in satirizing German everyday situation and political life. But the cabaret is not new. The focus of my research is emerging humor/comedy genres. I sought to understand how the flowering of popular genres of comedy – the stand-up comedians, the television comedy series, the comic films of Fatih Akin – were impacting German culture and society.

Understanding each other's humour enables us to communicate much more successfully. Therefore I feel that it is important to look more closely at the differences between german and turkish humour, as the research done in this field can be applied to other crosscultural studies, as well – especially in the field of literature, linguistics and language aquisition, but also in education in general.

Book reviews: Yours effectively and affectionately

Pirkko Muikku-Werner
University of Joensuu, Finland

Book reviews are an interesting genre because they consist of three intertwined textual functions: the presentation, interpretation and evaluation of literary work. The aim of this paper is to examine how these functions co-operate in making the readers want to buy – or to ignore – the reviewed book. On the one hand, the reviewer's goal is to act as an intermediary between writer and reader, on the other hand, he or she can confirm or erode existing literal conventions.

In order to approach the linguistic choices for expressing the above-mentioned three purposes Hallidayan metafunctional theory is used as a starting point. For example, when looking at the interpersonal function of language, we focus on its part in interaction. The role taken by the reviewer is the one of an adviser. He or she gives advice for interpretation of the book. By doing this reviewers situate themselves as experts whereas the reader is a layperson needing direction. Consequently, the reviewers have a certain power because they can influence thousands of readers. Their negative or positive assessment is likely to guide the decisions to read or to buy the books. When evaluating the book, reviewers give feedback to the writer, thereby positing themselves in the role of an omniscient arbiter.

The material consists of reviews from three decades, namely the years 1951, 1971 and 2006. By introducing this temporary dimension the different perspectives of literature criticism can be worked out: how does the impressionistic or Marxist trend influence the linguistic choices? The reviews have appeared in three publications: in a literary review, a left-wing and a right-wing newspaper. It is assumed that also changing ideologies have made their impact on the texts.

The results will show that language resources are interrelated with the professional and ideological objectives of reviewers. It will also prove that there is an effect of the reviewed book and its characteristics on the way of expression the reviewer chooses – this will often be a more belletristic or otherwise conspicuous style. All in all, the texts as signs that construct content, create relationship, and produce texture.

Bibliography

- Fairclough, Norman 1994 [1989]. *Language and power*. London: Longman. Halliday, Michael A. K. 1994. *An introduction to functional grammar*. Second edition. London: Edward Arnold.
- Stillar, Glenn F. 1998. *Analyzing everyday texts: Discourse, rhetoric, and social perspectives*. Thousand Oaks, London, Delhi: SAGE Publications.

***Théorie de l'énonciation* Meets Functional Grammar: Context and Illocution in EU Law**

Simo Määttä
University of Joensuu, Finland

Combining a *textual* (linguistic) analysis of clause types and a *contextual* (discourse) analysis of intertextuality, this paper aims at determining the link between context and illocution in passages of EU founding treaties related to cultural and linguistic diversity.

A linguistic analysis is an essential part of discourse analysis (e.g., Halliday 1994: xvi-xvii). In legal discourse analysis, the linguistic component of the analysis can be performed, for example, by using categories of systemic-functional grammar (e.g., Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). Thus, provisions which do not contain explicit norms (i.e., *principles* according to Dworkin 1977 and 1986) to be obeyed and which do not define the sanctions to be applied when rules are not obeyed are typically encoded in *attributive* and *identifying* clauses. Provisions with real legal force (*rules*, *ibid.*), on the other hand, are typically *material* and modally marked as obligation.

However, an intertextual analysis (Fairclough 1999: 184, 203-208) is needed when both principles and rules appear in the same legal act. The concept of intertextual analysis appears to correspond with Foucault's (1969: 128-129) notion of "margins of utterance," according to which an utterance ("énoncé") is surrounded by margins populated by other utterances, yet distinct from what is generally understood as *context*. Indeed, these margins are distinct from the context for the very reason that they create the context. Thus, a particular sentence does not form the same utterance in different genres; a chain of utterances around one particular utterance does not constitute the same context in different genres. The sentence "the Union is founded on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" therefore constitutes a different utterance in article 6 of the *Treaty on European Union* and in a textbook; its context is also different even when it contains exactly the same words exactly in the same order.

Indeed, in the French tradition of linguistic discourse analysis, while the propositional meaning ("signification") is created essentially within the linguistic context of the utterance, the discursive meaning ("sens") of the utterance consists of the description of the act of utterance ("énonciation," e.g., Ducrot 1984: 182-183). In this understanding, illocution therefore resides in the discursive meaning. But should the discursive meaning of the above-mentioned passage of EU law correspond with the general rule-setting illocution of law or should it be regarded as a fragment of another discourse embedded in the treaty, with a different illocution? In other words, should illocution be determined by the context, in which case the treaty would constitute a single utterance, or should it be separated from it, in which case the treaty would be a chain of utterances? Finding answers to these questions and their implications to the theory of discourse and ideology is the main goal of this paper. Another aim is to inquire to what extent the functionalistic paradigms of systemic functional grammar and *théorie de l'énonciation* are in fact compatible.

References

- Ducrot, O. *Le Dire et le dit*. Paris: Minuit, 1984.
- Dworkin, R. *Law's Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1986.
- . *Taking Rights Seriously*. London: Duckworth, 1977.
- Fairclough, N. "Linguistic and Intertextual Analysis within Discourse Analysis." Jaworski and Coupland, eds., *The Discourse Reader*. London: Routledge, 1999, 183-211.
- Foucault, M. *L'Archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1969.
- Halliday, M.A.K. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2nd ed. London: Arnold, 1994.
- and C. Matthiessen. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd ed. London: Arnold, 2004.

Uncovering of rare or unknown usage: A history of *seem* meaning ‘to pretend’

Fujio Nakamura
Aichi Prefectural University, Japan

English historical linguists have, based upon primarily serious literary texts, done much to describe and explain both the stability of and change within the English language over time. Even in the early 21st century, however, sundry evidence leading to the discovery of new English historical facts can be encountered from the reading of documents such as private diaries and personal letters which were not intended for publication and have remained linguistically unanalyzed.

In relation to such evidence, the main purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate how analyses of particular text types can contribute to the historical study of English, specifically by showing quotations resulting in the uncovering of rare or unknown usage. This paper will unravel the mystery of why the *OED*’s *seem*-derivatives - such as *seemer*, *seeming*, *seemingness* and *seemingly* - do have the concept of ‘active, deliberate show or pretence’, unlike the verb *seem*.

Evidence suggests that the use of *seem* to mean ‘pretend’ may have been overlooked in hunting for citations by contributors to the *OED*. According to Schmidt (1923) and Wright (1904), *seem* clearly had the sense of ‘pretend’ in Shakespearean English and in the late 19th-century Southern dialect. Supplementary quotations filling in the chronologically awkward three-century gap, the authors of which were almost all educated people, are reported in this paper.

All this evidence comprehensively accounts for those *seem*-clusters pertaining to the concept of ‘pretence’ than does the corresponding explanation in the *OED*. Also, this discovery makes it possible to elucidate the development of *seem* meaning ‘to pretend’: it originated in Elizabethan English, and was still used in the 17th to the 18th centuries, gradually becoming obsolescent towards the end of Late Modern English; while in American English it has, or seems to have, survived since its immigration, insofar as the definition can be seen in a few American dictionaries which give consideration to lexical history.

References

- Schmidt, A. (1923). *Shakespeare-Lexicon*. 4th ed., rev. and enlarged by G. Sarrazi. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter.
Wright, J. (1904). *The English Dialect Dictionary*. London: Henry Frowde, Amen Corner, E. C.

Mönkä and leipäläpi: Unique components in Finnish idioms

Marja Nenonen
University of Joensuu, Finland

So called unique components, or cranberry words – i.e., idiom components that do not appear outside particular idioms – create an interesting interface between lexicon and morphology. (see, e.g., Dobrovolskij & Piirainen 1994; Fleischer 1997; Moon 1998; Langlotz 2006; Sköldberg 2007).

In Nenonen & Niemi (1999), we studied a subgroup of unique components, monomorphemic inflected words that appear as complements in verb phrase idioms, and called them **idiomatic isolates**, since they only appear in highly restricted contexts and seem to resist any kind of syntactic modification. Moreover, they are morphologically isolated, because they do not have any kind of morphological family, i.e., they do not appear in derivations or compounds at all. In a further study, however, it has become evident that Finnish isolates are morphologically not as fixed as expected on the grounds of data on other languages, like English or German (Nenonen 2007). In Finnish, there are circa one hundred idiomatic isolates, and most of them appear as complements of verb phrases. A prototypical idiom in Finnish consists of a basic verb and a common complement noun (Nenonen 2002). However, idiomatic phrases containing isolate nouns belong to a special case of idioms: combinations of a very frequent basic verb and a highly restricted isolate noun, like *mennä mönkä-än* lit. ‘go mönkä-ill’, ‘to fail’.

The aim of this study is to describe the whole spectrum of Finnish idiomatic unique components: in addition to monomorphemic isolates, there is also a wide range of compounds like *leipä-läpi* in the idiom *Leipäläpi kiinni!* ‘bread-hole shut’, i.e., ‘Keep your mouth shut!’, where only the combination of words is unique, not the component words *per se*. Compounds increase substantially the number of unique constituents (see also Sköldberg 2007, for corresponding data on Swedish).

References

- Dobrovolskij, Dmitrij, and Elisabeth Piirainen 1994. Sprachliche Unikalia im Deutschen: Zum Phänomen phraseologisch gebundener Formative. *Folia Linguistica* XXVIII/3-4, 449-473.
- Fleischer, Wolfgang 1997. *Phraseologie der Deutschen Gegenwartssprache*. 2., durchgesehene und ergänzte Auflage. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Langlotz, Andreas 2006. *Idiomatic creativity. A cognitive-linguistic model of idiom-representation and idiom-variation in English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Moon, Rosamund 1998. *Fixed expressions and idioms in English: A corpus-based approach*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Nenonen, Marja 2002. *Idiomit ja leksikko*. [‘Idioms and the Lexicon’] Doctoral dissertation. University of Joensuu Publications of the Humanities 29. Joensuu University Press, Joensuu.
- Nenonen, Marja 2007. Unique, but not cranberries: Idiomatic isolates in Finnish. In Nenonen, Niemi & Niemi (eds), *Papers from Collocations and Idioms 1: First Nordic Conference on Syntactic Freezes, Joensuu, May 19-20, 2006*. Joensuu: Joensuu University Press.
- Nenonen, Marja & Jussi Niemi 1999. Morphological isolates in idioms: Cranberries or real words? *Brain and Language* 68.158 – 164.
- Sköldberg, Emma 2007. Birds of a feather and sheep’s clothing: On unique constituents in Swedish. In Nenonen, Niemi & Niemi (eds), *Papers from Collocations and Idioms 1: First Nordic Conference on Syntactic Freezes, Joensuu, May 19-20, 2006*. Joensuu: Joensuu University Press.

Russian Aspect, Aktionsarten and aspectual adverbials: Established rules vs. contextual representation

Elena Nikolaenko
Bryansk State University, Russia

This paper deals with peculiarities of interconnection between and overlapping of aspectual variants in context - situations when *nuclear means* of one aspectual variant can serve as *periphery means* of expressing the meaning of another variant.

The research is conducted following:

1. *the semantics stratification principle of Functional Grammar* (presentation of aspectual semantics in terms of invariants – variants)
2. *the classification of the aspectual variants* put forward by T.Akimova (1993). According to it, predicates of perfective Aspect are classified according to *character of finite state* (A): A1 – affixed result after action completion, A2 – absence of result; and *character of transition from initial to finite state* (B): B1 – gradual transition, B2 – instant transition. Hence, we speak about 4 aspectual variants - A1B1, A1B2, A2B1, A2B2. For each of them **there is defined** certain combinability of *Aspect, Aktionsarten and Aspectual contextual markers / adverbials (ACM)*.
3. *the classification of Aktionsarten* by M.Shelyakin.

On the basis of language data *the assumption was made that* to endow a statement with greater pragmatic force the Speaker can resort to using language means typical of one aspectual variant to express the semantics of another one, such usage causing aspectual semantic shifts. Thus, we can speak of peculiar combinations of Aspectual forms and ACM.

Some cases of this kind are *not infrequent* in Russian whereas others are *purely authorial*.

The aspectual variant *A1B1* can serve as *demonstrative*. It denotes gradual transition from initial to finite state and is usually expressed by perfective Aspect and Aktionsarten denoting *action completion* upon its *continuation*. However, it can be also expressed by:

- **non-continuative Aktionsarten** typical of A1B2

(1) *Dyryavil nemez mne mashinu i sverhu, i s bokov, no mne, bratok, vezlo na pervyh porah. Vezlo-vezlo, da I dovezlo do samoj ruchki...* (Sholokhov) (*dovezti* – final-negative Aktionsart)

(2) *...s teh samyh por stalo u moloditsy ditya bolet'. Bolelo, bolelo, da i sovsem pomerlo.* (Kuprin) (*umeret'* – resultative-nonprocessual / “perfective tantum” Aktionsart)

- means typical of **imperfective Aspect**
- **ACM of imperfective Aspect** + resultative Aktionsarten

(3) *Vosem' mesyatsev podryad Kashkin vysedel v odinochnom zaklyuchenii, ne poluchaya nikakih izvestij iz vneshnego mira...No odnazhdy...* (Pikul)
 vysedel – terminative-continuative, hyper-continuous Aktionsart
 vosem' mesyatsev podryad – ACM typical of imperfective Aspect
 - **evolving Aktionsarten** + ACM of action termination

(4) *I odolet' ona ne v silah Otravy toi, chto v zhilah ih techet,
 V ih samyh sokrovennyh zhilah, I dolgo budet tech, - a gde ishod?*
No net, kak ni boris' upryamo, ustupit lozh, rassetsja mechta...
 (Tyutchev, Vatikanskaja Godovschina, 1871)

This research helps 1) to structure the Russian functional-semantic field of Aspectuality, 2) in language teaching - to reveal the difficulties for Russian learners and ways to get rid of them. The linguistic experiments conducted with Russian native speakers (students of linguistics) show that even though the respondents are able to identify cases of such unusual combinability they are in most cases unable to explain what is special about it.

Psycholinguistic works explain the difficulties in comprehending cases of this kind by *insufficient unfolding of special-temporal and causal relations by Language1 and Language2 learners* (A.Zelevskaya).

Grammatical variability in Ingrian epic poetry

Ilya Nikolaev
St.Petersburg University, Russia

The paper focuses on the problems of grammatical variability in the language of Ingrian epic poetry. Finnish scholar P.Lauerma was the first who studied in detail language variation in the songs of the famous Ingrian singer Larin Paraske. The data for our study is the corpus of Ingrian epic songs, collected from a number of singers in the Soikkola region of Ingermanland in the vicinity of St.Petersburg, and published in Finland and in Russia in XX century. Two most important of these collections are collection 'Suomen kansan vanhat runot' – 'Old songs of the Finnish people' and collection 'Narodnyje pesni Ingermanlandii' - 'Folk songs of Ingermanland'.

Variable grammatical forms presented in some of these songs are analyzed and compared to each other, as well as to the existing grammar descriptions of the Ingrian language. The core dictionary is created, which contains the grammatical forms general for all songs, and, after that, a grammatical model is constructed, which reflects the main linguistic features in the epic songs subject to variability. The model created makes it possible to find out and to study general peculiarities of the Ingrian folk song on the basis of variation. They might be grouped, firstly, on the basis of idiolect and dialect differences of the singers and, secondly, on the basis of linguistic features of folk song language versus vernacular. Grammatical forms outside the core dictionary are studied to see whether they can be explained within the general grammar model. It is also possible to see features of records made by different researches, as well as to locate possible mistakes.

The results presented in this paper contribute to a research project dealing with the study of the grammar of Ingrian folk songs.

Address forms to God in Mandarin Chinese Christians' prayers

Vanessa Ou Yang

National Taiwan Normal University, Taiwan

This article discusses how and why Chinese-speaking Christians address God variously in their prayers, and whether the gender differences affect their ways to talk to God. The data used in this research is recorded from a Christian church sitting in Taipei City, and it shows that Christians generally address their God as “*Zhu*” (Lord), “*Shen*” (God), “*Shangti*” (God) “*Tienfu*” (Heavenly Father), “*Shenglieng*” (Holy Spirit), or “*Yesu*” (Jesus) – all of these address forms are adopted in different situations. According to the analysis, on the one hand, these different address terms are preferred to be used in different topics of prayers respectively, including showing gratitude, appreciation, asking for help, and confessing. On the other hand, it is found that “*Zhu*” in Chinese prayers sometimes even becomes a discourse marker rather than an address term; in addition, some terms, such as “*Shen*”, are much more preferred by female Christians. These phenomena may be related to the way an individual treats his/her relationship with God, so as to influence their choices of address terms.

On verb functions in Russian

Vladimir Panov
University of Joensuu, Finland

Verbs play a crucial role in learning the Russian language (as well as it is true for any language) because verbs make sentences (phrases) run in the course of communication. Among functionalist linguists there is still a continuing debate over the antinomy «language - speech» or over the major question «Why are languages the way they are?» (see Goldberg 2006 for an overview). This paper outlines the arguments that verbs should be considered as a bridge between or across the two banks – language and speech. All the more grammarians of different approaches points out that mapping of any sentence inevitably demands the use of predicates in some forms (verb, noun or adjective predicates) (see Halliday 1973, Dik 1980).

Hence, the objective of my paper is to study the most frequent Russian verbs in order to develop a pattern for miniature language learning context based on a minimum of functional words. For this purpose I have used some Russian frequency dictionaries as a fund with basic terms (subjects) and the most frequent (=functional) verbs for more detailed describing basic predicate-frames – the key elements for mapping out novel sentences which can be useful in teaching and learning Russian. My research support the claim that verbs are more complex to learn than other parts of speech and this adds to the fact that grammarians should pay more attention to verbs and their functions in Russian textbooks for foreign students.

Nominal modifiers in Noun Phrase structure: Evidence from contemporary English

Iria Pastor Gómez
University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Building on earlier approaches to Noun Phrase (NP) structure such as Varantola (1984) or Raumolin-Brunberg (1991), a pioneering study by Biber & Clark (2002) based on the ARCHER Corpus (Biber, Finegan & Atkinson 1994) has examined the historical shift that has taken place in English whereby adjectival (e.g. “a *beautiful* girl”) and clausal (e.g. “the girl *who is wearing a red dress*”) modifiers in NP structure have been gradually encroached upon by nominal structures (e.g. “*modification* patterns”) and prepositional phrases (e.g. “compensation *for emotional damage*”).

In my proposed presentation at the 40 SLE Meeting I intend to supplement Biber & Clark's preliminary study with an indepth analysis of the development of English nominal premodifiers over a period of thirty years, as examined in four matching corpora of written British and American English, namely LOB / BROWN (sampling year: 1961), and FLOB / FROWN (sampling years: 1991-1992). The use of nominal premodifiers in relation to variables such as period (1960 vs. 1990), dialect variety (British vs. American English), and register will be discussed.

To date, the results obtained from the analysis of the corpora reveal that:

1. Premodifying nominals exhibit a very large number of different structural patterns, ranging from NP heads premodified by nominal compounds (e.g. “*oil-extraction* equipment”) to structures involving a coordinate composed of Adjective + Noun (e.g. “*supervisory and headquarters* position”).
2. Premodifying nominals are significantly more frequent in American than in British English.
3. Message-oriented genres such as science or press reportage contain high percentages of nominal premodifiers. By contrast, nominal premodifiers are much less frequent in subjective genres such as fiction or essays. Across genres, significant differences can also be detected as regards the kinds of nominal premodifiers utilized, with fictional genres opting for simpler, more institutionalised patterns (e.g. “*pizza* shop”) than in the case of scientific texts (e.g. “*rat bone marrow transplant* model”).

My presentation will put forward an explanation for the above-mentioned trends in terms of the role of nominal modifiers as devices making for compactness, in an age in which the pressure to communicate information economically is constantly on the increase.

References

- Biber, Douglas, and Victoria Clark. 2002. “Historical shifts in modification patterns with complex noun phrase structures”, in Teresa Fanego et al. (eds.). *English Historical Syntax and Morphology*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 43-66.
- Biber, Douglas, Edward Finegan and Dwight Atkinson. 1994. “ARCHER and its challenges: Compiling and exploring ‘Representative Corpus of Historical English Registers’”, in Udo Fries, Gunnel Tottie and Peter Schneider (eds.). *Creating and using English language corpora*. Amsterdam: Rodopi. 1-14.
- Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena. 1991. *The noun phrase in early sixteenth-century English: a study based on Sir Thomas More's writings*. Helsinki: Societé Neophilologique.
- Varantola, Krista. 1984. *On noun phrase structures in engineering English*. Turku: Turun Yliopisto.

Do one-word idioms exist? The problem of defining idiomaticity

Esa Penttilä & Seppo Sajama
University of Joensuu, Finland

Idioms have traditionally been defined as multiword phrases defying the Fregean principles of compositionality (i.e. the meaning of a sentence is a function of the meanings of its parts). Makkai (1984) challenges this view by claiming that there also exist one-word idioms. As an example, he gives the word *dog* ‘very unsuccessful’ as used in a sentence *My exam was a dog*. But what would make this use of *dog* idiomatic? A possible answer is offered by Bar-Hillel (1955), who regards idiomaticity as an intralingual phenomenon. According to this view, a word S in language A is idiomatic, if there is no direct or indirect (either through paraphrase or grammar) equivalent to it in language B. This view of course makes idiomaticity dependent on the language of comparison. Compared with Piraha, for example, Finnish contains more one-word idioms than compared with Estonian.

What would then be the possible language of comparison? There are at least a few possibilities. It could be some purer language such as one of the classic languages or a perfect logical language, but this idea resembles a form of cultural imperialism. We could also claim that there is no definite, objective standard for idiomaticity, but the phenomenon is based on comparisons between equal languages. The number of one-word idioms would then depend on the Quinean comparisons between two languages, while multiworded idioms could be defined by comparisons within a single language in the Davidsonian sense.

Let’s consider the English word *take*. *Random House Webster’s Pocket American Dictionary* lists ten senses to it: 1) ‘seize, catch, or embrace’; 2) ‘receive, obtain’; 3) ‘select’; 4) ‘remove’; 5) ‘deduct’; 6) ‘conduct’; 7) ‘travel by’; 8) ‘occupy’; 9) ‘assume’; 10) ‘require’. In Finnish these translate into ten different verbs: 1) *ottaa*, 2) *saada*, 3) *valita*, 4) *viedä*, 5) *vähentää*, 6) *saattaa*, 7) *matkustaa*, 8) *valloittaa*, 9) *tulkita*, 10) *vaatia*. Could one of the senses be regarded as the basic, universal, non-idiomatic meaning? Probably not. If we, for example, translate the verb *take* in the English sentence *If you take someone somewhere, you drive them there by car or lead them there* to different languages, the corresponding verbs (e.g., *viedä* in Finnish, *fahren* in German, and *lleva* in Spanish/Portuguese) would not be coextensive in meaning. As a consequence, there does not seem to be an objective standard for idiomaticity, but rather meanings of the words depend on their use, as Spinoza pointed out more than three centuries ago.

To conclude, the definition of idiomaticity is extremely difficult. It cannot be so strict that it does not leave room for idiomaticity, but it cannot be so flexible either that it allows any expression in the category of idioms (see, e.g., Hocket 1958). However, if (the idiomatic uses of) one-word idioms are allowed, non-compositionality obviously is not a sufficient criteria. All in all, idiomaticity must be regarded as a graded (more or less) rather than a categorical (all or nothing) property.

References

- Bar-Hillel, Yehoshua (1955) Idioms. In William N. Locke and A. Donald Booth (eds), *Machine Translation of Languages*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 183–193.
Hocket, Charles F. (1958) *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
Makkai, Adam (ed.) (1984) *Handbook of Commonly Used American Idioms*. Woodbury: Barron’s Educational Series.

Marked word order in English, Russian and Estonian

Ludmilla Podolski

Estonian Business School, Tallinn, Estonia

The present paper deals with marked word order in three non-cognate languages, English, Russian and Estonian. The aim is to find out to which extent the word order is free or fixed, to compare the degree of markedness of word order in the languages under consideration and to study the ways of rendering emphatic marked word order when translating from one language into another.

It is generally agreed that the basic word order in the three languages under consideration is SVO, in spite of the fact that Estonian is, with certain restrictions, a V-2 language and that we can find all the following six arrangements of sentence constituents in Russian: SVO, VOS, OVS, OSV, SOV, VSO. Basic word order is usually unmarked. However, the two terms are not synonymous, and inverted order can be neutral. In Estonian, for example, we can distinguish two kinds of inversion: syntactic, which is due to V-2 rule, and pragmatic (Tael 1990: 33). Unmarked word order conforms to the information principle and the principle of end-weight (Biber et al. 1999:89). Marked word order is clearly contextually bound. The main types of marked word order are inversion, fronting and clefting. As pointed out in (Comrie 1981: 72), word order in English is determined by grammatical relations and in Russian by pragmatic roles, so that a change in the order of sentence constituents brings about a change in its communicative dynamism, i.e. in its thematic structure. In Estonian, according to Huumo (2002: 502), the V-2 rule determines the subject position and 'sets a frame inside which pragmatic tendencies can work'. So there is not so much freedom for pragmatic purposes.

The present research is mainly restricted to studying fronting of objects and predicatives. The main discourse functions of fronting are cohesion, contrast and emphasis. The three languages differ in the degree of markedness of sentences with fronted objects and predicatives, which is the highest in English and the lowest in Russian. Both in Russian and Estonian, object fronting may be accompanied by inversion, so that the word order is either OSV or OVS; the latter is frequently used as an equivalent of English long passives. In addition to contrast, fronting of objects has a cohesive function. Therefore it is not unusual for the fronted object to be expressed by a demonstrative pronoun or determiner of the noun phrase, which can be observed in all the three languages. In case of object fronting in Russian we can observe an interesting phenomenon, when the noun is placed in the initial position as the theme and its modifier follows the predicate as the rheme.

Predicative fronting is rather rare in all the three languages. In English it is mainly restricted to expressing comparison. In Russian and Estonian the relatively free word order makes it possible to place the predicative noun or adjective before the subject and assign the pragmatic functions of Theme and Rheme to either subject or predicate. Sentences with rhematic predicative in the initial position are highly marked and quite rare. In all the three languages fronting of predicatives can be accompanied by inversion.

References

- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S. and E. Finegan. 1999. Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English. Harlow: Longman.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1981. Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Basil Blackwell.
- Huomo, Tuomas. 2002. Syntax of discourse pragmatics: word order in Finnish and Estonian. In: Luis Iglesias Rabade & Susana M Doval Suarez (Eds.) Studies in Contrastive Linguistics. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Tael, Kaja. 1990. An Approach to Word Order Problems in Estonian. Tallinn: KKI.

The pragmatic function of full inversion in English press reportages

José Carlos Prado-Alonso
University of Santiago de Compostela, Spain

Over the past few years, full inversion—construction 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 (cf. Birner 1996; Dorgeloh 1997; Chen 2003; Kreyer 2004), from a functional perspective. This paper is a further contribution to this line of research and offers a corpus-based analysis of *full inversion* in English press reportages 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 the *ICAMECD-Rom* (1999).

It is usually claimed that the fronted constituent in inverted constructions is discourse old information and thus serves to integrate the new information represented by the postverbal constituent into the already existing discourse (cf. Birner 1996: 147). Beyond this, however, the analysis of the data retrieved from FLOB and FROWN shows that many inversions can be considered markers of spatial experiential iconicity through which the process of physical perception is reflected in the syntax. In sum, the paper contends that *full inversion* is not merely an information packaging device in English reportages but can also be exploited for spatial iconic purposes.

References

- Birner, Betty. J. 1996. *The Discourse Function of Inversion in English*. New York: Garland.
Chen, Rong. 2003. *English Inversion: A Ground-Before-Figure Construction*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Dorgeloh, Heidrun. 1997. *Inversion in Modern English: Form and Function*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
ICAME. 1990. HoflandKnut, Anne Lindebjerg and Jorn Tunestvedt. Version 2. Bergen.
Kreyer, Rolf. 2004. *Inversion in Modern Written English. Syntactic Complexity, Information Status and the Creative Writer*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Bonn.

Emergent noun phrase cognitive functions

Valeria Quochi
Istituto di Linguistica Computazionale
CNR & University of Pisa, Italy

Bailio Calderone
Scuola Normale Superiore,
Pisa, Italy

The paper we intend to present discusses the results of an experiment on the categorization of Italian noun phrases using an unsupervised learning algorithm (Self Organizing Map, so-called SOM; Kohonen, 1995) to perform the simulation.

The goal of the experiment is to identify fundamental cognitive properties of noun phrases on the basis of their distribution, of their own morpho-syntactic properties, and on the morpho-syntactic properties of the surrounding context. Nouns phrases, in fact, do not always have the same cognitive/semantic function in context: while their prototypical function is REFERENTIAL, they may also be used PREDICATIVELY. However, rather than treating such differences as representing a simple dichotomy, a functional theory of language has to account for a variety of “in-between” cases. Similarly to the Natural Morphology notion of nouniness (Gaeta 2002), and following Langacker’s (1987) account of NPs, we argue for a “predicativity” continuum of NPs. Furthermore, following (Bybee & Hopper 2001, Diessel 2004), we assume that cognitive properties of noun phrases emerge from language use.

A SOM defines a mapping from high-dimensional input data space onto a two-dimensional array of nodes. The mapping is performed in such a way that the topological relationship in the n -dimensional input space is maintained when mapped to the SOM. The final organization of the SOM reflects internal similarities and frequency distribution of the data in the training set.

For our purposes, we analyze the final organization of a SOM trained with syntactically-defined contexts of NPs in order to investigate the prominence of the various morphosyntactic properties, i.e. to see what are the relevant dimensions on the basis of which the map self-organizes.

As input training data we used a collection of contexts of direct object noun phrases of the verb *fare* ‘do/make’ automatically extracted from a syntactically annotated 3 million corpus of contemporary Italian. Only contexts of *fare* have been chosen because it is the most general purpose Italian verb governing a variety of noun types. The contexts are defined by means of a set of 51 binary attributes representing information on the gender and number of the nouns, person mood, tense for verbs, the presence and type of determiners of nouns, the presence and type of prepositions introducing following the nouns (and other similar features).

The results show that of the 51 attributes represented in the input matrix only a few of them appear to be relevant for the re-organization of the map. In particular, a key property appears to be the kind of determiner introducing the nouns: that is to say that the way the map self-organizes the contexts reflects the theoretical positions held in cognitive grammar about the role of determiners in the construal of the direct object, and the predictions on Natural Morphology that plurals and nouns with no determiner are non prototypical. And this finding supports the idea that “cognitive” functions emerge from language use.

References

- Bybee, Joan and Paul Hopper, eds., (2001) *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*. (TSL 45), Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Diessel, Holger (2004) *The Acquisition of Complex Sentences*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Gaeta, Livio (2002) *Quando I verbi compaiono come nomi*. Milano: FancoAngeli Editore.
- Kohonen, Teuvo (1995) *Self-organizing maps*. Berlin; Heidelberg; New-York: Springer Verlag.
- Langacker, R. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar I: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University.

A functional analysis of syntactic and semantic patterns of analytical causative constructions in Swedish

Gudrun Rawoens
Ghent University, Netherlands

In modern Swedish, periphrastic causative constructions are most commonly realised by the verbs *få*, *komma*, *ha*, *förmå* and *låta* followed by an infinitival complement, yielding the following syntactic patterns:

NP + *få* + NP + (*till*) + *att* + Vinf
NP + *komma* + NP + (*till*) + *att* + Vinf
NP + *ha* + NP + (*till*) + *att* + Vinf
NP + *förmå* + NP + (*till*) + *att* + Vinf
NP + *låta* + NP + Vinf

In this paper, I will investigate the underlying syntactic, semantic and stylistic factors and parameters which determine the actual choice of one construction instead of another in a particular (socio)linguistic context. In doing so, I opted for a corpus-based bottom-up approach based on 40 million words of Swedish press material taken from the Språkbanken corpora from which causative constructions were manually extracted and marked up with functional tags. The data itself is analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The quantitative analysis shows that the verbs *få* and *låta* are the most frequent causal predicates occurring in this type of constructions. The verbs *komma*, *ha* and *förmå* can be considered as an alternative to *få*. However, their frequency is relatively low due to semantic and stylistic restrictions in that they can express different degrees of coercion and are often more formal. It can be observed that none of these four verbs is interchangeable with *låta* since this causative covers a slightly different scale of meanings ranging from purely causative to permissive.

In the qualitative part of the research I examine the semantic valency patterns of these constructions within the theoretical framework of functional grammar according to Dik (1997). An extension of Dik's functional model is used to describe the semantic properties of the main participants in these constructions: CAUSER, CAUSEE and AFFECTEE. It will be shown that various causation types in the different analytical causative constructions are determined by these participants in combination with the nature of the verbs involved – both the causal predicate and the effected predicate.

References

- Dik, Simon, C. 1997a. *The theory of functional grammar. 1: The structure of the clause*. Ed. by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Dik, Simon, C. 1997b. *The theory of functional grammar. 2: Complex and derived constructions*. Ed. by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

On the co-variation between form and function of adnominal possessive modifiers

Jan Rijkhoff
University of Aarhus, Denmark

This paper is concerned with the correlation between formal and functional properties of Dutch adnominal modifiers introduced by the preposition *van* ‘of’, as in *de auto van mijn broer* (the car of my brother) ‘my brother’s car’ or *een vrouw van grote lijnen* (lit. ‘a woman of great lines’) ‘a woman who thinks in broad patterns’. It will first be demonstrated that lexical possessive modifiers are used to express most of the five modifier functions (classifying, qualifying, quantifying, localizing, discourse-referential) recognized in the layered model of the noun phrase (Rijkhoff 2004, *forthcoming*) as developed within the theory of *Functional (Discourse) Grammar* (Dik 1997; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2006).

I will then show that the values for certain grammatical parameters of the possessive construction with *van* ‘of’ (here subsumed under the labels **ATtribution**, **Predication**, **Reference**) correlate with certain modifier functions of this possessive construction in the noun phrase. **CLASSIFYING POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS**, which only have the noun in their scope, are severely restricted with respect to the three grammatical parameters mentioned above. By contrast, **LOCALIZING POSSESSIVE MODIFIERS**, which have wide scope, are not restricted with respect to these parameters, and the various types of **QUALIFYING POSSESSIVES** occupy intermediate positions between the two extremes.

I will argue that the differences in the formal behavior of Dutch possessives with *van* ‘of’ (**ATtribution** > **Predication** > **Reference**) require a functional explanation.

References

- Dik, S.C. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar* (2 vols.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
Hengeveld, K. and J.L. Mackenzie. 2006. *Functional Discourse Grammar*. In: K. Brown (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd ed., Vol. 4, 668–676. Oxford: Elsevier.
Rijkhoff, J. 2004. *The Noun Phrase*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rijkhoff, J. *Forthcoming*. Descriptive and discourse-referential modifiers in a layered model of the noun phrase. To appear in *Linguistics*.

* This paper is restricted to possessive modifiers of nouns that denote a concrete object.

SCOPE INCREASE	ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVES	ATTRIBUTION	PREDICATION	REFERENCE
	LOCALIZING <i>de fiets van mijn vader</i> the bike of my father	<i>de fiets van mijn OUDE vader</i> the bike of my old father	<i>die fiets IS van mijn vader</i> the bike is of my father	<i>de fiets van PETERS vader</i> the bike of Peter's father
	QUALIFYING B+ <i>Beelden van grote kwaliteit</i> statues of great quality	<i>beelden van GROTE kwaliteit</i> statues of high quality	<i>de beelden ZIJN van grote kwaliteit</i> the statues are of high quality	—
	QUALIFYING B <i>een kroon van goud</i> a crown of gold	<i>een kroon van ZUIVER goud</i> a crown of pure gold	<i>de kroon IS van goud</i> the crown is of gold	—
	QUALIFYING A+ <i>een man van vele gezichten</i> a man of many faces	<i>een man van VELE gezichten</i> a man of many faces	—	—
	QUALIFYING A <i>een man van gezag</i> a man of authority	<i>een man van GROOT gezag</i> a man of great authority	—	—
	CLASSIFYING <i>een man van de wereld</i> a man of the world	—	—	—

Figure 1. Some properties of possessive construction with VAN ‘of’ (+ = attribute obligatory)

The function of support verb constructions: An investigation based on English, Irish and Basque constructions

Patricia Ronan
University of St. Gallen, Switzerland

Support verb constructions are variously also termed *eventive objects* (Quirk et al. 1985), *verbal nominal constructions* (Stein 1991) *expanded predicate* (Algeo 1995), *complex verb* (Brinton 1996), or *light verb constructions* (Oyharçabal 2004). These commonly denote complex predicates containing a verb of general semantic content like *have*, *take*, *make* or *give* and an object that is often derived, e.g. by zero-derivation, from a verb.

1. He gives a talk every Monday evening.

In many cases these structures illustrate special semantic or aspectual traits not found in the corresponding simple verb construction, e.g. *he concludes*

2. He reached that conclusion fairly late (Ingressive).

These types of structure can be found in various language groups and a number of different functions have been attributed to them. Amongst these are change of sentence structure and change of stress pattern, as well as creation of an obligatory object for transitive verbs (e.g. Brinton 1996) for English. Similar functions are observable for the Irish language, where also creation of new verbal concepts plays a major role:

3. Ní ag déanamh gaisce ná tada atá sé (Not – at – doing – valour – or – anything – he - is) ‘He is not showing off or anything.’

In other instances the Irish material, particularly from earlier stages, suggests a strategy to relieve the functional load of the inflected verb. This feature also seems to be observable for the verb in the highly agglutinative Basque language.

This paper proposes to examine Irish material collected from a corpus of Old- and Modern Irish texts in comparison with the extant descriptions of English and Basque material.

It will be shown that support verb constructions are of particular benefit to languages with fixed word orders as they help to reorganise the sentence structure. Furthermore, they increase semantic precision as they separate meaning components to multiple items. By this, they reduce the functional load carried by each component. Particularly in languages that have a complex functional load carried by their verbal forms this appears to be an important criterion.

References

- Algeo, J. 1995: 'Having a look at the expanded predicate.' In Bas Aarts and Charles F. Meyer (eds.) *The Verb in Contemporary English. Theory and Description*. Cambridge: 203-217.
- Brinton, L. 1996: 'Attitudes towards increasing segmentalization: Complex and phrasal verbs in English.' *Journal of English Linguistics* 24:186-205.
- Oyharçabal, B. 2004. 'www.iker.cnrs.fr/pdf/oyhar_light_verbs.pdf'
- Quirk, R. et al. 1985: *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London.
- Stein, Gabriele. 1991. 'The phrasal verb type "to have a look" in Modern English.' *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 29: 1-29.

A truly sign-based Construction Grammar approach to the German passive

Jouni Rostila
University of Tampere, Finland

Proponents of various branches of Construction Grammar (CxG) seem to adopt a denotational approach to semantic roles by merely referring to Fillmore's early work instead of examining the concept in depth (cf. e.g. Goldberg 1995). This is also reflected in their treatments of the passive, which seem to reduce the passive to a mere switch of argument positions (cf. e.g. Fillmore & Kay 1996; Croft 2001). On the basis of Welke's discussion of the nature of semantic roles (1988; 1994; 2002), my paper will argue that a sign-based theory like CxG should embrace a representational or "significative-semantic" (Welke 1994) concept of semantic roles. I will also propose a CxG approach to the passive in German on the basis of such roles.

My treatment of the passive captures the insight of Welke (2002) that the main contribution of the passive is aspectual, the switch of argument positions being just a side effect of this semantic change. It will exploit Michaelis' (2002; 2005) concept of type-shifting constructions, suggesting that the passive is an explicit type-shifting device. Constraining the productivity of this construction adequately requires invoking such functional factors as the communicative goals of the speaker and (unconscious) rationality (Itkonen 1983). Even though such factors may be hard to describe formally, they nevertheless should not be neglected in a functionalist generative approach like CxG.

My paper will be a mainly theoretical contribution aiming at clarifying the notion of semantic roles and offering a radically new treatment of the passive within CxG. Fairly basic German examples will have center stage, but the proposed solution will apply to the passive in e.g. other Germanic languages as well. Of special interest will be the way in which a CxG treatment can capture various functional motivations for the use of the passive.

References

- Croft, William (2001): *Radical Construction Grammar: Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fillmore, Charles J. & Paul Kay (1996): *Construction Grammar*. (CSLI Lecture Notes). Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Goldberg, Adele E. (1995): *Constructions. A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press.
- Itkonen, Esa (1983): *Causality in Linguistic Theory. A Critical Investigation into the Philosophical and Methodological Foundations of 'Non-Autonomous' Linguistics*. London: Croom Helm.
- Michaelis, Laura A. (2002): "Headless Constructions and Coercion by Construction". In: Elaine J. Francis & Laura A. Michaelis (eds.), *Mismatch: Form-function Incongruity and the Architecture of Grammar*. Stanford: CSLI Publications, 259-310.
- Michaelis, Laura A. (2005): "Entity and event coercion in a symbolic theory of syntax". In: Jan-Ola Östman & Mirjam Fried (eds.), *Construction Grammars: Cognitive grounding and theoretical extensions*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 45-88.

- Welke, Klaus (1988): Einführung in die Valenz- und Kasus-theorie. Leipzig: VEB Bibliographisches Institut.
- Welke, Klaus (1994): "Thematische Relationen. Sind thematische Relationen semantisch, syntaktisch oder/und pragmatisch zu definieren?" Deutsche Sprache 22.1, 1-18.
- Welke, Klaus (2002): Deutsche Syntax funktional. Perspektiviertheit syntaktischer Strukturen. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.

Asymmetries in word class divisions with examples pertaining to person in Erzya (myv)

Jack Rueter
University of Helsinki, Finland

According to the most recent description (EKM 2000: 58), the word classes in Erzya include: Adjective, Adverb, Conjunction, Interjection, Noun, Particle, Postposition, Pronoun, Quantifier and Verb. Whereas Gerunds and Participles are dealt with subsequent to the Verb class, and it is also noted that word class does not restrict syntactic functionability. Erzya is an agglutinative language with marking for the categories of Number, Case and Person manifest in many of the classes. Whereas more than one Person-reference relation can be attested for an individual constituent on the grammaticalization cline Lexical-Grammatical.

Since the Verb class can be subdivided as intransitive, transitive and di-transitive, it would seem that other classes might also be allowed a similar subdivision. The typically transitive verb 'to.read' readily appears as an intransitive verb, whereas the semantically necessary Object is merely implicit. Let us pose the following questions: (1) Should an **Intransitive Adposition** be postulated in parallel to the **Intransitive Preposition** "away" presented in (OCDoL 1997: 185)?, (2) Should the grammaticalization cline be considered in Spatio-temporal relation constituents, i.e. would Oblique-case nouns, adpositions and adverbs fall into the same class, (3) What other asymmetries are there in the division of word classes?

This paper is based on the evidence available from corpora documentation of the literary Erzya language at Max-Planck Institute, Leipzig, and the University of Helsinki, Department of General Linguistics (approx. 3.5 million words) and personal communications with writers, grammarians and native speakers of the language during the 7 years the author lived in Saransk, Mordovia.

Materials will be scrutinized on the basis of implicit, single and multi-person reference strategies with allowance for grammaticalization cline variation in the expression of Person and Spatio-Temporal Case. Parallels will be drawn from the subdivisions **Intransitive**, **Transitive** and **Di-transitive** of the Verb class.

Multi-argument agreement marking typical of the Erzya Verb and also found in Nouns, Adpositions and Adverbs, strengthens the argument for a relation-affinity division superseding that of **word class**, whereby the word class division can be seen as a scalar array on the basis of constituent cohesion with the semantic notions of:

1. Event/Action/State > Quality > Spatio-Temporal > Entity
2. Dynamic versus Atemporal
3. Alienable versus Inalienable
4. Class versus Specific Definite

Literature

EKM = Èrzyan' kel'. Morfemika, valon' teevema dy morfologiya: Vuzon' èrzyan' dy finnèn' otdeleniyan' tonavtnitsyatnen' turtov /Redkollegiyas': D.V. Tsygankin (otv. red., N.A. Agafonova, M. D. Imaikina dy liyat. — Saransk: Tip. «Kras. Okt.». 2000. — 280 s. — Mordov.-èrzya yaz.

OCDoL = Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics. P. H. Mathews. Oxford New York. Oxford University Press. 1997.

La fonction dialogique de la pause dans la gestion de la parole et son signifié

Fernande Ruiz Quemoun
Universidad de Alicante, Spain

Dans l'enseignement d'une langue étrangère nous nous intéressons aux faits phoniques « dans la mesure où ils exercent une fonction » comme le signale André Martinet. Or, la pause est une marque du fonctionnement cognitif dans la communication, elle est liée à l'encodage, à la sélection lexicale et à la planification des énoncés. En « entendant » les pauses et les allongements, l'apprenant assimilera mieux ces structures prosodiques et pourra les reproduire à son tour, car compréhension et expression sont irrémédiablement liées. La pause est un élément essentiel de l'organisation phonologique, rythmique et conceptuelle du message, elle est une sorte d'étape, un lieu de réflexion. D'autre part, les faits prosodiques et pausologiques en situation face à face peuvent être de même considérés comme une stratégie de contrôle. Dans ce sens, la pause qui n'est jamais « vide » car, toujours porteuse d'intention et/ou de sens, peut déranger, perturber l'auditeur.

L'introduction à la phonologie d'une langue, si, comme nous le pensons, est de comprendre le rôle fonctionnel du système phonique dans tous ses domaines, il est important de ne pas perdre de vue la pause ou l'inachèvement du message. Nous verrons que les différentes pauses ne servent pas seulement à segmenter la chaîne sonore pour assurer un découpage syntaxique et/ou sémantique, mais qu'elles ont de même un rôle phonostylistique. Aussi semble-t-il que la prise en compte de la capacité de contrôle conversationnel de l'interruption de l'émission sonore est significative. Du point de vue de la gestion de la parole outre, la simple existence d'un interlocuteur à qui on désire « couper la parole », la prosodie intervient comme un marqueur de structuration de la conversation (Roulet et al., 1985). Dans la perspective du locuteur, les différentes stratégies des relations illocutoires et interactives seront mises en place en fonction du type de discours produit. Les stratégies dont se servent les interlocuteurs pour ajuster et évaluer la réussite ou l'échec de leurs interventions soulignent le rôle interactionnel de la pause dans les interactions langagières. Aussi, est-ce sur ce point que nous nous proposons de concrétiser et de mettre en relief l'importance de la pause dans le discours. L'objectif de cet article est de proposer un corpus de parole continu réparti sur trois types de discours et d'analyser ce que peut parvenir à camoufler une simple pause.

Bibliographie

- Barbizet, J. & al. (1979), « Vouloir dire, intonation et structures des phrases », *Folia Linguistica*, Societas Linguistica Europea (éd.), La Haye, Paris, Mouton.
- Blanche-Benveniste Cl. (1985), « La dénomination dans le français parlé : une interprétation pour les répétitions et les hésitations », *Recherches sur le français parlé*, 6, GARS (éd.) Université de Provence.
- Candea, M. (1996), « Peut-on définir la pause dans le discours comme un lieu d'absence de toute marque ? », *Travaux de linguistique du Cerlico*, 9, *Absence de marquesmet représentation de l'absence*, Presses universitaires de Rennes II.

- Dell, F. (2000), Les règles et les sons, coll. Savoir : Sciences, Hermann (éd.) Des Sciences et des Arts.
- Duez, D. (1987), Contribution à l'étude de la structuration de la structuration temporelle de la parole en français, *thèse de Doctorat d'État*, Université de Provence.
- Duez, D. (1991), La pause dans la parole de l'homme politique. Paris, Éditions du CNRS.
- Golman Eisler F. (1968), Psycholinguistics : Experiments in Spontaneous Speech, Londres, The Academic Press.
- Grosjean, F. & Deschamps, A. (1975), « Analyse contrastive des variables temporelles de l'anglais et du français : vitesse de parole et variables composantes, phénomènes d'hésitation » in *Phonetica*, 31, H. Pilch et G. Ungeheuer (éd.), New York, Karger, Basel.
- Guaïtella, I. (1991), Rythme et parole : comparaison critique de la lecture oralisée et de la parole spontanée. Thèse de Doctorat, Université de Provence.
- Lacaharet-Dujour, A & Beaugendre, F. (1999), La prosodie du Français, Éd. CNRS, Paris
- Martinet, A. (1960), Éléments de linguistique générale, Paris, Armand Colin.
- Rossi, M. (1999), L'intonation, le système du Français : description et modélisation, coll. L'essentiel français, Ophrys, Paris.
- Vaissière, J. (2006) La phonétique, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.

Case marking of core arguments in the Finnish language

Jun'ichi Sakuma
Nagoya University, Japan

In the Finnish language three grammatical cases are available to indicate the subject and the object. They are the nominative case, the genitive case and the partitive case. All these three cases can indicate both the subject and the object.

According to the framework of the Role and Reference Grammar (RRG), the semantic macroroles play a crucial role to determine the case marking of core arguments. Core arguments of a transitive predicate, an actor and an undergoer, have a one-to-one relation by default with the grammatical cases indicating them. Out of the two arguments one should be chosen as the syntactic pivot. The syntactic pivot should be marked uniformly. Then, an undergoer that is chosen as the syntactic pivot can be marked by the same case available for an actor argument. In the same sentence, however, two arguments of a transitive predicate are never marked by the same case.

The explanation sketched above is not valid for the Finnish language, since the choice of the syntactic pivot is irrelevant. First of all, an undergoer argument can never function as the syntactic pivot. This means that in the Finnish language an actor and an undergoer roughly correspond to the subject and to the object respectively. Nonetheless, the same case is available both for an actor argument and an undergoer argument. This fact is contrary to the explanation of the RRG.

In the Finnish language, the semantic macroroles are useful indeed to explain the case marking of core arguments, but the quantitative definiteness has a more decisive influence. In order to determine the case marking of a core argument, it should be considered first whether its referent is quantitatively definite or not, irrespective of the semantic macrorole it has. Among the three cases, the most unmarked case for core arguments is the partitive, which is available when the argument in question refers to an entity that is indefinite in its quantity. This means that the partitive case can indicate not only an undergoer argument but also an actor argument, on condition that its referent is quantitatively indefinite. A prototypical actor argument, however, cannot be marked in the partitive case, since the definiteness of its referent is usually too strong to be regarded as indefinite. On the other hand, if the referent of the argument is quantitatively definite, either the nominative case or the genitive case is available. A prototypical undergoer argument, however, cannot be indicated in the nominative case. Moreover, the genitive case is available both for a prototypical actor argument and for a prototypical undergoer argument, although non-prototypical arguments between them cannot be marked in the genitive case. It is true indeed that an actor argument and an undergoer argument are indicated by default in the nominative case and in the genitive case respectively, but we should conclude from these facts that the semantic macroroles have only a negative influence on the case marking of core arguments in the Finnish language.

References

- Chesterman, Andrew. 1991. *On definiteness: A study with special reference to English and Finnish*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hakulinen, Auli, Maria Vilkkumäki, Riitta Korhonen, Vesa Koivisto, Tarja Riitta Heinonen, Irja Alho(eds.), 2004. *Iso suomen kielioppi*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.
- Itkonen, Terho. 1980. Species suomessa ja germaanisissa kielissä. *Virittäjä* 84: 27-38.
- Sakuma, Jun'ichi. 2003. Semantic Macroroles and Case Marking in the Finnish Language. *Nagoya Working Papers in Linguistics* 18: 111-124.
- Sands, Kristina & Lyle Campbell. 2001. Non-canonical Subjects and Objects in Finnish. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, R.M.W. Dixon & Masayuki Onishi(eds.), *Non-canonical Marking of Subjects and Objects*: 251-305. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 1993. A Synopsis of Role and Reference Grammar. Robert. Van Valin, Jr.(ed.), *Advances in Role and Reference Grammar*: 1-164. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The comparative in Australian languages

Fritz Schweiger
University of Salzburg, Austria

At a first glance one may think that the category of comparative is a universal in all languages. This means that in all languages there is a device to express an assertion like *John is taller than George*. However, one realizes that there is no great evidence for comparative constructions in Australian languages. In many grammars or grammatical sketches of Australian languages one will not find examples of such a construction. In Dixon's monumental volume (Dixon 2002) the subject index even does not include the words 'comparison' or 'comparative'. It is difficult to judge if such constructions are not observed or just do not exist in the relevant languages. Stassen (1985) includes three Australian languages (Aranda, Gumbainggir, Mangarayi) in his study. However, Capell & Coate state: 'Comparison of one object with another is not so frequent in the Australian languages as it is in the European' (Capell & Coate 1984:131). In the present study an overview is given of the different constructions which were found when sifting through various sources.

Stassen links his typological findings with different types of temporal chaining. These connections will be outlined at the end of my survey but will not further be explored. In fact a test of Stassen's theory against Australian languages will be much more difficult since syntactic information about temporal chaining is not so abundant.

References

- Capell, Arthur & H. H. J. Coate 1984: *Comparative Studies in Northern Kimberley Languages*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics Series C No. 9.
Dixon, Robert M. W. 2002: *Australian Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Stassen, Leon 1985: *Comparison and Universal Grammar*. Basil Blackwell.

Alternations and functions of the phonemic system

Ondřej Šefčík

Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

My paper will be concerned with problems of phonological and morphonological alternations and the description of the phonemic system.

The main hypothesis of my paper is that phonological and morphonological alternations are not exceptional and/or accidental, but they express the phonemic structure of the phonological system itself, and constitute the core of such a structure.

Alternations form oppositions and in the paper it will be shown how oppositions could be derived from both phonological (syntagmatic) and morphonological (paradigmatic) alternations.

The way could be simply described in the following steps:

- 1) identification of phones using commutation test;
- 2) identification of patterns of distribution of phones;
- 3) identification of a set of phonemes over the set of phones;
- 4) specification of oppositions derived from the distribution.

The data material will be based on Modern Standard Czech, which offers many examples of both syntagmatic and paradigmatic alternations.

It will be shown that alternations are core functions (core oppositions) of the phonemic system; any other opposition is only collateral.

Selected bibliography

- Brainerd, B. (1971): *Introduction to the Mathematics of Language Study*. New York: American Elsevier.
- Cantineau, J. (1952): Les oppositions significatives. *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 10. pp. 11-40.
- Cantineau, J. (1955): Le classement logique des oppositions. *Word* 11/1. pp. 1-9.
- Harris, Z. S. (1951): *Methods in Structural Linguistics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hjelmslev, L. (1963): *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hubey, H. M. (1999a): *Mathematical Foundations of Linguistics*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Hubey, H. M. (1999b): *Mathematical and Computational Linguistics*. Muenchen: Lincom Europa.
- Marcus, S. (1967): *Introduction mathématique à la linguistique structurale*. Paris: Dunod.
- Siertsema, B. (1965): *A Study of Glossematics. Critical Survey of its Fundamental Concepts*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Trubetzkoy, N. S. (1939): *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. Prague: TCLP.

Semantic conditioning of syntactic rules: Evidentiality and auxiliation in English and Dutch

Pieter A.M. Seuren
Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics,
Nijmegen, Netherlands

Camiel Hamans
Dutch Delegation PES-group
European Parliament

Ever since the category of evidentiality has been identified in the verbal grammar of certain languages, it has been assumed that evidentiality plays no role in the grammars of those languages that have not incorporated it into their verb morphology or at least their verb clusters. The present paper attempts to show that even if evidentiality is not visible in the verbal grammar of English and Dutch, it appears to be a determining factor, both historically and synchronically, in the process whereby evidential predicates are made to play a subordinate syntactic role with regard to their embedded subject clause. This process, known as “auxiliation” (Kuteva 2001), appears to manifest itself, first, by the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising (SSR: the subject of the embedded clause becomes the subject of the (evidential) main verb, as in *John is likely to be late*), and then by Incorporation-by-Lowering (LINC: the evidential main verb is incorporated into the V-cluster of the embedded subject clause, as in *John may be late*). Dutch likewise has (exceptional) SSR, as in ... *dat Jan wordt geacht ziek te zijn* (... that Jan is thought to be ill), and (default) incorporation, as in ... *dat Jan ziek schijnt te zijn* (... that Jan seems to be ill), though Dutch incorporation is the vertical mirror image of what it is in English and takes the form of Incorporation-by-Raising (RINC), also known as Predicate Raising (PR) — with signs of an incipient development towards LINC. It thus looks as if there is at least a statistically relevant tendency for evidential lexical predicates to induce auxiliation, a fact that is expressed both diachronically and synchronically in the syntax of the languages concerned.

Reference

Kuteva, Tania (2001) *Auxiliation: An Enquiry into the Nature of Grammaticalization*.
Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Pronominal gender in English: Varieties of English from a cross-linguistic perspective

Peter Siemund
University of Hamburg, Germany

The study explores variation in English in the grammatical domain of pronominal gender (*he, she, it*) within the framework of functional typology. It draws together extensive empirical data from several regional varieties of English as well as some spoken registers.

The study shows that the animate pronouns *he* and *she* are frequently used for inanimate objects – for which *it* is used in standard English. Moreover, some varieties have generalized this non-canonical usage to such an extent that *he* and *she* are used for all countable entities and *it* only for masses (substances, liquids) and abstracts. These varieties effectively turned gender markers into exponents of mass/count agreement.

Variation across systems of pronominal gender is accounted for in terms of the well known hierarchy of individuation such that the opposition established by animate *he/she* in contrast to inanimate *it* can be related to different cut-off points on the hierarchy. The hierarchy of individuation makes clear predictions concerning the distribution of animate and inanimate pronouns, which are borne out by the varieties investigated so far.

Systems of pronominal gender across varieties of English find fascinating parallels in other languages. The distribution of gendered pronouns and also some other gender exponents is governed by the mass/count distinction – or at least sensitive to individuation – in regional varieties of Danish, Dutch, German, Spanish and Italian. Interactions between gender and individuation (mass/count) are also attested in some languages outside the Indo-European phylum.

The study furthermore addresses the categorial status of pronominal gender in varieties of English. The mass/count distinction is an unusual basis of gender agreement and shares important properties with the category of number. Moreover, it will be argued that pronominal gender based on the mass/count distinction can also be analyzed in terms of nominal aspect.

References

Siemund, Peter (2007) *Pronominal Gender in English: A Study of English Varieties from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. London: Routledge.

A cognitive approach to the semantic contribution of In and On to English prepositional verbs

Antonio José Silvestre López & Ignasi Navarro i Ferrando
Universitat Jaume I of Castelló, Spain

In the vast bulk of literature on English phrasal and prepositional verbs, the semantic contribution of the verbal stem component to these constructions has received primary attention, whereas the semantic load of particles has been widely overlooked. In this connection, this paper constitutes an attempt to take a shift of perspective in order to show that the semantic import of particles in such constructions is at least as much significant as that of verbal stems. With that purpose, the semantic contribution of prepositions In and On to a set of prepositional verbs is examined in this paper. We aim at making apparent the nature and character of semantic contrasts shown by the use of different prepositions as they alternate with a particular verbal stem. In addition, we try to describe particle polysemy, as different uses and senses of one and the same preposition appear in combination with a single verb stem in different contexts. Our aim is to describe these contrasts as instantiated in a series of examples extracted from the Brown Corpus of American English (Francis and Kucera 1961). Our analysis draws from the account of the semantic configuration of In and On proposed in Navarro i Ferrando (1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2006a, 2006b) and Silvestre (2005, 2006, forthcoming), where Trajector-Landmark relationships are characterized in terms of topological, force-dynamic, and functional patterns. The semantic contribution of each preposition to the verb-particle construction, as well as the semantic contrasts illustrated in this paper, build on these three kinds of patterns. Our analysis suggests that topology, force dynamics, and function, as complementary aspects of human spatial perception, simultaneously, but also alternatively, provide a complete and precise explanation of the semantic contribution of In and On to the conceptual structure of prepositional verbs. Finally, we bring up some pedagogical implications for ENL and ESL/EFL learning derived from our research.

References

- Coventry, K. R., & Garrod, S. C. (2004). *Saying, Seeing, and Acting: The psychological semantics of spatial prepositions*. Essays in Cognitive Psychology Series. New York: Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Evans, V. & Tyler, A. (2004). "Spatial Experience, Lexical Structure and Motivation: The Case of In." In: G. Radden & K. Panther. *Studies in Linguistic Motivation*: 157-192. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Feist, M. (2000). *On In and On: An investigation into the linguistic encoding of spatial scenes*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Evanston, IL.
- Feist, M. & Gentner, D. (1998). "On Plates, Bowls, and Dishes: Factors in the Use of English IN and ON." *Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Meeting of the Cognitive Science Society*: 345-349.
- Hawkins, B.W. (1984). *The Semantics of English Spatial Prepositions*. Ph. Dissertation. University of California, San Diego.
- Langacker, R. (1987). *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Volume I: Theoretical Prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Lindkvist, K. G. (1950). *Studies on the Local Sense of the Prepositions In, AT, On, and TO in Modern English*. Lund: Berlingska Boktryckeriet.
- Lindstromberg, S. (1998). *English Prepositions Explained*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamin.
- Navarro i Ferrando, I. (1998). "A Multimodal System for the Description of Spatial Semantics: The Preposition On." *Estudios de Lingüística Cognitiva*. Ed. Cifuentes, José Luis. Alicante. 767-787.
- (1999). "The metaphorical use of On." *Journal of English Studies* 1: 145-164.
- (2000) "A Cognitive-Semantic Analysis of the English Lexical Unit In." *Cuadernos de Investigación Filológica XXVI*, 189-220. Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja.
- (2001) "Is function part of the literal meaning of English prepositions?" In Saric, L & D.F. Reindl (eds.) *On Prepositions*, Oldenburg: University of Oldenburg 39-62.
- (2006a) "On the meaning of three English prepositions" in Navarro I Ferrando, I & N. Alberola Crespo (eds.) *Inroads of Language. Essays in English Studies*, Castelló: Universitat Jaume I, 169-180.
- (2006b) "Functional Contrasts in Spatial Meaning" *Studia Philologia Universitatis Petru Maior*, 5, 133-144.
- Silvestre, A.J. (2005). *A Cognitive analysis of the semantic contribution of In, On, and At to English prepositional verbs*. M.A. Dissertation.
- (2006). "An Approach to the Semantics of In and On in Verb-Preposition Combinations: An Analysis of Five Sample Constructions." In: A. Alcaraz, C. Soto, & M. Zunino (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 29th AEDEAN International Conference*, 333-338. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén.
- (forthcoming). "Topology, force-dynamics, and function in the semantics of In and On as the prepositional component of English prepositional verbs." Paper presented at the V AELCO-SCOLA International Conference, held at University of Murcia, 19-21 October 2006.
- Tyler, A. & Evans, V. (2003). *The Semantics of English Prepositions. Spatial Scenes, Embodied Meaning and Cognition*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Vandeloise, C. (1994). "Methodology and Analyses of the Preposition In". *Cognitive Linguistics* 5/2, 157-184.

Functional load and complexity compensations in core argument marking: A typological study

Kaius Sinnemäki
University of Helsinki, Finland

It is often claimed in both formal and functional linguistics that languages somehow compensate complexities in one area with simplicity in another and maintain roughly equal overall complexity (Hockett 1958: 180-181, Crystal 1997: 6, Akmajian et. al 1997: 8). This is here called the compensation hypothesis. This purported compensation (also called balancing or trade-off) of complexities has been subjected to systematic typological and statistical testing only in recent years (e.g. Shosted 2006). In this presentation I discuss the notion of compensation and its relation to the principle of one-meaning-one-form and test with a sample of 50 languages whether there are compensating tendencies between the formal means used in core argument marking.

The idea of compensation may be interpreted as adherence to the one-meaning-one-form principle. The breaking of this principle violates either economy or distinctiveness and results in redundancy or ambiguity / vagueness, respectively. Functionalist linguistics maintains that the competition between these two motivations shapes the structure of language at least to some extent, and therefore the assumption of complexity compensations is functionally well-motivated.

The degree of adherence to economy and distinctiveness may be assessed by measuring the degree and extent of meaning contrasts upheld by formal means, that is, by measuring their functional load. The term functional load was introduced by Jakobson (1931) and Trubetzkoy (1939) within the Prague Circle of Linguistics but it was popularized by André Martinet (e.g. Martinet 1955, see King 1969 for a detailed discussion). Although the term has been mostly used in phonology, it is relevant to the study of morphosyntax as well, where it may be interpreted from the point of view of the interaction of formal means operating in the same functional domain (e.g. aspect or passive, Givón 1981).

The functional domain in the present study is core argument marking; the formal (structural) means interacting in its marking are dependent marking, head marking and linear order. The functional load of these means is measured paying attention to their extent and degree in the presence of free arguments (full nouns and independent pronouns). In the case of pronouns, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish head marking from dependent marking (especially clitics), and therefore in problematic cases these two are collapsed and compared to their linear order. Whereas an exact estimation of the functional load would require text counts, I settle for estimating their functional load on a four-step scale based on the grammar descriptions of each language.

Data comes from a genealogically and areally stratified sample of 50 languages. The results are tested statistically with Chi-Square and Kendall's correlation coefficient. Since linear order and dependent marking are theoretically more efficient than head marking in distinguishing the core arguments from one another, it is expected that their functional loads are likely to balance out whereas head marking is more often redundant. The results seem to support this at least for noun arguments.

References

- Akmajian, A., Demers, R.A., Farmer, A.K., and Harnish, R.M. 1997. *Linguistics: An Introduction to Language and Communication*. 4th edition. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Crystal, D. 1997. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: CUP.
- Givón, T. 1981. Typology and functional domains. *Studies in Language* 5: 163-193.
- Hockett, C.F. 1958. *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- Jakobson, R.O. 1931. *Prinzipien der historischen Phonologie*. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 4: 247-267.
- King, R.D. 1967. Functional Load and Sound change. *Language* 43 (4): 831-852.
- Martinet, A. 1955. *Économie des changements phonétiques: traité de phonologie diachronique*. Bern: A. Francke.
- Shosted, R.K. 2006. Correlating complexity: A typological approach. *Linguistic Typology* 10: 1-40.
- Trubetzkoy, N.S. 1939. *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 7.

Representational layering in Functional Discourse Grammar

Niels Smit & Miriam van Staden
University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The paper addresses the workings of the representations used in Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2006, *fc.*), that formalise the semantic structures underlying linguistic expression.

Origins

The formalism that is currently in use originates in the representation of term structure in Dik (1978, 1989), who proposed to define the denotation of a term x_i as an ordered set of ‘predications open in x_i ’, which denote various separate properties of the term, thereby restricting its overall denotation. This is exemplified in (1):

- (1) x_i : [*elephant* (x_i) \emptyset] : [*white* (x_i) \emptyset] : [*old* (x_i) \emptyset]
‘old white elephant’

Hengeveld (1989) proposes to generalise term structure to all other units, a suggestion adopted in Dik (1997) and subsequent work.

Current situation

Informal application of Hengeveld’s unified proposal and notational simplifications over the years have led to a reinterpretation of the formalism in which the crucial role of the unit’s variable as an argument in its own restrictors has become obscured. In FDG, Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2006) still retain the variable, but merely as a kind of delimiter which is no longer part of the restrictor proper (α stands for a semantic entity of any type), as evidenced from the placement of the variable outside the restrictor in (2):

- (2) α_i : [1st restrictor] (α_i) : [2nd restrictor] (α_i) : ...

Proposal

This paper argues for a reappraisal of Dik’s original treatment of restriction, because it enables a fully unified treatment of all entity types. To this end, the square brackets in (2) are re-allocated to include the repetition of the unit’s variable as the argument of the predicate that instantiates the restrictor, and including a semantic function for this argument:

- (3) α_i : [(α_j) (α_i) \emptyset] : [(α_k) (α_i) \emptyset] : ...

The restrictors in (3) are endocentric, in the sense that the argument of the restricting predication is coreferential with the layer as a whole. Closer examination of the behaviour of nuclear predications, however, reveals that portraying them as endocentric layers poses a descriptive problem (*cf.* also Mackenzie 1987):

- (4) $e_i: [(f_i: walk) (x_i: man)_A (e_i)\emptyset]$
 ‘event of the man walking’

The endocentricity of e_i in (4) results in a scope ambiguity, since the repeated $(e_i)\emptyset$ is not an argument of the predicate *walk*. Similar problems arise also in the case of lexical heads, in particular (but not exclusively) in representing the difference between REFERENT MODIFICATION and REFERENCE MODIFICATION (Bolinger 1967). It seems, then, that in addition to endocentric layers, the formalism should also allow for exocentric layers:

- (5) $\alpha_i: [(\alpha_j) (\alpha_i)\emptyset]$ endocentric
 (6) $\alpha_i: [(\alpha_j) (\alpha_m)\emptyset]$ exocentric

The paper argues that it is no accident that lexical heads and nuclear predications should behave similarly, given that they constitute primitives in the view of FDG, that are inserted from the Fund (lexicon), rather than being generated by a semantic formulator. The remainder of the paper is dedicated to an exploration of the properties of endocentric and exocentric layers, and the consequences these have for the FDG formalism.

References

- Bolinger, Dwight (1967). Adjectives in English: Attribution and Predication. *Lingua* 18, 1-34.
 Dik, Simon C. (1978). *Functional Grammar*. North-Holland Linguistic Series 37. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
 Dik, Simon C. (1989). *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part I: The Structure of the Clause*. Dordrecht: Foris.
 Dik, Simon C. (1997). *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part I: The Structure of the Clause*. Second, revised edition, edited by Kees Hengeveld. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
 Hengeveld, Kees. (1989). Layers and operators in Functional Grammar. *Journal of Linguistics* 25(1), 127-157.
 Hengeveld, Kees; and Mackenzie, J. Lachlan. (2006). Functional Discourse Grammar. In *The encyclopedia of language & linguistics* Keith Brown and Anne H. Anderson (eds.), 668-676. Oxford: Elsevier.
 Hengeveld, Kees; and Mackenzie, J. Lachlan. (in prep.). *Functional Discourse Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
 Mackenzie, J. Lachlan. (1987). The representation of nominal predicates in the fund. *Working Papers in Functional Grammar* 25.

Engagement resources in academic e-discourse

Małgorzata Sokół
University of Szczecin, Poland

The aim of this paper is to identify and investigate engagement resources in academic electronic discourse, on the example of an Internet discussion group. More specifically, I will study the distribution of linguistic realizations of engagement in relation to the (sub-)generic status of a text.

The methodological-theoretical basis of my investigation is Martin and White's Appraisal Framework (Martin – White 2005), grounded in Systemic-Functional Linguistics, and Swales' genre analysis (Swales 1990), developed for the study of academic communication. The research material comprises a corpus of the postings contributed to an active, English-based scholarly discussion group.

On the macro-level of my study, I aimed to identify the (sub-)generic status of the postings in the corpus on the basis of their dominating communicative purpose. A content analysis of the compiled postings allowed me to establish that the most essential subgenres of a discussion list posting are: 'voice in a discussion', 'initiation of a discussion', 'announcement' and 'note'. These are the subgenres related to the two main purposes of an academic discussion list, i.e. scholarly debate and information exchange. The micro-level analysis involved the investigation of engagement resources relative to the identified subgenres. The initial findings point to the variability in the distribution of engagement resources, with their greater frequency in the subgenres related to the purpose of scholarly debate.

In general, the study shows how a functional perspective can contribute to our understanding of the communicative phenomena in cyberspace. It allows us to explain how the authors' rhetorical choices in e-discourse relate to the socio-cultural context of the communicative situation: the medium's defining properties, the shared norms of an academic community, and the purposes and roles of the individual.

References

- Martin, James R. – White, Peter R. R. (2005). *The Language of Evaluation. Appraisal in English*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Swales, John G. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Categories for a functional description of textual entities

Kazimierz A. Sroka
University of Gdańsk, Poland

There are two categories regarded as central in a functional description of textual entities. The two categories go back to de Saussure's theory of the language sign. They are namely 'signifiant' (the signifying element) and 'signifié' (the signified element), which are two components of the sign viewed in a bilateral and psychologicistic (mentalistic) way.

But even if the sign is not viewed in a bilateral and/or psychologicistic way (e.g., in Zawadowski's functional approach, the sign is neither bilateral nor psychologicistic, the 'signifiant' being located on the part of the text, the 'signifié' on the part of the extratextual reality, and the sign being a concrete element of text), the basic distinction remains and it may be generalized in the Latin terms '**significans**' and '**significatum**,' parallel terms used for the distinction may be 'form' and 'meaning,' '**form**' and '**signification**,' or 'expression' and 'content' (the last two terms corresponding to Hjelmslev's terms which in the French version have the form 'expression' and 'contenu'). Also another pair of Latin terms is valid here, namely 'repraesentans' (corresponding to 'significans') and 'repraesentatum' (corresponding to 'significatum.' The former term is reflected in the term 'representative', which is used in the phrase '**representative function**,' denoting a very important concept in a functional approach.

The aim of the present paper is to show that one should formally recognize and define one more central category for a functional description of textual entities. The category in question is related to context and speech situation and in the present author's terminology it is referred to as **location**. In the present author's work it is defined as **the occurrence of a textual entity in a given environment**. Depending on the type of the environment, two types of location are distinguished, namely **intratextual** (when the environment involved is the text) and **extratextual** (when the environment in question is the speech situation).

Each of the three categories yield values which are features in terms of which textual entities are described: form ('significans', expression) yields **formal features**, signification ('significatum') yields **semantic features**, and location yields **locational features**.

Location is an important factor in both **text construction** (which is part of the process of encoding) and text reconstruction (which is part of the process of decoding). In text construction, it influences the use of particular textual rules and the choice of one textual entity in contrast to another. In **text reconstruction**, it influences the identification, on the part of the decoder, of the text constructed by the encoder, reaching its signification and, in the case of a polysemic form, to select its actual meaning.

A **textual rule** is a process in which one textual feature selects another textual feature. The process may go in two directions, namely (a) when a semantic feature selects a formal feature (the process characteristic of text construction and, secondarily, of text reconstruction) and (b) when a formal feature selects a semantic feature

(the process characteristic of text reconstruction). In these processes, locational features may play the role of additional selective factors.

Location may play a very important role at the grammatical level. Locational features may namely function as **grammatical formatives**. Such is the case in the languages (including English) in which location of the noun with regard to the verb determines whether the noun in the active sentence is the subject vs. object, or agent vs. patient. E.g. in *John invited Mary* vs. *Mary invited John*, where the roles assigned to *John* and *Mary* in a given sentence depend on the location of these two elements with regard to the verb *invited*. Here there are two **grammatical formatives of locational type**: the preverbal location, which may be called location1, and the postverbal location, which may be called location2.

Location is thus a very important category for a functional description of textual entities and should be added, as central, to the categories of form (expression) and signification.

Notes on paradigmatic phonologization

Albertas Steponavičius
Bialystok University, Poland

Paradigmatic phonologization may be defined as the rise of new phonemes and phonological oppositions through phonemization of allophones under the pressure of the oppositions of the same type when the newly arisen phonemes retain the former complementary distribution of the allophones under change.

The rise of phonemes may always be presented as a rise of new clusters, or bundles, of DFs. These may be new clusters containing new DFs, or only new clusters of old DFs. (See Martinet 1955; 1960: IV, 12; Steblin-Kamenskij 1966: 13; Steponavičius 1987: § 49.) The latter case is known as filling empty spaces, or gaps, in the pattern. As is known, it was André Martinet (1955; 1960: III, 23) who introduced the concept of empty spaces (*cases vide*) into the theory and practice of diachronic phonology. However, not all cases of filling empty spaces in the pattern can be called paradigmatic phonologization. Paradigmatic phonologization is a special case of filling empty spaces in the pattern when paradigmatic relationships of phonemes serve as the main and only factor of the phonologization of allophones.

Paradigmatic phonologization within consonantal and vocalic systems usually, though not necessarily, undergoes under the pressure of primary distinctions, both universal and language specific.

As far as I know, the concept of paradigmatic phonologization has been used of in English historical phonology since 1959. Jean Fourquet (1959) interpreted the appearance of Old English short diphthongs /ea eo io/ as the consequence of the pressure of the quantitative correlation, viz., the presence of the long diphthongs /ea: eo: io:/. Yakov Krupatkin took the term of paradigmatic phonologization from Jerzy Kuryłowicz and explained in its terms not only the phonemic status of Old English short diphthongs, but also the phonemic status of the opposition /æ/ – /α/ and the short /ã/. (See Krupatkin 1962, 1970; Steponavičius 1982: 13; 1987: §§ 51, 113, 137, 140.)

In the present paper an attempt is made to prove that the Old English opposition /ʃ/ – /j:/ and possibly the presence of the phoneme /ŋ/ already in Old English are due to paradigmatic phonemization.

References

- Fourquet, Jean 1959: Le système des éléments vocaliques longs en vieil-anglais: (Considérations “structurales”), *Mélanges de linguistique et de philology: Fernand Mossé in memoriam*, Paris: 150-158.
- Krupatkin, Y. B. 1962: K istorii drevneanglijskoj sistemy glasnyx (“On the history of the system of Old English vowels”), *Voprosy jazykoznanija*, № 6, 54-60.
- Krupatkin, Y. B. 1970: From Germanic to English and Frisian, *Us Wurk: Meidielingen fan it Frysk Ynstitut oan de Ryksuniversiteit to Grins*. Jiergong 19, 3: 49–71.
- Martinet, André 1955: *Économie des changements phonétiques. Traité de phonologie diachronique*. Bern: Francke.

- Martinet, André 1960: *Princip ekonomii v fonetičeskix izmenenijax.* (*Problemy diaxroničeskoj fonologii.*) (*The principle of economy in sound changes. (Problems of diachronic phonology.)*) Moskva: Izdatelstvo Inostrannoj literatury.
- Steblin-Kamenskij, M.I. 1966 : *Očerki po diaxroničeskoj fonologii skandinavskix jazykov.* (*Sketches of diachronic phonology of Scandinavian languages.*) Izdatelstvo Leningradskogo Universiteta.
- Steponavičius, Albertas 1982: *Osnovy diaxroničeskoj fonologii. Mexanizm zvukovyx izmenenij.* (*Foundations of diachronic phonology. Mechanism of sound change.*) Vilnius.
- Steponavičius, Albertas 1987: *English historical phonology.* Moskva: Vysšaya Škola.

Typology of errors in subtitles of English films and TV programmes

Rastislav Sustarsic
University of Ljubljana, Slovenia

Subtitling is one of the most difficult areas of translation because it requires (in addition to an excellent command of both the source and the target language) specific skills and knowledge, and because the translator is often limited by the number of characters that can be put on the two lines available on the screen. An additional problem is the fact that very often (in order to prevent piracy) the translator only gets the script without the film or programme itself, or (conversely) only the film or programme without the script.

Although these specific problems explain a number of most unusual (often amusing) translation 'bloopers', there are a number of other types of these errors which are somewhat more difficult to explain.

On a Slovenian web page (<http://www.mojster.si/>) devoted to revealing and discussing subtitling errors (mostly concerning translations from English into Slovene) a whole corpus of these errors (around 1500 in total) has been collected in the last several years, which makes it possible to analyze them and work out a kind of typology of errors, which is the subject of this paper.

Although some of these errors can only be explained on the basis of English-Slovene contrastive semantic analysis, most of them can be discussed and explained with no particular target language in mind, because they stem from problems at the level of 'decoding' rather than that of 'encoding'. It is for this reason that to a large extent the typology of errors which will be presented at the conference is applicable to any target language and can be grasped without any knowledge of that language.

The distances between Ainu and the other world languages based on typological data

Yuri Tambovtsev
Novosibirsk Pedagogical University, Russia

The article deals with one of the genetically isolated languages - Ainu. The new method of phonostatistics proposed here allows linguists to find the typological distances between Ainu and the other languages of different genetic language families. The minimum distances may be a good clue for placing Ainu in this or that language family. The result of the investigation shows the minimum typological distance between Ainu and the Quechuan family (American Indian languages).

Ainu is a genetically isolated language (Crystal, 1992: 11; JaDM, 1982: 23). There are many different theories as to the origin and ethnic development of Ainu. Some scholars think them to belong to the Tungus-Manchurian tribes while others link them to the Paleo-Asiatic peoples. A. P. Kondratenko and M. M. Prokofjev point out that some scholars connect them to the American Indians (Kondratenko et al., 1989: 3 - 5). Some anthropological data show that Ainu are close enough to the American Indians. Ainu is close to Paleo-Asiatic languages. Indeed, one of the Paleo-Asiatic languages, i.e. the Chookchi language with the distance 10.954 is rather close. The next closest language is also a Paleo-Asiatic language - Koriak with the distance 12.781. Korean is a bit closer - 12.636. Japanese is more far away - 15.269. As we can see from the tables below the other languages are also rather far away. So, the closest Tungus-Manchurian language is Ul'ch with the distance 13.464.

However, the most close to Ainu turned the American Indian languages of the North and South America. So, Quechua has the distance of 5.451 and Inga 7.388. They both belong to the Quechua family of American Indian languages. Quechua and Inga Indians live in South America.

Key words: consonants, phonological, distance, typology, frequency of occurrence, speech sound chain, statistics, closeness

Clause complexing in text (processing strategies)

Jarmila Tárnyiková

Palacky University, Olomouc, Czech Republic

It is however strange to see that even today there are discourse grammars that only operate at the 'linear' level of subsequent sentences or propositions, and fully ignore the crucial global structures (macro-propositions, superstructures) that define the overall meaning and form of text. [van Dijk, <http://www.hum.uva.nl/~teun/brliar-e.htm>, p.2]

The present paper is an attempt at a functional analysis of sentence complexes in text. In it the final configurations of clauses and clause-like units are looked upon as the results of multifaceted processes, sensitive to both rules and tendencies in use, in which the functional motivations for grammatical patterning, semantic representation and information packaging are influenced by the overall build-up of the text.

A sentence complex, considered from text perspective, is not primarily presupposed to be construed as a grammatical unit but rather as a logico-semantic unit, sensitive to the online process of negotiation of meaning, with grammatical structures being often rather emergent.

Similarly to Halliday, 1979, clauses in sentence complexes are approached here as multiply structured concepts in which three different kinds of meaning are combined, giving clauses a character of a *message*, an *exchange* and a *representation*.

In the discussion section, based on excerpts from the language fiction, popular and popular scientific style, and the style of legal documents, the focus will be on the relevance of the concept of *clines of categoriality* (cf. Hopper & Thompson, 1984) at various levels of sentence-complex representation (cf. a cline of degrees of separateness/integration, a cline of coordination, a cline of clause linkage, etc.); - on the need of a macro-level approach to the processes of language economy in clause complexing (cf. condensation by means of non-finite clauses, nominalisation, absolute constructions, partial and total ellipses, controlled by the overall text- strategies in grounding (fore-grounding, back-grounding) and information packaging); and, finally, on the analogy between clause complexing and text shaping, with both seen as a linguistic reflex of a general cognitive tendency to organise groups of units on either *Nucleus-Satellite relation*, or *List relation* (in which neither member of the pair is ascillary to the other); cf. Matthiessen & Thompson (1988:289ff.).

Though we can only agree with Matthiessen's (2002) standpoint that '*All complexes are structured as series of related elements*' and his explanation that '*each relation represents a new expansion of the complex*' (243), we have to admit that sentence complexing is an intricately monitored and patterned human activity which cannot be reduced to the linear sequencing of building blocks.

References

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1979. "Modes of meaning and modes of expression: Types of grammatical structure and their determination by different semantic functions". In: D. J. Allerton et al. (eds.), *Function and context in linguistic analysis*. Cambridge: CUP: 57-79.
- Hooper, J.B. and S.A. Thompson. 1973. "On the applicability of root transformations". *Linguistic Inquiry* 4:465-497.
- Matthiessen, C.2002. "Combining clauses into clause complexes. A multi-faceted view". In Bybee, J. and M. Noonan (eds.):*Complex Sentences in Grammar and Discourse. Essays in Honor of Sandra A. Thompson*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 31-59.
- Matthiessen, C. and S.A. Thompson, 1988. 'The structure of discourse and 'subordination'''. In: Haiman, J. and S.A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause combining in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 275-329.

Information structure of Eastern Khanty: Topic continuity and referential distance

Sachiko Toguchi
University of Helsinki, Finland

Khanty is one of the Finno-Ugric languages, which is spoken in Western Siberia. Khanty is roughly divided into three groups, Northern, Eastern and Southern Khanty, having important internal differences. Until now, the study of Khanty has concentrated on Northern Khanty, which is the largest group of Khanty languages. Here I will concentrate on one dialect of Eastern Khanty, Surgut Khanty. With about 2 000 speakers, it is an endangered language.

Even though Khanty has a rich morpho-syntactical system, it has no special morpho-syntactic form, which represents the categories of information (e.g., new/given information, topic/focus). On the other hand, some languages, such as Japanese, have grammaticalized forms for these categories. This is the reason it is necessary to take pragmatics into account, when examining morpho-syntax. Morpho-syntax and pragmatics of Khanty have not yet been studied much. Rather, it is the phonetics of Khanty, which has traditionally received much more attention. This is true for other Finno-Ugric languages as well.

In this presentation I will try to find tendencies in discourse to explain the relation between morpho-syntax and pragmatics in Khanty. I will present my arguments based on the results of my study of Khanty information structure. As a method I employ Du Bois's theory of "Preferred Argument Structure (PAS)" (Du Bois 1987-). In his theory he argues that the motivations of grammaticalization are based on the following: 1. Introduction of new information over the grammatical role, 2. Lexical dimension and distribution and 3. Topic continuity. In this presentation I will give some examples of my analysis of the corpus of Khanty following Du Bois's method. My focus will be on the semantics, morphology, and grammatical roles of topic, information pressure and information flow.

The study of topic continuity reveals various pragmatic phenomena and their relationship with morpho-syntax, but there are still more concepts to be taken into account. One of them is "referential distance" in continuity, in other words, the referential gap between the previous occurrence in the discourse of a topic and its current occurrence in a clause. Givón, for example, defined quite arbitrarily in one of his studies that the gap of more than 20 clauses is regarded as discontinued (Givón 1983). However, it is not clear how many clauses or intonation units it is possible to regard as continued.

Here I will try to explain this referential distance by applying Maynard's "Staging-theory" (Maynard 1997), in which she combined rhetoric with discourse analysis. According to the theory, the "staging" of story-like focusing and topicalization of characters/interlocutors influences the choice of grammatical coding. In this presentation I will also present how Staging-theory works within Khanty's narrative texts and argue how staging of narrative stories influences its grammatical coding. My corpus consists of Surgut Khanty's narrative texts taken from Csepregi (1998), Paasonen (2001) and Ajpin (2004).

References

- Айпин, Ермай 2004: Ма мхэв кол нтт лэм. Санкт-Петербург.
- Csepregi, Márta 1998: Szurguti osztják chrestomathia. *Studia uralo-altaica* 6 supplementum. JATE. Szeged.
- Du Bois, John W 1987: The discourse bases of ergativity. *Language* Vol. 63, Number 4. p. 805-855.
- Givón, Talmy 1983: Introduction. In Talmy Givón (ed) Topic continuity in discourse. A quantitative cross-language study. *Amsterdam*.
- Maynard, Senko 1997: 談話分析の可能性. 理論, 方法, 日本語の表現性. (Discourse Analysis: Theory, Method and Japanese Expressivity). Tokyo.
- Paasonen, Heikki/Vértes Edith (toim.) 2001: H.Paasonens surgutostjakische Textsammlungen am Jugan. Neu transkribiert, bearbeitet, übersetzt und mit kommentaren versehen. *Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran toimituksia* 240. Helsinki.

Polish *żeby* and *gdyby* as complex complementizers

Barbara Tomaszewicz

Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt / Main, Germany

University of Wrocław, Poland

It has been postulated recently that the complementizer *żeby* “in order to”, which introduces the so-called subjunctive mood in Polish, is a complex complementizer, although it is always spelled and pronounced as one word (Borsley & Rivero, 1994; Szczegielniak, 1999; Bonda-ruk, 2004). However, no satisfactory solution has been proposed as to the nature of the mood particle *by* that is also present in the conditional mood (but not in a designated position) until the analysis of Migdalski, 2005. He showed that it is the same *by* element in both cases. However, Migdalski, 2005 does not explain why the *l*-participle (the form of the lexical verb in conditional, subjunctive and past tense) can be followed by the *by* particle and the auxiliary or in conditional, whereas in subjunctive *by* plus auxiliary complex have to immediately follow the complementizer, and the *l*-participle is further in the clause.

I would like to propose that subjunctive clauses are tenseless, which is why in their unmarked word order the *l*-participle stays “by itself”, whereas, conditional clauses have past tense and, therefore, in the unmarked option the *l*-participle is combined with the *by*+auxiliary complex. The use of past tense morphology in non-factual, hypothetical moods is common across languages, signaling that the situation described is removed from the time of utterance. The past morphology does not consist of the *l*-participle alone, but its combination with past auxiliaries. In subjunctive clauses the participle cannot “get” tense by combining with the auxiliary, therefore, I argue that they have no tense, which also accounts for the fact that infinitival complements are possible in subjunctive, but not in conditional nor indicative, as well as for the fact that in Cashubian (a language very closely syntactically related to Polish) present tense morphology is allowed in subjunctive.

I will also point out that the adjacency of *że* and *by* in subjunctive is not unusual and follows the pattern observed in Iatridou, 2000. Crosslinguistically counterfactual conditionals and counterfactual wishes seem to use the same morphology in complimentary distribution. The morphology on the counterfactual antecedent M1 (Past/Imperf) is the same as the morphology on the complement to the verb of wishing. The morphology of the consequent M2 (Fut+Past) is the same as the morphology of the verb expressing a wish. What follows is that the Polish hypothetical “if”, *gdyby*, is also a complex complementizer – *gdy* “when” + *by*, which means it is in a “subjunctive” mood.

If M1 then M2
want-M2 that M1

Lastly, the puzzle of the apparent optionality in the use of the subjunctive mood in some contexts will be discussed, I will show that there is, in fact, a semantic difference in factuality and temporal situation as it has been argued for Romance subjunctive and conditional moods in Iatridou, 2000, who concludes that there is “no such a thing as a

separate conditional mood”, but rather a combination of past and future morphology and semantics.

References

- Bondaruk, A. 2004. PRO and Control in English, Irish and Polish. A Minimalist Analysis. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL
- Borsley, R., and M.L. Rivero. 1994. Clitic Auxiliaries and Incorporation in Polish. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12:373-422.
- Iatridou, S. 2000. The Grammatical Ingredients of Counterfactuality. In *Linguistic Inquiry* 31.2
- Migdalski, K. 2006. The Syntax of Compound Tenses in Slavic. Utrecht: LOT
- Szczegielniak, A. 1997. 'That-t effects' cross-linguistically and successive cyclic movement. In *MIT working papers in linguistics*, vol. 33. ed. Arregi et al. 369-393. MIT.

Grammaticalization of prepositions into prefixes: A case study of nouns and adjectives beginning with French *sur-* and Dutch *op-* and *over-*

Kristel Van Goethem
University of Leuven, Belgium

The central aim of our communication is to study the relationship between prepositions and their prefixal counterparts in French and Dutch. Following Amiot (2004, 2005), we claim that prepositions can undergo a grammaticalization process and evolve in this way into prefixes. This "prefixization" process can be determined on the basis of several parameters. As opposed to prepositions that prototypically interact with two syntactic arguments, assuming the semantic roles of trajector and landmark (e.g. *Le livre est sur la table* 'the book is on the table'), prefixes are strictly incidental to their base (e.g. *suralimenter* 'to overfeed'). Moreover, this functional opposition goes along with semantic differences: whereas (spatial, temporal or metaphorical) relational semantics are characteristic of prepositions (e.g. expressing the spatial superiority of the trajector in relation to the landmark), a prefix often expresses aspectual and evaluative meanings (e.g. excess meaning in *suralimenter*).

In our PhD research, we have studied the relationship between prepositions and their pre-verbal counterparts. This study revealed that in some cases the preverb maintains a prepositional function and meaning (e.g. *L'avion survole les îles Baléares* 'The plane is flying over the Balearic Islands'), while in others it acts as a true prefix (e.g. *Il a surestimé ses forces* 'He has overestimated his forces') and can be considered more grammaticalized. In our contribution, we would like to extend our analysis to nouns and adjectives beginning with an element corresponding to a preposition and examine the grammaticalization of prepositions introducing nouns and adjectives.

As our case study, we will take the French preposition *sur* 'on, upon; over' and its Dutch counterparts *op* 'on, upon' and *over* 'over'. In order to study the grammaticalization degree of *sur-*, *op-* and *over-*, we will analyze the morpho-syntactic behaviour and the semantics of these morphemes in a large inventory of words. We will also study the translation of the words beginning with *sur-*, *op-* and *over-*. The comparison of French and Dutch data will enable us to explore a particular question. In our previous research, we noticed that, used as preverbs, French *sur-* shows weak similarities with Dutch *op-* and *over-*. This is largely due to the fact that Dutch preverbs often derive from predicative adverbs with a formal prepositional counterpart (e.g. *de soep opeten* 'to eat up the soup'), a preverbal construction that does not exist in French. We hypothesize that the interaction with the adverbial counterparts will be less relevant for Dutch prefixed nouns and adjectives and that, in consequence, the similarities between *sur-*, on the one hand, and *op-* and *over-*, on the other, will be stronger when these morphemes introduce nouns and adjectives. A detailed analysis of the nouns and the adjectives beginning with *sur-*, *op-* and *over-* will bring more evidence for our claim and will reveal other factors that explain the differences between the prefixal use of prepositions in French and Dutch.

References

- Amiot, D. 2004. "Préfixes ou prépositions? Le cas de *sur-*, *sans-*, *contre-* et les autres". *Lexique* 16. *La formation des mots: horizons actuels*. 67-83.
- Amiot, D. 2005. "Between compounding and derivation: Elements of word formation corresponding to prepositions". In: W.U. Dressler, D. Kastovsky, O.E. Pfeiffer et F. Rainer (eds), *Morphology and its Demarcations. Selected Papers from the 11th Morphology Meeting, Vienna, February 2004*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 183-195.

Deontic-evaluative adjectives in extraposition constructions (ECs) and their clausal complementation: A functional diachronic approach

An Van Linden
University of Leuven, Belgium

In the (merely formal) description of adjectives that control clausal complements, Biber et al. (1999: 671–83) include the adjectives *appropriate*, *crucial*, *essential*, *fitting*, *proper*, and *important* in the class that can take either *that*-clauses or *to*-clauses. From a functional perspective, as these adjectives all have a deontic flavour, one could expect their clausal complements to be mainly of the type expressing ‘desired action’ (Wierzbicka 1988; Halliday 1994), such as in (1) (on the development of deontic meaning, see Van linden, Verstraete & Cuyckens forthcoming).

- (1) It is **essential** to consult a doctor or clinic before using any of the rhythm methods, because the procedures must be carefully learned (CB)

However, Present-day English corpus data suggest that all these adjectives in EC take, besides a majority of desired action complements, also some propositional complements, such as in (3) below. This raises a number of questions: (i) do the proposition complements correlate with a different meaning of the adjective than the desired action complements? (ii) are these two types of complements diachronically related, and if so, in what way? (iii) how does the historical development of the complementation of these adjectives relate to the tendency attested for verbal predicates in earlier stages of English (Los 2005: 171–190), in which *that*-clauses are gradually superseded by *to*-infinitives?

This paper intends to chart the formal and functional distribution of clausal complements with the six adjectives mentioned above, drawing on data from the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME), *Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET) (De Smet 2005), *Lancaster-Bergen-Oslo Corpus* (LOB), and *Cobuild Corpus* (CB). Firstly, the relative frequency and the formal realization of the desired action complements will be studied throughout successive historical stages. Secondly, the development of the propositional complements with these six adjectives will be traced. Preliminary research suggests that typically the first step is a combined pattern: a *to*-infinitive of a cognition or verbalization predicate is followed by a propositional *that*-clause, e.g.,

- (2) Now it is **important** to notice, that in November, the time of greatest speculation, the quantity in the market was held by few persons, and that it frequently changed hands, each holder being desirous to realize his profit. (CLMET 1780-1850)

In a second step the cognition or verbalization predicate may be dropped, but is still in some sense implied, e.g.,

(3) [I]t's **important** that the NEC is now dominated by members of the Shadow Cabinet. (CB)

However, this trajectory does not seem to account for a second micro-construction with pro-positional complement, found with *proper*, *appropriate*, and *fitting*.

(4) Sir Elton performed the open air gig free after Prime Minister Tony Blair approached him personally. Many fans came simply to say thanks to the singer, who stood by the Province [i.e., Ulster] during the dark days of the Troubles. It was **fitting** that they should gather at the castle where the historic peace pact was thrashed out. (CB)

The development of this pattern and its interaction with the meaning of the adjectives should also be clarified. In any case, this study shows that the development of *that*-versus *to*-complements cannot be explained satisfactorily in purely formal terms, but is better approached in terms of the correlation between functional notions such as desired action and proposition and their formal realization.

References

- Biber, D., S. Johansson, G. Leech, and R. Quirk. 1999. *Longman grammar of spoken and written English*. London: Longman.
- De Smet, H. 2005. A corpus of Late Modern English texts. *Icame Journal* 29: 69–82.
- Halliday, M. A. K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar. Second edition*. London: Arnold.
- Los, B. 2005. *The rise of the to-infinitive*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Van linden A., J.-C. Verstraete, and H. Cuyckens. Forthcoming. The semantic development of *essential* and *crucial*: Paths to deontic meaning.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1988. *The semantics of grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Company.

Against the indiscriminate pursuit for linguistic functions: An inquiry into the nature of language as a tool

Elzbieta Wasik

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

Interdisciplinary studies have shown that some functional approaches to language are derived from functionalism in architecture and applied arts while others are rooted in biology, anthropology and sociology. Linguists have applied the concept of function either in relation to the whole system of verbal communication or to its particular elements. Some linguists assume that there is only one function of language, exposing its meaning bearing role, while others believe that one can enumerate a number of linguistic functions, rendering various purposes of communication participants. Not to be omitted are those who place among language functions certain effects of communication. Hence, the opposite poles occupy representatives searching for communicatively relevant features of verbal means and theoreticians who pay attention to the serviceable role of language. As far as the function of language in general cannot be distinguished, it might be advisable to review the functional aspects of its constituents in dependence of existence modes.

Against various existence modes of language: in products, acts, and values; in thoughts, capabilities, and associations of verbal behavior, and states of human mind, it has to be stated that language as a whole cannot be regarded as a tool. Taking into account its concrete manifestation, only the phonic substances of speech products of may be said to play an instrumental role in interpersonal understanding when they are transmitted from source and destination as meaningful messages. Hence, speech acts that fulfill locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary functions may be discussed in the light of instrumentalist functionalism; whereas in the case of verbal means consolidating the members of social groups into specialized communities realizing their purposes or tasks one should rather speak about organicist functionalism. Communicating individuals are not considered as realizing their purposes through language, having an abstract and social character, but rather through the functionally relevant properties of volatile sound waves and/or their permanent surrogates produced and received as verbal meaning bearers. Discussed in the sociological context, language is seen as constituting a subjective and objective correlate of man, for the reason that it unites communicating individuals as participants of interpersonal communication.

In consequence, theoreticians searching for the functions of language are to be aware that the number and kind of linguistic functions result from different views regarding the language as a natural phenomenon and cultural product, and also the fact that the material object of linguistic study may be viewed from different disciplinary points of view. Therefore, it is postulated to detect conceptual and methodological frames of reference, which have shaped linguistic functionalism. Instead of the functions of language as a means of communication, one should rather distinguish the functions of various manifestation forms of language subsumed under other kinds of objects, as, for example, products of art, human behavior, identity symbols, cultural exponents, or social institutions. One has also to remember that language exists also in

observable interactions between people, that is, in interpersonal linkages of physical nature, when communicating individuals are bound by sound waves and other surrogate codes, transmitted and received in communication channels, and in logically concluded intersubjective linkages, based on the assumption that people interpret meaning bearers in a similar way while referring them to the commonly known extra-linguistic reality.

Detecting the meaning of *function* from the paraphrases of functional statements

Zdzisław Wasik

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

For explaining the nature of linguistic functionalism it is important to compare the synonyms of the term *function* as specified in professional dictionaries with its semantic equivalents in functional statements formulated by practitioners of function-oriented disciplines in question.

To define the term *function* it is not enough to find its *genus proximum* in the names of action or activity proper pertaining to a certain person, thing, or institution, for the sake of whom or which something is designed or exists. In the stylistic usage *function* appears there as a synonym of: purpose, role, activity, operation, job, business, task, duty; capacity, power, faculty; province, sphere, office, niche, place, scope, range, field; concern, objective or *raison d'être*. Additionally, one has also to consider its contextual *differentia specifica* while exposing additional nominal or verbal equivalents not known in the stylistics of everyday speech, as, for example, utility, status, means and end, result, outcome, achievement, exponent, value, good, meaning, sense, effect, operation, disposition, and the like, in dependence of the context in which a given function-related word or phrase is placed, or while substituting numerous synonyms of purpose, role, activity, operation, job, business, task, duty; capacity, power, faculty; province, sphere, office, niche, place, scope, range, field; concern, objective, *raison d'être* in a functional statement meaning the performance of a specified work or operation, etc.

The subject matter of our presentation will be a typological survey of the paraphrased content of functional statements in which *X* stands for an object functioning, having, or performing the function *F*, and *S* is defined as standing for a subject, a frame of reference, or a system in which or for the sake of which the function is being performed. In the case of some understandings of functions, it is necessary to speak about the subject for the sake of whom a particular object functions; whereas the understandings of other functions stand very close to needs and/or requirements and some to ends or results which are not intended by subjects. Still others mention the role of an object *X* for other objects *X* of other kinds or also the *X*'s functional consequences for certain frames of reference or environments.

With reference to semantic inquiries into the meaning of the term *function* it will be pointed out that the differences in a functional description of language characterizing various schools of linguistic thought have usually found their expression either in purpose-oriented (teleological) or cause-and-effect-oriented (etiological) terms. As such, they have resulted from the oscillation between the notion of function: (1) as an exponent of a certain role or (2) a relation between certain elements that play a serviceable role and the notion of function synonymous to (3) purposes or (4) ends of certain activities, intended or not intended. Thus, functionalism as an investigative perspective in linguistics will be shown as referring, in general, to such notional and methodological frameworks: (i) which take a functional view on the nature of language, (ii) which attach primary importance to functional relations at different

levels in the organization of language; (iii) which mean the practical method applicable to the analysis of diverse aspects of language and language use, or (iv) which specify “functional realms” being encoded in human language.

Linguistic functionalism in an evolutionary context

Wolfgang Wildgen
University of Bremen, Germany

Functionalism in the tradition of Jakobson and Martinet is often understood in terms of an optimisation of communication (a minimum of phonological mergers, of ambiguity, etc.). In Martinet's concept of *economy of linguistic change* a level of economy is stabilized (after some kind of structural loss) or the system shifts from one economic maximum to a neighbouring one. One general tendency is that globally all current (full-fledged) languages (not jargons and pidgins) are at the same level of functionality; changes are only local shifts in a field of multiple (and grossly equivalent) alternatives.

If one considers long-ranging linguistic changes (millennia) or the development after some out-of-Africa move, i.e., since some proto-sapiens-language (100-200,000 y. BP), it is rather obvious that the role of language in larger and highly organized societies must have affected the framework in which functions and degrees of optimisation are defined.

An even bigger challenge to functionalism occurs in the context of some protolanguage, which describes the transition between the last common ancestor of humans and chimpanzees (LCA) in the period between australopithecines, *Homo Erectus* and archaic *Homo Sapiens*. Here functionalism has to be linked to the Darwinian notion of selection and the question arises what kind of selection was responsible for the emergence of language: overall selection by the environment, sexual selection, social (kin) selection or some combination with body-internal equilibrium between different selective pressures (a kind of selforganization or morphogenetic process; cf. Wildgen, 1994).

The so-called functions of language (cf. Bühler and Jakobson) had to emerge from a prior configuration of communicative and behavioural functions, which were already present in mammals. Thus the theoretical foundation of functionalism in a larger context asks for:

a) The origin of specific functions of *language* in the field of more general communicative and social functions. How can new functions emerge?

b) A measure of the degree to which a function or a criterium for selection is fulfilled, i.e., a measure of optimisation for functions. This question points to processes of self-organization and levels of complexity.

Functionalism is in this perspective an enterprise in modern linguistics, which goes beyond static structuralism in the spirit of de Saussure or Hjelmslev. Semiotically it must be grounded in the relation of linguistic signs to meaningfulness, to relevance in the ecology of humans and in view of the interactive load, or the effect of a behaviour/competence in a society of humans (or of prehumans).

The goal of this contribution is to:

Ground the major concepts of linguistic functionalism in a Darwinian notion of selection.

Introduce the idea of selforganisation in order to explain the emergence of new functions.

Specify measures of success, which allow for optimisation and a dynamics of parallel optima (a landscape of optima a system can choose and in which it is transformed).

References

- Wolfgang Wildgen, 1994. *Process, Image, and Meaning. A Realistic Model of the Meanings of Sentences and Narrative Texts*, Benjamins, Amsterdam.
- Wolfgang Wildgen, 2004. *The Evolution of Human Languages. Scenarios, Principles, and cultural Evolution*, Benjamins, Amsterdam.

Grammaticalization of periphrastic constructions

Ilse Wischer

University of Potsdam, Germany

One of the earliest definitions of grammaticalization was that given by Kurylowicz (1965:69): “Grammaticalization consists in the increase of the range of a morpheme advancing from a lexical to a grammatical or from a less grammatical to a more grammatical status, e.g. from a derivative formant to an inflectional one.” Later approaches apply the notion of grammaticalization in a more general sense to any linguistic item, structure, or category becoming part of a grammar. Haspelmath (1999: 1044) provides examples of the grammaticalization of functional categories such as adposition/case, complementizer/conjunction, determiner, tense, aspect, agreement, number. The topics of recent grammaticalization studies reveal the rich diversity of what can be grammaticalized: grammaticalization of (each single/partitive and pseudo-partitive nominal) construction(s); of (future) markers; of (negative and positive polarity) items; of ‘shall’/‘will’/‘punya’; of case relations; of heads (in the verbal domain); of (pronominal) clitics; of resultatives/perfects; of (the Russian verbal) aspect; of derivational suffixes; etc. On the one hand grammaticalization can affect grammatical/functional categories emerging or being restructured in a language, like case, definiteness, tense, aspect, modality, etc.; or it can affect the formal devices to express these categories, like inflections, clitics, adpositions, pronouns, auxiliaries, word order, etc.; and increasingly we find references to various entire constructions being grammaticalized. Some individual items may indeed be grammaticalized from lexical to grammatical items and possibly later to inflections (prepositions, modals, pronouns), whereas others do not develop a grammatical function by themselves, but must occur in particular constructions to acquire a grammatical function (*be* + *V-ing* or *have* + *V-en* in English). These constructions existed in earlier stages of English without being markers of aspect or tense, although the auxiliary had already lost its lexical status. My paper will investigate the mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization of such constructions focussing mainly on examples from the history of English.

References

- Haspelmath, Martin (1999). “Why is grammaticalization irreversible?” *Linguistics* 37-6: 1043-1068.
- Kurylowicz, Jerzy. 1965. “The evolution of grammatical categories.” *Diogenes* 51: 55-71.

Genitive of negation in Polish and single cycle derivations

Jacek Witkoś

Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań, Poland

This presentation deals with the account of the Genitive of Negation (GoN) in Polish within the minimalist approach to syntax (Chomsky 1998, 1999, 2001, 2005, 2006). Genitive on the object is triggered by Negation placed in the same or superordinate clause. Thus Negation on the control verb forces Genitive on the embedded DP object, (1b), which would otherwise have been marked for Accusative, (1a):

- (1) (a) Maria chce wypić kawę.
Maria wants drink coffee-ACC
 ‘Maria wants to drink coffee.’
 (b) Maria nie chce wypić kawy.
*Maria not wants drink coffee-GEN/*ACC*
 ‘Maria doesn’t want to drink coffee.’
 (b) ... [NegP Neg [VP ... v ... [CP [TP PRO [vP tPRO ...v ... DPOB]]]]]

Two minimalist solutions to the problem of the Long Distance GoN are presented: one based on the idea that case checking can be delayed until the next phase, (Bondaruk 2004, 2006), and the one developed here and based on the notion of an expanded phase.

The former proposal seems to face both empirical and conceptual problems. **First**, it cannot account for optionality of GoN in certain contexts. **Second**, it cannot deal with cases of extra long GoN, where Negation is placed two clauses/phases away from the object in Genitive. **Third**, this solution faces a problem with the Defective Intervention Constraint as PRO in (1c) should prevent Neg from reaching the object.

The alternative proposed here is based on a slight modification of the notion of the derivational phase and provides a satisfactory account of GoN. It is assumed that a Probe can value case on the Goal if it carries four features, instead of three usually regarded as the complete [+φ] set: person, number, gender and [+case]. There is a parametric option according to which either all relevant features are assigned to one head or more than one head, English shows it in (2a) and Polish in (2b):

- (2) a. [... V[+pers,+num,+gen,+case] ... DP[+case] ...]
 b. [... Polarity[+case] ... V[+pers,+num,+gen] ... DP[+case] ...]

In the derivation of GoN in Polish features of v match those of the Goal and get checked on the Probe, in accordance with Chomsky’s (1998) Maximise. The case feature on the Goal DP is not checked, as v is incomplete. The features on v are checked but disappear only at the level of the strong phase. Hence they are still visible when Pol(arity) has been merged and together with the feature [+case] on Pol they can still affect the Goal. The idea is that checked formal features are still accessible until the point of Transfer at the end of the strong phase. It is assumed that the [+case]

feature on the head Pol is (optionally) assigned by operation Select immediately before this head is fed into Narrow Syntax. Only a Pol head with a [+case] feature can select for a ϕ -complete v. In the case of (1b) the head of the embedded Polarity Phrase is not assigned a case feature by Select, thus this PolP is not a phase. The matrix head of Neg is assigned a case feature by Select and it can value Genitive on the object in combination with the matrix verb. These mechanics of an (expanded) phase help solve the **first** and the **second** problem. Hornstein's Movement Theory of Control solves the **third**.

References

- Błaszczak, J. (2001). Covert movement and the Genitive of Negation in Polish. *Linguistics in Potsdam* 15.
- Bondaruk, A. (2004). *PRO and Control in English n, Irish and Polish: a minimalist analysis*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL.
- Bošković, Ž. (1997). *The syntax of nonfinite complementation*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1998/2000). Minimalist inquiries. In *Step by step: Essays in honour of Howard Lasnik*. R. Martin, D. Michaels & Uriagereka, J. (eds.) 89-156. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (1999). Derivation by Phase. *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 18.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Beyond explanatory adequacy. Ms. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Chomsky, N. (2005). On phases. Ms. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Chomsky, N. (2006). Approaching UG from below. Ms. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Hiraiwa. (2001). Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 40: 67-80.
- Hornstein, N. (1999). Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry* 30: 69-96.
- Hornstein, N. (2000). *Move! A minimalist theory of construal*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell.
- Landau, I. (2000). *Elements of control. Structure and meaning in infinitival constructions*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- McGinnis, M. (2004). Lethal ambiguity. *Linguistic Inquiry* 35. 47-95.
- Pesetsky, D. (1989). Language particular processes and the Earliness Principle. Ms. MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Pesetsky, D. (2000). *Wh-movement and its kin*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Przepiórkowski, A. (2000). Long distance Genitive of Negation in Polish. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 8: 119-158.
- Tajsnier, P. (1990). *Case marking in English and Polish: a government and binding study*. Ph.D. dissertation, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań.
- Willim, E. (1990). On case marking in Polish. *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 25. 204-220.
- Witkoś, J. (1998). *The syntax of clitics: Steps toward a minimalist account*. Poznań: Motiwex.
- Witkoś, J. (2000). Nominative-to-Genitive shift and the negative copula nie ma: implications for checking theory. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 8: 295-327.

Workshops

Typological, psycholinguistic and corpus-linguistic approaches to animacy

Typological, psycholinguistic and corpus-linguistic approaches to animacy

Organizer: Seppo Kittilä (University of Helsinki, Department of General Linguistics)

Animacy effects on grammar (and also language processing) are received wisdom in linguistics. There are, for example, numerous studies dealing with differential marking of arguments (Differential Object Marking and Differential Subject Marking). The purpose of this workshop is to bring together scholars working on animacy effects in grammar. The notion is discussed from different perspectives, including cross-linguistic, psycholinguistic and corpus-linguistic approaches to the problem. There are also two case studies of animacy in individual languages (Dutch and Basque). The variety of topics and the different perspectives should make a fruitful discussion possible, which hopefully yields interesting ideas/results and potentially also topics for future research. The workshop opens with a general introduction to animacy and an overview of some recent studies of animacy (presented by the local organizer), which is followed by talks by the conference participants (the names of the participants along with the (preliminary) titles of their talks can be found below). The workshop is closed with a general discussion. Even though the participants of the workshop are all invited speakers, the workshop is naturally open to all participants of SLE 40 and we very much hope to attract a large audience for making a fruitful exchange of ideas possible. The talks of the workshop have a slot of 30 minutes, which makes it possible for all the conference participants to listen to (only) the talks they find interesting. The participants of the workshop and the topics of their talks are:

Geertje van Bergen (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Linguistics): Animacy effects on Dutch possessive constructions

Helen de Hoop & Monique Lamers (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Linguistics): Animacy and object fronting

Seppo Kittilä (University of Helsinki, Department of General Linguistics): Animacy effects in ditransitives

Maria Palolahti (University of Helsinki, Department of Psychology, Cognitive Science): Language processing in the brain: Animacy constraints modulate syntax-semantics interaction during sentence comprehension

Andrej Malchukov (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Linguistics) & *Peter de Swart* (Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen, Linguistics): Animacy: Distinguishability and prominence

Turo Vartiainen (University of Helsinki, The Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English): Variation in the animacy of subject referents in different tenses in English

Fernando Zúñiga (University of Zürich, Linguistics): Animacy in Basque

Animacy effects on Dutch possessive constructions

Geertje van Bergen
Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands

In Dutch possessive constructions, the possessor sometimes precedes the possessee and in other cases it follows the possessee. Most of the time, one does not have a free choice between these two orders: the use of one word order or the other depends on properties such as pronominality and specificity of the possessor. For instance, pronominal possessors practically always precede the possessee, and non-specific possessors must follow the possessee (e.g. de Wit 1997). For proper name possessors, however, the word order alternation is not categorical: proper name possessors can both follow the possessee, as in (1a), and precede the possessee. In the latter case, the possessor is followed by an *-s* (1b) or by *z'n* (1c):

- (1) a. *De zus van Henk heeft een zoon gekregen.*
- b. *Henks zus heeft een zoon gekregen.*
- c. *Henk z'n zus heeft een zoon gekregen.*
 ‘Henk’s sister gave birth to a son.’

In a corpus study of word order variation in English possessive constructions, Rosenbach (2005) showed that animacy properties of the possessor influence the preference for one word order over the other: whereas both orders are in principle grammatical, she showed that animate possessors tend to precede the possessee, whereas inanimate possessors preferably follow the possessee.

In this talk, I will present the results of a comparable corpus study of word order variation in Dutch possessive constructions. I collected instances of possessive constructions with proper name possessors from the Corpus of Spoken Dutch (CGN). I will show how animacy properties of the possessor influence word order preferences in Dutch possessive constructions as well. Despite the fact that proper nouns very often refer to human entities, animacy properties of the possessor do affect the preference for a particular word order in Dutch possessive constructions. Next, I will take a closer look at the behaviour of proper noun possessors referring to organizations (e.g. *Microsoft*) and locations (e.g. *Amsterdam*).

References

- Rosenbach, A. (2005). ‘Animacy versus weight as determinants of grammatical variation in English’. *Language* 81(3), 613-644.
- de Wit, P. (1997). *Genitive case and genitive constructions*. PhD Dissertation, Utrecht University.

Animacy and object fronting

Helen de Hoop & Monique Lamers
Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands

Statistical studies of language have shown that the subject of most sentences is human, or at least animate. Not only do people preferably talk about living creatures, they also expect other people to do so. Psycholinguistic research has revealed that there is a strong preference for sentences that begin with an animate noun phrase, both in production and perception. This principle, dubbed ANIMATE FIRST, has also been proposed in functional typology to account for cross-linguistic word order preferences (Tomlin 1986). Another well attested word order preference across the languages of the world is the preference for subject-initial sentences. Therefore, the question arises whether ANIMATE FIRST can in fact be derived from this other cross-linguistic tendency, namely SUBJECT FIRST. This is the question we would like to address in this talk focussing on the phenomenon of object fronting in Dutch.

As a first step, we will tear apart the two tendencies in order to find out whether ANIMATE FIRST plays an independent role in word order variation in Dutch or whether it is just an artefact that stems from the stronger tendency SUBJECT FIRST. In order to do so, we will separately examine verbs that select animate subjects, such as *admire*, and verbs that select animate objects, such as *please*. Subsequently, we will bring together results of various psycholinguistic studies using these different types of verbs in both comprehension and production in Dutch. Besides a strong preference for subject-initial sentences, we will show a clear ANIMATE FIRST effect in both production and comprehension. This ANIMATE FIRST preference seems to be less strong than the SUBJECT FIRST preference, but it does play an important role independently of the SUBJECT FIRST preference. We will analyse the results and argue that object fronting can be viewed as the resolution of a conflict between ANIMATE FIRST and SUBJECT FIRST.

Animacy effects in ditransitives

Seppo Kittilä
University of Helsinki, Finland

Animacy affects the coding of Goals/indirect objects basically in two ways. First, there are languages in which Goals are coded differently depending on animacy. An example is provided by Finnish in which animate Goals bear allative coding, whereas inanimate Goals appear in the illative case (this is a generalization which holds for most cases, see (1a) and (1b)). The effects of animacy are, however, not confined to the differences between animate and inanimate Goals only, but the role borne by an indirect object also has consequences for its coding. An example is again provided by Finnish in which animate Goals need to adpositionally marked in case the reference is merely to a goal of transfer (or motion), not to a recipient (see (1c) for an example). Second, there are languages in which potential ambiguity resulting from the equal animacy of the two objects in ditransitives has formal consequences for the object coding. An example is found in (2), in which the Goal surfaces as an adpositional phrase in case both objects are animate. The change in Goal coding follows from the need to avoid ambiguity in (2b).

In my talk, I will discuss the cases noted above from a broad cross-linguistic perspective. It will be shown that animacy makes a very important contribution to the coding of three-participant events as well. In addition to the formal illustration of the types, I will also discuss the underlying motivations of the examined animacy effects. As for the first type (examples in (1)), the relation between animacy and semantic roles is relevant, while in the second case, ambiguity avoidance conditions the marking.

Data

Finnish

- (1a) lähetti lähett-i lähetti-men lähettäjä-lle
messenger.NOM send-3SG.PAST transmitter-ACC sender-ALL
'A/the messenger sent a transmitter to the sender'
- (1b) lähetti lähett-i lähetti-men lähetystö-ön
messenger.NOM send-3SG.PAST transmitter-ACC embassy-ILL
'A/the messenger sent a transmitter to the embassy'
- (1c) lähetti lähett-i lapse-n lähettäjä-n luo
messenger.NOM send-3SG.PAST child-ACC sender-GEN to
'A messenger sent a child to the sender' (sender is merely a location)

Kikuyu (Blansitt 1973: 11)

- (2a) mūthuri ūri® mukūrū n\anengerire mūtum\ a ihūa
man ? old gave woman flower
'The old man gave the woman the flower'
- (2b) mūtum\ a n\anengerire mwar\ wake gw\ kah\ \ \ \ \ \
woman gave daughter her to boy
'The woman gave her daughter to the boy'

Language processing in the brain: Animacy constraints modulate syntax-semantics interaction during sentence comprehension

Maria Palolahti
University of Helsinki, Finland

Our ability to categorize the world into animate and inanimate entities is an essential part of human cognition. Young infants can already distinguish between living and non-living objects, and according to some researchers (e.g. Caramazza & Shelton, 1998) this is one of several reasons to believe that the animate-inanimate distinction may in fact be innate (but see Farah, 1994). However, the exact role of animacy in the wider semantic-conceptual system, as well as its relation to on-line language processing, is still an open and much-debated question in current empirical language research. Some researchers (e.g. Kemmerer, 2003; see also Pinker, 1989) have proposed that there could be a specifically linguistic subset of semantics that consists of grammatically relevant semantic features (such as animacy) and interacts closely with syntax. Others (e.g. Jackendoff, 2002) have remained more sceptical on this issue.

One promising method for studying the role of animacy in on-line language processing is the use of event-related potentials (ERPs). Recently, it has been shown using well-known language-related ERPs (the so-called N400, LAN and P600 responses), that morphosyntactic parsing and semantic integration processes interact early during sentence comprehension (Palolahti et al., 2005). In this Finnish study it was investigated whether the N400 and LAN responses elicited by single and combined semantic (animacy) and morphosyntactic (subject-verb agreement) violations are additive, i.e. whether the corresponding neurophysiological processes operate independently of each other. The results of the study were straightforward: although single animacy and subject-verb agreement violations elicited qualitatively different and spatiotemporally distinct neural responses, combined violations together with supporting statistical and modeling results showed, that semantic information affects morphosyntactic processing (and vice versa) within 300-400 ms post stimulus.

In addition to this observed "horizontal" interaction effect, animacy constraints can have a "vertical" impact on syntactic and semantic (thematic) processing as well. In a recent ERP study of Kuperberg and colleagues (2007), the role of animacy constraints in online language processing was investigated using simple, active, unambiguous English sentences. The animacy and thematic relationships between stimulus verbs and preceding inanimate subject NPs were designed to be in direct conflict with the interpretations assigned by the parser. The violated animacy constraints triggered robust P600 responses instead of the standard N400 responses, regardless of whether the associative semantic relationships between the subject NPs and the verbs were close or distant. According to Kuperberg and her colleagues, this finding suggests that animacy constraints alone can directly affect the computation of semantic-thematic relationships between verbs and their arguments during on-line sentence comprehension.

In this talk, I will first present a brief introduction to the experimental designs, methods and results of the above-mentioned ERP studies, after which I shall discuss in more detail some of the methodological and theoretical problems relevant to the

interpretation of the data. Finally, I will present two theoretical frameworks within which the data from these studies can be interpreted: the (neurocognitive) three-stage model of incremental sentence comprehension developed by Friederici (2002) and the (cognitive-linguistic) Parallel Architecture developed by Jackendoff (2002, 2007).

References

- Caramazza, A. & Shelton, J. (1998). Domain-specific knowledge systems in the brain: The animate-inanimate distinction. *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience*, 10, 1-34.
- Farah, M. (1994). Neuropsychological inference with an interactive brain: A critique of the "locality" assumption. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 17, 43-61.
- Friederici, A. (2002). Towards a neural basis of auditory sentence processing. *Trends In Cognitive Sciences* 6, 78-84
- Jackendoff, R. (2002). *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Jackendoff, R. (2007). A Parallel Architecture perspective on language processing. *Brain Research* 1146, 2-22.
- Kemmerer, D. (2003). Neuropsychological evidence for the distinction between grammatically relevant and irrelevant components of meaning. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 26, 684-685.
- Kuperberg, G., Kreher, D.A., Sitnikova, T., Caplan, D. & Holcomb, P.J. (2007). The role of animacy and thematic relationships in processing active English sentences: Evidence from event-related potentials. *Brain & Language*, 100, 223-237.
- Palolahti, M., Leino, S., Jokela, M., Kopra, K. & Paavilainen, P. (2005). Event-related potentials suggest early interaction between syntax and semantics during on-line sentence comprehension. *Neuroscience Letters*, 384, 222-227.
- Pinker, S. (1989). *Learnability and Cognition: The Acquisition of Argument Structure*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Animacy: Distinguishability and prominence

Andrej Malchukov
Max Planck Institute for
Evolutionary Anthropology,
Leipzig, Germany

Peter de Swart
Radboud University Nijmegen,
Netherlands

Animacy has been shown to have impact on a wide variety of linguistic phenomena, ranging from case to voice and word order. In this talk we will present a cross-linguistic overview of such animacy effects in order to arrive at a better understanding of the role of animacy in language. Animacy effects can be divided into two groups: distinguishability effects and prominence effects (cf. Malchukov 2007, de Swart 2007).

Distinguishability relates to the role of animacy in the identification of the grammatical functions of elements. When two arguments are equal in animacy, ambiguity may arise and languages employ different mechanisms in order to overcome these. Papuan languages such as Fore (Scott 1978) and Awtuw (Feldman 1986) may be representative in that respect: in these languages animacy alone can determine grammatical function if A is higher than P on the animacy hierarchy; otherwise case marking is called for (the so-called distinguishing function of case) or else “word order freezing” effects are observed (of course other languages can take recourse to a voice alternation in case of a hierarchy mismatch, cf. Aissen 1999).

Prominence effects, on the other hand, do not involve a comparison between arguments but single out one animacy category over the other and apply a linguistic phenomenon to that category only. For instance, a language may case mark animates but not inanimates (which can be seen as a reflection of the indexing function of case). The general pattern seems to be that inanimate arguments are treated as morphosyntactically ‘inert’. For example, in Otoman-guean languages, like Chinantec (Foris 2000) and Tlapanec (Wichmann 2007) verbal inflection is sensitive to the number of animate arguments, not just to verbal valency *per se*. That is, in contrast to animates, they resist case and do not trigger agreement. Another phenomenon which is in line with this tendency is that of noun-incorporation, which preferentially targets inanimate arguments (Mithun 1984, Baker 1995).

The distinguishability effects and the prominence effects will be argued to be fundamentally different. Whereas the former treat animates and inanimates on a par, both may be marked in case of ambiguity (hence the markedness reversal effects captured by Silverstein’s (1976) generalization concerning distribution of ergative and accusative languages), the latter make a (bi)partition within the category of animacy. As such, the distinguishability effects will be argued to be only apparent animacy effects with animacy merely being epiphenomenal. This leaves prominence effects as the only proper animacy effects. We will discuss the implications of this move for a theoretical implementation of animacy effects.

Variation in the animacy of subject referents in different tenses in English

Turo Vartiainen
University of Helsinki, Finland

My research focuses on the transitivity of clauses following the framework proposed by Paul Hopper and Sandra A. Thompson (1980). According to Hopper & Thompson, transitivity should be seen as a scalar notion, and the overall transitivity of the clause is affected by several semantic and pragmatic parameters. Agentivity and volitionality of the subject referent are two such parameters, and they are, in turn, directly related to the animacy or humanness of the subject referent (see e.g. Silverstein 1976).

In my research, I have studied ten English verbs and checked the animacy of their subject referents in different tenses. My hypothesis, which my data quite clearly supports, is that the past tense in English is conventionally used in discussing the actions of human referents, whereas the present tense is more associated with inanimate entities. This tendency may be overridden by communicative conventions such as the foregrounding or backgrounding of events, verb semantics or modality, but in general, one should expect to find more animate subjects in the past tense. This, in turn, will have implications for the transitivity hypothesis of Hopper & Thompson, making the past tense more transitive than the present tense.

Thus far, I have studied ten *labile verbs*, i.e. verbs that may appear both transitively and intransitively, thus reflecting the alternation between causative and inchoative semantics. The data has been collected from the British National Corpus, and it includes nearly 3,000 clauses at present.

References

- Silverstein, Michael (1976). Hierarchy of features and ergativity. R. M. W. Dixon (ed.). Grammatical categories in Australian languages. New Jersey: Humanities Press. 112-171.
Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson (1980). Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language 56: 251-299.

Animacy in Basque

Fernando Zúñiga
University of Zurich, Switzerland

Typologically oriented accounts of Basque morphosyntax have traditionally focused on a rather limited set of features—first and foremost ergativity, with some attention devoted to the tense-aspect-mood complex and the verbal person-marking system. Among the topics addressed with relative infrequency, the reflexes of animacy in the language are particularly interesting given the widespread occurrence cross-linguistically of comparable phenomena and their theoretical significance.

The present contribution acknowledges the uncontroversial importance of animacy for nominal morphology (local or semantic cases display a fairly transparent animacy-governed allomorphy; cf. the selected forms for animate *gizon* ‘man’ and inanimate *etxe* ‘house’ in Example 1) and explores some consequences of the fact that it is subject to dialectal and idiolectal variation.

(1)	singular	general plural
Allative:	<i>gizon-a(ren)gana</i>	<i>gizon-engana</i>
	<i>etxe-ra</i>	<i>etxe-etara</i>
Ablative:	<i>gizon-a(ren)gandik</i>	<i>gizon-engandik</i>
	<i>etxe-tik</i>	<i>etxe-etatik</i>

Most importantly, however, the present contribution discusses a number of syntactic and other correlates of the animate-inanimate opposition that have received comparatively little attention outside the field of Basque studies and proposes lines along which a unified account of animacy in Basque might be formulated. Consider in this context Example 2; the occurrence of definite animate undergoers (*neskato ile gorria* ‘the red-haired girl’) in impersonal constructions is unacceptable for some, but not for all, speakers. By the same token, some implicit impersonal subjects are felicitous (3a) and others are not (3b) due to whether they can be interpreted as human or not (Ortiz de Urbina 2003):

(2)	(?) <i>lanak</i>	<i>ez</i>	<i>egiteagatik</i>	<i>zigortu</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>neskato</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>gorri</i>
	works	NEG	do.NOM.because	punish. PFV	is	girl	hair	-a red- DET
	‘they punished the red-haired girl for not doing her work’							

(3)	<i>hemen</i>	<i>ondo</i>	<i>jaten</i>	<i>da</i>
a.	here	well	eat.IPFV	is
	‘one eats well here’			
	?? <i>hemen</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>osoan</i>	<i>egiten da zaunka</i>

b.

here night whole.LOC make. is bark
IPFV
'here you bark the whole night'

LCM-Workshop

Bridging the gap between functionalism and cognitivism: The Lexical Constructional Model

Organizers: Annalisa Baicchi (Università di Pavia), Francisco González-García (Universidad de Almería).

10.30-11.10:

Ricardo Mairal Usón (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (Universidad de La Rioja):

“An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). Part I: lexical templates”

11.10-11.50:

Ricardo Mairal Usón (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia) and Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (Universidad de La Rioja):

“An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). Part II: subsumption processes”

11.50-12.10:

Francisco González-García (Universidad de Almería):

“Situating the Lexical Constructional Model in functional-cognitive space: Some preliminary considerations”

12.10-12.30:

Annalisa Baicchi (Università di Pavia):

“High-Level Metaphor in the Caused-Motion Construction”

12.30-13.30:

Lunch

13.30-13.50:

Rocío Jiménez Briones (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid):

“The lexical representation of the English verbs of feeling within the Lexical Constructional Model”

13.50-14.10:

Ignasi Navarro, José Fernando García and Antonio José Silvestre (Universidad Jaume I, Castellón):

“Internal constraints in lexical-constructional unification of perception verbs”

14.10-14.30:

ChenXianglan (Peking University):

“Metonymy-based pragmatic inference in the Lexical Constructional Model: accounting for speech act type transitions”

14.30-15.30: Round Table

The LCM: where do we go from here? Prospective developments and extensions

Discussants: Prof. Antonio Barcelona Sánchez (Universidad de Murcia), Christopher S. Butler (University of Wales, Swansea) and Prof. Jan Nuyts (University of Antwerp - CDE).

Topics to be covered: Discussants will raise the issues and Workshop speakers will outline possible solutions and/or developments.

THEORETICAL

1. Accounting for grammatical categories: tense, aspect, quantification, polarity.
2. Constructional interaction. How do constructional templates from a same level interact?
3. Other discourse issues (e.g. topicalization).
4. Refining Aktionsart distinctions so as to deal with high-level metaphor/metonymy labels in a systematic way.
5. The inventory of constructional templates. Hierarchies of relationships and dependency relationship between different but related constructions (e.g. inchoative / middle / property of instrument; caused-motion / resultative).
6. Suprasegmental issues.
7. Syntactic expression: realization rules or direct mapping from fully-fledged conceptual representations?

APPLIED

1. Computational implementation: automatic translation.
2. Pedagogical applications (i.e. explanatorily adequate pedagogical grammar).
3. Lexicography.
4. Cognitive science.

An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM). Part I: lexical templates

Ricardo Mairal Usón
National University of
Distance Education, Madrid, Spain

Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez
University of La Rioja, Logroño, Spain

The Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) arises from the concern to account for the relationship between syntax and all facets on meaning construction, including traditional implicature and illocutionary meaning. At the heart of the LCM (see figure 1) we find the notions of *lexical template* (LT) and *constructional template* (CT), which are the building blocks of the model. The principled interaction between lexical and constructional templates supplies the central or *core* meaning layer for other more *peripheral* operations -involving implicated meaning- to take place (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2007). A lexical template (LT) is a low-level semantic representation of the syntactically relevant content of a predicate. It consists of a *semantic specification* plus a *logical structure*. The logical structure formalism is constructed on the basis of *Aktionsart* distinctions proposed in *Role and Reference Grammar* (Van Valin, 2005). *Aktionsart* regularities are captured by external variables, specified in Roman characters, and by a set of high-level elements of structure that function as semantic primitives. Lexical templates also contain internal variables marked with Arabic numerals and coded in terms of lexical functions that have been adapted from those propounded in Mel'cuk's *Explanatory and Combinatorial Lexicology* (c.f. Mel'cuk and Wanner, 1996). In the LCM, these variables capture world-knowledge elements that relate in a way specific to the predicate defined by the lexical template: Consider:

Grasp: [MagnObstr & Culm12[[ALL]] **know'** (x, y)

The semantic structure between square brackets contains a lexical function (or operator) Ma-gnObstr, which specifies the large degree of difficulty involved in the action; Culm, in turn, captures the end-point of knowing something (which is understanding). Note that *grasp* is a hyponym of *understand* and consequently inherits all the semantic properties of the superordinate. ALL is another lexical function that falls within the scope of the internal variables.

Constructional templates make use of the same metalanguage as lexical templates, as evidenced by our proposed format of the *caused-motion* construction:

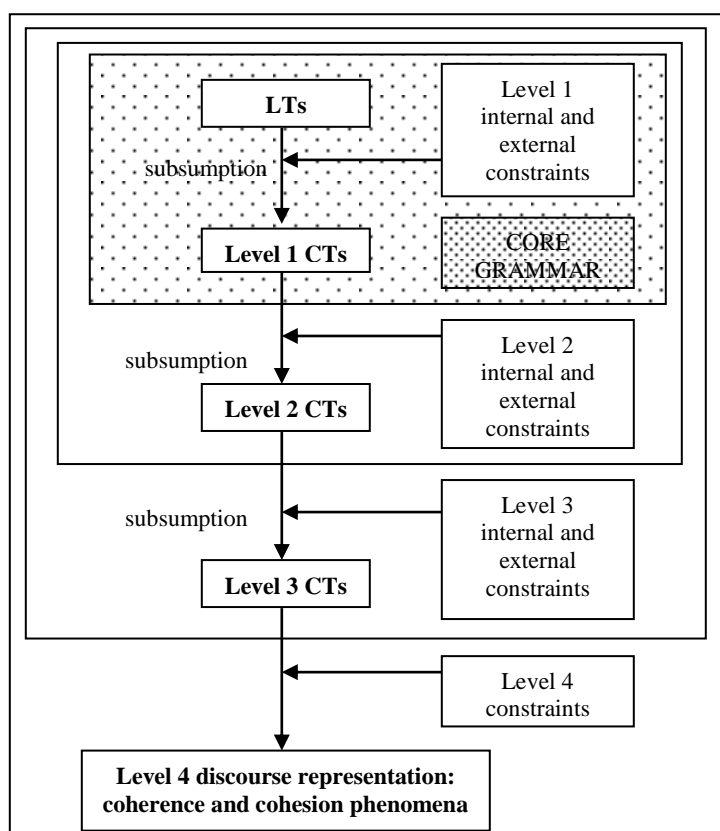
do' (x, [**pred'** (x, y)] CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-in'** (y,z)]
pred' (x, y) CAUSE [BECOME NOT **be-in'** (y,z)]

What is characteristic of this construction is that there is an induced phenomenon that causes a change of location. The second part is a recurrent pattern (e.g. BECOME NOT **be-in'** (y, z)) in every representation of the constructional template, while the first part varies between an activity and a state template. Since the formal apparatus of lexical templates shares with higher-level constructions all elements excepting those

that are specific to a lower-level class, absorption of a lexical template by a construction becomes a straightforward process (see Part II for an account of lexical-constructional subsumption). This kind of formulation captures relevant features that lexical template representations share with constructional representations, which makes our description fully at home with the idea of a lexical-constructional continuum.

References

- Mel'cuk and L. Wanner (1996) "Lexical functions and lexical inheritance for Emotion lexemes in German". In L. Wanner (ed.): *Recent trends in Meaning-Text Theory*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 209-227.
- Van Valin, R.D. Jr. (2005) *The Syntax-Semantics-Pragmatics Interface: An Introduction to Role and Reference Grammar*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2007. High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. En Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg y Peter Siemund. (eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 33-49.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José. 2007. "High level cognitive models: in search of a unified framework for inferential and grammatical behavior", en Kosecki, Krzysztof (ed.) *Perspectives on Metonymy*. Frankfurt/Main. Peter Lang. (Lodz Studies in Language); 11-30.



An overview of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM).

Part II: subsumption processes

Ricardo Mairal Usón
National University of
Distance Education, Madrid, Spain

Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez
University of La Rioja, Logroño, Spain

In the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM) *subsumption* is a stepwise meaning production mechanism that consists in the principled incorporation of lexical structure (captured in the form of lexical templates) into syntactically-oriented structure (captured by core-grammar or level 1 constructional templates), which is the absorbed into other higher-level representations that give rise to pragmatic and discourse meaning implications (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza, 2007). Subsumption is a constrained process that takes place at all levels of meaning derivation. At the level of core grammar, *internal constraints* specify the conditions under which a lexical template may modify its internal configuration. They take the form of licensing or blocking factors that depend on lexical class ascription, lexical-constructional compatibility, and either predicate or internal variable conditioning of external variables. For example, the *lexical class constraint* explains why ‘break’ verbs may take part in the causative/inchoative alternation (cf. *The child broke the window* and *The window broke*), while ‘destroy’ verbs may not. The reason is that ‘destroy’ verbs belong to the lexical class of ‘existence’ verbs, while ‘break’ verbs are verbs of ‘change of state’. *External constraints* result from the possibility or impossibility of performing high-level metaphoric and metonymic operations on the lexical items involved in the subsumption process. For example, the subcategorical conversion of ‘laugh (at)’, an activity predicate, into a causative accomplishment predicate when taking part in the *Caused-Motion* construction (*They laughed him out of the room*) hinges upon the metaphorical correlation between two kinds of actor and two kinds of object. In the case of causative accomplishments, the actor and object are an *effector* and an *effectee*, i.e. an actor whose action has a direct impact and subsequent effects on the object. With activities, the actor is a mere “doer” of the action that is experienced by the object. There are other high-level metaphors and metonymies with a grammatical impact: COMMUNICATIVE ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION (e.g. *He talked me into it*), PROCESS FOR ACTION (e.g. *The door opened*) and PROCESS FOR ACTION FOR (ASSESSED) RESULT (e.g. *This washing powder washes whiter*).

Fully worked-out core-grammar representations (level 1) are the input for a pragmatic (level 2) module that accounts for low-level inferential aspects of linguistic communication. A level 3 module deals with high-level inferences (illocutionary force). Finally, a level 4 module accounts for the discourse aspects of the LCM, especially cohesion and coherence phenomena. Each level is subsumed into higher levels of description as licensed by a number of cognitive constraints. Internal constraints at these levels are based on the ability of each lower-level configuration to *parametrize* its next higher-level construct. External constraints at levels 2 and 3 are the result of higher-level metonymic operations that are in turn regulated by cognitive principles such as *Extended Invariance*, *Correlation*, and *Mapping Enforcement*

principles (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2007). Discourse constraints at level 4 take the form of general principles governing cohesion/coherence relationships between utterances and high-level conceptual prominence.

References

- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2007. High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. En Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg y Peter Siemund. (eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 33-49.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José. 2007. "High level cognitive models: in search of a unified framework for inferential and grammatical behavior", en Kosecki, Krzysztof (ed.) *Perspectives on Metonymy*. Frankfurt/Main. Peter Lang. (Lodz Studies in Language); 11-30.

Situating the Lexical Constructional Model in functional-cognitive space: Some preliminary considerations

Francisco González-García
University of Almería, Spain

This presentation sets out to offer a preliminary characterization of the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM henceforth) (Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal 2006, 2007, Mairal and Faber forthcoming, *inter alios*) against the background of functional-cognitive space (Butler and González-García 2005; González-García and Butler 2006; Nuyts in press). A number of significant analogies between the LCM and functionalist, cognitivist and/or constructionist models are discussed, especially those concerning (i) the motivation of syntax with respect to semantics/pragmatics, (ii) the conception of the semiotic system as being motivated by external factors ranging from iconicity to e.g. parsing considerations, and (iii) the cautionary position taken on the postulation of universal structures, while claiming that the specific combination of lexical functions and primitives is language specific. Crucially, the LCM allies itself more closely with cognitivist approaches in prioritizing (iv) cognition over communication, (v) semantics over syntax, (vi) conceptual/representational semantics over interactional facets of meaning, (vii) synchrony over diachrony, and (viii) the extraction of conceptual information validated by corpus data rather than naturally-occurring data alone. Specifically, the uncompromising focus placed by the LCM on cognition is evident in a number of interesting respects: first, the semantic metalanguage invoked in this model aims to make explicit the connection between language and conceptual structure. Moreover, the external constraints impinging on the process of integration of lexical templates into higher-level constructional representations involve conceptual and cognitive operations such as high-level metaphorical and metonymic mappings. Furthermore, the LCM assigns more importance to semantic factors than to structural ones but, unlike cognitivist and/or constructionist approaches, is somewhat agnostic on the grammar-lexicon continuum. In contrast to Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) and Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005), the LCM, continuing the tradition of its ancestor, the Functional Lexematic Model (Faber and Mairal 1999), places added emphasis on the lexicon, which is hierarchically organized into semantic classes. Crucially, the LCM vindicates an enhanced semantic component via the postulation of internal constraints concerning the semantic properties of lexical and constructional templates regulating their integration (or, alternatively, lexical subsumption). In addition, the LCM fits in more nicely with cognitivist approaches in prioritizing conceptual/representational semantics over structural factors, although this does not imply that interpersonal facets of the construction are ignored (see e.g. Ruiz de Mendoza and Baicchi 2006). The LCM, like cognitivist models, acknowledges the existence of a dynamic interplay between synchrony and diachrony. However, as it stands, its focus of research is decidedly on the former rather than on the latter. Finally, regarding the nature of the research data, the LCM appears to be more in consonance with the cognitivist tradition in vindicating a thorough study of the usage of terms by a meticulous extraction of conceptual information on meaning parameters, restrictions, etc. from dictionaries, this

information being later on validated by a corpus analysis. Last but not least, as in cognitively-influenced versions of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006), the LCM invokes a non-monotonic inheritance system in which there is room for overrides.

References

- Butler, C.S. and González-García, F. (2005). Situating FDG in functional-cognitive space: An initial study. In J.L. Mackenzie and M.L.A. Gómez-González (Eds.), *Studies in Functional Discourse Grammar* (Linguistic Insights, 26). Bern: Peter Lang. 109-158.
- Faber, P. and R. Mairal (1999). *Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2006). *Constructions at Work* (The Nature of Generalization in Language). Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- González-García, F. and Butler, C.S. (2006). Mapping functional-cognitive space. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 4: 39-96.
- Mairal, R. and P. Faber (forthcoming). Lexical templates within a functional cognitive theory of meaning. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics*.
- Nuyts, J. (in press). Cognitive Linguistics and Functional Linguistics. In D. Geeraerts and H. Cuyckens (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. and A. Baicchi (2006). Illocutionary constructions: cognitive motivation and linguistic realization. *Linguistic LAUD Agency. Series A. General and Theoretical Papers*. Essen: LAUD 2006, paper no. 668.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. and R. Mairal (2006). Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet. *Revista Interlingüística*. nº 17.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F. J. and R. Mairal (2007). High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. In G. Radden, K. Köpcke, T. Berg and P. Siemund. (eds.). *Aspects of meaning construction in lexicon and grammar*. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 33-49.
- Van Valin, R. D. Jr. (2005). *Exploring the syntax-semantics interface*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Constructional templates and unification constraints: The case of the inchoative construction

Francisco José Cortés Rodríguez
University of La Laguna, Spain

This presentation provides an analysis of English inchoative structures within the framework of a functionally-based conception of language and, specifically, of the lexicon. This theoretical framework —the Lexical Constructional Model (LGM henceforth)— proposes a lexical component composed of two central elements: a repository of lexical units grouped into lexical classes, which are established on the basis of the commonality of meaning of predicates, and a catalogue of constructions, which is also devised as having internal organization.

The LCM develops a system of lexical representation composed of the *Aktionsart* properties of predicates, as described in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005; Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), plus a semantic description based on a finite set of metalinguistic primitives. Therefore, lexical decomposition encompasses both an eventive characterization and the set of semantic parameters that delimit the position of every predicate in the semantic architecture of the Thesaurus component. This proposal for semantic representation is extended to the realm of the constructicon. In fact, inchoative structures will be represented by the following constructional templates:

- (a) [Caus1Fact1] [BECOME/ INGR **pred'** (x)], 1= x
- (b) [Caus1Fact1] [PROC (x, [**move'** (x)]) <& INGR **be-LOC'** (y,x)>)], 1= x (PROC & INGR= BECOME)

The semantics of the inchoative construction describes a telic event which involves one entity that undergoes a change of state (template a) or position (template b). With regard to positional inchoatives, the operator BECOME is decomposed into PROC & INGR (cf. Van Valin 2005: 42-ff). This captures the fact that non punctual telic events involve both a process that takes place over time, and an inherent endpoint leading to a result state.

The LCM also postulates that lexical-constructional unification is subject to the conditions imposed on the semantic compatibility between predicates and constructions. Conditions invoke higher level cognitive mechanisms like metonymy and metaphor and lower-level semantic restrictions affecting event or argument structure in semantic representations.

The analysis of lexical subsumption within the inchoative construction will be subject to two types of restrictions: firstly, there is an external constraint affecting the unification of causative predicates and inchoative structures (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2007). This external constraint is based on a high-level metonymic process which has been labelled PROCESS FOR ACTION: an action is treated as if it were a process that in turn stands for the action. Secondly, unification is conditioned by some internal constraints imposed upon the semantic structure of predicates. Among these there are also two subtypes: (1) constraints on the event structure of predicates, which make reference to the codification of telicity and causativity in the case of

causative/inchoative verbs; (2) constraints on the arguments of lexical templates, among which the ‘agent-causer blocking’ and the ‘cause expletivization’ constraints play a crucial role. The analysis of these constraints will in fact reveal the feasibility and explanatory potential of the LCM for meaning construction.

References

- Ruiz de Mendoza, F.J. & R. Mairal. In press *a*. Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet. *Revista Interlingüística*. n° 17, 2006.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F.J. & R. Mairal. In press *b*. High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. En Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg y Peter Siemund. (eds.). 2007. *Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 33-49.
- Van Valin, R.D.Jr., 2005. *Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Van Valin, R.D.Jr. & R.J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function...* Cambridge: CUP.

High-level metaphor in the caused-motion construction

Annalisa Baicchi
University of Pavia, Italy

The fact that argument structure constructions are the linguistic counterparts of basic cognitive patterns of experience has been widely accepted and supported by the recent literature addressing the issue of the lexical-syntactic continuum within the theoretical framework of Cognitive Linguistics (e.g., Langacker 1991, Goldberg 1995, Wierzbicka 1996). Such a claim has a solid foundation in the field of language acquisition research (Clark 1978 and 1993; Slobin 1985), which has given cross-linguistic evidence that verbs denoting the semantics connected with argument structure constructions are learned earlier and most frequently used in children's speech, and applied earliest to prototypical scenes, i.e., scenes connected with the central senses of constructions. This is, for example, the case with 'general purpose' verbs (Clark 1993) like 'put', which licenses the caused-motion construction ['X causes Y to move Z'], a construction denoting a '*Manipulative Activity Scene*' (Slobin 1985). This pattern represents a basic causal event where an Agent induces a Patient to a physical change-of-state (*He put the key into the drawer*). The 'Subj V Obj Obl' pattern extends to express a variety of caused-motion meaning, which relates to the phenomenon of constructional polysemy *à la* Goldberg, a phenomenon which has raised some controversy (Boas 2002; Croft 2003). The central sense of verbs extends in a motivated fashion, and encompasses more peripheral and metaphorical senses as in the expressions below:

- (1) He smiled me out of the room.
- (2) She listened me into existence.
- (3) He touched me back into consciousness.

It is the aim of this presentation to investigate the conceptual motivation of expressions based on the caused-motion construction, which I consider a constructional template, i.e. an abstract semantic representation of syntactically relevant meaning elements (Ruiz de Mendoza 2005; Kay 2005; Goldberg 2005). Drawing on the 'Lexico-Constructional Model' (hence LCM) recently elaborated by Ruiz de Mendoza and Mairal Usón (Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal 2006, 2007; Ruiz de Mendoza 2007; Mairal & Ruiz de Mendoza 2006, 2007), I will contrast perception and cognition verbs, as classified in Faber & Mairal 1999, in order to explore the way in which such verbs take part in the caused-motion construction.

The activity predicate verbs in the examples above are intransitive verbs which, through a subcategorical process, have been converted into transitive verbs, thus meeting the requirements of a causative accomplishment, conceptually mapped onto motion (Vendler 1967). Such an adaptation process is grounded in a high-level metaphor, EXPERIENTIAL ACTION IS EFFECTUAL ACTION, which licenses the full understanding of the above expressions as instances of caused-motion activity. The reason why this mapping is not only possible but required is well explained by the Extended Invariance and the Correlation Principles, as put forward by Ruiz de Mendoza 1998 and Ruiz de Mendoza & Santibañez 2003. Consider the following

examples where (4) refers to the intransitive use of the activity predicate ‘*stare (at)*’ and (5) is the verb’s transitive conversion:

(4) He stared at me.

(5) He stared me out of his room.

The co-predication of verb plus preposition in (5) gives rise to a meaning of motion which is not encoded in the two co-predicators, which share the same argument conflating the roles of ‘affected object’ and ‘actor’. The reinterpretation of the verb as a transitive activity predicate, which hinges upon the correlation between the affected object and the experiencer, is made possible by their sharing relevant implicational structure, i.e. both goals relate to the actor’s action. Once the intransitive verb has undergone subcategorical conversion into a transitive form, it denotes a goal-oriented activity predicate.

References

- Boas, Hans C. 2002. “On constructional polysemy and verbal polysemy in Construction Grammar”. In Samiian, V. (ed.), *Proceedings of the 2000 Western Conference on Linguistics*. Vol. 12:126-139.
- Clark, Eve Vivienne 1978. “Discovering what words can do”. *Papers from the Parasession on the Lexicon, Chicago Linguistics Society*: 34-57.
- Clark, Eve Vivienne 1993. *The Lexicon in Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Croft, William 2003. “Lexical rules vs. constructions: A false dichotomy”. In H. Cuyckens, T. Berg, R. Dirven & K. Panther (eds.), *Motivation in Language. Studies in Honour of Günter Radden*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 49-68.
- Faber, Pamela & Mairal Usón, Ricardo 1999. *Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goldberg, Adele 1995. *A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldberg, Adele 2005. *Constructions at work: the nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kay, Paul 2005. “Argument structure constructions and the argument-adjunct distinction”. In Mirjam Fried & Hans C. Boas (eds.), *Grammatical Constructions. Back to the roots (Constructional Approaches to Language, 4)*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia. John Benjamins: 71-98.
- Langacker, Ronald 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Mairal Usón, Ricardo & Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez. 2006. “Internal and external constraints in meaning construction: the lexicon-grammar continuum”. *Estudios de Filología Inglesa: Homenaje a la Dra. Asunción Alba Pelayo*. Madrid: UNED.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José 2005 “Construing meaning through conceptual mappings”. In P.Fuertes (ed.), *Lengua y Sociedad: Aportaciones recientes en Lingüística Cognitiva, Lingüística del Corpus, Lenguajes de Especialidad y Lenguas en Contacto*. University of Valladolid: 19-38.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José 2007. “High level cognitive models: in search of a unified framework for inferential and grammatical behavior”. In Krzysztof Kosecki (ed.), *Perspectives on Metonymy*. Frankfurt/Main. Peter Lang: 11-30.

- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2006. "Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet". *Revista Interlingüística* 17.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2007. "Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet". *Interlingüística*, no. 17.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Mairal Usón, Ricardo. 2007. "High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction", in Günter Radden, Klaus, Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg & Peter Siemund. (eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 33-49.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Francisco Santibáñez Sáenz, 2003. "Content and formal cognitive operations in construing meaning". In *Italian Journal of Linguistics* 15(2): 293-320.
- Slobin, Dan 1985. "Crosslinguistic evidence for the language-making capacity". In Dan Slobin (ed.). *A Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition*. Vol. 2. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: 1157-1256.
- Vendler, Zeno 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna 1996. *Semantics: Primes and Universals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The lexical representation of the English verbs of feeling within the Lexical Constructional Model

Rocío Jiménez Briones
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Spain

This paper looks at the way the English verbs of feeling are organized and represented within the Lexical Constructional Model (LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2006, 2007). The LCM is a proposal for both lexical representation and syntax-semantics interface that, despite being developed within the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG; Van Valin, 2005), shows full compatibility with other functional and/or cognitive approaches to language, such as Construction Grammar (CG; Goldberg 1995, 2006).

Crucially for the organization of verbal domains, the LCM stems from the paradigmatic and syntagmatic lexical organization of the English and Spanish lexicons developed within the Functional Lexematic Model (FLM; c.f. Faber & Mairal, 1999), which has been partially integrated into the new model. Following the main premises of the FLM, in this paper we present the organization of the domain of the English verbs of feeling. Thus, by working upwards from lexicographic entries and factorizing dictionary definitions, we are able to arrange more than 250 verbs into a number of lexical subdomains that encode the ways emotions and feelings are conceptualized in English. Such subdomains vary depending on the feeling they focus on, namely, sadness, happiness, aversion, attraction, pain, fear, surprise, worry and shame.

In relation to the representation of the lexico-semantic and syntactic properties of verbs, the LCM has the advantage of employing a formal meta-entry or lexical template which in just one format allows us to unify all the relevant properties pertaining to the lexical class of feeling verbs in English. Unlike RRG logical structures, LCM templates codify both grammatically salient features (i.e. external variables) and semantic and pragmatic parameters (i.e. internal variables)... However, unlike CG semantic frames, templates employ a metalanguage based on semantic primitives (Wierzbicka, 1996) and lexical functions (Mel'cuk, 1988) for the representation of the lexico-semantic properties of verbs, and on the RRG *Aktionsart* distinctions for the codification of their syntactic properties. In this presentation I illustrate how both components of a LCM template turn out to be crucial for a fine-grained description of the semantic and syntactic subtleties of the domain of feeling predicates... Below is a representative sample of the organization of templates in the English subdomain of *anger* verbs:

<i>to cause somebody to feel aversion [anger]</i>	
[SYMPT (FEELING_TYPE: anger) ₂] [(do' (x, ∅)) CAUSE [feel' (y, [pred']) (x,y)]	anger to cause somebody to feel anger
[MINUS & [anger]]	annoy to anger somebody a little
<old> [INVOLVCAUS ₁ SYMPT(FEELING_TYPE: puzzlement) ₂ & [annoy]]	vex to annoy somebody, causing them to feel puzzled. [Old-fashioned]
<fml> [INVOLVCAUS ₁ SYMPT(FEELING_TYPE: displeasure) ₂ & [annoy]]	displease to annoy somebody, causing them to feel displeasure / inconvenience [Fml.]
<infml>[INVOLVCAUS ₁ SYMPT(FEELING_TYPE: disgust) ₂ & [annoy]]	irk to annoy somebody, causing them to feel disgust [Infml.]

References

- Faber, Pamela & Mairal, Ricardo. 1999. Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Goldberg, Adele E. 1995... Constructions. A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.
- 2006. Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language... New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mel'cuk, Igor. 1988. "Semantic description or lexical units in an explanatory combinatorial dictionary: Basic principles and heuristic criteria". International Journal of Lexicography 1 (3): 165–188.
- Ruiz de Mendoza, Francisco José & Mairal, Ricardo. 2006... "Grounding lexical and constructional representations in metaphor and meaning". Paper presented at The Fourth International Conference on Construction Grammar... Tokyo University, September 1-3, 2006.
- 2007. "High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction" In G. Radden, K. Köpcke, T. Berg and P. Siemund (eds.). Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 33-49.
- Van Valin, Robert D., Jr. 2005. Exploring the Syntax-Semantics Interface. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1996. Semantics: Primes and Universals. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Internal constraints in lexical-constructional unification of perception verbs

Ignasi Navarro i Ferrando, José Fernando García Castillo &
Antonio José Silvestre López
Universitat Jaume I of Castelló, Spain

In this presentation we aim at investigating the nature of lexical templates for English verbs of visual and aural perception – for example, “see”, “look”, “observe”, “gaze”, “watch”, “spot”, “sight”, “peep”, “peer”; “hear”, “listen”, “overhear”, “eavesdrop”, “listen in”, “hear out”, “attend” (i.e. pay attention), “heed” – and their process of unification in lexical-syntactical constructions, within the LCM (Faber & Mairal Usón 1999; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón 2006; Mairal Usón & Ruiz de Mendoza in press). The LCM poses a macro-representation of the lexicon as a whole, and elaborates a global organization of the lexicon trying to make it as much analogical to our mental lexicon as possible. Lexemes are organized into a hierarchy of domains and subdomains. Thus, the visual perception domain is dominated by a general verb like “see” – **see'** (x,y) – , defined as a primitive, that is subsumed by more specific subdomain verbs, like “look” – [INTENT, CONT] **see'**(x,y) – which is in turn subsumed by “watch” – [MAGN & INTENT, CONTIng] **see'**(x,y).

Lexical items for verbs are subject to both internal constraints (metalinguistic units encoded in a lexical representation, as illustrated in the lexical templates above) and external constraints (higher conceptual and cognitive mechanisms like metaphorical and metonymic mappings) as for unification with constructions in order to produce semantic interpretations. Crucial to our purposes here is positing a number of trial tests in order to determine how these constraints, particularly internal constraints, characterise the unification process, while also accounting for the feasibility of actual expressions in the particular languages under scrutiny – in our case English. To this end, the verb definitions employed here to develop verb lexical templates are taken mainly from Faber & Mairal Usón (1999) and the battery of examples on which our investigation is based have been extracted from the British National Corpus World Edition.

References

- Faber, P & Mairal Usón, R. (1999) *Constructing a Lexicon of English Verbs*, Berlin/New York, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal Usón (2006) “Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet”... *Revista Interlingüística*. nº 17, 2006.
- Mairal Usón & Ruiz de Mendoza (in press) “Internal and external constraints in meaning construction: the lexicon-grammar continuum” In *Estudios de Filología Inglesa: Homenaje a la Dra. Asunción Alba Pelayo*. Madrid: UNED.

Metonymy-based pragmatic inference in the Lexical Constructional Model: Accounting for speech act type transitions

ChenXianglan
Peking University, Beijing, China

The *Lexical Constructional Model* (LCM; Ruiz de Mendoza & Mairal, 2006, 2007) started out as an account of the relationship between lexical and syntactic meaning. However, in more recent developments (Ruiz de Mendoza, 2007, Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi, 2007), the LCM has undertaken the task of dealing with the pragmatic and discourse dimensions of meaning construction. The LCM deals with pragmatic implicature in terms of a low-level metonymic mapping carried out on the basis of a situational model or scenario. Thus, *I reached for the directory* may mean *I found Jane's address by looking her name up in the phone directory* on the basis of metonymic access to the relevant scenario. Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi (2007) have further explored illocutionary meaning in quite some detail as the metonymic exploitation of a complex high-level situational model, the *Cost-Benefit Model*, which is constructed around the central idea that people are expected to act in such a way that what they do turns to other people's benefit. Thus, the potentially requestive value of *I'm thirsty* results from making explicit part of a scenario according to which if the speaker has a problem, the addressee, once aware of it, should do something about it.

Xianglan (2007) proposes a distinction between different kinds of matrix (or main) domain for metonymy, the *Event Matrix Domain* (EMD), the *Illocutionary Force Matrix Domain* (IFMD), and the *Speech Act Type Matrix Domain* (SATMD). The EMD is the equivalent of Ruiz de Mendoza's low-level situational models, and the IFMD roughly corresponds to Ruiz de Mendoza & Baicchi's high-level situational models. SATMDs, which have no equivalent in the LCM, can account for speech act transitions in which the same speaker shades an initial illocutionary value into others within the same discourse context (e.g. an order into a request, then into pleading). The smoothness of these transitions is possible because we have the same cognitive model at work in all cases, with different activation perspectives. Thus, a request is obtained by mitigating an order, and an act of pleading through enhancing the insistence and submissiveness components of the request. An SATMD is a composite domain with high-level slots for all the directive speech act values (a part of the Cost-Benefit model) that can then be conveniently parametrized in accordance with contextual requirements. Once parametrized, an SATMD is available for various forms of metonymic activation, thus yielding different but related speech act values. Postulating this kind of high-level domain is necessary to account for the connection between relevant parts of the Cost-Benefit Model. At the same time, SATMDs are necessary to endow the LCM with discourse adequacy in terms of the illocutionary coherence of speech turns. With data from various modern Chinese drama sources, I study some cases of speech act transition based on SATMDs constructed on the basis of different parts of the Cost-Benefit Model and postulate the incorporation of this theoretical construct into the LCM.

References

- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José. 2007. "High level cognitive models: in search of a unified framework for inferential and grammatical behavior", en Kosecki, Krzysztof (ed.) *Perspectives on Metonymy*. Frankfurt/Main. Peter Lang. (Lodz Studies in Language); 11-30.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2006. "Levels of semantic representation: where lexicon and grammar meet". *Interlingüística*, 17; in press.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Ricardo Mairal Usón. 2007. High-level metaphor and metonymy in meaning construction. En Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Köpcke, Thomas Berg y Peter Siemund. (eds.) *Aspects of Meaning Construction in Lexicon and Grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins; 33-49.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, Francisco José & Annalisa Baicchi. 2006. "Illocutionary Constructions: Cognitive Motivation and Linguistic Realization". Linguistic LAUD Agency. Series A. General & Theoretical Papers. Essen:LAUD 2006, paper no. 668. A revised version to appear in: Kecskes, Istvan and Laurence Horn (eds.) *Explorations in Pragmatics: Linguistic, Cognitive, and Intercultural Aspects*. Berlin/New Cork: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Xianglan, Chen. 2007. "转喻思维的多样性" ("Multiple Formations of Metonymy Thinking Operation", 外语教学与研究, 待刊。

The expression of stance in talk-in-interaction

The expression of stance in talk-in-interaction

Friday 31 August 2007

Convenors: Bert Cornillie (University of Leuven), Elise Kärkkäinen (University of Oulu), Maarit Niemelä (University of Oulu)

This workshop aims to account for the linguistic representation of stance in talk-in-interaction. Stance refers to the position of the speech participants toward what is being said and, hence, involves both the locutor and the interlocutor. By doing so, it has a subjective and an intersubjective dimension. Semantically speaking, stance includes, among other qualifications, (epistemic, evidential, deontic) modality, different kinds of evaluations and expressions of alignment/agreement with the interlocutor. Linguistically, stance-taking is not only conveyed by various expression types (auxiliaries, mental state predicates, adjectives, adverbs, discourse markers), but also presents itself in, for example, linguistic structures like negative yes/no interrogatives and tag questions or first-person reportings. In addition, prosody, which structures the discourse organization, often shapes the specific discourse meaning of an expression in actual sequential positions. And finally, to what extent different embodied practices co-construct a stance-taking action together with the linguistic practices deployed is largely an unexplored territory.

A great deal of theoretical work (Du Bois 2004, Haddington 2004, 2005) and a considerable amount of empirical studies (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2006, Wu 2004, Haddington 2004, 2006, Rauniomaa's and Keisanen's paper in Englebretson in press, etc.) on stance have seen the light of day in the last years. Whereas interactional linguists focus mainly on the communicative and social patterns guiding stance-taking, cognitive linguists usually account for the conceptual structure behind the specific expressions and address the question how conceptualization determines linguistic representation (Nuyts 2001, Athanasiadou, Canakis & Cornillie 2006, Cornillie & Delbecq 2006, Cornillie in press, Narrog 2005). Recently, however, more attention is being paid to the integration between the interactional approach to stance and other functionally-oriented research on modality and intersubjectivity (Traugott 2003, Høye 2005, Aijmer & Simon-Vandenberg 2007, Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2007, to name but a few). An important step towards a new synergy between these two approaches is represented by several recent volumes (te Molder and Potter 2005, contributions in special Issue of *Discourse Studies* 2006, Enfield and Levinson 2006) and the theme and one workshop of the XXXIV Finnish Linguistics Conference (May 2007), *Cognitive linguistics and the study of interaction – points of contact and possible common research questions*. Our workshop can then be seen as a topic-specific elaboration of this generally oriented initiative.

From both a discourse-functional and a cognitive-linguistic point of view, it is indeed worthwhile to examine to what extent specific modal and evaluative expressions or specific question types are motivated by the sequential context of spoken discourse, hence, by its turn constructions. The following questions arise: is there a correlation between the semantic and syntactic characteristics of expressions indexing stance and the interactional nature of stance-taking? Do expressions differ according to the *backward-type* and *forward-type* intersubjectivity (Haddington 2004: 107)? Does

interrogative mood often replace modal expressions or are they most often combined? If they combine, does this mean that the interrogative downplays the modal expression by using the utterance as a whole as part of the stance-taking (see Keisanen 2006)? This may confirm the feeling that modal expressions, which so far have received the bulk of our attention, are only part of the picture (cf. Clift 2006 for first-person reportings acting as interactional evidentials). In this context, it is also to be examined to what extent stance-taking is influenced and co-constructed by prosody and embodiment. For example, it remains to be analyzed whether subjective and intersubjective correspond to specific prosodic patterns.

The papers to be presented at the workshop will examine and compare various stance expressions and stance-taking practices. A useful analytic guideline is Du Bois' (in press) Stance Triangle.

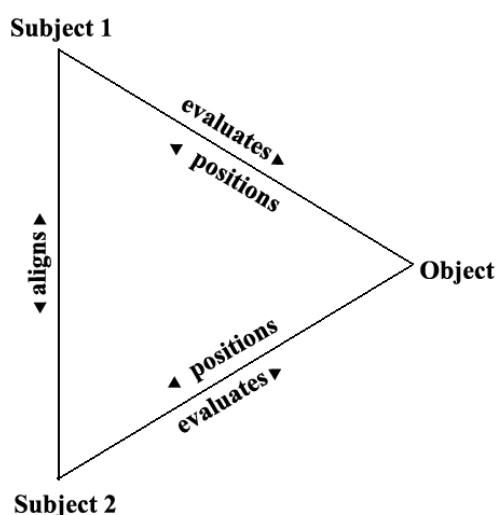


Figure 1. The Stance Triangle (Du Bois in press)

In the act of taking a stance, the speaking subject is understood as achieving three kinds of stance consequences at once: The stancetaker (1) evaluates an object, (2) positions a subject (usually the self), and (3) aligns with other subjects. Du Bois (2003, in press) sees stance taking as a dynamic, dialogic, intersubjective, and collaborative social *activity* in which speakers actively construct stances by building on, modifying, and aligning with other stances by other speakers. Special attention is being paid to dialogic syntactic patterns in conversation. Stance clusters and prosodic patterns resonating with the language of the interlocutor may convey alignment and engagement between speech participants. It is still to be investigated whether expression types display a different or a similar flexibility as to resonance.

Since the workshop deals with different languages, we hope that the individual papers provide cogent evidence that will lead to common, cross-linguistic, insights on stance-taking in interaction and thus invoke sound generalizations about human communication, and the functional role of stance, in particular.

Why stance changes everything

John W. Du Bois

University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

When a person takes a stance, things change. What changes directly is the simple fact that a new stance has come into being. The stance is now a social fact, and is recognized as such by those who have witnessed the act of its realization. It is interpreted as carrying significance via its unfolding implications for the developing situation and beyond. In the give and take of dialogic interaction, taking a stance can achieve several different kinds of results. Stance can evaluate things, events, and propositions; position the speaker; align the speaker with others who have spoken before; invite comparison and differentiation between juxtaposed stances; invoke value metrics for judgment; validate and reinforce the values invoked; and more. What changes indirectly extends well beyond the already diverse direct consequences of stance, through a complex series of events flowing from the original stance act which intertwine with other similar events to lead ultimately to a multiplex reconfiguration of the landscape of social realities. Whether directly or indirectly, the individual who takes a stance interacts with a rich network of social givens already established in previous acts of stancetaking to participate in bringing about a whole new array of social facts. This is no solo feat, but is jointly achieved via networks of collaborative activity which begin with the co-participants in the immediate interaction and extend as far as the horizons of the community of discourse. It must be acknowledged that the verbal and other communicative means initially deployed to inaugurate the stance act, though important in their own right, yield consequences which go far beyond what could reasonably be attributed to their tangible forms and literal meanings. Rather, their impact is amplified through accumulated effects of joint orientation, framing, inference, co-action, resonance, reflexivity, emergence, and more. The profound achievement of stance is to continually bring into existence the array of social facts which dynamically frame the conditions of, and for, our ongoing social lives.

If we assume for the moment that stance can in fact change things—a point which doubtless could be deemed controversial, deserves a response, and will indeed be addressed in this paper—the question arises: Why? Why is it that stance has the power to change so many different kinds of things, to the point that its effects seem to appear in every domain of social life? To frame this question properly will require us to face some very basic puzzles regarding the way stance is embedded in the organization of social interaction. But there is no avoiding the need to get to the bottom of the question as to why stance changes everything, if we wish to arrive at an understanding of the nature of linguistic and other symbolic action and their role in social life. Among the preliminary questions to be considered at the outset we can identify at least three. First, What is stance? Second, What is stance connected to? Third, How do the connections and interconnections that stance participates in lead to the kind of cascading consequences that we observe in the dynamic flux of social interaction? In sum: What is it that makes it possible, in the end, for stance to change a few things—or even a lot of things, possibly even everything.

This paper takes a few small steps in the direction of answering these questions, as part of the search for a broader understanding of the role of stance in social life. We proceed by looking at stance precisely as a form of action, and asking what consequences arise from this particular kind of action. When a person takes a stance, what, if anything, changes thereby--and why? The paper proposes a list of the "Top 10" features of stance that make it unique in its potential to account for the phenomenon whereby the mere act of invoking a word, a gesture, a silence, or some other communicative means, can change so many aspects of our social lives, ranging from the immediate illocutionary force of an utterance to the matrix of sociocultural meanings that transform our daily interactions.

Interrogatives in interaction: The structural patterns of stance in English conversations

Tiina Keisanen
University of Helsinki, Finland

Even though epistemicity and related topics such as evidentiality and modality have received quite a lot of attention within the linguistic science, the focus has mainly been on (the markers of) epistemicity and stance as individual expressions or in declarative utterances, rather than within interrogative structures. This paper provides an examination of the general linguistic patterning of tag questions and negative yes/no interrogatives in the database with a special focus on what these local grammatical patterns reveal about stanced linguistic materials and their *relative frequency* in the chosen interrogative structures. I will show that the display of speaker's point of view or stance is a significant factor in the construction negative yes/no interrogatives and tag questions, and consequently, their use in conversation. The data are drawn from about 16 hours of everyday interactions in the *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English* (Du Bois, Chafe, Meyer & Thompson 2000, 2003, Du Bois & Englebertson 2004).

References

- Du Bois, J., W. Chafe, C. Meyer & S. A. Thompson 2000. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Part I. 3 CD-ROMs*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania.
- Du Bois, J., W. Chafe, C. Meyer & S. A. Thompson 2003. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Part II. 1 DVD*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania.
- Du Bois, J. & R. Englebertson 2004. *Santa Barbara Corpus of Spoken American English, Part III. 1 DVD*. Philadelphia: Linguistic Data Consortium, University of Pennsylvania.

Graduating modal certainty: adverbs in interaction

Anne-Marie Simon-Vandenberg
Ghent University, Netherlands

The adverbs *certainly* and *definitely* both express a high degree of the speaker's commitment to the truth value of the proposition. In the group of adverbs of modal certainty they are semantically close together and in many contexts substituting one for the other does not seem to result in any easily identifiable shifts in meaning (Simon-Vandenberg and Aijmer, forthcoming). In this paper I will focus on the differences between these two adverbs, which, though subtle, are nevertheless important. Starting from the observation that they have different preferences with regard to premodification (*almost certainly* vs. *most definitely*), I examine why this should be so. The explanation lies in different orientations to other 'voices' in the interaction (White 2003), in the way these two adverbs are used rhetorically by speakers to express agreement or to flag discrepancy. The data are taken from the British National Corpus.

References

- Simon-Vandenberg, A.-M. and K. Aijmer. 2007. Forthcoming. *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty. A corpus-based study of English adverbs*. Series Topics in English Linguistics, eds. B. Kortmann and E. C. Traugott. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- White, P. 2003. Beyond modality and hedging: a dialogic view of the language of intersubjective stance. *Text* 23(2), 259-284.

Epistemic adverbs in conversational Spanish: On the (inter)subjectivity of harmonic uses and clustering

Bert Cornillie
University of Leuven, Belgium

This talk provides a cognitive-functional account of the epistemic-modal adverbs *tal vez* ‘maybe’ (1), *quizá(s)* ‘maybe’ and *a lo mejor* ‘perhaps’ in conversational Spanish.

- (1) ... *en una esquina del Valle, y ahí teníamos que caminar quizás tres cuatro kilómetros para llegar a la Facultad, donde íbamos a recibir clases.*
HCAR21.063
‘... in a corner of the Valley, and there we had to walk perhaps three kilometers before we reached the Faculty (building), where we were to have class’

Epistemic modality consists in the evaluation of the chances that a certain state-of-affairs will occur, is occurring or has occurred in a possible world, and is often referred to in terms of the likelihood or validity of a proposition (cf. van der Auwera & Plungian 1998, Nuyts 2001, Palmer 2001).

Modal adverbs are currently a much debated issue both in formal frameworks and in functional approaches. However, although the position of modal adverbs, their combinability and scope have received considerable attention, their distribution remains to be accounted for in terms of speaker – hearer interaction. For example, it is still to be studied whether the so-called harmonic uses of a modal adverb with a modal auxiliary, e.g. English *may possibly*, are language-specific collocations or whether they respond to language-independent communicative needs in an interactional context.

My cognitive-functional analysis is based on corpus data from the conversational section of the *Corpus oral del Castellano* (269.500 words, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid). First of all, I show that *tal vez* ‘maybe’ hardly occurs in the corpus whereas *a lo mejor* ‘perhaps’ is the most frequent expression. *Quizá* ‘maybe/perhaps’ is more frequent than *tal vez* but less frequent than *a lo mejor*. I will argue that in peninsular Spanish *tal vez* stands for speaker-oriented subjectivity, often expressing hesitation about the propositional content. The adverbs *a lo mejor* ‘perhaps’ and *quizá* ‘maybe/perhaps’ are more often used to express certain degrees of probability. Interestingly, rather than possibility, probability is in line with the factuality of affirmative instant discourse between speaker and speech participants. In other words, *a lo mejor* and *quizás* easily hint at alignment between the speaker and the interlocutor, whereas *tal vez* does not. Against this background, the difference in frequency distribution can be accounted for.

Moreover, the lower resp. higher likelihood correlates with presence or absence of harmonic uses. The corpus illustrates that the different readings of modal verbs combine with *a lo mejor* and *quizá* although the deontic and dynamic modal readings are more frequent than the epistemic ones. This distribution once again corresponds to the specific nature of the conversational context where intersubjective speaker - hearer negotiation takes place.

Talk-in-interaction often shapes instances of dialogic syntax (Du Bois 2004). Thus, the speaker sometimes adopts the interlocutor's wording and vice versa. However, the corpus shows that the case of the adverb is somewhat different. The clustering of adverbs in the flow of discourse is less often due to speaker - hearer interaction than to the speaker's own modal persistence. Finally, the corpus also indicates that in speaker - hearer interaction the direction of modal qualifications is from weak to stronger probability (first *quizá* then *a lo mejor*), whereas the speaker's own rephrasing witnesses a tendency from stronger to weaker probability.

The embodiment of direct reported speech: Reporting through an ‘other body’

Maarit Niemelä
University of Oulu, Finland

Reporting someone else’s (or one’s own) previous or imaginary speech and thought in conversation commonly involves a shift in the prosody: The reporter may resort to using an ‘other voice’ (see Couper-Kuhlen 1998, Anward 2002) to differentiate the reporting from surrounding talk and to display the ‘state of mind’ of the reported speaker. The process of reporting previous or imaginary speech and thought consists of a complex and elaborate sequence of activities.

In this paper I examine the relationship of lexico-syntactic, prosodic and embodied elements in displaying direct reported speech, adding to previous research by introducing the notion of ‘other body’ in producing direct reported speech sequences in conversational story-telling. The extracts of video data show that the English speakers use their bodies (and objects in their environments) as substitutes for other bodies (and objects) in other spaces similarly to the way users of American Sign Language mark the person other than signer as the speaker via role shifting. Techniques described by previous research (Lee et al. 1997) include cut-off eye contact, shifts of head and torso, changes in facial expression, etc. The reporting speaker (re)creates the circumstances of the original or invented speaking event by using his/her body, and, furthermore, acts out the reported event by gesticulating and adjusting his/her body posture and facial expressions to match the spoken reported activity.

The following picture depicts highpoints of a story that is being ‘acted out’ by Jason (on the right) to Sophie (on the left) and Mary (in the centre). Jason assumes the position of the reported speaker and assigns his body posture and a prominent hand gesture to the reported person, namely the ‘other body’. All the participants in the current telling situation become participants in another virtual space that Jason (re)creates via role shifting.



Frame I: “No offence, we just don’t do that in Canada.”

Frame II: “Yeah, we don’t do that in France.”

Frame III: “Yeah, we don’t do that in Austria.”

References

- Anward, J. 2002. Other voices, other sources. In (eds.) Linell, P. & K. Aronson, *Jagen och rösterna: Goffman, Viveka och samtalet* [Selves and Voices: Goffman, Viveka, and Dialogue], (Studies in Communication SIC 42, Linköping University). Linköping: Tema Kommunikation, Linköpings universitet, 127-148.

- Couper-Kuhlen, E. 1998. Coherent Voicing. On Prosody in Conversational Reported Speech. *Interaction and Linguistic Structures* InLiSt No. 1
- Lee, R.G., C. Neidle, D. MacLaughlin, B. Bahan, and J. Kegl. 1997. Role Shift in ASL: A Syntactic Look at Direct Speech. In C. Neidle, D. MacLaughlin, and R.G. Lee, eds., *Syntactic Structure and Discourse Function: An Examination of Two Constructions in American Sign Language*. (pp. 24-45). American Sign Language Linguistic Research Project Report No. 4, Boston University, Boston, MA. May 1997.

Epistemic stance in an Italian fraud trial: The case of multiple narratives

Maria Eleonora Sciubba
Università Roma Tre, Italy

The source of what is being said and the stance, or position, the speaker assumes toward what is said and its source, is a central issue in forensic linguistics. This paper will focus on the witnesses' and defendants' narratives about the same series of events concerning the alleged fraud the trial is about.

The Italian legal system, in fact, assumes that the defendant is innocent, unless found guilty. In Italian fraud trials the jury is composed of the President of the court and two other judges (*giudici a latere*) who decide conjointly and hand down sentences based on their evaluation of the testimony given by witnesses and defendants.

The jury is not acquainted beforehand with the facts of the trial, therefore, the narratives told in court are re-enactments of the testimony already given to the prosecutor during the preliminary investigation (Jacquemet, 1996).

Multi-party narratives in spontaneous conversation often concern different events told by different speakers that share, however, more or less the same topic focus (Jefferson, 1978; Goodwin, 1986; Lerner, 1992). On the contrary, court narratives deal with the same event told by different speakers necessarily from different perspectives.

Linked to the concept of epistemic stance, credibility is of paramount importance for the acceptance by the court of witnesses' and defendants' stories. Hence, we will analyze how, in court interactions, stance is coded linguistically and through embodiment.

The corpus on which our analysis is based is a collection of videotaped court interactions broadcast by the Italian State television network.

References

- Goodwin C. (1986), Audience diversity, participation and interpretation, *Text*, 6(3):283-316.
Jacquemet M. (1996), *Credibility in court. Communicative practices in the Camorra trials*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
Jefferson G. (1978), Sequential Aspects of Storytelling in Conversation. In: J.Schenkein (ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction*, Academic Press, N.Y., San Francisco, London.
Lerner G. (1992), Assisted Storytelling: Deploying Shared Knowledge as a Practical Matter, *Qualitative Sociology*, 15(3):247-271.

Managing affectivity in talk-in-interaction: The case of *sound objects* in informings

Elisabeth Reber
University of Potsdam, Germany

Recent research on talk-in-interaction has shown that there are social activities on the micro and on more global levels of everyday conversation, where affective displays are part and parcel of the emergent sequential structure, e.g. in responses to rejections (Couper-Kuhlen, 2006), in news deliveries (Maynard 1997) or in story tellings (Selting 1994). Providing further evidence for such a view, this paper is concerned with the specific practices participants deploy to signal affect when responding to affect-laden informings (cf. Heritage 1984): My findings, based on an interactional linguistic study of British English telephone conversations, show that in this sequential slot, participants frequently reply with conversational objects such as [ɑ:], [ʔɔ:], etc., so-called *sound objects*, which have been described as ‘interjections’ in English grammars, or expressions of the speaker’s emotion (cf. Biber et al. 1999). As shown in the excerpt below, participants may additionally expand their turn with a lexical expression, which conveys concordant affective meaning:

[Holt:SO88:1:5] “just bored”

1 Gor: yOU’re just (.) BO:RED, [hhh
2 Sus: [mh: NO::;
3 (0.4)
4 → Sus: we:ll i dIdn’t pass my DRIVING test;
5 → Gor: `%[ɑ::]. h
6 (0.5)
7 → Gor: oh THAT’s a pItY;

The discussion will address two observations that have been identified as important for our understanding of such sequences: 1) Prompted by a pause (here line 6) subsequent to the sound object, the informee may provide a more concrete, explicit account of what the sound object was doing (here line 7). 2) Not all types of sound objects in the data are followed by a concordant lexical object. What conclusions can we draw as regards the meaning and status of sound objects when compared to lexical expressions of affect? What inferences can be made in terms of so-called display rules (Fiehler 1990), i.e. what kind of affect may be shown in what situation? In addition, a formal description of the sound objects under consideration will be offered.

References

- Biber, Douglas, Johansson, Stig, Leech, Geoffrey, Conrad, Susan, Finegan (1999), Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English, Harlow: Longman.
- Couper-Kuhlen, Elizabeth (2006), "A sequential approach to affect: The case of 'disappointment'", Paper presented at the International Conference on Conversation Analysis ICCA-06, May 10-14, 2006, Helsinki.
- Fiehler, Reinhard (1990), Kommunikation und Emotion. Theoretische und empirische Untersuchungen zur Rolle von Emotionen in der verbalen Interaktion, Berlin / New York: de Gruyter.
- Heritage, John (1984), „A change-of-state-token and aspects of its sequential placement“, In: Max Atkinson & John Heritage (eds), Structures of Social Action, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 299-345.
- Maynard, Douglas (1997), "The news delivery sequence: Bad news and good news in conversational interaction", Research on Language and Social Interaction 30:2, 93-130.
- Selting, Margret (1994), "Emphatic speech style - with special focus on the prosodic signalling of heightened emotive involvement in conversation", Journal of Pragmatics 22, 375-408.

Digressing with a stance: Sequential, linguistic and embodied practices of stance taking

Elise Kärkkäinen
University of Oulu, Finland

There is not much work to date on how different modalities may work together to constitute coherent courses of action, and more specifically, how they may enter into the construction and negotiation of stance (but see Haddington 2006). This paper examines how linguistic, prosodic, and embodied resources are used to implement a stance act (Du Bois in press), namely a stanced digression produced by the speaker in the midst of a multi-unit turn such as a conversational story. The sequential environment of such digressions is in a sense monologic rather than dialogic, as there is usually no hearable evidence of the recipients' acknowledgment of the stance act, or of their engagement and alignment in some joint stance-taking activity with the current speaker at these points. The orientation is one of *not* taking a turn at these points, i.e. simply letting the current speaker continue. I will present evidence from the sequential, linguistic, prosodic and embodied production of such digressions, i.e. the different modalities working together to co-construct the current speaker's stance-taking action (Goodwin and Goodwin 2000) that is made recognizable for recipients. These stance acts often stand out from prior and subsequent talk because of their "heightened" embodiment in terms of head movement, facial expression and gestures, and their simultaneously more "subdued" prosodic production (i.e. parenthetical prosody). The data consist of audiotaped and videotaped everyday and more institutional interactions representing different varieties of English.

References

- Du Bois, John W. in press. The stance triangle. In *Stancetaking in Discourse: Subjectivity, Evaluation, Interaction*, ed. Robert Englebretson. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Goodwin, Marjorie Harness, and Goodwin, Charles. 2000. Emotion within situated activity. In *Communication: An arena of development*, eds. Nancy Budwig, I. Uzgiris and James Wertsch, 33–53. Stamford, CT: Ablex.
- Haddington, Pentti. 2006. The organization of gaze and assessments as resources for stance taking. *Text and Talk* 26–3, 281–328.

