

43rd Annual Meeting of the *Societas Linguistica Europaea*

Book of Abstracts

Vilnius University
Vilnius, Lithuania

2 - 5 September 2010

SOCIETAS LINGUISTICA EUROPAEA

President: Hubert Cuyckens (Leuven), Vice-President: Pier Marco Bertinetto (Pisa), President-Elect: Ruth Wodak (Lancaster/Wien), Secretary/Treasurer: Dik Bakker (Amsterdam/Lancaster), Editor *FL*: Teresa Fanego (Santiago de Compostela), Editor *FLH*: Hans-Henrich Hock (Urbana-Champaign) up to volume 30; Nikolaus Ritt (Wien): interim-editor.

Executive Committee: (the above plus) Marianne Kilani-Schoch (Lausanne), Isabella Bunyatova (Kiew), Mario Squartini (Torino), Anna Siewierska (Lancaster), Andreas Musolff (Durham), Heli Tissari (Helsinki).

Conference Manager: Bert Cornillie (Leuven - Research Foundation Flanders)

SLE 2010 LOCAL ORGANIZING COMMITTEE – VILNIUS UNIVERSITY

Aurelija Usoniene (Chair), Jolanta Sinkuniene (Secretary), Antanas Smetona, Birute Ryvityte, Vytautas Kardelis, Erika Jasionyte, Jurgis Pakerys

SLE 2010 SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

Teresa Fanego (Santiago de Compostela, Chair), Werner Abraham (Wien/München), Alexander Adelaar (Melbourne), Karin Aijmer (Göthenburg), Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (J. Cook, Cairns), Sjef Barbiers (Meertens Instituut), Ineta Dabasinskiene (Kaunas), Jean-Marc Dewaele (London), Gabriele Diewald (Hannover), Ursula Doleschal (Wien), Anna Duszak (Warsaw), Dirk Geeraerts (Leuven), Maria del Pilar Garcia Mayo (Vitoria), Volker Gast (Jena), Kleantes K. Grohmann (Nicosia), Youssef Haddad (Florida), Bernd Heine (Köln), Eva Hajicová (Prague), Axel Holvoet (Vilnius), Johannes Kabatek (Tübingen), Violeta Kaledaite (Kaunas), Roman Kalisz (Gdansk), Birute Klaas (Tartu), Ekkehard König (Berlin), Petar Kehayov (Tartu), Elizabeth Lanza (Oslo), David Lasagabaster (Vitoria), Michele Loporcaro (Zurich), Ruta Marcinkeviciene (Research Council, Lithuania), Caterina Mauri (Pavia), Lachlan Mckenzie (Lisbon-VU Amsterdam), Edith Moravcsik (Wisconsin, Milwaukee), Pieter Muysken (Nijmegen), Robert Nicolăi (Nice), Brigitte Pakendorf (Max Planck, Leipzig), Carita Paradis (Lund), Shana Poplack (Ottawa), Anna Siewierska (Lancaster), Frank Seifart (Max Planck, Leipzig), Pieter Seuren (Max Planck, Nijmegen), Carmen Silva-Corvalán (Los Angeles, USC), John-Charles Smith (Oxford), Thomas Stolz (Bremen), Jarmila Tarnyiková (Olomouc), Marina Terkourafi (Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), Sarah Thomason (Michigan), Johan van der Auwera (Antwerp), Andrejs Veisbergs (Riga), Jean-Christophe Verstraete (Leuven), Salvador Valera (Jaén), Letizia Vezzosi (Perugia), Dominique Willems (Gent), Jacek Witkos (Poznan), Virginia Yip (Hong Kong), Klaus Zimmermann (Bremen), Debra Ziegeler (Singapore), Ghil'ad Zuckermann (Queensland).

EDITORS OF THE BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Bert Cornillie
Vytautas Kardelis
Aurelija Usoniene

ISBN 978-9955-33-584-9



Societas Linguistica
Europaea 2010



Vilnius University
2-5 September 2010

Abstracts

Plenary lectures
General session papers
Workshop session papers

(alphabetically ordered)

Position-dependent alternation between monophthongs and diphthongs in the dialects of Southern Italy.

Abete, Giovanni

(Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena / Università di Napoli "Federico II")

Some dialects of Southern Italy are characterized by a phenomenon of phonetic alternation between monophthongs and diphthongs. This alternation depends mainly on the position of the word in the prosodic structure (Rohlf's 1966: § 12). For example, in the dialect of Pozzuoli (close to Naples) the word for 'fishes' can be rendered as [pɔɪ.ʃʃ] before some prosodic boundaries, while it will be rendered as [pi.ʃʃ] in internal position. Strictly related to this issue is the lengthening of vowels at different prosodic boundaries, a well documented process in a wide range of languages (e.g. Wightman et al. 1992). The interplay between prosodic position, vowel lengthening and monophthongal/diphthongal outcome will be analysed here by an acoustic and statistical approach.

Four dialects of Southern Italy will be considered: Pozzuoli and Torre Annunziata in Campania, Belvedere Marittimo in Calabria, Trani in Apulia. The data were collected from casual conversations with fishermen of these communities (around 20 hours of recordings of 24 speakers). A pre-defined list of lexical items in the corpus was manually segmented and labelled. The labelling procedure focused on the position of each token in the prosodic structure, and especially on the presence/absence of Intonational Phrase (*IP*) boundaries and Intermediate Phrase (*ip*) boundaries (Beckman & Pierrehumbert 1986).

Several acoustic analyses were performed on the labelled vocalic segments. The characterization of formant dynamics followed Simpson (1998): the segment was divided into notional 20 ms. portions and measurements of formants were taken for each portion. This procedure allows us to analyse the variations of formant trajectories according to different durational classes. On the basis of formant measures I calculated a coefficient of diphthongization, which represents an estimation of the euclidean distance covered by the diphthong in the F1-F2 space. This coefficient was crucial for an objective classification of each token in the continuum between diphthongal and monophthongal realizations.

This paper presents the main results of the analysis of duration and formant structure. Moreover, a graphical representation of the diphthongs of each dialect in the acoustic/perceptual space is provided. The analysis of duration highlights a pattern of incremental lengthening before *ip* and *IP* boundaries, substantially in accordance with the results of other studies on varieties of Italian (e.g. Bertinetto et al. 2006). On the other hand, the dynamics of formants also co-varies systematically with prosodic position. In detail, the emergence of diphthongal realizations (defined by high scores of the coefficient) is generally limited to pre-*IP* boundary position, although there are interesting differences between the four dialects. The alternation between monophthongal and diphthongal realizations therefore seems to belong to the typology of other phenomena of phonetic variation which relate systematically to prosodic position, thus providing the speaker with acoustic cues for the segmentation of speech into phonological units (e.g. Fougeron & Keating 1997; Keating et al. 2003; Cho 2004; Cho et al. 2007).

References

- Beckman, M. E. & Pierrehumbert, J. (1986), Intonational structure in Japanese and English. *Phonology Yearbook*, 3, 255-309.
- Bertinetto, P. M., Dell'Aglio, M. & Agonigi, M. (2006), Quali fattori influenzano maggiormente la durata vocalica e consonantica in italiano? Un'indagine mediante l'algoritmo di decisione C&RT. In *La Comunicazione Parlata* (M. Pettorino, A. Giannini, M. Vallone, R. Savy, eds.), Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Napoli 23-25 febbraio 2006. Napoli: Liguori, 13-38.
- Cho, T. (2004), Prosodically conditioned strengthening and vowel-to-vowel coarticulation in English. *Journal of Phonetics*, 32, 141-176.
- Cho, T., McQueen, J. M. & Cox, E. A. (2007), Prosodically driven phonetic detail in speech processing: the case of domain-initial strengthening in English. *Journal of Phonetics*, 35, 210-243.
- Fougeron, C. & Keating, P. A. (1997), Articulatory strengthening at edges of prosodic domains. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 101 (6), 3728-3740.
- Keating, P., Cho, T., Fougeron, C. & Hsu, C. (2003), Domain-initial articulatory strengthening in four languages. In *Phonetic interpretation* (J. Local, R. Ogden, R. Temple, eds), Papers in Laboratory Phonology 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 143-161.
- Rohlf's, G. (1966) [1949], Grammatica storica della lingua italiana e dei suoi dialetti. 1: Fonetica, Torino: Einaudi.
- Simpson, A. P. (1998), Characterizing the formant movements of German diphthongs in spontaneous speech. In *Computer Linguistik und Phonetik zwischen Sprache und Sprechen* (B. Schröder, W. Lenders, W. Hess & T. Portele, eds), Tagungsband der 4. Konferenz zur Verarbeitung natürlicher Sprache – KONVENS – 98. Frankfurt: Lang, 192-200.
- Wightman, C. W., Shattuck-Hufnagel, S., Ostendorf, M. & Price, P. J. (1992), Segmental durations in the vicinity of prosodic phrase boundaries. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 91, 1707-1717.

Impersonal uses of French demonstrative *ça*.

Achard, Michel
(Rice University)

In the French constructions described in (1) and (2), the impersonal pronoun *il* and the demonstrative *ça* (*ce*, *cela*, *c'*) are virtually interchangeable:

- (1) « *hé là! Sainte Vierge, est-il possible que le bon Dieu veuille faire souffrir ainsi une malheureuse créature humaine?* (Proust M. *Du Cote de Chez Swann*)
'Hey! Holy Virgin, is it possible that the Good Lord may want to inflict such suffering on a poor human creature?'
- (2) *est-ce possible que durant toute ma vie terrestre, je n'obtienne jamais un peu de justice?* (Bloy L. *Journal T. 2*)
'Is this [it] possible that during all my life on earth I will never get a little justice?'

Despite this similarity, most syntactic accounts treat *il* constructions as impersonals and the structures which contain *ça* as dislocation constructions, and therefore analyze the two pronouns in radically different ways. For example, Jones (1996: 128) claims that: "impersonal sentences are constructions in which the subject position is occupied by a dummy pronoun *il*, which does not refer to anything", while "*ce* or *ça* are not impersonal constructions, but dislocated constructions" with the consequence that "the demonstratives are not 'dummy' pronouns, but referential expressions which refer forward to the finite or infinitival clause" (Jones 1996: 128). This presentation argues against this position, and claims that i) the constructions illustrated in (2) should be considered legitimate impersonals, and ii) the characteristics of *ça* impersonals which distinguish it from the *il* constructions are clearly observable in the pronoun's other senses.

With respect to i), a number of researchers (Cadiot 1988, Carlier 1996, Achard 2000) have shown that the pronoun's reference is often quite flexible, to the point of sometimes being indistinguishable from a specific segment of reality, as illustrated in (3):

- (3) *Elle vivait avec un jeune homme. Ça s'est mal passé entre eux. Il l'a tuée.*
She was living with a young man. It [this] went sour between them. He killed her.

That segment of reality can be interpreted as the "field" within which the interaction profiled in the complement takes place (Langacker manuscript) in the context of the copular (*être* 'be') construction, where the event/proposition in the complement is evaluated relative to the general categories of reality (epistemic modals), necessity (deontic modals), and emotion (emotion reaction), and hence accessible to any conceptualizer in a position to experience it. In this specific use, *ça* can be considered a true impersonal.

With respect to ii), *il* and *ça* profile different reasons for evoking the scene coded in the complement: *il* constructions pertain to its existence, *ça* constructions to its evaluation. Importantly, although both *il* and *ça* can be said to profile the "field", *ça* imposes a subjective construal on it. This subjective construal is inherited from *ça*'s other uses, where the pronoun's presence blurs the asymmetry between the subject and object of conceptualization by treating them both as an undistinguished part of the profiled scene. This is illustrated in (4), where the source and perceivers of the noise are both treated as part of the overall atmosphere.

- (4) *Les Archaos ont investi le Cirque d'Hiver, et ça fait du vacarme.*
'The Archaos have invaded the Cirque d'Hiver, and this makes a raucous.'

The Basque partitive.

Ariztimuño López, Borja
(University of the Basque Country)

Basque contemporary dialects have, among its cases, a partitive suffix *-(r)ik* (*-rik* after consonant, *-ik* after vowel). Its main uses are (see Trask 1997: 93-94): a) to mark indefinite direct objects of negative/interrogative transitive sentences (*ez dauka-t diru-rik* 'I have no money'; *ba-daukazu diru-rik?* 'have you got any money?') and predicates of negative/interrogative existential sentences (*hemen ez dago diru-rik* 'here, there is no money'; *ba-al-dago diru-rik hemen?* 'is there any money here?'); b) to mark the category in superlative constructions (*gizon-ik altu-en-a* 'the highest men (*gizon* 'man')'); and c) to imply ablative sense in some fixed (archaic) expressions (*herri-rik herri* 'from town to town'). It is important to bear in mind that the first of these uses involves only indefinite elements. Direct objects of negative/interrogative transitive sentences (predicates of negative/interrogative existential sentences are by their own nature indefinite) do not take partitive, but absolutive, if they are definite (*ez dauka-t diru-a* 'I have not the money' (a particular one that we have spoken about), *ba-al-dauka-zu diru-a?* 'have you got the money?' (a particular one)). Another important point is that, unlike the rest of the cases (where three forms of a number/definiteness axis are distinguished) the partitive is transnumeral in the sense that it is not specified for number (the verb agreement being always singular).

In order to cast light upon its origin and diachronic development, it is worth marking that in 16th century texts the cases in which *-(r)ik* appears with ablative meaning are more frequent. Both in Western and Eastern texts, for instance, the usual abl. suffix for proper names is *-(r)ik* (*Maule-rik* ‘from Maule’). Moreover, while the abl. sg. suffix is *-tik* everywhere and the abl. pl. *-eta-tik* in Western dialects (agglutination of pl. *-eta* + abl. *-tik*), Eastern dialects have abl. pl. *-eta-rik*. This points to a situation in which *-(r)ik* was partitive but covered also some ablative functions, perhaps in competition with old Western *-(r)ean*, another abl. suffix existing in Old Biscayan. Since then, a new suffix *-ti-k* (which derives from the agglutination from a derivational *-ti*, implying propension (*negar* ‘crying’ → *negar-ti* ‘tearful’), plus a controversial *-k(a)*) has encroached on the scope of *-(r)ik* as ablative and has become the main form on this function, limiting *-(r)ik* to partit. function and to some few archaic fixed expressions with ablative meaning. From a formal point of view, both partit./abl. *-(r)ik* and abl. *-tik* appear respectively as *-(r)ika* and *-tika* in some old attestation, and this is probably the old form.

On a more speculative level, Lakarra (2008: 480) has recently noticed that in a number of languages, and especially in some with verb-serialization — a feature that he assigns to some stage of the proto-language —, the partit. suffix derives from the verb ‘give’. Based on this observation, he proposes that Basq. *-(r)i-ka* comes from **nin* ‘give’, *-r* being euphonic and *-ka* a secondary attachment.

References

- Lakarra, J. A., 2008, “Aitzineuskararen gramatizarantz (malkar eta osinetan zehar)”. In: Artiagaitia / Lakarra (eds.), *Gramatika jaietan Patxi Goenagaren omenez*. Appendix of *ASJU* 51, San Sebastián/Bilbao, University of the Basque Country, 451-490.
- Rijk, R. P. G. De, 1972, “Partitive assignment in Basque”, *ASJU* 6, 130-173.
- , 1996, “On the origin of the partitive determiner”, *ASJU* 30, 435-447.
- Trask, R. L., 1997, *The History of Basque*, London, Routledge.

Typological peculiarities of Lithuanian verbal morphosyntax.

Arkadiev, Peter

(Russian Academy of Sciences / Russian State University for the Humanities).

In contradistinction to most areal-typological studies focusing on features shared between several geographically contingent languages, my presentation highlights some properties of Lithuanian verbal morphosyntax which are unique either among the neighbouring languages or in a broader European context. The study of such features is instructive from typological and areal perspectives, since it may shed light on the important question on which linguistic traits are more or less prone to areal diffusion or to retention resp. loss in linguistic history.

Morphology. Lithuanian has partially productive infixation (*-n-*) marking Present tense of a large and semantically homogeneous class of verbs; this common Baltic innovation has been lost in Latvian due to phonological change.

Lithuanian reflexive marker *-si* shifts from the suffixal to the pre-stem position in the presence of a prefix: *džiaugia-si* ‘rejoices’ vs. *ne-si-džiaugia* ‘doesn’t rejoice’ (Stolz 1989).

Grammatical categories. Lithuanian has several verbal categories which are either not found at all in the neighbouring languages or are organized differently.

Suffixal Past Habitual (Geniušienė 1997): *raš-ė* ‘wrote once’ vs. *rašy-dav-o* ‘used to write’; in Europe this meaning is normally expressed periphrastically. Latvian employs for this meaning a periphrastic construction used in all tenses.

Avertive (‘the situation was on the verge of being realized’, Kuteva 2001), expressed by a periphrastic construction with a Past auxiliary and a Present participle prefixed by *be-*: *buvau benukrintas* ‘I almost fell’. Latvian does not have it, and the closest analogues in Slavic are Bulgarian *šteše da V* construction of entirely different origin, or Russian particle *bylo* with different morphosyntax and a much broader semantics.

Continuative (‘still’) and Discontinuative (‘no more’), expressed by complex prefixes *tebe-* resp. *nebe-* with intricate combinatory possibilities with aspectual classes and verbal forms. These meanings are not expressed affixally in most European languages including Latvian and Slavic.

Restrictive (‘only’), expressed by prefix *te-* and able to have scope over almost any constituent, cf. *te-skaitau EILĖRAŠČIUS* ‘I only read POETRY’; affixal expression of this meaning is very rare cross-linguistically (König 1991), and the only known close parallel comes from Mayali (Australia, Evans 1995).

“Evidential passive” (Timberlake 1982, Lavine 2006), able to apply even to the genuine passive thus leading to typologically outstanding recursive passivization.

Syntax. Wide use of non-nominative (resp. non-accusative) case marking of subjects (resp. objects) in non-finite configurations. While complement (resp. adjunct) constructions with accusative (resp. dative) subjects are found also in Latvian, Lithuanian is unique in employing dative and genitive for object marking in infinitive goal constructions (Franks, Lavine 2006).

These are only some of the properties of Lithuanian verbal morphosyntax not shared with its closest genetic or areal neighbours. Some of these can be attributed to the expansion of archaic Indo-European features lost by other members of the family, including Latvian; the origin of other remains unclear, as well as why these features failed to participate in the processes of areal diffusion.

References:

Evans N. (1995). A-quantifiers and scope in Mayali. In E. Bach et al. (eds.), *Quantification in Natural Languages*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 207–270.

Franks, Stephen, James E. Lavine (2006). Case and word order in Lithuanian. *Journal of Linguistics* 42/1, 239–288.

Geniušienė, Emma (1997). The multiplicative and the iterative in Lithuanian. In: Khrakovskij, V.S. (ed.), *Typology of Iterative Constructions*. München, Newcastle: LINCOM Europa, 220–240.

König E. (1991). *The Meaning of Focus Particles. A Comparative Perspective*. London, N.Y.: Routledge.

Lavine, James E. (2006). Is there a passive evidential strategy in Lithuanian? *Papers from the 42nd Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*.

Stolz, Thomas (1989). Zum Wandel der morphotaktischen Positionsregeln des Baltischen Reflexivzeichens. *Folia Linguistica Historica* 9/1, 13–27.

Timberlake, Alan (1982). The impersonal passive in Lithuanian. *Proceedings of the 8th Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 508–524.

The diachrony of causative introflection in Budugh.

Authier, Gilles
(INALCO, Paris).

Introflection (or Root-and-Pattern morphology) as a means of expressing voice, aspect, mood or nominalisation on verb stems is restricted almost exclusively to the Afro-Asiatic languages, where its historical emergence is not well understood. We will propose a diachronic scenario drawing on original fieldwork and comparative data from Lezgetic languages, a branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family (North-East Caucasus ; in no way connected to Afro-Asiatic) to show how an introflected causative pattern can emerge in a short time-depth.

Most, if not all, Lezgetic languages are overwhelmingly agglutinative, and have (or once had) two periphrastic devices to increase the valency of verbs:

- causatives of transitive verbs increase their valency by means of the auxiliary 'give';
- causatives of intransitive verbs increase their valency by means of the auxiliary 'do'.

In at least one Lezgetic language, Budugh, intransitive verbs either cannot increase their valency, or do so using introflection: all (velar) stem-vowels change into their palatalised counterparts, yielding a synthetic causative derived by vowel shift from its anticausative correlate. Note that the resulting pattern is equipollent:

$$\text{in/de-transitive} \Leftrightarrow \text{causative/transitive}$$

$$C_1v(C_1v)C_2(v) C_3v(R) \Leftrightarrow C_1v^y(C_1(v^y))(C_2v^y)C_3v^y(R)$$

Comparative data show that the grammaticalisation process from a periphrastic to an introflected morphological feature implied:

- a small vocalic inventory and low functional importance of vowels in the (verbal) lexicon,
- a fixed, consonant-only root morphology (all stems include one or two preverb (C1) and
- a prefixed gender-agreement marker (C2) before the single-consonant root (C3)),
- cliticisation,
- fusion + suprasegmental phonology and
- (some) analogy.

	preverb	(preverb)	(agreement)	root	(extension)	causative morpheme
Intr. bipartite root + auxiliary 'do' >	C ₁ v-	C ₁₂ v-	C ₂ (v)-	C ₃ v	(-R(esonant))	* 'i-
=> Intr. bipartite root + causative clitic >	C ₁ v-	C ₁ v-	C ₂ (v)-	C ₃ v	(-R)	yi-
=> bipartite root-causative	C ₁ v ^y -	C ₁ v ^y -	C ₂ (v ^y)-	C ₃ v ^y	(-R)	∅

for instance:

?u-zo-b-q'u-l	<=> ?ü-zö-b-q'ü-l	< * ?u-zo-b-q'u-l + i
PV-PV-HPL-Root-R	<=> PV-PV-HPL-Root-R	< PV-PV-HPL-Root-R + i
'cry, Human plural'	<=> 'make cry, Human plural'	

Note that causative introflection, which is quite exceptional in the Caucasus area, should be a interesting topic for specialists of Baltic languages and much of the public of the Vilnius conference.

Bound morphology as syntax: why both are hard to borrow.

Backus, Ad & Verschik, Anna
(Tilburg University - Tallinn University).

While it is clear that speakers of a language can borrow any feature they wish from another language, it is equally clear that there are recurrent patterns that hold cross-linguistically. Specifically, some aspects of language are not borrowed often. In this paper, we will briefly recapitulate the basic facts. Most important among these are that 1) borrowed structure occurs mostly in cases of very intense contact, when the languages in contact are closely related, or in situations of language shift (in which case we talk about substratum influence); and that 2) bound morphemes are rarely borrowed by another language. The main body of the paper will be taken up by a theoretical proposal that attempts to account for both facts together, in a unified way. This proposal combines insights from the usage-based approach to linguistic competence of Cognitive Linguistics and the notion of Attractiveness in the Code Copying Model of language contact data.

A usage-based approach explains why both syntactic structures and inflectional morphology would in principle be stable in the face of contact, for one and the same reason: their high frequency of use leads to high degrees of entrenchment in speakers' competence. Entrenchment is important for theories of contact-induced change because what is entrenched is also "attractive". A high degree of attractiveness, in turn, has two conflicting implications: first, highly entrenched elements are resistant to replacement by rivals from another language; second, highly entrenched elements are attractive for borrowing into another language. We claim that in the case of inflectional morphology, the first implication outranks the second: no matter how entrenched a potentially borrowable foreign inflectional morpheme is, its equivalent in the base language will be too stable for it to be dislodged.

Borrowability is not only a matter of frequency, however. A crucial aspect of this phenomenon is that what is frequent tends to have very basic or schematic meaning, and since elements with schematic meaning tend to have considerable equivalence cross-linguistically, there is little conceptual reason to borrow such elements from another language. This way, usage-based competence and attractiveness together account for the low borrowability of syntax and inflectional morphology alike: the putative borrowable inflectional morpheme will have schematic meaning, and it will have an equivalent in the other language that is highly entrenched, and therefore hard to dislodge. An additional element that may explain why bound morphology seems to have even lower borrowability than syntax is that inflectional morphemes, as overt forms, have a higher degree of salience than covert syntactic structures. These non-salient forms, e.g. a word order pattern, may more easily slip into people's speech accidentally than an overt form such as a foreign plural marker. Finally, the somewhat higher borrowability of derivational morphemes results from their more specific meaning. The more specific the meaning, the greater the chance that its equivalent in the other language doesn't share its exact meaning, and this increases its chance of getting borrowed.

Constraints on morphological borrowing: evidence from Latin America.

Bakker, Dik & Hekking, Ewald
(Lancaster University - Universidad de Querétaro).

Over the last 500 years, the majority of the indigenous languages of Latin America have been influenced by the languages of the European invaders in some way or other. As a result of modern communication and education systems, this influence has intensified dramatically during the last century. In our paper, we will discuss whether, and to what extent contact with and bilingualism in Spanish have affected the morphology of three Amerindian languages, viz. Quichua (Quechuan; Ecuador), Guaraní (Tupé; Paraguay) and Otomi (Oto-manguean; Mexico). All three are still rather widely spoken, but their status in the respective speech communities is rather different. Furthermore, their morphology, syntax and part of speech systems are quite dissimilar from a typological perspective. We have compiled corpora for each of these languages by interviewing between 40 and 60 native speakers, stemming from different age groups, social strata, and dialects. The data shows that all three languages have borrowed profusely from Spanish at this stage, with percentages of borrowed tokens between 18.9% (Quechua; individual maximum 27%) and 14.1% (Otomi; maximum 26%). We found substantial numbers of grammatical elements, such as prepositions and subordinators, especially among the Spanish loans in Otomí. However, in none of the cases is there much autonomous borrowing of Spanish morphology in the sense that derivational or inflectional markers of that language are found on native lexical entities. A rather rare exception is Otomi *'beto* 'grandchild', which is unmarked for gender. We found the form *'beta* 'granddaughter', with the final *-a* clearly inspired by the fully productive Spanish gender opposition *-o / -a*, as in *hijo / hija* 'child, son / daughter'. What we do see in all three languages, however, is that borrowed nouns, verbs and adjectives appear with different kinds of Spanish morphology, both derivational and inflectional. Although some of these complex forms might have been borrowed as unanalyzed entities, at least in part of the cases the Spanish rules seem to have been applied consciously by the speakers in question, since they also use the bare forms, and they may accompany the complex Spanish forms with native morphology with more or less the same function. In our paper we will give an overview of these cases, and try to establish the correspondences and differences between the three languages with respect to these borrowing phenomena. We have not found much 'real' morphological borrowing in any of the three languages. We think, however, that a complex form, when borrowed along with the features invoked by its complex morphology, may be seen as a Trojan horse, and the phenomenon a very early stage of (potential) morphological borrowing.

As such, we think that it might help to provide answers to several of the questions raised in the workshop proposal, more specifically those with respect to borrowing hierarchies and constraints (cf. Tomason 2001; Heine & Kuteva 2005).

References:

- Bakker, Dik, Gómez-Rendón, Jorge & Hekking, Ewald (2008). "Spanish meets Guaraní, Otomí and Quichua: a multilingual confrontation." In: Stolz, Thomas, Bakker, Dik & Salas Palomo, Rosas (eds.) *Aspects of language contact. New theoretical, methodological and empirical findings with special focus on Romancisation processes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Heine, Bernd & Kuteva, Tania (2005). *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Hekking, Ewald, Bakker, Dik (2007). The case of Otomí: a contribution to grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective. In: Matras, Yaron, and Sakel, Jeanette (eds.) *Grammatical borrowing in cross-linguistic perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 435-464.
- Thomason, Sarah G. (2001). *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Clause combining in Plains Cree and Michif.

Bakker, Peter & Robert A. Papen
(Aarhus University & Université du Québec a Montréal).

Plains Cree is an Algonquian language spoken in the northwestern plains. It is a polysynthetic language. Michif is a mixed language that combines Plains Cree verb phrases with French noun phrases spoken in the central Plains. The verbal structure in Michif is, except for some minor details, identical to Plains Cree, and hence also polysynthetic. There are a number of structural differences between the two languages, among others in constituent order and in the formal marking of nominals.

In Plains Cree, there are two sets of verbal paradigms, with no overlap in the forms of the person-marking affixes. One set is roughly used in main clauses (called the independent order) and the other is used in subordinated clauses or when a nominal element is focussed (the conjunct order). The latter order is relevant for clause combining. Conjunct prefixes are used and person marking is suffixing.

There are only a few distinct prefixed conjunct order markers, which hence have a fairly general meaning. More concrete meanings can be created by additional markers, for instance placed between the prefixed conjunct markers and the verb (e.g. *-mêkwa-* "while", as in: *kâ-mAkwâ-mâyi-kîsikâk* "while it was bad weather"), or a separate particle: *tânisi A-isiyîhkâsocik* "how they are called").

The same two verb classes are found in Michif. The additional markers are also found, but the particles are much more common than the infix markers in Michif. In addition, Michif also uses a number of subordinators from French, and this has an impact on the structure of the language.

In our paper we will investigate the impact of French on clause combining in Michif, by comparing Michif with developments in Cree. For this purpose we use different datasets: monologue texts in both Plains Cree (from the 1930s collected by L. Bloomfield) and late 20th century) and Michif; elicited materials from Michif speakers and (a more limited number of) Cree speakers, and examples sentences from a Michif dictionary compiled by native speakers (Laverdure & Allard 1983).

The impact of French on the Michif language seems to have strengthened developments that started in Cree. Not only is a limited number of French conjunctions in use, also a few Cree particles have been reanalyzed as specifiers of the clause combining properties of Cree.

Whereas the semantic and logical relations between the action of the main and subordinate clauses are imprecise in Cree, the French subordinators allow a more precise specification of the connection between the states of affairs expressed in the clauses. When comparing Cree texts from different time periods, it is clear that Cree clause combining techniques have changed as well between the 1930s and the 1990s, towards less synthetic verb forms.

References:

- Laverdure, Pauline, & Allard, Ida Rose. 1983. *The Michif dictionary: Turtle Mountain Chippewa- Cree*. Ed. by John C. Crawford. Winnipeg: Pemmican Press.

The LONGDALE-French phonetically annotated corpus: a research project at the University of Paris 7.

Ballier, Nicolas
(Université Paris 7-Diderot).

This talk will present the French part of the LONGDALE project (Granger et al. 2009). This longitudinal learner corpus, now in its second year, monitors the pronunciation of French learners of English. 93 students have been recorded following the Londgale protocol and the LINDSEI transcription conventions. A team of linguists specialised in complementary fields (segmental phonetics,

morpho-phonology, prosody, labphon) are annotating the corpus, providing TEI-compliant XML annotated tiers. A multi-layered analysis is carried out, using winpitch (winpitch.com) and PRAAT (www.praat.org) as annotating software and a querying interface is being developed. The comparability of future data will be preserved, because part-of-speech queries of the corpus will be possible, allowing for finer-grained error analysis incorporating both morpho-syntax and phonetics dimensions.

The need for a multi-layered analysis is obvious when confronting L1 (Rose & dos Santos 2008) or L2 analysis of syllabification (see for instance Steeve 2002, Goad & Kang 2003). According to the latter, English has coda syllabifications for CVC but syllabifies CVVC and CVCC as onsets of empty-headed syllables (OEHS). It so happens that French learners have to face quite a different phonotactic repertoire in English (see Greenberg 1999). Within prosodic phonology, Goad and Kang 2003 have shown that intermediate Korean learners move from coda syllabification (standard in Korean) to OEHS for CVC and that more advanced learners revert to coda syllabification for CVC. The advanced learner grammar for English syllables has to be charted, but European French is not that simple, especially in connected speech (see Adda-Decker et al. 2005).

We exemplify the benefits of a multi-layered phonetically annotated learner corpus by taking a closer look at syllabification, comparing spontaneous and read speech for a limited subset of the corpus. Having annotated the segments, the notable allophones, the syllables, the prosodic words and lexical stress (including secondary stresses, representing a stress hierarchy acknowledging three stress levels), we can compare syllabifications of identical words or clusters in different contexts and speech situations.

This multi-layered annotation captures the fact that phonological units will not only be prosodically licensed (included within a higher prosodic structure) but show to display linked tendencies. Stress misplacement conspire with resyllabification for words like *comfortable*. The variability of templates is corroborated by allophonic features (epenthesis instead of expected syllabic realisations for *little*) and a tendency to reproduce some French contrasts between CVC and CV vowels.

Last, this substantiates the claim that French learners are prone to being grapho-centric and that read passages display stronger CV CV transfers from French syllabifications. This tendency to isosyllabicity does not quite rehabilitate the stress-timed vs. syllable-timed opposition but does prove that rhythmic problems of French learners are clearly syllable-based.

References :

- Adda-Decker, Martine., Boula De Mareuil, Philippe., Adda, Gilles., Lamel, Lori. (2005) Investigating syllabic structures and their variation in spontaneous French. *Speech Communication, Vol.46, n°2, 119-139*
- Dell, F. (1995). Consonant clusters and phonological syllables in French. *Lingua, 95, 5-26*.
- Goad, Heather and Hyun-Sook Kang. (2003). Word-final Syllabification in L2 Acquisition with Emphasis on Korean Learners of English. In *Proceedings of the 6th Generative Approaches to Second Language Acquisition Conference (GASLA 2002)*, ed. Juana M. Liceras et al., 122-129. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project. www.lingref.com, document #1036.
- Granger et. al., Sylviane. (2009). "The LONGDALE Project Longitudinal Database of Learner English". <http://cecl.fltr.ucl.ac.be/LONGDALE.html>
<http://www.fltr.ucl.ac.be/fltr/germ/etan/cecl/Cecl-Projects/Lindsei/transnew.htm>
- Greenberg, Steven (1999) Speaking in shorthand. A syllable-centric perspective for understanding pronunciation variation. *Speech Communication, 29, 159-176*.
- Laeuffer, Christiane. (1992). Syllabification and Resyllabification in French In *Theoretical analyses in Romance linguistics*, pp. 18-36, Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Ohio State University, 1989, Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Rose, Yvan & dos Santos, Christophe. (2008). Domaines prosodiques et implémentation phonétique en français québécois et acquisition. Paper given at the PFC conference, Paris 11-13 Dec 2008,
http://www.projet-pfc.net/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=53&Itemid=179
- Steele, Jeffrey. (2002). L2 learners' modification of target language syllable structure: Prosodic licensing effects in interlanguage phonology. In A. James & J. Leather (eds.), *New Sounds 2000: Proceedings of the fourth international symposium on the acquisition of second-language speech*. Klagenfurt, Austria: University of Klagenfurt, pp. 315-324. http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~jsteele/downloads/New_Sounds_2000.pdf
http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~jsteele/downloads/New_Sounds_2000.pdf

Metonymy and metaphor in the meaning and form of English 'bahuvrihi' compounds.

Barcelona, Antonio
(University of Cordoba).

Bahuvrihi compounds (e.g. Quirk et al 1985: 1576) jointly denote a type of entity, via one of the characteristic properties of that entity. For instance, *highbrow* ('intellectual') gets conventionalized on the basis of the popular belief that intellectuals are characterized by having a lofty expanse of forehead.

In certain cases, metonymy combines in an intricate pattern with metaphor. An interesting example is *fathead* 'stupid person'. The notion of FATNESS is metonymically connected to the notion of LACK OF AGILITY (fat animals and people tend to move slowly and lack agility). This metonymy picks out a dimension shared by FATNESS and STUPIDITY (both imply LACK OF AGILITY, PHYSICAL AGILITY in one case and MENTAL AGILITY in the other), thus motivating the overall metaphorical

mapping of FATNESS onto STUPIDITY in this and other expressions (e.g. *thick-head, thick-headed*).¹ On the other hand, the HEAD is a metonymic source for its content, the brain, and through the latter, for the folk-theoretical “content” of the brain, INTELLIGENCE; this metonymic chain reinforces the metaphorical interpretation of the compound in the domain of mental functions. The HEAD is also often, as in this case, a metonymic source for the whole person. The meaning of this compound might, then, be regarded simply as the output of this metaphor-metonymy interaction.

However, since all *bahuvrihi* compounds indirectly denote a kind of entity by mentioning a characteristic property (a physical, intellectual, moral, etc. trait, or a characteristic function, behavior, etc.), it may be argued that the conceptual factor that decisively leads to the conventionalization as common nouns (i.e. as category labels) of these compounds (and of other types of exocentric compounds; see Tuggy 2003) is the overriding conceptual metonymy CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. That is, *fathead* denotes the *category* of people characterized by being dim-witted; and *scarecrow* denotes the type of device whose function is to scare birds (which are metonymically activated by CROW) away from growing crops. This overriding metonymy maps the characteristic property (which can in turn be conceptualized by means of an often complex web of metaphors and metonymies), and it is responsible for the “exocentricity” of these compounds.

The research questions discussed in this presentation are:

- (a) Can the metonymy CHARACTERISTIC PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY reasonably be argued to motivate the existence of *all* of the *bahuvrihi* compounds in the corpus?
- (b) Which regularities can be observed in the conceptualization of the characteristic property?
- (c) Does there exist any connection between the conceptualization of the characteristic property and the grammatical form of these compounds?

These questions have been answered by means of the systematic semantic and grammatical analysis of a corpus of 20 representative examples of English *bahuvrihi* compounds. As regards the identification of metaphor and metonymy and their interaction, the research has applied the cognitive-linguistic approach and methodology in Barcelona (2002). As regards the grammatical description, the approach followed is Cognitive Grammar, as represented in this area by Tuggy (2003).

The results of the analysis clearly suggest a positive answer to question (a). They also show that there are three main patterns in the conceptualization of the “characteristic property”: Literal (very few tokens); purely metonymic, with a number of subtypes, and a sizeable number of tokens; and metaphonymic, as in *fathead*, with a relatively large number of subtypes and tokens); and that the grammatical form of the compounds partially mirrors the conceptualization of the characteristic property.

References:

- Barcelona, Antonio (2002). “Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy within cognitive linguistics: an update”. In Dirven, R. and Pörings, R. (eds.), *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 207-277.
- Quirk, Randolph, Greenbaum, Sydney, Leech, D., and Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.
- Tuggy, David (2003). “Abrelatas and scarecrows: Exocentric verb-noun compounds as illustrations of basic principles of cognitive grammar”. In Javier Valenzuela & Ana Rojo (eds.) *Contrastive Cognitive Linguistics*, monograph issue of *International Journal of English Studies* (3.2), 25-62.

Verbal semantics and subject case marking in Indo-European.

Barðdal, Jóhanna; Bjarnadóttir, Valgerður; Dewey, Tonya Kim; Eythórssón, Þórhallur & Smitherman, Thomas (University of Bergen, Stockholm University, University of California, Berkeley, University of Iceland).

Constructional meaning is considerably more abstract than lexical meaning, and hence more difficult to study. Using introspection to study constructional meaning may be an adequate procedure within synchronic linguistics, where the aim is to study one’s own variety of language. Another way of approaching constructional meaning is through experimental psycholinguistics. This may be an adequate procedure when the aim is to study conventional meaning in society, agreed on by a subset of speakers. However, both introspection and psycholinguistic experiments are impossible as analytical tools when studying abstract constructional meaning in dead languages or earlier language stages. One way of approaching constructional meaning in dead languages is to investigate the lexical items instantiating the relevant constructions.

The goal of the present paper is to compare the semantic fields occupied by argument structure constructions, in particular the oblique subject construction in Old Germanic, Ancient Greek, Latin, Old Russian, and Baltic. It has been categorically assumed in the literature that non-canonical subject marking goes hand in hand with experiencer predicates. The goal of the present study is to investigate this and document the semantic fields found with predicates selecting for non-canonical subjects (cf. Barðdal 2004), instead of taking them for granted. Therefore, a systematic investigation of the semantic scope of the oblique subject construction in each of these Indo-European languages or language branches will be

¹ See the O.E. D. entry for *fat* (n. and adj., IV.11) and *fat-head* (1). The first of these entries shows that the adjective *fat* can mean by itself “slow-witted”.

carried out, as a part of a larger Indo-European comparison, aiming at throwing light on the relation between verbal semantics and non-canonical case marking. A secondary goal is to study the development of the oblique subject construction in Indo-European and whether a cross-linguistic comparison of its constructional semantics may be revealing in this respect.

This paper lays out how constructional meaning may be studied historically, within the framework of diachronic construction grammar (cf. Barðdal 2010). The investigation is based on the lexical semantics of the predicates instantiating an argument structure construction, in combination with the semantic map model. Hence, we will extend the usage of the semantic map model from grammatical items to lexical items, as such contributing to the renewal of the representational framework of lexical typology (Barðdal, Kristoffersen & Sveen 2009).

References:

- Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2004. The Semantics of the Impersonal Construction in Icelandic, German and Faroese: Beyond Thematic Roles. In *Focus on Germanic Typology*, 105–37. Ed. W. Abraham. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2010. The Rise of Dative Substitution in the History of Icelandic. To appear in a special volume of *Lingua*: “Case Variation.” Eds. Klaus von Heusinger and Helen de Hoop.
- Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2009. West Scandinavian Ditransitives as a Family of Constructions: With Special Attention to the Norwegian V-refl-NP construction. Submitted to *Linguistics*.

Change conceptualized through motion verbs.

Barnabé, Aurélie
(Université Bordeaux 3).

Many abstract situations tend to be conceptualized through motion verbs whose spatial properties often contribute to structuring changes in causal and imaginary reasoning. The present paper - reporting on a study based on a journalistic corpus composed of six motion verbs (*go/come, fall/rise, run/move*) - will question the linguistic and pragmatic constraints to which the encoding of the concept of change is submitted, and the conditions enabling change to be encoded through the selected verbs.

Beforehand, one will require a minute definition of the concept of change: at an experiential level, change foregrounds the passage from one event to another, loaded with partial new information. A typology of changes will be highlighted through the various natures of change suggested by the physical dimensions of the motion verbs of the corpus, whose specificities tend to impose limits in their use. Consequently, we will investigate the conceptual difference conveyed by the centrifugal verb *go* and its centripetal counterpart *come*. The verticality schema revealed by *rise* and *fall* will be correlated with recurrent semantic meanings pertaining to change, whose encoding seems to be impossible through verbs suggesting horizontality. Similarly, the speed of motion exemplified by *run* will highlight the very local contexts where occurrences with *run* can be found.

As the verbs semantics do not account for all their metaphorical meanings, a syntactic analysis will be required. Change is often encoded through motion verbs accompanied by prepositions, which depict fictive motion constructions through the PATH schema. The conceptualisation of change precisely results from the abstract paths delineated through this FROM-TO schema. A typology of the syntactic constructions conveying change will be conducted: those involved with prepositions, nominal or adjectival units do not display the same change patterns as the occurrences where the motion verb does not need to be followed by any lexical units.

At a pragmatic level, this paper will attempt to show how change is apprehended. The motion verbs conceptualizing change point at the succession of two events which inescapably impose a Figure-Ground assignment. The second event, precisely marking the occurrence of change can be interpreted as the Figure with respect to a previous event, remaining implicit in the situation and functioning as the Ground, as in :

<p><u>I</u> went to <u>sleep</u> [(Figure) + (Ground)] [Figure]</p>	=>	<p><u>I</u> / <u>awake</u> [(Figure) + (Ground)] [IMPLICIT Ground]</p>
---	----	--

The figure/ground relations are here embedded within another, at a second level of analysis, in which the past occurrence of the Figure, i.e. [*I/sleep*] is to be interpreted with respect to the implied reality of the Ground, i.e. [*I/awake*], whose temporal framework is anterior to the simple past *went* encoding change, and which the hearer will have to mentally reconstruct to comprehend the figure's temporal occurrence. These pragmatic data suggest that change is viewed as linked to the speaker's personal time-line axis and finding out which tenses exactly correspond to the figure with respect to the ground will require to establish a tripartite partitioning of an occurrence of change into a figure, a ground, and a reference frame as background, affording a basis for relating the figure/ground concepts.

References:

- Benveniste, E. 1966. *Problèmes de linguistique générale*, 1. Paris: Gallimard.
- Fauconnier, G. 1997. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fleischman, Suzanne. 1982. *The future in Thought and Language: Diachronic evidence from Romance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Givon, T. 1989. *Mind, Code, and Context: Essays in Pragmatics*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Goldberg, A. 1995. *Constructions: a Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.
- Hagège, C. 1998a. *L'homme de paroles; contribution linguistique aux sciences humaines*. Paris : Fayard.
- Hopper, P.J. et E. C. Traugott. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind. The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination and Reason*. Chicago : University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark, 1999. *Philosophy in the Flesh. The Embodied Mind and its Challenge to Western Thought*. New York : Basic Books.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1987/1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. Vol. 1&2. Stanford, Calif. : Standford University Press.
- Langacker, R. 1999. *Grammar and Conceptualization*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. *Space in Language and Cognition: Explorations in cognitive diversity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, 1945. *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Editions Gallimard.
- Sweetser, E.E. 1980. *From Etymology to Pragmatics. Metaphorical and cultural aspects of semantic structure*. Cambridge: University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, 2000. Vol. 1&2. : *Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Turner, M. 1991. *Reading Minds: The Study of English in the Age of Cognitive Science*. New York : Princeton University Press.
- Watzlawick, P. 1988. *L'Invention de la Réalité : Contributions au Constructivisme*. Paris : Éditions du Seuil.
- Weiss, Gail, and Harber, Honi Fern. 1999. *Perspectives on Embodiment: The Intersections of Nature and Culture*. New York: Routeledge.
- Corpus of American Contemporary English*: <http://www.americancorpus.org/>

The Spanish Linguistic Knowledge of the Portuguese Gil Vicente.

Berta, Tibor
(University of Szeged).

Through a linguistic analysis of a 16th-century Portuguese drama writer, Gil Vicente's Spanish language works, I would like to illustrate how different scientific fields can interrelate and how linguistic analysis can contribute to both philological and historical researches.

Even though Gil Vicente is the founder and the most significant figure of the Portuguese drama literature, not much is known of his person. On the basis of some data, numerous researchers identify a simple goldsmith by the name of Gil Vicente with the royal author of D. Manuel. For lack of authentic historical sources, however, the philological, literary and linguistic analyses are what can serve as additional information concerning his identity.

According to the literary customs of the era, he created his works of ordinary topics in Portuguese, while the more elevated topics of chivalry, religion or history, dedicated to the court audience were written in Spanish. However, the mother tongue of the Portuguese author has an appreciable influence on the Spanish language variation applied by Gil Vicente; language interferences in the Vicentian Spanish has been examined by a number of scholars, linguists and philologists like Alonso (1942), Teyssier (1959) or Sletsjõe (1965). The high number of linguistic elements that can be explained by the Portuguese interference is usually attributed to Gil Vicente's provenance of a lowly social class and thus to his illiteracy or to his imperfect knowledge of the Spanish language.

My presentation is aimed at showing that some parts of the allegedly Portuguese linguistic and lexical elements attributed to the goldsmith of humble origins as a matter of fact are dialectal or archaic Spanish forms utilized most consciously by a humanistic artist of wide erudition.

This is proved by the fact that the *vien'* and *tien'* verb forms used instead of the Castillian *viene* and *tiene* and usually explained by the Portuguese *tem* and *vem* forms are used in the Spanish dialect of Leon and can also be traced in the language of Juan del Encina of Salamanca, who can be considered the master of Vicente. The Vicentian Spanish used *reis* as plural of *rey*, which, besides *reyes*, was also in use in archaic Spanish.

A number of other examples can be cited that can be attributed not only to the interference of Portuguese but to the knowledge of archaic Spanish as well. Considering the fact that Vicente is kept count of as an author who uses language consciously to reach his artistic aims we can assume with reason that in his dramas that recall ancient times he purposely uses archaic Spanish elements in the language of his characters. This, however, means that Gil Vicente possessed proficiency of Spanish as well as knowledge of different stylistic and dialectal variations of this language. This merely new notion based on a historical and comparative analysis of Spanish and Portuguese linguistic elements can reshape our knowledge of the person of Vicente that so far had been provided by mainly historical sources.

References:

- Alonso, Dámaso (1942): Problemas del castellano vicentino [Problems of the Vicentian Spanish], in: Gil Vicente, *Tragicomedia de don Duardos* [Don Duardos' Tragicomedy], edited by Dámaso Alonso I., Texto, estudios y notas [Text, studies and notes], Madrid, CSIC, 1942.
- Berta, Tibor (2008): ¿Lusismos o arcaísmos castellanos? Sobre la lengua de los dramas castellanos de Gil Vicente [Luisisms or Spanish Archaisms? On the Language of Gil Vicente's Spanish Dramas], in: *Acta Univ. Szegediensis: Acta Hispanica*, XIII, 2008.
- Sletsjöe, Leif (1965): Los posesivos *nueso* y *vueso* en el español de Gil Vicente [The possessives *nueso* and *vueso* in the Spanish of Gil Vicente], in: *Romanistisches Jahrbuch*, 1965.
- Teyssier, Paul (1959): *La langue de Gil Vicente* [The Language of Gil Vicente], Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1959.

Parataxis, hypotaxis and para-hypotaxis in Zamuco languages.

Bertinetto, Pier Marco & Ciucci, Luca
(Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa).

Ayoreo and Chamacoco are the only extant languages of the small family Zamuco, both spoken in the Chaco between Paraguay and Bolivia. Their purely fusional structure sharply differs from that of all surrounding indigenous languages. Concerning clause-combining, Ayoreo appears to have been only marginally influenced by other languages. Chamacoco, by contrast, appears to have undergone severe contamination with Spanish.

Two factors prove it:

(a) The Spanish-like phonetic shape of some connectors;

(b) The fact that native and borrowed connectors may alternate or even coexist.

Ad (a), cf. disjunctive *o* and the subordinating connectives *pork* and *par* (Sp. *por que* and *para*) introducing causal and final clauses, respectively:

(i) Ahnu no ma uje t-iita, **pork** shi ele no ma uje tik-iraha.
These things no more COMP IS-relate SUB only this no more COMP IS-know
'I relate only these things, because I know only this'.

(ii) Oy-ichew uu ilibtêrc **par** oteyâha uu ilchite.
1PE-dig DET mud SUB 3P.catch DET eels
'We dig in the mud in order that they catch eels'.

Ad (b), the adversative conjunction *per* (from Spanish *pero*) alternates with *mahn* (cf. Ayoreo *mu(ñi)*):

(iii) T-itim owa-hna too: – Ye ew wate asa pohorrza ee –, **per / mahn**
1S.tell you-PAST 1S.QUOTE NEG 2S.eat DET DET tree fruits CONJ
ahakôr-ke ...
2S.do-PST
'I had told you: – Don't eat the fruits of that tree! –, but you have done ...'.

Besides, *par* may co-occur with (*u*)*je* which shares many functions with his Ayoreo cognate (see below), introducing relative, completive, temporal and hypothetical clauses.

This raises the question of whether borrowing simply replaced the native Chamacoco connectives or introduced completely new syntactic constructions. Considering that Chamacoco appears to resemble Ayoreo in a number of respects (much beyond the ones considered here), the answer should best be looked for in the comparison between the two languages.

As for Ayoreo, two features stand out:

(c) The scarcity of connectives, suggesting that this language might have made use of non-finite constructions at an earlier stage;

(d) The para-hypotactic (or co-subordinating) strategy – i.e., the mixture of parataxis and hypotaxis – emerging whenever the dependent clause precedes the main clause.

Ad (c), the only Ayoreo subordinating connectives are *uje*, introducing relative, completive, temporal and causal clauses (declaratives need no introductory element) and *ujetiga*, introducing hypothetical and final clauses. As a residue of the converbal structures supposedly wide-spread in the past, consider interrogative sentences, where “verbal nouns” often appear instead of finite verbs:

(iv) ¿Gosode dayé **ichode**?
who.PL father shooting.PL
'Which animals did the father hit?' [which (were the) father's shot-at-ones]

Ad (d), consider the position of coordinating (*e*)*nga* in conjunction with subordinating *ujetiga* and *uje*:

(v) **Ujetiga** Jate di-rase **nga**, chisi-rase yogui-ji cucha-rique
COMP Jate arrive-MOD COORD give-MOD 1P-LOC thing-INDET
'If Jate arrived, he would give us something'.

Interestingly, despite extensive borrowing from Spanish, a para-hypotactic strategy occasionally emerges in Chamacoco as well, again when the dependent clause precedes. This seems to be a definitely original feature:

(vi) **Je** ew nêhe **ich** ati.
SUB 2s.eat FUT COORD 2s.die
 'If you eat it, you will die'.

Summing up, although Chamacoco underwent substantial syntactic interference from Spanish, (d) proves that it still preserves unmistakable traces of its ancestral structure. On the other hand, (c) indicates that borrowing was limited to the connectives themselves, for the syntactic patterns had already emerged in the Zamuco languages by internal evolution. The most conspicuous difference between Chamacoco and Ayoreo consists in the fact that the former language presents, as a consequence of borrowing, a more specialized set of subordinators (depending on the type of hypotactic clause), while Ayoreo bases the choice between *uje* and *ujetiga* on the parameter of modality.

'Proximal' and 'distal' demonstratives in Dutch spoken dialogues: a cognitive approach.

Beun, Robbert-Jan & Piwek, Paul
 (Utrecht University & The Open University).

In this contribution, we will examine the differences in use between distal and proximal demonstrative terms (e.g., singular "this" and "that", and plural "these" and "those" in English). In our study, we will take distance from the traditional view that the labels proximal and distal reflect the linguistic codification of the spatial concepts of nearby and faraway, respectively. Instead, our analysis will be based on cognitive notions, such as attention, accessibility and importance. The basic idea behind this is that space has to be allocated in memory for various types of entities and that accessibility of the entities decreases as the mental distance grows. Entities may be available in various context types, such as the previous discourse, long-term memory or the perceivable world around us.

We will speak of a demonstrative noun phrase, or demonstrative in short, if the noun phrase contains a demonstrative term, functioning either as a determiner or as a demonstrative pronoun constituting the full noun phrase. The main hypothesis is that proximal demonstratives are preferred to refer to entities with low accessibility and/or high importance, and that distals are preferred in reference to entities with high accessibility and low importance.

We address the problem through a corpus-based quantitative study of the deictic use of demonstratives in Dutch. Two types of dialogue were considered: a. same-time, different-place telephone dialogues between a naive computer user and an expert user (10 dialogues), and b. same-time, same place dialogues between an instructor and a builder of a Lego-blocks construction (10 dialogues). In contrast to the first dialogue type, participants in the second dialogue had access to a shared work space: both builder and instructor could point at and observe objects at a foundation plate. In the first type of dialogue, problems were discussed with respect to computer network connections.

The telephone dialogues contained 507 demonstratives: 39 proximals and 468 distals. We compared these demonstratives with 93 instances of initial demonstratives from the construction dialogues (27 proximals and 66 distals). The study suggests that the distal-proximal distinction indeed corresponds with use of the proximal for intensive/strong indicating and the distal for neutral indicating, but that the relation between proximals and importance has to be rejected. We compare our findings with empirical findings on the use of English demonstratives and argue that, despite some apparent differences, Dutch and English demonstratives behave roughly similarly though not identically. Finally, we put our findings into context by pulling together evidence from a number of converging sources on the relationship between indicating and describing as alternative modes of reference in the use of distal and proximal demonstratives. This will also lead us to a new understanding of the folk-view on distals and proximals as distinguishing between nearby and faraway objects.

References:

- Ariel, Mira, 1988. Referring and accessibility. *Journal of Linguistics* 24, 65-87.
- Author & Cremers, Anita, 1998. Object reference in a shared domain of conversation. *Pragmatics and Cognition* 6(1/2), 121-152.
- Clark, Herb & Bangerter, Adrian 2004. Changing ideas about reference. In: Noveck, I. Sperber D. (Eds.), *Experimental Pragmatics*. Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 25-49.
- Diessel, Holger, 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function and Grammaticalization*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Enfield, Nick, 2003. Demonstratives in space and interaction: Data from Lao speakers and implications for semantic analysis. *Language* 79 (1), 82-117.
- Grosz, Barbara & Sidner, Candace, 1986. Attention, intentions and the structure of discourse. *Computational Linguistics* 10/2, 175-204.
- Gundel, Jeanette, Hedberg, Nancy, Zacharski, Ron, 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69 (2), 274-307.
- Kahneman, Daniel, 2003. A perspective on judgement and choice: mapping bounded rationality. *American Psychologist* 58 (9), 697-720.
- Kirsner, Robert, 1993. From meaning to message in two theories: Cognitive and Saussurean views of the Modern Dutch demonstratives. In: Geiger, R.A., Rudzka-Ostyn, B. (Eds.), *Conceptualizations and Mental Processing in Language*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, pp. 81-114.

Piwek, Paul, Beun, Robbert-Jan & Cremers, Anita, 2008. 'Proximal' and 'Distal' in language and cognition: evidence from deictic demonstratives in Dutch. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40(4): 694-718.

Areas and Universals

Balthasar Bickel
(University of Leipzig)

In explanations of how linguistic structures are distributed in the world, the pendulum has swung back from an emphasis on universals that has dominated the second half of the 20th century to a renewed emphasis on local developments and areal diffusion. A particularly acute challenge for universals is the discovery of large-scale linguistic areas with possibly very deep time depths (Nichols 1992): deep-time areas raise the possibility that modern distributions date back to local developments at very early times (Maslova 2000). In this presentation I adduce probabilistic evidence that the extreme diachronic stability that such a scenario presupposes is not compatible with the observable distribution of typological features. This finding in turn allows developing a method for estimating trends in the diachronic development of typological features and then to simultaneously analyze to what extent these trends are explained by effects from universals as opposed to, or together with, effects from areal diffusion. This method moves the question of areas vs. universals away from ideological debates and speculations and turns it into a straightforward empirical issue, amenable to standard statistical analysis. In addition, by analyzing the relative impact of areas and universals simultaneously, the method overcomes the problem that any demonstration of universals requires previous knowledge of areas (because universals must be shown to be independent of areas: Dryer 1989) and that, vice-versa, any demonstration of areas requires previous knowledge of universals (because the features that establish an area must be shown not to be universally correlated with each other).

The use of connectors in advanced Lithuanian learners' English writing.

Bikelienė, Lina
(Vilnius University).

The topic of text cohesion and numerous ways to achieve it have been covered by a great number of linguists. The focus of this study will be cohesion achieved by the use of connectors in learner English. There is no unanimous agreement among scholars on the use of terminology and the importance of connectors. For the purpose of the present study the term connectors will refer to what Quirk *et al.* (1991) call 'conjuncts'. The data will be drawn from the Lithuanian subcorpus (LICLE) of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) currently being compiled at Vilnius University, which comprises argumentative essays written by advanced Lithuanian learners of the English language. Using contrastive interlanguage analysis (CIA) the results will be compared to those of the native speakers' corpus (LOCNESS). The findings from LICLE will also be compared to the findings from other learner corpora reported in numerous studies (Granger and Tyson 1996, Altenberg and Tapper 1998, Narita *et al.* 2004, Tankó 2004, Chen, 2006, Ai and Peng 2006, Leńko-Szymańska 2007, *etc.*) TextSTAT-2 (Hüning, 2000/2007) and AntConc 3.2.1w (Anthony 2007) software will be used for the extraction of connectors. Statistical validity of the results will be checked by Log-likelihood calculator (Rayson 2004).

The results suggest that there is a clear tendency for the Lithuanian learners to overuse connectors in their essay writing, though average number of connectors per essay is higher in native speakers' corpus. To achieve coherence the Lithuanian learners tend to use the same semantic categories but a slightly greater variety of individual connectors. This conforms to the tendency noticed by Altenberg and Tapper (1998) for the native English students to rely more heavily on a limited set of connectors. The findings show that there are statistically significant differences between the Lithuanian learners' of English and native speakers' language not only in the overall use of connectors but also in their distribution throughout different paragraphs of an essay as well as in their position in a sentence. Qualitative analysis of the data suggests many cases of misuse of connectors in the Lithuanian learners' English writing. This may largely be attributed to developmental or intralingual errors and may be considered to be an interlanguage phenomenon, which is also confirmed by similar studies of learners of English from other mother-tongue backgrounds. Inadequate information on the use of connectors in reference tools and language transfer as possible reasons for misuse of connectors in the essays written by the Lithuanian students are also briefly addressed.

References:

- Ai, H. and G. Peng. 2006. A Corpus-Based Study of Connectors. Available at: <http://call2006.fltrp.com/PPT/1/E-1%20Ai%20Haiyang.ppt>. Accessed: 5 September 2009.
- Altenberg, B. and M. Tapper. 1998. The Use of Adverbial Connectors in Advanced Swedish Learners' Written English. In Granger S. (ed.). *Learner English on Computer*. 80-93.
- Anthony, L. 2007. AntConc 3.2.1w. Available at: http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html.
- Chen, Ch.W. 2006. The Use of Conjunctive Adverbials in the Academic Papers of Advanced Taiwanese EFL Learners. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 11/1, 113-130.

- Granger, S. and S. Tyson. 1996. Connector Usage in the English Essay Writing of Native and Non-native EFL Speakers of English. *World Englishes* 15/1, 17-27.
- Hüning, M. 2000/2007. TextSTAT-2. Available at: <http://www.niederlandistik.fuberlin.de/textstat/software-en.html>.
- Leńko-Szymańska, A. 2007. Different Cultures or Different Skills? Cohesive Devices in Native and Foreign Language Learners' Texts. Paper Presented at PALC 2007, Lodz University, Poland.
- Narita, M., Sato, C. and M. Sugiura. 2004. Connector Usage in the English Essay Writing of Japanese EFL Learners. *Proceedings of 4th International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC 2004)*, 1171-1174.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. and J. Svartvik. 1991. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman, New York: Longman.
- Rayson, P. 2004. Log-likelihood calculator. Available at: <http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/llwizard.html>.
- Tankó, G. 2004. The Use of Adverbial Connectors in Hungarian University Students' Argumentative Essays. In J. Sinclair (ed.). *How to Use Corpora in Language Teaching*. John Benjamins. 157-181.

Conditions for the development of morphological paradigms.

Bisang, Walter
(University of Mainz).

The existence of morphological paradigms indicates a high degree of grammaticalization (cf. Lehmann 1995 on paradigmaticity). The present paper aims at showing how the factors that determine their development can be used for understanding genetic relatedness. It thus tries to contribute to the decision of whether shared bound morphology is a cognate or the result of copying.

As was argued in Bisang (2004: 133-134 and 2008: 33), the emergence of morphological paradigms depends on the following two factors:

- Frequency and obligatoriness
- Existence of clearly determined semantic domains

Paradigms develop from categories that are frequently used. Frequency in turn is enhanced by semantic generality (Bybee 1985), which grants the compatibility of a marker with a large number of lexical items. As soon as a grammatical category is semantically general enough to be coextensive with a certain other grammatical category (e.g. with the categories of nouns or verbs) its cooccurrence with that category may become obligatory—a fact that additionally contributes to its frequency.

A paradigm consists of a certain category (e.g. tense) with its values or subcategories (e.g. present, past, future). These categories are semantically clearly defined and thus stand for a high degree of categorial homogeneity within the paradigm as a whole.

These two factors are responsible for the scarcity of morphological paradigms in East and mainland Southeast Asian languages. First, the lack of obligatoriness systematically undermines the emergence of a situation that would be necessary for a marker to become part of a paradigm even if that marker can be associated with highly generalized grammatical concepts. Second, the markers that are used to express grammatical categories often do not satisfy the condition of clearly determined semantic domains because the pragmatic inferences that can be drawn from them may cover several rather divergent grammatical categories. As a consequence, it is not easy to integrate them into a clearly defined system of categories with their subcategories, as is needed in morphological paradigms.

The above two factors may have reached different degrees of development in different languages or members of different language families. The working hypothesis is that differences of this type can be used to decide whether shared bound morphology is a cognate or the result of copying.

References:

- Bisang, Walter. 2004. 'Grammaticalization without Coevolution of Form and Meaning: The Case of Tense-Aspect-Modality in East and Mainland Southeast Asia.' In Walter Bisang, Nikolaus Himmelmann and Björn Wiemer (eds.), *What Makes Grammaticalization? — A Look from its Fringes and its Components*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: 109-138.
- Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A Study of the Relation between Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995 [1982]. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization. A Programmatic Sketch*. Unterschleißheim: LINCOM.

The riddle of the Future Tense in Polish: How much 'future' is there in 'Future Tense'?

Blaszczak, Joanna, Jablonska Patrycja, Klimek-Jankowska Dorota, Migdalski Krzysztof
(University of Wrocław).

In traditional grammars of Polish two ways of forming/expressing future tense are mentioned: (i) by using the present tense form of a perfective verb (cf. (1a)) or (ii) by using the so-called future auxiliary *będzie* + *l*-participle (or infinitive) of an imperfective verb (cf. (1b)).

- (1) a. *zje*
'eat.prs.perf.3sg'
(≈ 'He/she will eat / will have eaten.')
- b. *będzie jadł* / *jeść*
'be.prs.perf.3sg eat.prt.impf.sg.m / eat.inf.impf'
(≈ 'He/she will eat / will be eating.')

The traditional terminology would suggest that the forms cited above are "future tenses". However, the question is: How much "future" meaning is there really in such alleged "future tense" forms? Our answer is that "future time" in Slavic is expressed only through aspectual distinctions rather than through real tense morphology. We base this claim on the following facts:

(i) *będzie* is not a future auxiliary. It originates from the perfective present tense paradigm of the Old Church Slavonic verb *byti* 'to be' (van Schooneveld 1951). (Evidence that *będzie* is perfective: it is compatible with environments in which only perfective verbs can be used, e.g., the context of *zanim nie*, lit.: 'before not' or *dopóki nie* 'until'.)

(ii) The *l*-participle is not a future form either, given that it is used in past tense constructions in Polish; cf. (2b). Actually, it is a completely tenseless form as it is also used in conditional and subjunctive sentences; cf. (2c, d). Presumably, it should be treated as a "dependent verbal form" in the sense of Giannakidou (2009a, 2009b).

- (2) a. *będzie jadł* 'be.prs.perf.3sg eat.prt.impf.sg.m' (≈ 'He will be eating.' / 'He will eat.')
- b. *jadł* 'eat.prt.impf.3sg.m' (≈ 'He ate.' / 'He was eating.')
- c. *jadłby* 'eat.prt.impf.3sg.m + COND' (≈ 'He would eat.')
- d. *Maria chce, żeby on więcej jadł.*
Mary wants that+SUBJ he more eat.prt.impf.3sg.m
(≈ 'Mary wants that he eat more.' / 'Mary wants him to eat more.')

(iii) Moreover, the semantic contribution of the perfective present tense forms is not exclusively the "future meaning" since it is possible to use such forms to express an atemporal meaning (epistemic habituality); cf. (3).

- (3) *Jan pomoże ci w potrzebie.*
John help.prs.perf.3sg you.dat in need
'John will certainly help you in hard times.'

Given this, the question arises as to where the future meaning in (1b,c) results from. We can assume, following, among others, Franks (1995), that the future meaning is derived from the perfective character of the present tense auxiliary (just as this is the case in the case of simple perfective present tense verbs as in (1a) above), while the verb remains itself imperfective in aspect (cf. (4)). However, there is one problem, namely, in Slovenian it is possible to use a perfective verb in combination with "future auxiliary"; cf. (5). But, there might be good reasons to assume that the origin of the Slovene "future form" in (5) differs from that of the Polish "future form". (According to Whaley 2000, the Slovene *bom* + *l*-participle stems from the Old Slavic Future Perfect, it thus followed a different path of development.)

- (4) "future meaning"
- a. Verb.prs.perf (cf. (1a))
- b. AUX.prs.perf + V.impf / *AUX.prs.perf + V.perf
- (5) *bom pohavalil* 'be.prs.1sg praise.prt.perf.sg.m' ('I shall praise.')

References:

- Franks, S. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giannakidou, A. 2009a. The dependency of the subjunctive revisited: Temporal semantics and polarity. In press: *Lingua* (2009), doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2008.11.007.
- Giannakidou, A. 2009b. (Non)veridicality and mood choice: Subjunctive, polarity, and time. To appear in Musan, R. and M. Rathert (eds), *Tense across Languages*, Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schooneveld, van C.H. 1951. The aspect system of the Old Church Slavonic and Old Russian verbum finitum *byti*. *Word* 7/2, 96-103.
- Whaley, M. L. 2000. *The Evolution of the Slavic 'BE(COME)'-Type Compound Future*. Ph.D. Dissertation, The Ohio State University.

What can mathematical models tell us about mechanisms of propagation in language change?

Blythe, Richard and Croft, William
(University of Edinburgh and University of New Mexico).

A key question in sociolinguistics is how a novel linguistic variant comes to be adopted as a convention within a speech community. Whilst one can pose this question in the context of almost any linguistic change, language (and dialect) contact situations are of particular interest since they may exhibit a high degree of variation that changes rapidly over time. A number of mechanisms for propagation (i.e., conventionalization) of a variant have been proposed. For example, Labov (2001) suggests two possible mechanisms. The first is based on the idea that an association between linguistic forms and membership of a socially-favoured group may drive the change (see, e.g., Sturtevant, 1947 and LePage and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). The second (following Bloomfield, 1933) cites variation in interlocutor frequencies as the cause of language change: that is, speakers use certain variants more than others simply because they have been exposed to more utterances from certain speakers than others. These two mechanisms differ radically in kind: in the former case, variants have a social valuation, whereas in the latter they do not – and nor does any social status or attitude towards social groups play any role in propagation. Mechanisms for change in the former category are often advocated: for example, in the context of creolization, Mufwene (2008) argues that the roles that speakers have in the emerging society play an important part in the selection of variants. However, there is some debate as to the relevance of acts of identity to language change: for example, Trudgill (2008) questions the significance of its role.

These observations lead us naturally to two questions: (i) How many qualitatively distinct, possible mechanisms of language change are there? and (ii) How can we decide among them, or at least determine which mechanisms are necessary and/or sufficient for language change? We address these questions by appealing to mathematical models of language change. By now, a large body of knowledge about the behavior of a wide variety of different models for changes in the frequency of cultural variants in socially-interacting systems has been obtained, much of which is discussed in a recent review by Castellano et al (2009). We introduce a typology of qualitatively distinct language change mechanisms that have precise mathematical definitions. Then, by examining specific models in which they have been implemented (often implicitly), we establish a link between the typical shape of a trajectory followed by the frequency of a linguistic variant over time and which mechanisms are operating. Since these mechanisms have been formulated in different ways in different models, we believe the relation between mechanism and trajectory is robust and not strongly dependent on ad-hoc choices made by modelers (the latter often being a weakness of the modeling approach). In particular, we argue that the widely-reported ‘S-curve’ pattern of language change is realized only when speakers consistently give higher weighting (social or otherwise in origin) to a specific variant. We discuss consequences of this result for theories of language change.

References:

- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. New York: Holt.
- Castellano, Claudio, Santo Fortunato, and Vittorio Loreto. 2009. Statistical physics of social dynamics. *Reviews of Modern Physics* 81.591-646.
- Labov, William. 2001. *Principles of linguistic change: vol. 2: social factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- LePage, R. B., and Andrée Tabouret-Keller. 1985. *Acts of identity: Creole-based approaches to language and ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 2008. *Language evolution: contact, competition and change*. London: Continuum.
- Sturtevant, Edgar H. 1947. *An introduction to linguistic science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2008. Colonial dialect contact in the history of European languages: on the irrelevance of identity to new-dialect formation. *Language in Society* 37.241-280.

Toward a Light Syntactic Analysis of Morphologically Annotated Corpus of Lithuanian within a Dependency Framework.

Boizou, Loic
(Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas).

As a result of a previous project, a disambiguated morphologically annotated corpus of the Lithuanian Language (ALKA) was processed. The following step is to provide a proper information regarding the syntactic layer. The aim of our study is to give a comprehensive account of such a syntactic processing for the Lithuanian language according to a NLP symbolic approach.

It is important to notice that the Lithuanian language is a free order language that would be more precisely defined as a linguistic system whose linear word order is mainly governed by information structure (topic/focus), the high degree of inflection freeing the order of the burden of grammatical encoding (expression of syntactic functions). Consequently, the adopted architecture use morphological analysis, provided by the annotated corpus, as a step toward syntactic analysis. The grammatical structure of Lithuanian, as briefly outlined, naturally leans toward a dependency approach of syntax, rather than

a constituency description. Our main source of inspiration is the Czech tradition, first of all the Functional Generative Description (FGD), since real parsing applications as well as a large scale syntactically annotated corpus (Prague Dependency Treebank) are derived from this model. Besides, the Czech language shares the common features mentioned for Lithuanian.

The syntactic processing may be considered as a combination of two main tasks, requiring a prior adequate determination of the sentence limit in the lexical flow of the annotated corpus: on the one hand, establishment of the syntactic relations between the syntactic units, on the other hand, syntactic annotation, which may be understood as the tagging of either syntactic relations (the edges of the syntactic tree) or syntactic units (the nodes). It must be stated that these two tasks may be carry out together or sequentially. Furthermore, whereas lexical connections generally show quite a high degree of agreement between dependency models, syntactic annotation vary to a great extent mainly reflecting the various opinions about the semantic depth of syntax and the level of generality of syntactic functions. Therefore, the choice of the categories of annotation has a strong incidence and, as such, requires specific attention tacking into account the possible use of the results both immediately and for latter processing and the proper handling of the properties of the Lithuanian language.

Our practical purpose is to carry out a light dependency analysis, that is, an analysis run without dictionary or with very restricted ones. Although such a perspective might seem unexpected given the lexical background of dependency models, this approach speeds up the generation of a syntactic core component without the costly, time-consuming prior development of a large valency lexicon. The main concepts of the proposed model are based on the syntactic hierarchy adapted from Hoskovec, that is, a general mapping between lexical classes and syntactic level. The main relevant notions such as syntactic degree and syntactic range have to be elaborated in the study. The expected result is a linguistic framework allowing to develop a large scale syntactic analyser of Lithuanian.

References:

- Bresnan, J., 2001. *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Hoskovec, T., 2008. "Formální morfologie litevštiny ve funkčním popisu jazyka." In: *Baltské jazyky v proměnách metod*, pp. 155-171. Masarykova universita, Brno.
- Mel'čuk, I., 1988. *Dependency Syntax: Theory and Practice*. State University of New-York Press, Albany.
- Roark, B., Sproat, R., 2007. *Computational Approaches to Morphology and Syntax*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Skoumalová, H., Straňáková-Lopatková, M., and Žabokrtský, Z., 2001. "Enhancing the Valency Dictionary of Czech Verbs: Tectogrammatical Annotation." In: *Proceedings of TSD2001*, pp. 142-149. Springer.
- Žabokrtský, Z., 2005. "Resemblances between Meaning Text Theory and Functional Generative Description." In: [MTT 2005: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference of Meaning-Text Theory](#), pp. 549-557. Moscow.

Locating events in past time vs future time: revisiting the asymmetry.

Bourdin, Philippe

(Université Paris 10 - York University, Toronto).

The issue of symmetry, or lack thereof, between the linguistic encoding of past time and that of future time is usually discussed with reference to verbal TAM systems: for instance, it is well-known that the marking of future tense carries more modal baggage, semantically and in terms of grammaticalization pathways, than that of past tense and that the latter typically affords a more fine-grained specification of aspectual or remoteness distinctions than the former does. Far less well-known is the asymmetry displayed by other systems of temporal marking, in particular those involving "deictic scalar localization" (DSL): in English, the marking of DSLP is carried out by *ago* or *back* (*ten years ago/back*) and that of DSLF by *in* or *from now* (*in ten years/ten years from now*).

In languages such as Turkish or Gulf Arabic, DSLF marking is the mirror-image of DSLP marking. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule. Semantically, the DSLF marker is rarely the converse of the DSLP marker: German is a case in point and so are Punjabi and Hausa. Formally, DSLF markers routinely exhibit a greater degree of integration into the grammatical fabric of the language than DSLP markers do: *in* in English and *dans* in French are run-of-the mill adpositions, not so *ago* and *il y a*; much the same goes for languages as diverse as Russian, Basque, Maltese and Ndyuka. Even when they are formally mainstream, DSLP markers are syntactically more complex than DSLF markers in language after language (e.g. Amharic, Aymara, Koromfe, Nigerian Pidgin, etc). They also display greater diachronic instability.

These contrasting properties are all the more noteworthy as they run diametrically counter to tendencies that are well attested among tense systems crosslinguistically: more often than not, markers of future tense are more loosely integrated into the grammar than those of past tense; they typically show a greater propensity for formal complexity, notably for analytic modes of encoding that are often resistant to morphologization; they tend to be more instable over time.

The reason for the paradox lies in the nature of DSL as a cognitive operation, specifically the applicability to it of three overarching principles. The *Metaphor Principle* holds that the grammatical component of languages, as opposed to the lexical component, favours the *Moving-Ego* metaphor over the *Moving-Time* and *Moving-Event* metaphors. The *Deictic Source Principle* holds that the deictic centre is more readily identified, *ceteris paribus*, with the initial point of a trajectory than with its goal: thus, *This road goes to Vilnius* is a markedly more natural sentence than *This road comes from Vilnius*. The *Vector Principle* regulates the use of prepositions such as *from* and *to* when mapping trajectories through time: the earlier-to-later vector provides the favoured template, while the later-to-earlier vector is invariably dispreferred. The

encoding of DSLF is shown to proceed in accord with all three principles, while that of DSLP necessarily runs afoul of at least one of them.

Evidence for what? Evidentiality and scope.

Boye, Kasper
(University of Copenhagen).

There is rough agreement about the notional definition of evidentiality. Definitions are typically cast in terms of either of the related notions of 'source', 'evidence' or 'justification'. Most definitions also mention the scope of evidential expressions, however, and here there is a remarkably less degree of consensus. Some scholars take evidentiality to be concerned with 'information' or 'propositions', or both.

Evidentiality is a linguistic category whose primary meaning is source of **information** (Aikhenvald 2004: 3).

Evidentials may be generally defined as **markers** that indicate something about the source of the **information** in the **proposition** (Bybee 1985: 184).

Others prefer or add 'claims', 'assertions' or even 'speech acts' as such:

Evidentials show the kind of justification for a factual **claim** which is available to the person making that claim [...] (Anderson 1986: 274).

[...] the semantic domain of evidentiality [...] centers around the sources of information or sources of information behind **assertions** (Dendale & Tasmowski 2001: 340).

Still others refer to 'states of affairs':

[Evidentiality] can be characterized as an indication of the nature of the sources of information which the speaker (or somebody else) has to assume or accept the existence of in the **state of affairs** expressed in the clause [...] (Nuyts 2006: 10).

In fact, most of the literature on evidentiality pays little, if any, attention to scope properties. This is unfortunate as the notional definition may leave one in doubt when it comes to deciding whether or not a given linguistic phenomenon belongs within the realm of evidentiality.

All research on evidentiality presupposes that at least an approximate line can be drawn between what is evidential and what is not, in particular research which aims at compiling a database of evidential expressions. The present paper is intended to demonstrate that evidential scope properties can help us drawing such a line and thus deciding what should be included in and what should be excluded from a database of evidential expressions in European languages. The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, the paper aims at demonstrating (*pace* Faller 2002 and Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008) that all evidential values share scope properties in the sense that they are all conceptually dependent on a *proposition*, as opposed to a *state of affairs* and a *speech act*. Secondly, the paper aims at showing how the scope properties common to evidential values can be employed in a set of criteria of membership of the notional category of evidentiality.

The argumentation is based on precise and uncontroversial definitions of propositions, states of affairs and speech acts, and involves, among other things, conceptual analysis and crosslinguistic generalizations pertaining to affix ordering. Empirically, the paper draws on existing crosslinguistic surveys (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004) as well as on an independent crosslinguistic survey of evidential expressions in more than 50 languages.

References:

- Aikhenvald, A.Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP.
- Anderson, L.B. 1986. "Evidentials, paths of change, and mental maps: Typologically regular asymmetries". W. Chafe & J. Nichols (eds.). *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex. 273-312.
- Bybee, J.L. 1985. *Morphology. A Study of the Relation between Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dendale, P. & L. Tasmowski (eds.). 2001. "Introduction: Evidentiality and related notions". *Journal of Pragmatics* 33.3. Amsterdam: Elsevier. 339-348.
- Faller, M.T. 2002. *Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quechua*. Stanford University dissertation.
- Hengeveld, K. & J.L. Mackenzie. 2008. *Functional Discourse Grammar: A typologically-based theory of language structure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nuyts, J. 2006. "Modality: Overview and linguistic issues". W. Frawley (ed.). *The expression of modality*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 1-26.

A comprehensive account of the historical and present-day English functions of demonstrative determiners in the English noun phrase.

Breban, Tine

(Research Foundation-Flanders & University of Leuven).

This paper positions itself in the line of several recent studies such as Ariel 1990; De Mulder 2000; Diessel 1999, 2006; Epstein 2002; Himmelmann 1996, 1997; Kleiber 1990; Gundel et al. 1993, 2001) which have shown that demonstrative determiners convey several meanings that cannot be reduced to the traditional situational deictic interpretation in terms of proximity. Drawing on their insights, this paper propose a new comprehensive semantic account that (1) inventorizes all non-situational meanings of English demonstrative determiners in both historical and present-day corpus data and (2) explains how they are related to each other and to the traditional proximity meaning.

Langacker (2002) has suggested that demonstratives are different from determiners such as the definite and indefinite article in that they convey a complex deictic value. Demonstratives with a proximity semantics, for example, express joint mental contact of speaker and hearer with the referent and make a further specification regarding proximity. This analysis brings out the functional similarities between demonstratives and determiner + secondary determiner units such as *the same*, *another* (Breban 2006). These complex determiners are used when a determiner alone does not provide sufficient information to conceptualize and/or identify the referent of the NP. In the same vein, I propose that English demonstrative determiners supplement simple definite- or indefiniteness in four types of ways. (1) Emphatic demonstratives merely emphasize identification as in *The moment Peter met her, he knew that this woman was his real mother*. (2) Deictic demonstratives provide additional information to help identify the referent. This function subsumes many semantic subtypes, including the traditional situational meaning as well as a wide range of non-situational meanings such as distance of the referent in discourse, familiarity/givenness, co-referentiality with special types of antecedents such as longer stretches of text. (3) Conceptualizing demonstratives indicate that the conceptualization of the referent requires a special process such as generalization from concrete instances, e.g. *I don't like those cookies* in the sense of "such cookies, that type of cookies". (4) Discourse-pragmatic demonstratives convey that the referent is salient in the discourse, typically marking the referent as topic. The so-called indefinite use of *this* introducing a new topic into the discourse belongs to this type.

Subsequently, I will argue that these types and subtypes can be arranged into one radial semantic structure, the centre of which is the situational deictic meaning. From this centre, distinct paths involving step-by-step semantic extensions branch out. These semantic extensions include amongst others the metaphorical extension from actual situational proximity to proximity in the text (Langacker 2002) and mental proximity or salience (Strauss 2002), the bleaching of the situational pointing act to any type of directing act leading to joint mental contact (Diessel 2006). As a final step, demonstratives loose their relational semantics and become 'token-reflexives' (Kleiber 1990, De Mulder 2000), that is rather than expressing that the referent can be identified by means of a phoric relation with a salient antecedent, demonstratives mark the referent of the NP itself for salience and turn it into a discourse topic.

References:

- Ariel, Mira. 1990. *Accessing Noun-Phrase Antecedents*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Breban, Tine. 2006. *English adjectives of comparison: Lexical and grammaticalized uses*. Ph.D. Thesis. K.U.Leuven.
- De Mulder, Walter. 2000. Démonstratifs et accessibilité. *Verbum* XXII(1) (Thematic issue *Référence Discursive et Accessibilité Cognitive*, ed. by Francis Cornish): 103-125.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, Function, and Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Diessel, Holger. 2006. Demonstratives, joint attention, and the emergence of grammar. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17(4): 463-489.
- Epstein, Richard. 2002. The definite article, accessibility, and the Construction of discourse referents. *Cognitive Linguistics* 12(4): 333-378.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski. 1993. Cognitive status and the form of referring expressions in discourse. *Language* 69: 274-307.
- Gundel, Jeanette K., Nancy Hedberg and Ron Zacharski. 2001. Cognitive status and definite descriptions in English: why accomodation is unnecessary. *English Language and Linguistics* 5: 273-295.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1996. Demonstratives in narrative discourse: a taxonomy of universal uses. In Barbara A. Fox, ed. *Studies in Anaphora*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 205-254.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 1997. *Deiktikon, Artikel, Nominalphrase: zur Emergenz Syntaktischer Struktur*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Kleiber, Georges. 1990. Sur l'anaphore démonstrative. In Michel Charolles, Sophie Fisher and Jacques Jayez, eds. *Le Discours: Représentations et Interprétations*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy. 243-263.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 2002. Remarks on the English grounding systems. In Frank Brisard, ed. *Grounding: The Epistemic Footing of Deixis and Reference*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 29-38.
- Strauss, Susan. 2002. *This, that, and it* in spoken American English: a demonstrative system of gradient focus. *Language Sciences* 24: 131-152.

The Vorfeld in Swedish and Finnish Speaking Learners' Spoken L2-German.

Breckle, Margit
(Pedagogical University of Vilnius).

German and Swedish are two closely related V2-languages where the finite verb appears in second position in declarative main clauses, cf. example (1) and (2):

- (1) Gestern las ich ein Buch. (German)
Yesterday read I a book.
- (2) Igår läste jag en bok. (Swedish)
Yesterday read I a book.

Both in German and Swedish, almost any type of element can occur in the position, which directly precedes the finite verb in declarative main clauses. The word order in Finnish, however, is often said to be 'free'.

The analysis within the Topological Fields Theory (cf. Höhle 1982) – a descriptive theory of German word order – divides a German clause into five topological fields in which the position before the finite verb is called 'Vorfeld'. In German, the Vorfeld is not a syntactically homogeneous field and although it is usually occupied by one element, it actually can comprise more than one element. The elements within the Vorfeld show a certain order; the distinction between the elements and the terminology, however, are inhomogeneous (cf. Zifonun et al. 1997, 1577ff. and Pasch et al. 2003, 69ff.). When it comes to the Vorfeld information structure, it is assumed that it contains exactly one element (Zifonun et al. 1997). Quantitative data for German suggests that the realization of topics in the Vorfeld is an epiphenomenon of the fact that the first position is obligatorily filled. Therefore, the Vorfeld is often related to the topic, which means that the Vorfeld has a great influence on the information structure.

The talk deals with the Vorfeld in (spontaneously) spoken L2-German produced by nine Finnish-speaking and by nine Swedish-speaking students in Finland. The learner corpus for the investigation consists of 105 minutes of L2-recordings (+ transcripts) as well as 18 minutes of L1-recordings (+ transcripts) as control. Each Vorfeld is annotated with information on clause type, constituent, phrase and part of speech and, if necessary, a comment.

The research questions are as follows: (i) Which elements are produced in the Vorfeld in German as L2 compared to L1? (ii) Is there is a difference in the use of Vorfeld-elements between Swedish and Finnish Speaking Learners of German?

The hypothesis is that Swedish speaking and Finnish speaking L2 learners of German transfer the presentation of information structure from their L1 into German (cf. von Stutterheim und Carroll 2005: 11 for English L2 learners of German). As a consequence, it is assumed in accordance with Bohnacker & Rosén (2008), that the frequencies of Vorfeld constituent types differ between the L2 learners and L1 control group. Concerning the comparison of the learners with L1-Swedish and those with L1-Finnish, it is also expected to find a difference in the frequencies of Vorfeld constituent types, which influences the information structure.

References

- Bohnacker, Ute & Rosén, Christina. 2008. The clause-initial position in L2 German declaratives. In: *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 30, 511–538.
- Höhle, Tilmann. 1982. Explikation für ‚normale Betonung‘ und ‚normale Wortstellung‘. In: Abraham, Werner (Hrsg.): *Satzglieder im Deutschen. Vorschläge zur syntaktischen, semantischen und pragmatischen Fundierung*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg. 75–165.
- Pasch, Renate et al. 2003. *Handbuch der deutschen Konnektoren. Linguistische Grundlagen der Beschreibung und syntaktische Merkmale der deutschen Satzverknüpfers (Konjunktionen, Satzadverbien und Partikeln)*. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.
- von Stutterheim, Christiane and Mary Carroll. 2005. Subjektwahl und Topikkontinuität im Deutschen und Englischen. In: *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 139. 7–27.
- Zifonun, Gisela et al. 1997. *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Band 2. Berlin, New York: de Gruyter.

Language Change and Chronology: Syntax vs. Morphology in Word Order Change.

Bauer, Brigitte L.M.
(The University of Texas at Austin).

In this talk I will discuss the chronological relation between syntactic and morphological change, using data from word order change in Latin/Romance: does syntactic change precede morphological change, or is it the other way around ?

The development of word order in the history of Latin/Romance has its parallel in morphology: the spread of (S)VO patterning in syntactic phrases chimes in with the replacement of synthetic structures by analytic ones in morphology. In the inherited synthetic morphological forms the ending follows the stem or the root whereas in the analytic structures the grammatical element typically precedes the lexical element (e.g. La. *legibus* vs. Fr. *avec des lois*; La. *laudavisti* vs. Fr. *tu as loué*). At both syntactic and morphological level we therefore observe a fundamental change in ordering patterns. Although this change affected the majority of grammatical structures, it did not occur in each of these structures at the same time.

In this paper I will discuss the chronology of the shift from OV to VO in various syntactic phrases in Latin/Romance and relate my findings to the chronology in the development of analytic morphological structures. One of the questions that will be addressed, for example, is whether the shift from Latin *deorum munus* ‘the present of the gods’ to French *le présent des dieux* first took place at the syntactic level (creating *munus deorum*) or whether the analytic form at the morphological level was created first. Analysis will show how syntactic and morphological change relate when a similar development—change in the ordering of elements—affects both types of structure, eventually helping us in the discussion whether change at the syntactic level triggers change at the morphological level, or whether it is the other way around.

Perceiving simultaneity: Simultaneity clauses as quasi-complements of perception verbs.

Broccias Cristiano
(University of Genoa).

This paper discusses the interaction between simultaneity clauses and perception verbs in British English using corpus data from the BNC. While the object + (bare) infinitive vs. (*-ing*) participle complementation patterns are recognised as an important alternation in English grammar (see e.g. Egan 2008), the patterns in (1b) and (1c) have not, to the best of my knowledge, been analysed before (in relation to (1a)). In (1b), the verb is followed by an object as in (1a) but, instead of a non-finite complement, a finite simultaneity *as*-clause is used. This is possible because the emptying/polishing event and the watching event unfolded simultaneously. (1c) resembles (1b) but lacks the direct object *her*.

- (1) a. Tim **watched** Bill mend/mending the lamp. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1206)
 b. He **watched** her **as** she emptied and polished the ashtray ... (BNC: G3E 1054)
 c. ... he **watched as** she put the kettle on ... (BNC: H9V 937)

I will refer to the *as*-clauses in (1b) and (1c) as ‘quasi-complements’ because although they function similarly to non-finite complements (see below) they are still (relatively) syntactically independent of the main clause perception verb.

Examples of the three patterns in (1) were extracted from the BNC and annotated for various parameters such as frequency, type of *v* (subordinate verb) used, whether *v* is schematic (i.e. non-manner specific such as the verb *go*), whether *v* is (im)perfective and whether multiple *v*'s are employed. The VO*v* pattern, see (1a), turned out to be the most frequent, accounting for 78% of all cases. The least frequent pattern was VO*as*, see (1b), with 7% while *Vas*, see (1c), accounted for the remaining 15%. In relative terms, VO*v* seems to be the most schematic in the sense that manner specific verbs are more likely to occur in the *as*-patterns. Further, *Vas* is the most elaborate of the three patterns because, in relative terms, multiple *v*'s are more likely to occur in it. In a nutshell, the (semantic) difference between the non-finite and the *as* patterns seems to be one of elaboratedness, the former being the most schematic.

This study is not only important descriptively but also theoretically since it bears upon e.g. the relevance of Givón's (e.g. Givón 2001) iconic principle of integration to the analysis of grammatical alternations, which (as far as iconicity of quantity, iconicity of complexity and iconicity of cohesion are concerned) was recently called into question by Haspelmath (2008). If syntactic integration reflects semantic integration (and viceversa), we would expect the quasi-complement pattern(s) to be somewhat different semantically from the non-finite pattern. Still, the differences between them are rather ‘weak’, amounting to greater elaboratedness of the subordinate event in the *as* patterns. The data presented here better fit with Haspelmath's (2008) frequency-based approach: the simpler pattern (VO*v*) is also, correctly, the shorter one (e.g. fewer *v*'s are used). The greater frequency of VO*v* can probably be accounted for in terms of syntagmatic economy, i.e. VO*v* is likely to be preferred because e.g. the tense value of the complement “can be readily inferred from the context” (see Haspelmath 2008: 25). However, in the final part of my paper I will use quantitative data from the BNC to show that, although Givón's model seems to be dispensable in favour of Haspelmath's in the case at hand, Haspelmath's approach is, in fact, also problematic (as a general principle). The net result is that neither model should probably be discarded, thus avoiding the omnipresent exclusionary fallacy.

References:

- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax: An Introduction. Volume II*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
 Egan, Thomas. 2008. *Non-finite Complementation: A usage-based study of infinitive and -ing clauses in English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
 Haspelmath, Martin. 2008. Frequency vs. iconicity in explaining grammatical asymmetries. *Cognitive Linguistics* 19.1: 1-33.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1995. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Harlow: Longman.

A Cognitive Grammar account of the Latin preverb *per-*: A path towards abstractness.

Brucalè, Luisa & Mocciaro Egle
(University of Palermo).

The present paper is concerned with investigating the relationship between prepositions and preverbs in Early Latin. More specifically we aim at analysing the polysemic network of the Early Latin preverb *per-* and the relationship linking it with the corresponding preposition.

For this purpose we have investigated the entire electronic corpus (PHI5) of comedies by Plautus and a technical work (i.e. Cato's *De Agri Cultura*), which represent a substantial sample of the oldest Latin attestations in an extensive and non-fragmentary form. This choice allows a broad survey of the formerly grammaticalised usages of the preverb, which constitutes a firm platform to gain a perspective on its subsequent evolutionary lines.

Our analysis is based on Cognitive Grammar (CG) (Langacker 1987; 1991), as well as on arguments proposed within the Theory of Grammaticalisation (Bybee 1980; Heine *et al.* 1991; Hopper & Traugott 1993); moreover, we complement our analysis with considerations put forward in Functional Grammar (Pinkster 1972; 1990). Considering both prepositions and preverbs as meaningful elements, this approach allows an explicative account, supplying suitable theoretical tools to describe the interconnection among the various senses of a polysemic entity and preventing the analysis being restricted to the assumption of a vague concept of "relatedness".

It is widely recognised that in Indo-European languages prepositions and preverbs have developed from adverbs. This development must have occurred in a very ancient phase of Indo-European since all the Indo-European languages have both prepositions and preverbs (Kuryłowicz 1964; Watkins 1964; Pinault 1995). Although prepositions and preverbs are semantically connected, their meaning convey different degrees of abstractness, reflecting different points along the grammaticalisation chain. Prepositions indeed are autonomous items, expressing the atemporal (stative) relationship between entities, i.e. a basically spatial configuration. On the other hand, in forming a lexical unit with the verb, the preverb reduces its phonetic shape, loses syntactic autonomy and is somehow subsumed under the meaning of the verb (Lehmann 2002; Booij & van Kemenade 2003). This behaviour represents a clear step towards abstractness and is consistent with the meaning conveyed by the preverb, which is typically more abstract than the prepositional one: *per-* rarely conveys spatial meanings (*fodio* "to dig" / *perfodio* "to dig through"), rather it is mainly used to express abstract notions concerning the verbal process, like 'intensification' (e.g. *vigilo* "to remain awake" / *pervigilo* "to always remain awake") and 'telicity' (e.g. *fero* "to bring" / *perfero* "to bring to an end") even affecting the valency of the verb (*repto* intransitive "to crawl" / *perrepto* transitive "to crawl through"); sometimes the semantic relation between the preverb and the preposition is completely bleached (*do* "to give" / *perdo* "to ruin, to destroy").

These considerations allow to set the relationship between Early Latin *per* and *per-* within the field of the Theory of Grammaticalisation. We intend to explore the consistency of this relationship, analysing the role of the preverb's schematic import in the spread from basic (spatial) to abstract (processual) meanings.

References:

- Bybee Joan (1985). *Morphology: A study of the relation between meaning and form*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins.
- Booij, Geert & van Kemenade Ans (2003): Preverbs: An introduction In: BOOIJ GERT & VAN MARLE JAAP (eds.) *Yearbook of Morphology 2003*. Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1-12.
- Heine, Bernd; Claudi, Ulrike & Hünemeyer, Friederike (1991): *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Traugott, Elisabeth Closs (1993). *Grammaticalization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kuryłowicz, Jerzy (1964): *The Inflectional Categories of Indo-European*. Heidelberg, Carl Winter Verlag.
- Langacker, Ronald (1987): *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol. I: Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald (1991): *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar. Vol. II: Descriptive Applications*. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- Lehmann, Christian (1983): Latin preverbs and cases. In: PINKSTER, HARM (ed.), *Latin Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins: 145–161.
- Lehmann, Christian (2002): *Thoughts on grammaticalisation*. Erfurt, Seminar für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität.
- Pinault, Georges-Jean (1995) Le problème du préverbe en indo-européen. In: ROUSSEAU, ANDRE (ed.) *Les préverbes dans les langues d'Europe: introduction à l'étude de la préverbation*. Lille, Presses Universitaires du Septentrion: 35-59.
- Pinkster, Harm (1972): *On Latin Adverbs*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Pinkster, Harm (1990): *Latin Syntax and Semantics*. London: Routledge
- Watkins, Calvert (1964): Preliminaries to the reconstruction of Indo-European sentence structure. In: LUNT HORACE (ed.), *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists*. The Hague: Mouton, 1035–1042.

On the Establishment of Ergative Alignment during the Late Middle Indo-Aryan Period.

Bubenik, Vit

(Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada).

In this paper I will argue that the Late Middle Indo-Aryan stage was the crucial period for the establishment of ergative alignment as known from contemporary Western Indo-Aryan languages. While the preceding periods of Old and Early Middle Indo-Aryan (as known through Pali texts) displayed some features of syntactic ergativity (in the gerundival construction) their morphological systems were of Nom-Acc typology (cf. Peterson 1998). The loss of the morphological contrast Nom vs. Acc as a necessary condition for the rise of the absolutive can be dated to the Late MIA period (7 – 11th c.) on the basis of the data from Western and Southern Apabhramśa. During the Early MIA period it was possible to distinguish the incipient ergative construction from its passive counterpart on pragmatico-semantic grounds but only much later was this distinction fully anchored in morphology. An ‘increase’ in ergativity came as a consequence of the appearance of the absolutive case with nouns, while constructions with pronouns displayed various alignments: the ‘double oblique’ system (Nom vs. Acc/Instr) is documented with the 1st and 2nd Sg; the constructions with plural forms patterned ergatively (Abs vs. Instr); and the 3rd Sg displayed the conservative Nom vs. Acc (cf. Bubenik 1998:91 ff.). On the verbal side the increase in ergativity came as a consequence of the ultimate demise of the synthetic forms of the old synthetic aspectual forms (the Aorist was still readily available during the Early MIA period) which meant that the constructions with the PP became the only means for the realization of aspectual contrasts of Perfectivity (for past events) and Perfect (for past events with present result). In a ‘contingency view’ of alignment (Dixon 1994, Haig 2008) the increase in ergativity can be viewed as a mere ‘by-product’ of the restoration of the old aspectual ‘triad’ Imperfective (Present) - Perfective (Aorist) and Perfect. The NIA Preterit and Perfect are aligned ergatively, while their finite ancestors (Aorist and Perfect) were available in either active or mediopassive constructions. Of equal importance, a number of other changes ‘conspired’ in the ergative reorganization of Indo-Aryan: the emergence of the ‘go’ passive alleviating the ambiguity of the PP-construction, the emergence of the definitizing postposition - *kahū* (> -ko) since the 14th c., and finally the emergence of the ergative postposition -ne (since the 16th to 17th c.)

References:

- Bubenik, Vit. 1998. *A Historical Syntax of Late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhramśa)*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge University Press.
- Haig, Geoffrey. 2008. *Alignment Change in Iranian Languages: A Construction Grammar Approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Peterson, John M. 1998. *Grammatical Relations in Pāli and the Emergence of Ergativity in Indo-Aryan*. Munich: LINCOM EUROPA.

Anticausative/causative verb alternation in Ainu.

Bugaeva, Anna

(Waseda University, Japan).

Ainu, a genetic isolate, is polysynthetic, agglutinating, head-marking, SOV, tripartite. Ainu makes use of both causative and anticausative derivations. Only the productive causative derivations in *-e/-te/-re* with the meaning of direct/indirect causation have been regarded as causatives in traditional studies. It has recently been suggested that less productive derivations in *-V²*, *-ke*, and *-ka³* which encode direct causation only should also be regarded as causatives with respect to their syntax and function (Bugaeva 2008).

Here I suggest that there is formal marking for anticausatives in Ainu with *-ke⁴* and *si-*, the former having been traditionally treated as intransitives and the latter as reflexives.

It is worth noting that some verbal stems in Ainu are obligatorily marked for plurality by the suffix *-pa* (PL), alternation of the suffixes *-n* (SG) and *-p* (PL) or suppletion; the choice of a particular means is lexically determined. All means of marking plurality signify plural subject referents when used on intransitives and plural object referents when used on transitives.

² The “suffix” *-V* (vowel), viz. *-e/-u/-o/-i*, is not entirely predictable: if the base verb ends in the glides *-w* or *-y*, the “suffix” is *-e* (1b), and if the base verb ends in other consonants, then the “suffix” *-V* is often (but not necessarily always) identical with the root vowel of the base verb (1a); causatives of this type are, strictly speaking, lexical.

³ The choice of a particular suffix depends on the semantics of the base verb.

⁴ Note that the suffix *-ke* is employed for both increasing valence and decreasing it; a similar phenomenon has also been attested in other languages, e.g. Tungus-Manchu languages and Korean (I. Nedjalkov 1991: 29).

newspaper discourse are not as numerous as the number of those dealing with academic / scientific discourse. However, newspapers carry material of an extremely diverse character: news stories, press reports, editorials, feature articles, etc. and they pursue different aims. Therefore, this study aims to examine hedging devices in two types of newspaper discourse: editorials, which aim to form, influence or even manipulate public opinion, and news stories, which strive to objectively inform the reader. Consequently, it addresses the following research questions: a) What is the frequency of hedges in editorials and news stories? and b) Do these two types of newspaper genres employ similar or different hedging devices?

Therefore, this research examines the frequency of occurrence and variety of hedging devices in editorials and news stories. The study is based on a detailed contextual analysis of 8,000-word corpus from 15 articles (both news stories and editorials containing approximately 4,000 words) from four different quality newspapers: *The Guardian*, *The Times*, *Herald Tribune International*, and *The Independent*. All hedging devices were written down and counted and later submitted to quantitative analysis in order to determine the frequency of occurrence and distribution of hedges in editorials and news stories.

The research showed that hedging as a mitigating device is extensively employed in these two newspaper genres; hedges used are both content-oriented and reader-oriented. The focus of interest in this study was the frequency of occurrence of hedges and similarities or differences of their distribution in two different newspaper genres: editorials and news stories. As these two types of newspaper articles serve different functions, i.e. to persuade and to inform the reader, they employ different linguistic means to achieve these goals. The research revealed that editorials are more heavily hedged than news stories. Editorials and news stories also use different hedging means to fulfil their respective functions.

References:

- Fairclough N., 1997. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. – London & New York: Longman.
- Hyland K., 2000. Hedges, Boosters and Lexical Invisibility: Noticing Modifiers in Academic Texts. In: *Language Awareness*. Vol. 9, No 4.
- Markkanen, R. & Schröder, H. *Hedging: a Challenge for Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis*. <http://www.sw2.euw-frankfurt-o.de/Publikationen/hedging/markkane/markkane.html>. accessed 02 02 2006
- Réféga de Figueiredo-Silva M.L., 2001. Teaching academic reading: some initial findings from a session on hedging. *Proceedings of the Postgraduate Conference 2001*. – Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, the University of Edinburgh.
- Salager-Mayer F., 1997. I Think That Perhaps You Should: a Study of Hedges in Scientific Discourse. In: *Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom Applications*. – Washington: United States Information Agency.
- Vold E.T., 2006. Epistemic modality markers in research articles: a cross-linguistic and cross-disciplinary study. In: *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. Vol. 16, No. 1.

More on the Origin of Indo-Aryan Ergative Markers: Hindi/Urdu *ne* and Nepali *le*.

Butt, Miriam, Ahmed, Tafseer, Poudel, Tikaram
(University of Konstanz).

In this paper, we adduce more evidence regarding the origin of ergative marking in Indo-Aryan, suggesting that there are closer connections to a dative marker than the usually assumed instrumental. Our data comes from both historical and comparative evidence, including languages like Hindi/Urdu, Nepali, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi and several dialects of Hindi/Urdu.

While the standardly accepted line (apparently originating from a suggestion by Trumpp) on the origin of Indo-Aryan ergatives such as the Hindi/Urdu ergative *ne* and the Nepali *le* is that they are old instrumentals which were reinterpreted as part of a reanalysis of originally passive (past participial) structures (e.g., Garrett 1990, Bynon 2004, Dixon 1994, Trask 1979), there is very little factual evidence to support this idea. This was pointed out as early as two centuries ago (e.g., Beames 1872, Kellogg 1893) and has been continued to be pointed out in more recent times (e.g., Klaiman 1978, Zakharyin 1979, Andersen 1986, Hock 1986, Butt 2001). Indeed, any close look at the (readily) available historical data confirms these objections.

The question then is, what is a good alternative theory as to the origin of Indo-Aryan ergatives such as Hindi/Urdu *ne* and Nepali *le*? Beames (1872) proposes a dative connection. We have been exploring this connection and find it not at all unlikely. Several other scholars have independently proposed or noted a dative connection, e.g., Tessitori (1914) notes that the dative *nai* is used agentively in Western Rajasthani and Montaut (2006) proposes a link to a fundamental dative alignment. Our own contribution to this question draws on several sets of data: 1) we take a comparative look at *n-* and *l-* forms in related Indo-Aryan languages and chart their distribution and function; 2) we trace the development of the Urdu/Hindi dative/accusative marker *ko* and situate its development with respect to the emergence of the Urdu/Hindi ergative *ne*; 3) we present data charting the use and function of the Nepali *le* from about 1300 on. In combination, these sets of data show that the close connection between ergative and dative uses in Indo-Aryan is indeed quite likely: 1) the same *n-* and *l-* forms that furnish ergatives are often used as dative/accusatives as well; 2) the dative use of the Hindi/Urdu postposition *ne* could have been blocked by the prior existence of *ko* in the language (the dative/accusative *ko* is attested several centuries before the ergative *ne*); 3) the Nepali *le* first appears with verbs of giving, the current instrumental use only emerges significantly later.

Encounter of the third kind: German diphthongs are neither heavy nor light!

Caratini, Emilie
(University of Nice).

Phonologically, diphthongs may (roughly) be defined as complex vowels which combine *two* vowel-like elements in one syllable (e.g. English or German [aɪ]) (cf. Dubois & Al. [2002], Golston [2006:602]). With regards to syllable weight, it is commonly assumed that we must distinguish between two types of diphthongs (*heavy* and *light* diphthongs), and that the distinction between both types relies – mostly – on the phonetic peculiarities of both objects. The *second* element of heavy diphthongs is a glide-like vowel (e.g. [aɪ]), whereas the *first* element of light diphthongs is a glide-like element (e.g. [i̯a]). In other words, closing diphthongs (most of which have a falling sonority) are heavy and opening diphthongs (rising sonority) are light.

Furthermore, it is assumed that heavy diphthongs behave like long vowels while light diphthongs count as short vowels. Hence, in a vocalic system where vowel quantity is / becomes allophonic, we expect **i)** *heavy* diphthongs to behave like *long* vowels and **ii)** *light* diphthongs like *short* vowels. This distinction, which may capture certain situations, is not able to account for the existence of diphthongs which behave neither like long nor like short monophthongs in systems where vowel quantity is allophonic.

One such case is discussed: German. This study is based on the analysis of an electronic corpus (11224 forms) which brings together two dimensions: synchrony (New High German [NHG] forms) and diachrony (from Middle High German [MHG] to NHG). It is shown that synchronically and diachronically German diphthongs behave neither like long nor like short vowels, and that therefore German diphthongs should not be considered as heavy or light. Rather, they are a third kind of object (“immune diphthongs”). Some of their characteristics make them resemble long vowels (e.g. they occur in open syllable – [‘zaʊ] “hay”, [‘ze:] vs. *[‘zε]); others make them more like short vowels (e.g. they occur in unstressed and in closed syllables – [‘e:fʊɪ] “ivy”, [‘fʁʊnt] “friend”, [‘fɪndn] “(to) find” vs. *[‘fi:ndn]).

Thus, immune diphthongs must be allotted a specific structure, which is neither that of a light diphthong nor that of a heavy diphthong. For several reasons (need to distinguish between long vowels, hiatuses and (immune) diphthongs), immune diphthongs are given a specific structure where **i)** they occupy two positions on the skeleton both of which dominate its own piece of melody (this accounts for their immunity) and where **ii)** sharing of some melodic material accounts for the unseparability of the two positions.

Finally, it is shown that strict-CV phonology (cf. Lowenstamm [1996], Scheer [2004]) has an advantage over other phonological theories: it is able to formally distinguish between positions whose realisation is restricted to favouring environments (open syllables etc.) and positions whose realisation is context-independent (e.g. the second position of immune diphthongs). What regulates (allophonic) vowel quantity in strict-CV is the need for the second position of long monophthongs (target of spreading) to be licensed. The second position of immune diphthongs, though, does not need external support: it simply dominates some melody on its own.

The grammaticalization of the prepositional partitive in Romance.

Carrier, Anne & Béatrice Lamiroy
(University of Valenciennes - University of Leuven).

Cases mark in principle dependency relations, both syntactic and semantic, with respect to another term. The partitive use of the genitive, as observed in several indo-European languages (Slavonic, Old Germanic, Ancient Greek, ...) is atypical, because, unlike other inflectional cases, it does not create a relationship between the NP and some external element (Carrier 2007). This explains why it can be used in a flexible way instead of other inflectional cases. The Homeric epics provide some nice illustrations of the syntactic flexibility of the partitive genitive: it occurs not only in the object position of verbs meaning ‘drink’ or ‘eat’ (1), but is also used in other syntactic functions such as subject, locative (2) or instrumental function.

- (1) a. αἵματος_[Genitive] ὄφρα πίω [instead of: αἷμα_[accusative]] (Homer, *Odyssey* 11, 96)
so that I drink of the blood_[Genitive]
b. ἐπεὶ πῖεν αἷμα κελαινό_[accusative] (Homer, *Odyssey* 11, 98)
after having drunk the dark blood_[accusative]
- (2) λοεσσάμενος ποταμοῖο_[Genitive] [instead of: ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ_[dative]] (Homer, *Iliad* 21, 560)
after taking a (little) bath in the river_[Genitive]

The partitive genitive is however not a syntactic ‘joker’ (Meillet & Vendryes 1927: § 797, Serbat 1996) because its use instead of another inflectional case is not indifferent: the partitive genitive marks an operation within its constituent, which

consists in isolating an indeterminate quantity from the whole. Humbert (1960:269–70) explains the difference between the two examples in (1) along this line: the first example, with the partitive genitive, relates the desire of Tiresias to drink some of the blood of the victims killed by Odysseus, whereas the second example, with the accusative, evokes the strength he draws from drinking the substance of blood.

In Latin, the genitive case marks dependency upon a noun and is thus fundamentally an adnominal case. The use of a genitive case that is not directly related to a nominal element, as exemplified by (3)

- (3) Manus, mortarium bene lavato; farinam[accusative] in mortarium indito; aquae[genitive] paulatim addito (Cato, *Agr.* 74, quoted by Serbat 1996: 364)

Wash well your hands and the mortar; put (some) wheat[accusative] in the mortar; add little by little of the water[Genitive].

is infrequent and would perhaps even have passed unnoticed were it not widely attested in other Indo-European languages. The tendency to make use of a partitive genitive instead of another case was nevertheless present during the preclassical period and is mainly manifested in non-literary, technical texts, such as medical and culinary treatises (Väänänen 1981). It was repressed in the classical Latin period, because the marking of clear syntactic relations was privileged over the expression of subtle semantic distinctions (Serbat 1996). But the partitive construction surfaced again in Late Latin with a higher frequency, not only in the form of the genitive case but also as a prepositional construction with *de*. Examples are legion in popularizing texts of the 4th and 5th century, in particular by Christian authors.

- (4) Et sic *de pane illo* edat (*Vulgate*, I *Corinthians* 11, 28)

and so let him eat of the/that bread

The destiny of this partitive construction marked by a preposition is very unequal in the Romance area: it evolved into a fully grammaticalized article in French, endowed with the features of indefiniteness and non singular, whereas it did not grammaticalize at all in Spanish and Portuguese, (North-)Italian occupying an intermediate position, showing up variation between the partitive article and zero marking.

In our contribution to the workshop, we will focus on the following research questions:

- (i) Which are the different stages of the grammaticalization from partitive construction to article that can be distinguished on the basis of the comparison between the Romance languages?
- (ii) How can we account for the difference between the Romance languages with respect to the grammaticalization of the partitive?
- (iii) Does the expression of the expression of the partitive under the form of a prepositional phrase rather than a case marker have an impact on the degree of grammaticalization?

References:

- Blake, Barry 2001. *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bosque, Ignacio - [Demonte, Violeta](#), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe.
- Carlier, Anne. 2004. "Sur les premiers stades de développement de l'article partitif". *Scolia* 18: 115-146.
- Carlier, Anne. 2007. "From Preposition to Article : The Grammaticalization of the French Partitive". *Studies in Language* 31: 1-49.
- De Mulder, Walter - Lamiroy, Béatrice. "Stages of Grammaticalization: the position of French among the other Romance languages", Submitted to *New Reflections on Grammaticalization 4*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Korzen, Iorn. 1996. *L'articolo italiano fra concetto ed entità. (Etudes romanes 26)*, Copenhagen : Museum Tusulanum Press
- Lamiroy, Béatrice - Goyens, Michèle - Melis, Ludo 2002. "Déplacement et repositionnement de la préposition A en français". *Linguisticae Investigationes* 25/2.
- Meillet, Antoine. & J. Vendryes. 1927. *Traité de grammaire comparée*. Paris: Champion.
- Presslich, Marion. 2000. *Partitivität und Indefinitheit*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang.
- Renzi, Lorenzo *et al.* 2001. *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione*, vol. I. Bologna: il Mulino.
- Serbat, Guy. 1996. *Grammaire fondamentale du latin, Tome VI, 1: L'emploi des cas en latin: nominatif, vocatif, accusatif, génitif, datif*. Louvain: Peeters.

Agent-based models of language competition.

Castelló, Xavier & San Miguel, Maxi
(IFISC, CSIC-UIB).

Based on computer simulations of agent-based models, this paper studies the dynamics of language competition, considered within the framework of social consensus problems. The general question addressed in this context is how and when a single social option is adopted, or when several options coexist. The answer to this question depends on the mechanisms of interaction and on the social network of interactions. In this context we consider two languages as competing options and

study the dynamics of language use due to social interactions leading to monolingual or language coexistence scenarios. We focus on language use, as opposed to language learning.

Building upon previous work by Abrams and Strogatz (2003) and Minett and Wang (2008) our models account for the role of different social aspects in the survival of the languages in contact as well as the possible emergence of new linguistic varieties. In particular, the role of bilingualism, social and community network structure, and network dynamics are discussed. Our results are parametrized in terms of prestige and volatility. Prestige, including overt and covert prestige, is considered as a language property indicating social preference for one or other language. Volatility, or degree of accommodation, is a social dynamics property measuring an attitude towards shifting language.

The results of our analysis indicate that in a reference case study of neutral prestige and volatility, one language finally dominates, with bilingual agents acting at the borders of linguistic domains and accelerating the convergence to a monolingual final state. More generally, and acknowledging the general important role of prestige, it is shown that prestige is not the whole story: For low volatility the effect of prestige can be delayed for very long times. This implies that political measures in favour of a minority language can be very slow in producing results, but at the same time low volatility prevents from endangerment in the absence of such policies. The example of the survival of Galician in north-western Spain fits this scenario. On the other hand, in situations of high volatility there is long lived language coexistence in which bilingual agents can be interpreted as shifting language very fast. We think that this models code-switching phenomena with the emergence of new linguistic varieties such as Yanito in Gibraltar (British colony in the south of Spain) or Spanglish in certain areas of the US.

We finally propose a model in which the language is not considered as a property of the agent but a property of the link (or the relation a given agent has with another). Thus, agents may use different languages depending on the interlocutor, which represents an incipient approach to the modelling of language use according to linguistic domains.

References:

- Abrams D, Strogatz S, Modelling the dynamics of language death. *Nature* 424: 900 (2003)
- Wang W, Minett J., The invasion of language: emergence, change and death. *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 20: 263-269 (2005).
- Minett J, Wang W., Modelling endangered languages: the effects of bilingualism and social structure. *Lingua* 118: 19-45 (2008).
- Castelló, X., Loureiro-Porto, L., Eguíluz, V. M. and San Miguel, M., The fate of bilingualism in a model of language competition *Advancing Social Simulation: The First World Congress*. Takahashi, S. et al (Eds.), Springer (2007).
- Castelló, X.; Toivonen, R.; Eguíluz, V. M.; Loureiro-Porto, L.; Saramäki, J.; Kaski, K; SanMiguel, M., Modelling language competition: bilingualism and complex social networks *The evolution of language - EVOLANG7*. Eds. A.D.M. Smith, et al. *World Sci.* 59-66 (2008).
- Chapel, L., Castello, X., Bernard, C., Deffuant G., Eguíluz, V. M., Martin, S., San Miguel, M., -Viability and Resilience of Language Competition *PLoS ONE* (2009).

Control and argument marking in Latin.

Cennamo, Michela
(University of Naples Federico II).

This paper investigates the role played by the notion of Control in the encoding of transitivity in Latin, in relation to two domains, (i) the alternation active/passive forms, to denote control/lack of control/affectedness of the subject (1) (Cennamo 1998: 81), (ii) the personal/impersonal encoding of transitive situations, as with impersonal verbs from mental process/emotion verbs, so-called 'affective' verbs, which allow both possibilities (2), as well as the relationship among the impersonal active (3a) personal active (3b) and passive (3c) patterns, which are sometimes available for one and the same verb (e.g., *fallo* 'to deceive') (Woodcock 1959: 166-171, int.al.):

- (1) a. *excito* 'I awaken' ~ *excitor* 'I wake up'; *gravo* 'I load, oppress' ~ *gravor* 'I have difficulties'
- (2) a. *illa haec pudet*
she.NOM these.ACC shame. PRES.IND.3SG
'She is ashamed of this'
- b. *tui me pudet*
you.GEN I.ACC shame. PRES.IND.3SG
'I am ashamed of you'
- (3) a. *nisi memoria me fallit*
if-not memory I.ACC deceive.PRES.IND.3SG
'If memory does not deceive me'
- b. *me forte fallo*
I.ACC strongly am-in-error. PRES.IND.1SG
'If I am not completely wrong'
- c. *nisi fallor (medio)-passive -R form*
if-not be-in-error.PRES.IND.MPASS.1SG
'If I am not wrong'

After discussing the incidence of these strategies and the classes of verbs with which they most typically occur, we will argue that so-called impersonal verbs such as *pudet*, *fallit*, etc. represent the crystallization of a usage that must have been very

common in the early stages of the language, to denote the lack of control of the subject and the spontaneous manifestation of a situation, originally in competition with the (medio-)passive *-R* form, that then won out, becoming the only form available to express the lack of control of the subject.

We will also explore the contribution that the Latin data can offer to the much debated issue of the original alignment orientations of several aspects of PIE syntax, whether ergative, active or fluid (Bauer 2000, Bavant 2008, Barðdal & Eythórsson 2009, int.al.).

References:

- Barðdal, J. & Eythórsson, Th. 2009. The Origin of the Oblique Subject Construction: An Indo-European Comparison. In: V. Bubeník et al. (eds), *Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 179-193.
- Bauer, B. 2001. Archaic syntax in Indo-European: the spread of transitivity in Latin and French. Berlin: Mouton.
- Bavant, M. 2008. Proto-Indo-European ergativity... still to be discussed. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 44/4: 433-447.
- Cennamo, M. 1998. The loss of the voice dimension between Late Latin and early Romance. In: M. Schmid, J.R. Austin & D. Stein (eds) *Historical Linguistics 1997*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 77-100.
- Woodcock, E.Ch. 1959. *A New Latin Syntax*. London: Methuen.

Is clause combining relevant to a polysynthetic language?

Chafe, Wallace
(University of California at Santa Barbara).

This talk focuses on the Iroquoian language Seneca, whose polysynthetic morphology is responsible for clause combining patterns that differ in some respects from the more familiar patterns of European languages. The uses of temporal and spatial adverbial clauses resemble those in better known languages, as does the use of complement clauses with verbs of saying, asking, and the like. Other usages, however, suggest a need to extend the notion of 'clause' to something more inclusive.

In perhaps all languages the flow of ideas in discourse is reflected in prosodically defined phrases that typically contain at least one verb, although sometimes there is no verb at all. Examining relations between these prosodic phrases offers a less restrictive perspective on discourse than focusing only on the combining of clauses (Chafe 1988, 2004). An important feature of the Seneca language is the fact that a verb includes not only the idea of an event or state but also the idea of a person, object, or abstraction that participates in an event or state. There are several consequences.

(1) *The introduction of a new participant*. If a participant in an event is minimally newsworthy, the idea of a new event may be expressed with nothing more than a verb, which already includes all the information a listener is thought to need. If a speaker judges that a listener needs more information, a participant may be further elaborated in a following phrase. A still more newsworthy participant may be positioned in its own separate phrase preceding the event of which it is a part. Newsworthiness for Senecas resides especially in people's names and kinship relations.

(2) *Further elaboration of a referent*. Seneca lacks both adjectives and relative clauses, but it often categorizes a referent more fully by simply adjoining another verb that includes the same referent. For example, in place of the English relative clause in 'He was ready with a stick that was sharp at both ends,' a Seneca speaker said, translated literally, 'He was ready with a stick, it was sharp at both ends.'

(3) *Achieving coherence through repetition of a referent*. Because in any language a referent may persist across a sequence of events, its repetition within a sequence of verbs can bring coherence to such a sequence, either within or across prosodic phrases. Where an English speaker might say 'Carrying baskets on our backs, we crossed over,' Seneca gives coherence to the sequence by adjoining phrases that contain the equivalent of 'we' in each verb: 'We carried baskets on our backs, we crossed over.'

These patterns are illustrated with examples from Seneca stories and conversations.

References:

- Chafe, Wallace. 1988. Linking Intonation Units in Spoken English. In John Haiman and Sandra A. Thompson (eds.), *Clause Combining in Grammar and Discourse*, 1-27. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 2004. Discourse effects of polysynthesis. In Carol Lynn Moder and Aida Martinovic-Zic (eds.), *Discourse Across Languages and Cultures*, 37-52. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Partitives and diminutives in Russian.

Chernigovskaya, Evgenia
(Moscow State University).

A number of Russian nouns has a double set of genitive endings (-a/-ya and -u/-yu), one of which can only manifest in the quantitative context and is therefore known as “partitive” genitive. While the more common -a/-ya genitive can easily replace the partitive ending (and it would appear that cases of such usage are increasing, cf: Panov (1968), Comrie et al (1996)), the opposite is not true.

(1) On vypi-l cha-ya / cha-yu
He drink-PST tea-Sg.Gen tea-PART
He drank some tea

(2) Tsvet cha-ya / * cha-yu
Colour tea-Sg.Gen/ tea-Sg.PART
The colour of the tea

The use of the partitive ending is also lexically restricted, since it can only be used with masculine mass-nouns. The partitive ending is thus often treated as completely optional. However, this is not entirely true, since there is a certain group of nouns where the partitive form is either highly preferable or the only one available, and which is generally overlooked in the studies. For some reason the diminutive forms tend to preserve the partitive ending.

Another interesting partitive quality diminutives demonstrate is how they function in the Accusative Vs Genitive (Partitive) alternation in the position of the direct object of the transitive verb. Nouns in the genitive form have the partitive meaning, whereas in the accusative they are reinterpreted as definite (the beer) or completeness of the action (all the beer).

(3) On vypi-l piv-a (4) On vypi-l piv-o
He drink-PST.Sg.M beer-Sg.Gen He drink-PST.Sg.M beer-Sg.Acc
He drank some beer He drank the beer (or all the beer)

Now, this opposition just doesn't seem to work for the diminutive forms, because they don't easily accept the non-partitive interpretation.

(5) On vypi-l piv-k-a (6) ?On vypil piv-k-o
He drink-PST.Sg.M beer-Dim-Sg.Gen He drink-PST.Sg.M beer-Dim-Sg.Acc
He drank some beer

The above examples clearly show that a diminutive form may behave differently from the non-diminutive one in the very same context. The paper will then deal with the following questions:

- 1) to perform a systematic check of the diminutive forms against the general “partitive” contexts and to compare the results and the level of acceptability by native speakers (questionnaire).
- 2) To explain the fact that in case of the diminutive forms, the preference for partitive choices is more marked. The analysis that I propose is based on the assumption that both partitives and diminutives have overlapping quantitative semantics, which is responsible for the resulting proximity.

Although the paper deals only with the data of the Russian language, it must be noted that this proximity can be observed cross-linguistically. E.g. according to Zhuravsky (1996) and Koval (1997) diminutive classifiers are one of the sources for the development of partitive semantics. A detailed study of the correlation of the Russian partitive and diminutives can thus possibly give some insight on the phenomena in other languages.

References:

- Comrie, Bernard; Stone, Gerard; Polinsky, M., 1996 The Russian language in the 20th century, Oxford, Clarendon Press
- Fischer, Susann 2004. Partitive vs. Genitive in Russian and Polish: an empirical study on case alternation in the object domain. In S.Fischer, R. van de Vijver and R. Vogel (eds.), Experimental Studies in Linguistics. I, LiP 21. 123-137.
- Jurafsky, D. 1996. Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the Diminutive. //Language, 72
- Koval, A.I. 1997. Imennye kategorii v pular-fulfulde //Osnovy afrikanskogo yazykoznanija. Moscow, Aspect-Press.
- Panov M.V. , 1968. Russkii yazyk I sovetskoe obshchestvo: sotsiologo-lingvisticheskoe issledovaniye / AN USSR. Institut russkogo yazyka. Moscow, Nauka.
- Shulga, M.V., 2003 Razvitie morfologicheskoi sistemy imeni v russskom yazyke. Moscow, Izd. Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo universiteta Lesa.

Do not tell people what they already know: a neo-Gricean pragmatic analysis of the alternate set [zero/full pronoun] in Modern Greek.

Chiou, Mihael
(independent researcher).

Modern Greek is a typical pro-drop language i.e. it allows null-subject sentences. As a result, there are two different NP types, namely, zero and full pronouns, which can alternate in the subject position. This fact raises two important questions: (a) since Modern Greek licenses null subjects, why the more marked full pronoun can also be used in the same distributions?, and (b) given the choice between a zero and a full pronoun, what are the principles which condition their choice and their interpretation? In order to address these questions a group of 25 adults (all native speakers of Modern Greek) were tested. Subjects were presented with ten sets comprising of (a) and (b) sentences. In (a) sentences, the zero pronoun is used while in (b) sentences it is substituted by a full pronoun. The data illustrate, that there is a very strong preference for zero pronouns if a co-referential interpretation is intended. Reversion to the full pronoun showed a general tendency for a non co-referential interpretation with the last relevant NP. This finding is in accordance with the prediction made by the M- neo-Gricean pragmatic principle (Levinson 1991, 2000, Huang 2007).

Nevertheless, the data also indicate that the use of a full pronoun in these linguistic contexts does not always result in a non co-referential interpretation leading thus in readings which are contrary-to-expectation. It appears then that the Levinsonian M-principle over-predicts co-reference in certain cases. It will be argued that these contrary-to-expectation interpretations turn out to be mainly of two types a) emphaticness/contrastiveness and b) logophoricity. As it will be explained, when both marked and unmarked alternates implicate co-reference, an M-implicature in contrastiveness/emphaticness or logophoricity will take over (Huang 2000, 2007). In this way, we can give an adequate and elegant explanation of the pragmatic factors involved in the choice of full over a zero pronoun in Modern Greek. Furthermore, the claim that the M-principle also operates at other levels of pragmatic explanation, is further supported.

References:

- Huang, Yan. 2000. *Anaphora: A Cross Linguistic Study*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Huang, Yan. 2007. *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
Levinson, Stephen C. 1991. Pragmatic reduction of pragmatic conditions revisited. *Journal of Linguistics* 27: 107-161.
Levinson, Stephen C. 2000. *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press.

Code-switching for fun.

Chirsheva, Galina
(Cherepovets State University, Russia).

The reasons for code-switching in bilingual conversation have been studied in a number of works (Auer 1995; 2003; Appel and Muysken 1987; Gumperz 1982; Jorgensen 2003; Li Wei 1998; Myers-Scotton 1997; 2002; 2006; Poplack 1980, among others), but little has been written about code-switches for entertainment and humour (Moyer 2003; Rampton 2003; Woolard 1988).

Code-switches from Russian to other languages are often used by Russian people for different reasons. One can hear new foreign words or phrases everywhere: at home, in public places, on the radio, on TV, etc. Inserted into Russian sentences in certain situations, they can produce humorous effect felt by those who are competent in the interacting languages. Such code-switching is among the sources for puns and jokes in comedians' performances.

The main objective of the paper is to show how structural characteristics of code-switches, of the CPs in which they are inserted, and the parameters of the situations in which the bilingual utterances occur, are combined to achieve humorous effect. Partly, this effect can be explained by some typological characteristics of interacting languages, which will also be taken into consideration.

The structure of code-switches will be analyzed within the framework of the Matrix Language Frame model (Myers-Scotton 1993, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2006, etc.).

When young people wish to express their ideas and emotions in an unusual way and to produce humorous effect, they switch to units of other codes. Especially popular such code-switching is among those students who learn foreign languages. They enjoy using code-switches in order to relax and improve their mood. When they are tired or nervous after University classes they make each other feel better by inserting code-switches of certain structures into a Russian morphosyntactic frame.

University teachers (lecturers and professors) at Foreign Languages Department also code-switch from Russian to English or German at lectures or classes to make everybody relax. Besides, teachers of English or German use code-switches for fun in their informal conversations with each other.

The data for the research (more than 400 utterances) have been extracted from the speech of senior students (n = 50) and teachers (n = 20) of English and German languages departments of a Russian University. The speech was tape-recorded or written down immediately after it had been fixed at least once a week (for about one hour) for six semesters at

classes and from informal conversations of students and teachers in the University building and outside. Besides, those students who attended lectures and seminars on bilingual speech were given the task to collect utterances with code-switches at home and in public places. They analyzed and discussed code-switches and explained why and how they were used for fun. Their own bilingual puns and jokes invented to illustrate the humorous effect achieved by code-switches will also be analyzed.

It will be shown that only certain structures of Russian-English and Russian-German code-switches can produce humorous effect, so native Russian speakers intentionally use them for fun.

Around hearsay.

Chojnicka, Joanna & Nau, Nicole
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan).

The paper shall contribute to a better understanding of hearsay (reportive) as a sub-domain of evidentiality, setting it apart from, and showing its relations to, other notions which involve reference to a speech act: reporting, quoting, or inventing what someone said or might say. It will thus be concerned with the semantic-pragmatic component of the Database and a critical discussion of the distinctions made there, based on an investigation of hearsay markers in modern Latvian.

(1) The relative mood, a verb form containing the morph *ot*, has at least two functions which should be clearly distinguished. First, it marks reported speech, with or without an explicit introduction containing a verb of saying (when the context of referring to someone else's speech is obvious, the relative mood often functions as a stylistic substitute for verbs of saying). This use is found in statements as well as reported questions and commands, and usually it has no epistemic overtones. We propose to exclude this function from the domain of evidentiality (cf. Bednarek 2006). However, the relative mood can express evidentiality as well: where there is no mention of another speaker to which a text can be attributed, this form indicates that the information expressed by the speaker has been obtained by hearsay. In this case, an epistemic component is more or less conventionalized.

(2) The particle *it k̄ā* has many functions, of which hearsay is rather peripheral. It is used most frequently for hedging, "matching knowledge against verbal resources" (Chafe 1986: 264). *It k̄ā* may also mark non-specific reference to general knowledge. This use is found almost always in a context of argumentation, either when the speaker does not agree with the general knowledge or when the situation proves against it. As the sole marker of second-hand information *it k̄ā* is rare (but possible), much more often it is combined with the relative mood. Such a combination can carry emotional, for instance ironic, overtones. Another problem for the semantic analysis of *it k̄ā* is the distinction between components of its meaning which are 'associated' with the evidential function and those which should be considered 'other functions'. The use as a hedge is obviously not a 'hearsay' function – rather, it involves expressing epistemic commitment. However, the ultimate interpretation will always depend on the context.

(3) With conventionalized constructions containing the verb-form *saka* 'says' a further function is frequently found: the citation of a common saying or an idiom, often used as illustration of a point argued for or against. With sentence-initial *saka (ka)* (*ka* = complementizer) this function is often combined with hearsay, while with parenthetical *k̄ā saka (k̄ā 'as')* hearsay is at best marginal. The latter is most often used as a hedge.

References:

- Bednarek, Monika. 2006. Epistemological positioning and evidentiality in English news discourse: A text-driven approach. *Text & Talk* 26–6 (2006), pp. 635–660
- Chafe, Wallace. 1986. Evidentiality in English conversation and academic writing. In: W. Chafe & J. Nichols eds. *Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex, 261-272.

Do vowels affect the identification of unreleased stops?

Chu, Man-ni
(Der Lin Institute of Technology).

Formant transitions and the released feature are two important factors to affect coda identification; however, none of the stimuli in the previous studies contain only the formant transition in the coda position. In Chu's (2009) unpublished dissertation, she has found that among unreleased coda stops, the factor of 'vowel' and 'coda' are the two most important factors to affect subjects' identification. Since the formant transition is the interaction of the vowel and coda, and in order to elaborate what role the 'vowel' and the 'coda' plays in coda identification, we will focus our study on unreleased coda stops by manipulating the formant transitions. The way is called 'formant transition mismatches.' The last 30 ms (or 60 ms; depends on the results of pilot study) of the formant transitions of a particular sound (i.g., /pat/) would be cut and re-synthesized with other sounds with the same CV- but with different codas (i.g., /pap/; /pak/). That means this particular sound (i.g., /pat/) would have three variations (original one and the ones with the last part of /ap/ and /ak/ formant transitions). Participants will be asked to select the sound of the last consonant they just heard from three candidates: [p],[t],[k]. Logistic

Regression (FSTEP Algorithms) and Tree-based model statistics would be used to analyze the responses. Two possible results would be predicted: (1) the results reveal that either the coda of /p,t,k/ or the vowel of /i,a,u/ dominate the coda identification, which implies a further possible direction of sound change, in terms of the final stops. The proposal of Chen (1973) (the derivation of final stops is in a particular coda order) can be further supported or against. (2) the behaviors of /-p/ and /-k/, which share the same feature [grave] perceptually according to the previous studies, differ from the performances of /p,t/ and /t,k/. That is the results of coda identification support the existence of the feature [grave], which separates /p, k/ and /t/.

Morphemes and patterns.

Comrie, Bernard

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

Empirical research has shown that bound morphology is much harder to borrow than lexical items, although borrowing bound morphology is certainly not impossible. This suggests that bound morphology ought to provide strong evidence in favor of genealogical affiliation.

However, the use of bound morphology introduces a problem. Bound morphemes are typically short, often consisting of just one or two phonemes, so the likelihood of chance similarity between two morphemes with the same function in different languages is higher than with lexical items, which are usually longer. For instance, English, Latin, and Tsez (a Nakh-Daghestanian language) all have a genitive suffix "-s" (e.g. "father's", genitive of "father"; "patris", genitive of "pater"; "babiys", genitive of "babiya", respectively). The English and Latin suffixes are cognate, going back to Proto-Indo-European, while the Tsez form is almost certainly not cognate. If one looks at enough different languages, it is statistically almost inevitable that one will come across such chance similarities.

How can the relative resistance of bound morphemes to borrowing nonetheless be used as a criterion in evaluating genealogical affiliation? Two methods are suggested, and are tested against material taken from the well-established language family Indo-European and from a more controversial grouping Dene-Yeniseian, which would group together the Na-Dene languages of North America and the Yeniseian languages of Siberia.

First, while there is a high probability of chance similarity with a single phoneme or even a pair of phonemes, the likelihood decreases as the number of phonemes increases. Since bound morphemes are typically short, one can compensate by finding a larger number of bound morphemes that show the relevant systematic similarities of form. In comparing morphologically conservative Indo-European languages, for instance, even though the individual bound morphemes are short, their number, even if one restricts the demonstration to inflectional morphology, is sufficient to outweigh the disadvantage of their shortness.

Second, morphemes are not only forms, but also participate in structured patterns, and similarity of structural pattern can serve as reinforcing evidence in favor of genealogical affiliation. Thus, in comparing Na-Dene and Yeniseic verb morphologies with one another, not only is there parallelism in form, but also in the structures in which these forms occur.

The Ancient Greek partitive genitive in typological perspective.

Conti, Luz & Luraghi Silvia

(Universidad Autonoma de Madrid - Università di Pavia).

As in other Indo-European, the genitive is used as a partitive in Ancient Greek. Possible usages include direct object, second argument of intransitive verbs, subject, time and space adverbial, complement of adposition:

- (1) *óphrapíqioínoio*
for drink:3SG.OPT wine:GEN
"in order to drink some wine" (*Od.* 22.11);
- (2) *epeì k' olooío tetarpōmestha gōoio*
when PTC dire:GEN.M enjoy:PF.M/P.1PL groan:GEN.M
"when we have taken our fill of dire lamenting" (*Il.* 23.10);
- (3) *eisì gàrautōn kaìparàbasilēitōnPerséōn*
be:PRES.3PL PTC DEM.GEN.PL and by king:DAT ART.GEN.PL.M Persian:GEN.PL.M
"there are (some) of these (*sc.* ants) even by the king of the Persians" (*Hdt.* 3.102.2);
- (4) *pínein te kai eupathéein, oute hēmerēs oute nuktós aníenta*
drink:INF PTC PTC enjoy:INF NEG day:GEN NEG night:GEN let.go:PART.PRS.ACC
"and would drink and enjoy himself, not letting up day or night," (*Hdt.* 2.133.4);
- (5) *ē halōs ē epì gēs*
or sea:GEN or on land:GEN
"either at sea or on land" (*Od.* 12.26-27)

In spite of such a wide variety of usages, the Ancient Greek partitive/genitive is comparatively infrequent: partitive subjects and objects are not numerous and never obligatory; space adverbials with or without adpositions, which they have no clear parallels in the other Indo-European languages, are peculiar of Homeric Greek and disappeared later.

Typologically interesting issues include:

Partitive subjects: While partitive objects occur in principle with all types of verb, partitive subjects are limited to unaccusatives (Conti forthcoming): in a similar fashion, the Basque partitive occurs in negated sentences only in the place of the absolutive, i.e. limited to patients of transitive verbs and subjects of inaccusatives (unergatives take ergative subjects in Basque; note that the Finnish partitive can extend to unergatives, but apparently not to transitives, Huumo 2003).

Adpositional partitive: The feature of affectedness explains the possible alternation of the genitive and the accusative as partially affected vs. fully affected object of transitive verbs, and is also relevant for the alternation of the partitive/genitive and the accusative with adpositions, connected with the internal structure of landmarks (discrete vs. continuous), the structure of the trajectory with motion verbs (unidirectional vs. multidirectional), the position of the trajector (covering a limited portion vs. the whole extension of a landmark; Luraghi 2003, 2009). Partitive complements of adpositions occur in typologically and genetically distant languages:

- (6) *juoks-i-mme ympäri kaupunki-a*
run-PAST-1PL around city-PART
“We were running around in the city” (Finnish; from Lestrade 2006)
- (7) *complications dues à des erreurs techniques*
complications due to PART errors technical
“complications due to technical errors” (French; from *Le Monde*)

Again, similarities can be found: in Finnish as in Ancient Greek some adpositions admit case alternation; in French, the partitive article is limited to mass nouns or count nouns in the plural, hence types of landmark are also constrained.

In our paper we will address the following issues:

- How does the Ancient Greek partitive/genitive relate to the partitive/genitive in other IE languages (types of usage; degrees of obligatoriness/grammaticalization);
- How does it compare with partitives across languages (restrictions on occurrence; semantic contribution);
- What reasons prevented its further extension.

References:

- Conti, Luz forthcoming. Synchronie und Diachronie des altgriechischen Genitivs als Semisubjekt. In *Historische Sprachwissenschaft*.
- Huumo, Tuomas 2003. Incremental Existence: The World According to the Finnish Existential Sentence. *Linguistics* 41/3: 461–493
- Lestrade, Sander 2006. Marked Adpositions. Paper read at the SIGSEM Workshop On Prepositions.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2003. *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases. A Study of the Expression of Semantic Roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, Benjamins.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2009. The internal structure of adpositional phrases. In J. Helmbrecht Y. Nishina, Y.M. Shin, S. Skopeteas, E. Verhoeven, eds., *Form and Function in Language Research: Papers in honour of Christian Lehmann*. Berlin/ New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 231-254.

Causal chains for imperfectives and futures.

Copley, Bridget
(CNRS/Paris 8).

Imperfectives or progressives can often be used to refer to the future (i.e they have “futate” readings) as in (1a). What is the difference between (1a) and (1b)? In both, someone in authority has an intention for the speaker to teach tomorrow; in both things could work out differently.

- (1) a. I am teaching / teach tomorrow.
b. I am going to / will teach tomorrow.

Working within the methodology of formal linguistics, I propose that the difference between them is the length of the causal chain between the causing situation and the caused situation. Imperfective forms convey that present situation immediately causes the future situation, while futures convey that the present situation causes the future situation via a longer causal chain. I offer an analysis within the force-based framework of Copley and Harley (to appear), where a force is a function from a situation $init(f)$ to another situation $fin(f)$. $Fin(f)$ is the “ceteris paribus” situation that occurs only if the force applies without external interference. Situations (paralleling situations-as-partial-worlds frameworks, (e.g. Barwise and Perry, 1983)) are arrangements of individuals along with any forces that may be acting upon them; each situation has a net force.

In the imperfective, the νP describes the net force of the topic situation, and says it is "efficacious": the (immediate) result situation of this force is presupposed to occur (Copley (2009)).

(2) $[[\text{imperfective}]] = \lambda s \lambda \pi . \pi(\text{net}(s))$ presupposition: $\text{fin}(\text{net}(s))$ occurs

The future says that the νP describes the net force of a later efficacious situation in the causal chain that extends from the topic situation.

(3) $[[\text{future}]] = \lambda s \lambda \pi \exists n . \pi(\text{net}(s_n))$ where s_n is the n th situation in the causal chain presupposition: $\text{fin}(\text{net}(s))$ occurs

Futurate readings as in (1a) arise because a psychological force (e.g., the plan for someone to teach) can cause a spatio-temporally distant immediate effect. Futurate readings with unplannable events, e.g., (4a), are impossible because most physical forces can only have a spatio-temporally local immediate effect, though they can have distant effects via a longer causal chain ((4b)).

(4) a. #It's raining/It rains tomorrow.
b. It's going to/it will rain tomorrow.

(Imperfective forms in which (4a) is possible have a different analysis.)

Results:

-A unified account of ongoing and futurate meanings for imperfectives/progressives; a prediction about which languages or forms forbid futurate readings: those that lack the efficacy presupposition, as diagnosed by the possibility of non-culminating accomplishments.

-An explanation for non-planned futurates as in (5), since certain physical forces can have spatio-temporally distant immediate effects.

(5) The sun rises tomorrow.

-A reconciliation of deterministic naïve laws of physics with future indeterminacy: long chains of deterministic forces result in indeterminacy due to lack of knowledge about the magnitudes and identities of all the forces involved (Barbey and Wolff 2009), as well as lack of knowledge about which situation will proceed without interference into the future. Free will also provides indeterminacy.

-Better integration with cognitive sciences due to the perceptual reality of forces and situations as opposed to possible worlds.

References:

Barbey, A. and P. Wolff. Composing causal relations in force dynamics. Under revision.
 Barwise, J. and J. Perry (1983). *Situations and Attitudes*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
 Copley, B. (2009). *The Semantics of the Future*. Routledge. Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics, Routledge.
 Copley, B. and H. Harley (2009). Forces instead of events. To appear in *Papers from the first conference on Forces in Grammatical Structures*, Bridget Copley, Fabienne Martin, and Nigel Duffield, eds.

'Anadeixis' and discourse deixis via demonstratives: Textual signals of discourse structure.

Cornish, Francis
(Université de Toulouse-le Mirail).

Deixis and anaphora are conceived here as complementary discourse-referring procedures which the user exploits in constructing, modifying and accessing the contents of mental models of an unfolding discourse represented in the minds of speaker and addressee (or writer and reader in the written form of language): see Cornish (1999). Basically, they are procedures for coordinating the speech participants' attention throughout the flow of text as produced within a given context to which they are both party (see in particular Clark & Bangerter, 2004 on this issue, in terms of the act of referring more generally).

Starting from a scale of indexicality ranging from expression types signalling pure deixis at one pole, to pure anaphora at the other (see Figure 1), the paper will attempt, first, to characterize the specific way in which demonstratives (pronouns as well as NPs) realize the discourse procedures of deixis and "anadeixis".

Deixis Anaphora

1st/2nd pp > Pdm adv > [Ddm adv > Pdm NP > Ddm NP > Pdmp > Ddmp > Df NP] > 3rdpp > 3rd pRp
 <-----anadeixis----->

Figure 1: Scale of anaphoricity and deicticity coded by certain categories of indexical expressions (Cornish 2007: Fig. 1, p. 149)

In between the two polar types of indexicals (1st and 2nd person pronouns, which may realize only a deictic use, on the one hand, and 3rd person reflexive pronouns, which are restricted to a (strict) anaphoric use, on the other), we find a range of expression types —mainly demonstrative-based —which may be called “anadeictic”: see Ehlich (1982: 333-4) for this term. The use of one of these expression types involves partly anaphoric, and partly deictic reference.

This done, the paper will then try to establish a certain number of heuristics for differentiating between their anaphoric (or “anadeictic”) function, and their discourse-deictic use. Both uses involve reference via the discourse context upstream of the occurrence of the demonstrative expression; but while the anadeictic function consists in simply retrieving a referent already present within a representation of the previous discourse by “pointing” toward it indexically, the discoursedeictic one requires the addressee or reader to operate upon a relevant contextual discourse representation in order to create a referent which was not present as such initially.

Unlike Piwek et al. (2008: 697), I argue that discourse deixis is not just a form of “anaphora”, simply because its function is to relate to prior (or subsequent) discourse. Unlike anaphora (or indeed, “anadeixis”), with discourse deixis there is no independently existing discourse entity upstream “waiting” for its reference to be picked up by a discourse-deictically used expression. Diessel (1999: 101) claims that the referent of such demonstratives “has no existence outside of the universe of discourse in the physical world.” Another distinctive property of this use is the fact that the referent thereby established tends not to persist in the subsequent discourse. The predicative component of the indexical clause plays a significant role in the operation of discourse deixis, as does the lexical part of the expression, where it is an NP.

To end, the paper will assess the Givenness Hierarchy (Gundel, Hedberg & Zacharski, 1993) in the light of the results of this study, in particular by questioning whether the referents of demonstrative-based expressions enjoy a higher level of cognitive accessibility than do those of definite NPs.

The essive form of nouns in Akhvakh and other Caucasian languages.

Creissels, Denis
(University of Lyon).

Cross-linguistically, essive cases carrying the meaning of a temporary state of being, often equivalent to English ‘as N’, are mainly recognized in descriptions of Uralian languages (e.g. Finnish *lapse-na* ‘as a child’, from *lapsi* ‘child’). In Caucasian linguistics, the term essive is not used with this value, and is mainly found as the second formative of compound labels (inessive, superessive, etc.) referring to spatial forms of nouns expressing static location, the first formative of such terms referring to types of spatial configurations.

Inflected forms of nouns expressing the essive function are clearly recognized in descriptions of South and North West Caucasian languages (Georgian *masc’avlebel-ad mušaobs* ‘He/she works as a teacher’, Abkhaz *jaš’á-s* ‘as a brother’, Adyghe *djeljegat-ew* ‘as a delegate’), but the forms in question are traditionally labeled *adverbial case*, because the same suffix serves to form manner adverbs from adjectives (Georgian *k’arg-ad mušaobs* ‘He/she works well’, Adyghe *dax-ew matxe* ‘He/she writes well’).

Cases fulfilling the essive function as defined above are not even mentioned in Daniel and Ganenkov’s recent survey of Daghestanian case systems (Daniel & Ganenkov 2009). However, noun suffixes carrying the essive meaning are clearly present at least in Andic languages and Avar (e.g. Akhvakh *išwada-**to**(he)* ‘as a shepherd’).

In my talk, after describing the essive suffix of Akhvakh and its uses, I will discuss its integration into the case system of Akhvakh and its possible origin. At clause level, the essive form of Akhvakh nouns has the kind of distribution usually considered typical of case forms, but it differs from the forms traditionally recognized as cases in several respects, which suggests that it grammaticalized in a relatively recent past and is not fully integrated in the case system yet. I will show that the Akhvakh data suggests that the initial element of this suffix is the reflex of an ancient verb root **ʔ* ‘become’, and that this hypothesis is confirmed by data from the other Andic languages and Avar (on Avar, see in particular Čikobava, A & I. Cercvadze, pp. 166f.).

References:

- Čikobava, A & I. Cercvadze. 1962. *Xundzuri ena* [The Avar language]. Tbilisi: Tbilisis Saxelmc’ipo Universit’et’i, K’avk’aziur enata k’atedris šromebi.
- Daniel, M. & D. Ganenkov. 2009. ‘Case marking in Daghestanian: limits of elaboration’, in Malchukov, A. & A. Spencer, 2009, *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 668-685.

What data can tell us: cognitive explanations, distributional evidence, and diachrony.

Cristofaro, Sonia
(University of Pavia).

Over the past decades, linguists have made an increasing number of assumptions about grammatical representation in a speaker's mind, e.g. that this representation does or does not include universal grammatical categories and relations, that individual categories and relations have a prototype structure, or that particular cross-linguistic patterns, as described by semantic maps and typological hierarchies, originate from cognitively-based principles.

These assumptions are usually based on observed distributional patterns for particular constructions. Based on a number of selected cross-linguistic patterns, the paper will show that the diachronic processes that bring about the relevant distributions often provide no actual evidence for the postulated models of mental representation. More generally, it will be argued that distributional evidence cannot be used as evidence for mental representation. The discussion will address the following issues:

(i) Semantic maps. A number of multifunctionality patterns are attested whereby the range of conceptual situations encoded by a single form is typically the same cross-linguistically. This is commonly taken as evidence of a universal arrangement of the relevant conceptual situations in a speaker's mental representation, based on the relative similarity of these situations. The paper will examine a number of cases picked from the literature on semantic change, and it will be shown that several multifunctionality patterns arguably originate from processes of metonymization independent of the reciprocal arrangement of the relevant conceptual situations in a speaker's mind.

(ii) Typological hierarchies. The distributional patterns described by typological hierarchies are usually accounted for in terms of overall cognitively-based principles such as e.g. economy or processing ease. Some hierarchies pertaining to markedness and subordination will be discussed, and it will be argued that the distributional patterns described by the hierarchy may originate, at least in part, from processes of extension of individual constructions that are independent of the overall principles invoked to account for the hierarchy.

(iii) Grammatical categories and relations. A number of specific assumptions have been made about a speaker's mental representation of individual categories and relations, e.g. that this representation has a prototype structure, that this representation is the same for different languages and constructions, or, to the contrary, that it is language-specific and construction-specific. The paper will review the distributional phenomena that are standardly used to define individual categories and relations, in particular part of speech categories and subject. These phenomena, it will be argued, are actually compatible with different models of grammatical representation, and originate from factors that are independent of a speaker's mental classification of particular instances of a category or relation in terms of prototypicality.

All this suggests that there are three domains that linguists have often failed to keep distinct when making assumptions about grammatical representation: the description of observed distributional patterns, the diachronic processes that may have led to the development of these patterns, and the way in which these patterns may actually be represented in a speaker's mind.

References:

- Baker, M. C. (2003). *Lexical Categories: Verbs, Nouns, and Adjectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bresnan, J. (2001). *Lexical-Functional Syntax*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca (1994). *The evolution of grammar*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cristofaro, S. (2009). Grammatical categories and relations: universality vs. language-specificity and construction-specificity. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 441-79.
- Cristofaro, S. (To appear). Semantic maps and mental representation. *Linguistic Discovery* 7.
- Croft, W. (1998). Linguistic evidence and mental representations. *Cognitive Linguistics* 9, 51-73.
- Croft, W. (2001). *Radical Construction Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Croft, W. (2003). *Typology and universals*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. (1994). *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dryer, M. (1997). Are grammatical relations universal? In J. Bybee, J. Haiman, and S. A. Thompson (Eds.), *Essays in language function and language type*, pp. 115-43. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dryer, M. (2006). Functionalism and the Metalanguage - Theory Confusion. In G. W. G. Libben, T. Priestly, R. Smyth, and S. Wang (Eds.), *Phonology, Morphology, and the Empirical Imperative: Papers in Honour of Bruce Derwing*, pp. 27-59. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Company.
- Farrell, P. (2005). *Grammatical Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. (2003). The Geometry of Grammatical Meaning: Semantic Maps and Cross-Linguistic Comparison. In M. Tomasello (Ed.), *The New Psychology of Language*. Vol. 2, pp. 217-42. Mahwah, N.J. and London: Erlbaum.
- Haspelmath, M. (2004). Does linguistic explanation presuppose linguistic description? *Studies in Language* 28, 554-79.
- Traugott, E. C. and R. B. Dasher (2005). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Morphosyntactic features and their susceptibility to copying.

Csato, Eva
(University of Uppsala).

The main concern of this workshop is to discuss on the one hand the copiability of bound morphemes and on the other hand the evidence of shared morphology for establishing genealogical relationship. It will be argued in my paper that contact induced changes of morphosyntax—typically through selective copying (Johanson 2002)—may result in loss of cognate bound morphology and remodelling of paradigms, which can weaken the role of morphological evidence in comparative research. Thus, not only global copying but also selective copying plays an important role in shaping morphology.

Due to long-lasting asymmetric contact with dominant non-Turkic languages, the Kipchak Turkic language Karaim has changed some of its Turkic properties. Its syntax has changed dramatically, whereas its morphology has maintained its clear Turkic characteristics. There are, however, apparent changes in the use of the inherited morphological categories. These changes have triggered loss of productive bound morphology and changes in paradigmatic relations. It is to assume that in a wider historical perspective such changes have significant effects.

Foreign nominal inflectional categories of number, case and possession have not been materially copied into Karaim. However, the morphosyntactic strategies have become influenced by those of the contact languages. The only new case suffix, the Instrumental, is a selective copy from Slavonic. The morphosyntactic properties of the Slavonic Instrumental case was copied on the Turkic postposition *byla*. This has resulted in the extension of the Karaim case system which today includes Nominative, Accusative, Genitive, Dative, Instrumental, Locative and Ablative. This case system is reminiscent of that of Old Turkic which had an Instrumental. The Karaim Instrumental is also based on a native Turkic element but not the original Instrumental suffix which is not present in Karaim.

Several examples will be given of loss of verbal morphology due to syntactic changes. Non-finite verb forms were deprived of their functional domains in copied right-branching subordinated finite clauses. Some thematic suffixes have ceased to be productive. An interesting example is the case of the Potential. The Karaim modality suffix *-(y)Al-* denoting possibility and potentiality is a Turkic element (Museaev 1964: 264-265) found also in several cognate languages, such as Tatar *ketürä al-* ‘to be able to lift’ (Thomsen 1959: 420). Karaim has copied Slavonic modal auxiliaries, among others *moč* ‘to be able to’. The original Turkic form *ajt-al-am* [say-POT-1SG] ‘I can say’ was replaced by the periphrastic form *mog-am ajt-ma* [can-1SG say-INF]. On the model of the copy from Slavonic a new auxiliary was created of the copula verb *bol-* ‘be, become’ with the old Potential suffix but constructed with the periphrastic strategy: *bolalam ajtma* [be-POT-1SG say-INF]. Similar examples of lost bound morphemes can be found in many languages. In Hungarian, for instance, the old *-and / -end* Future, e.g. *megteendi* [meg.TR do-FUT-3SGDET] ‘he is going to do it’ has been replaced by the periphrastic construction *meg fogja tenni* [meg.TR AUX.FUT-3SGDET do-INF] (Klemm 1928: 101).

References:

- Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural factors in Turkic language contacts*. London: Curzon.
Klemm, Antal 1928. *Magyar történeti mondattan*. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.
Thomsen, Kaare 1959. Das Kasantatarische und die westsibirischen Dialekte. In: Deny, J. et alii (eds.) *Philologiae turcicae fundamenta I*. Wiesbaden: Steiner. 407-421.
Museaev, Kenesbaev M. 1964. *Grammatika karaimskogo jazyka*. Moskva: Nauka.

Disappointing deictics. A contrastive approach to non-situational uses of demonstratives in written narrative.

Cuenca, Maria Josep & Josep Ribera
(Universitat de València).

Demonstratives are a basic class of linguistic items defined by their deictic nature, i.e. their ability to point to elements of the situational ground of utterance, thus marking space and time distance with regard to the deictic origin, namely the addressor (Bühler 1834, Lyons 1977). When a demonstrative matches up with a textual (non-situational) antecedent-trigger, a special deictic process known as text deixis takes place. Text-deictic referential processes transform the prototypical pointing function of demonstratives, allowing these linguistic units to refer to entities in the metaphorical spatial text/discourse domain as if it were a physical domain (Cuenca & Ribera 2009).

This research is based on a corpus of fiction in English and the translations of the texts into Catalan (which exhibits a different binary deictic system) and Spanish (which exhibits a ternary deictic system). The English demonstratives *this/these* and *that/those* and their translations have been analyzed considering whether they appear in the narrated world (i.e. direct speech) or in the narration world (i.e. the narrator’s speech). The general aim of the analysis is to determine the strategies activated to translate space deictics and to highlight the differences in translating situational and non-situational deictics.

Our research shows that non-situational demonstratives are far more frequent than situational ones in our corpus. Situational deictics generally behave in accordance with the distribution of the deictic space in relation to the addressor and the addressee so much in English as in the target languages. However, text-deictic demonstratives do not follow neither a

unique nor a simple pattern which can be accounted for in terms of physical (textual) proximity or distance. In fact, non-situational demonstratives relate text and context in a number of complex ways which can be associated with, textual, subjective and intersubjective factors.

From a contrastive point of view, “literal” translation or maintenance of the demonstrative is not the most frequent strategy: neutralization of the deictic (i.e., translation by a non deictic item and zero translation) is very frequent, as it is overmarking (i.e., inclusion of a demonstrative in a context where the source language did not use any deictic). Deictic shift (i.e., shift from a proximal to a distal demonstrative or vice versa) also occurs in several contexts, especially in Catalan.

In summary, the differences in the use of demonstratives in the translated versions of the English narratives cannot only be attributed to translator’s choices but uncover dissimilarities in the distribution of deictics and the syntactic constraints of the languages considered, and can also purport various discourse and cognitive values. The translation of non-situational deictics usually implies a change in the narrative perspective and grounding. This change can be the result of a shift of the deictic center (cf. Segal 1995) associated with different deictic systems, but in a high proportion of cases it derives from a neutralization of the demonstrative because of syntactic factors.

References

- Bühler, K. (1934), *Sprachtheorie: die Darstellungsfunktion der Sprache*. Stuttgart, Gustav Fischer [1982].
Cuenca, M. J. & J. Ribera (2009). “Metafore metatestuali”, *Paradigmi. Rivista di Critica Filosofica*, 1, 101-119.
Lyons J. (1977), *Semantics*, II, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
Segal, E. M. (1995), «Narrative Comprehension and the Role of Deictic Shift Theory», Duchan, J., Bruder, G. & L. Hewitt (eds.) *Deixis in Narrative. A Cognitive Science Perspective*, Hillsdale/Hove, Lawrence Erlbaum, 3-17.

Non-concatenative morphology in Polish Sign Language (PJM): the case of the pointing sign.

Czajkowska-Kisil, Malgorzata & Rutkowski, Pawel
(University of Warsaw).

PJM (*Polski Język Migowy*, Polish Sign Language) is a natural sign language used by the deaf community in Poland. One of the most characteristic typological features of sign languages around the world is a preponderance of nonconcatenative (simultaneous) morphology over sequential morphology. PJM is not an exception to this rule. In the present paper, we want to focus on some specific examples of nonconcatenatively compositional structures, namely on constructions involving the use of the pointing sign.

Crosslinguistically, sign languages manifest a close relationship between indexical pointing and pronominality. In the first part of our paper, we aim to discuss some arguments for treating pointing signs as grammaticalized linguistic elements, rather than mere gesturing. Note that there are several signs that could be interpreted as personal pronouns in PJM: “I” (an index handshape directed towards the speaker), “you” (an index handshape directed towards the person spoken to), “he/she/it” (an index handshape directed towards one of a potentially infinite number of points in the signing space, previously associated with the referent in question). However, the fact that all these signs are based on the same handshape makes us assume that they are morphological (nonconcatenatively person-marked) forms of the same demonstrative pronoun, which is the **only** pronoun that PJM has.

An important consequence of the above approach is that, according to our analysis, there is no separate class of personal pronouns in PJM. We follow Diessel’s (2006) observation that, crosslinguistically, personal pronouns are derived from demonstratives, which means that the latter are more basic and belong to the universal set of core vocabulary.

The second part of the present paper is devoted to analyzing (morpho-)syntactic properties of the demonstrative pronoun found in PJM. Contra some previous analyses, we argue that the pronoun in question is not inflected for number. Instead, its use may involve optional numeral incorporation (cf. McBurney, 2002). Note that we consider the process of numeral incorporation to be a syntactic phenomenon. This means that sequences such as “three of them” or “four of us” should be treated as combinations of two signs (demonstrative + numeral), and not as instances of nonconcatenative inflection (which, in turn, means that we reject the idea of treating trial, quadruple, etc. as inflectional number marking in sign languages).

References:

- Diessel, Holger (2006), “Demonstratives,” in: Keith Brown (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, Elsevier, Oxford, pp. 430-435.
McBurney, Susan (2002), “Pronominal reference in signed and spoken language: are grammatical categories modality-dependent?,” in: Richard Meier, Kearsy Cormier, and David Quinto-Pozos (eds.), *Modality and Structure in Signed and Spoken Languages*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 329-369.

Form and meaning of diminutives in spoken Russian and Lithuanian.

Dabasinskiene, Ineta & Maria D. Voeikova
(Vytautas Magnus University, Russian Academy of Sciences).

Both Russian and Lithuanian belong to the languages in which diminutives are frequently used due to semantic, pragmatic and morphological reasons (Gillis 2008; Savickienė, Dressler 2007). However, in a preliminary pilot investigation we found discrepancies in the diminutive use in our languages that may not be explained by semantic or pragmatic reasons since the situations of their occurrences were exactly the same. It was observed that the frequency of diminutives depends on the speech situation: even in one and the same language, a great difference is observed between the adult- and child-directed speech (henceforth ADS and CDS) compare 50% (CDS) vs. 5% (ADS) in Lithuanian.

The aim of this study is to discuss the occurrence of diminutives from quantitative and qualitative perspective. Diminutives in both languages present an interesting case not only in terms of morphopragmatics, but also from a language-specific point of view. The corpus-based approach was used and data from large scale corpora were analysed. In the very preliminary observations we have noticed that two languages differ in many details of diminutive use. First, it was observed that CDS and ADS differ in terms of frequency of diminutive use. Second, Lithuanian and Russian differ in the number and scope of diminutive operations. In Lithuanian several diminutive suffixes may be attached to one and the same base form (*namas* 'house' – *nam-elis*, *nam-ukas*, *nam-ytis* 'house-Dim'), in Russian the variety of suffixes for each word is much less: for many nouns only one diminutive suffix exists (*mjač* 'ball' – *mjač-ik* 'ball-Dim' or *solnce* 'sun' – *soln-yško* 'sun-Dim'). However, in Russian diminutives are more frequently formed not only from nouns but also from adjectives and adverbs, whereas in Lithuanian the possibility of adjectival diminutivisation is very limited. Thus, the scope of diminutivisation is broader in Russian but their regularity in the sphere of nouns is higher in Lithuanian.

The linguistic theory of morphological naturalness allows us to assume (cf. Dressler 2003; Savickienė et al 2007; Savickienė, Dressler 2007) that speakers prefer productive to unproductive and transparent to non-transparent (opaque) morphology. In view of this, it is possible to hypothesize the following: first, speakers of the respective languages produce relatively more diminutives if they are more productive and transparent than their respective simplex bases; second, speakers produce more simplex forms if they are more productive and transparent compared to their diminutive derivatives; third, we can expand the notion of naturalness to the length of the noun: two-syllabic nouns are more often diminutivised than multi-syllabic nouns, fourth, productive diminutive suffixes help to get rid of rare final syllables, thus making words similar (riming) both phonologically and morphologically. These features are extremely important for such morphologically rich languages as Lithuanian and Russian.

References:

- Dressler, W. U. 2003. Degrees of grammatical productivity in inflectional morphology. *Rivista di Linguistica* 15: 31-62.
Gillis, S. (ed.). 1998. *Studies in the acquisition of number and diminutive marking*. [Antwerp papers in linguistic 95]. Antwerp: Universiteit Antwerpen.
Savickienė, I., Dressler, W. 2007. (eds.). *The acquisition of diminutives*. A Cross-linguistic perspective. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Savickienė, I., Dressler, W. U., Barcza, V., Bodor, P., Ketz, N., Korecky-Kröll, K., Palmović, M., Stephany, U. and Thomadaki, E. 2007. Diminutives as Pioneers of Derivational and Inflectional Development – a Crosslinguistic Perspective. *Antwerp papers in linguistics*. Antwerp: Universiteit Antwerpen. 81-94.

Functional constraints, usage, and mental grammars: A study of speakers' intuitions about questions with long-distance dependencies.

Dabrowska, Ewa
(Northumbria University).

In recent years, several linguists have attempted to account for the grammatical properties of questions and other constructions with long-distance dependencies (LDDs) by appealing to usage patterns rather than abstract syntactic constraints such as subjacency. Dąbrowska (2004, 2008) and Verhagen (2005, 2006) observe that attested LDD questions are extremely formulaic, and argue that speakers' knowledge about this construction is most adequately captured by means of lexically specific templates (*WH do you think S-GAP?*, *WH did you say S-GAP?*) which speakers modify to match their communicative intentions. Goldberg (2006) proposes a general pragmatic constraint, BCI (Backgrounded constituents are islands) which explains the (un)acceptability of LDD questions by appealing to the information-structure properties of this construction. Ambridge and Goldberg (2008) provide empirical support for this proposal by showing that a sentence's negation test score, which operationalizes the backgrounding of the subordinate clause, is an excellent predictor of the acceptability of LDD questions.

This paper describes an experimental study which attempts to reconcile the two usage-based accounts. It replicates Ambridge and Goldberg's results demonstrating a relationship between the degree to which a particular verb backgrounds its subordinate clause complement and speakers' judgements of acceptability of LDD questions with the verb; but it also shows that (1) LDD questions with *think* and *say*, the two verbs which are part of the hypothesised templates, are judged to be more

acceptable than predicted by BCI and (2) BCI cannot explain complementizer effects (why LDD questions with *that* are judged less acceptable than questions without *that*).

Thus, the two hypotheses are complementary: BCI explains why certain LDD questions are more acceptable than others, and hence accounts for differences in the frequency of prototypical and unprototypical LDD questions, while the lexical template hypothesis explains the effects of the frequency of use on speakers' mental grammars. More generally, we can conclude that functional constraints like BCI do not shape mental grammars directly: rather, functional constraints shape usage which in turn shapes speakers' mental grammars.

The experiment also revealed considerable individual differences in speakers' sensitivity to the relationship between backgrounding of the subordinate clause and the acceptability of the LDD question, with only a minority of speakers showing clear evidence of sensitivity to the constraint. This indicates that generalizations attested in the language are not necessarily represented in (all) speakers' minds: in other words, we need to clearly distinguish between the study of language as a social phenomenon (*langue*) and a mental phenomenon (individual competence).

References:

- Ambridge, B., & Goldberg, A. E. (2008). The island status of clausal complements: evidence in favor of an information structure explanation. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 19, 357–389.
- Dąbrowska, E. (2004). *Language, Mind and Brain. Some Psychological and Neurological Constraints on Theories of Grammar*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dąbrowska, E. (2008). Questions with 'unbounded' dependencies: A usage-based perspective. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 19, 391–425.
- Goldberg, A. E. (2006). *Constructions at Work. The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Verhagen, A. (2005). *Constructions of Intersubjectivity: Discourse, Syntax and Cognition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Verhagen, A. (2006). On subjectivity and 'long distance *Wh*-movement'. In A. Athanasiadou, C. Canakis & B. Cornillie (Eds.), *Subjectification. Various Paths to Subjectivity* (pp. 323-346). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Partitive Subjects and Objects in Indo-Iranian and Greek

Dahl, Eystein
(University of Bergen).

This paper discusses the use of the (partitive) genitive as a subject and object marker in Vedic, Avestan and Homeric Greek. In previous work (Dahl 2009a, Dahl and Napoli 2008) I have shown that the genitive is primarily used as an object marker with verbs having a low inherent transitivity, that the partitive genitive is frequently associated with an indefinite interpretation and that verb phrases with genitive objects more generally tend to have an atelic meaning in Vedic as well as Greek. As regards the use of the genitive as a subject marker in these languages, recent studies (e.g. Conti 2008, Dahl 2009b, Seržants 2009) indicate that it is constrained by similar lexical restrictions and that the genitive has similar discourse functions in this domain as well. This paper aims at a unified account of the semantic and pragmatic properties of partitive subjects and objects in Indo-Iranian and Greek.

References:

- Conti, Luz 2008. Zum Genitiv bei impersonalen Konstruktionen im Altgriechischen. Paper read at the *XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg 22.9.-27.9.2008*.
- Dahl, Eystein 2009a. Some semantic and pragmatic aspects of object alternation in Early Vedic. In J. Barðdal and S. Chelliah (eds.) *The Role of Semantics and Pragmatics in the Development of Case*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dahl, Eystein 2009b. Non-Canonical Subject Marking in Indo-Iranian. Paper read at the Workshop 'The Origin of Non-Canonical Subject Marking in Indo-European', *ICHL XIX*, Nijmegen, the Netherlands, Monday August 10th 2009.
- Dahl, Eystein and Maria Napoli 2008. Case as an Aspect Marker? The Partitive Case in Indo-European. Paper read at the *XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Salzburg 22.9.-27.9.2008*.
- Seržants, Ilja 2009. Partitive Genitive in Indo-European. Paper read at the Workshop *Reconstructing Alignment Systems*, University of Bergen, Friday May 15th 2009

The Indo-European and Indo-Iranian Origins of Ergativity Marking in Indo-Aryan.

Dahl, Eystein
(University of Bergen).

This paper reassesses the vexed question about the origin of the Indo-Aryan Ergative construction. Like in most other archaic Indo-European languages, Old Indo-Aryan as represented by Vedic and Classical Sanskrit shows a relatively consistent Nominative- Accusative structure. In contrast, the Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages are characterized by various types

may be distinguished only through comparing them across inflection types. Thus, zero marking is used on nominative and accusative singular as well as genitive plural. Some case syncretisms may be explained in functional terms: accusative is identical to nominative (unmarked) or genitive (marked) depending on animacy in one of the declensions. Patterns that may be considered to be syncretic are 'additional' case forms that exist for a small subclass of nouns only (cf. Zalizniak 1967, Corbett 2008). Thus, second locative is only distinct from the regular locative (prepositional) case on some locational nouns, and the new (truncated) vocative exists for human nouns in the first declension. These additional cases have been analyzed in e.g. Plungian (2002) and Daniel (2009).

Second genitive, or partitive, is an additional case in this sense. It is available for mass nouns of the second declension (*uai* 'tea', *cyn* 'soup') and is formally identical to their dative. The form occurs in those contexts in which one would expect an accusative (which, for these nouns, is identical to nominative) or a genitive. As noted in Zalizniak (1967), second genitive may be substituted by the genitive in almost all contexts, similarly to the new vocative (which may be substituted by a nominative form) but unlike second locative (changing second locative to regular locative / prepositional case creates clear stylistic and semantic contrasts).

An obvious fact about the second genitive is that its scope decreases over time, in terms of both nouns on which it occurs and syntactic semantic contexts where it appears; this is similar to what happens to the second locative but different from the new vocative which is an innovation that quickly expands. The present research will focus on residual second genitive and its dynamics in the Russian texts. It is a micro-historical research in terms of (Plungian 2002) and is based on considering second genitive distribution in the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru). The study considers the distribution of the three competing forms (accusative / genitive / second genitive) for various nouns and in different constructions (direct object vs. measure constructions vs. etc), tracing where the form is being preserved and where it is being lost.

References:

- Corbett 2008: Determining morphosyntactic feature values: The case of case. Greville G. Corbett and Michael Noonan (eds) Case and grammatical relations. Studies in honor of Bernard Comrie. Benjamins, 2008.
- Daniel 2009: Novyj russkij vokativ: istorija formy usechennogo obrasheniija skvozj prizmu korpusa pismennyx tekstov. In: K. Kiseleva, E. Rakhilina, V. Plungian, S. Tatevosov (eds) *Korpusnyje issledovanija po russkoj grammatike*.
- Plungian 2002: Vladimir Plungian. K semantike russkogo lokativa (vtorogo predložnogo padezha) // Semiotics and Informatics, 37.
- Zaliznjak, Andrej. 1967. *Russkoe imennoe slovoizmenenie* Moscow: Nauka.

The types of quantity alternations in Livonian and its possible reflection in Selonian dialects of High Latvian.

Daugaviete, Anna
(St. Petersburg State University).

In Standard Latvian, as well as in Low Latvian dialects, an intervocalic voiceless obstruent is geminated after a short stressed vowel (*lappa* 'leaf', *lāpa* 'torch'). Anna Ābele (1927) claimed that there is no gemination in this position in Selonian dialects of High Latvian but the short stressed vowel is lengthened instead (*lopa* > *lo:pa* 'leaf'). After the publications of transcribed Selonian texts by Maija Poiša (1985, 1999), it became clear that vowel and consonants lengthening are both present in Selonian, gemination applying not only to voiceless obstruents, but voiced obstruents and sonorants as well, so that any historically short stressed syllable in Selonian is expected either to have a lengthened vowel (*lo:pa*) or end in a first part of a geminate (*loppa*). Nevertheless, the precise distribution of lengthened vowels and geminated consonants in Selonian is yet to be established.

Consonant gemination, absent from the other Baltic language, Lithuanian, can be explained by Fennic influence in Latvian. In Livonian, which is recognized to have had a broad influence on Latvian, there are two types of alternations involving geminate consonants (Tiit-Rein Viitso 2007). (1) Both voiceless and voiced obstruents and sonorants can replace single consonants of the same quality in certain grammatical forms, the preceding vowels remaining short in all cases. (2) Geminate sonorants can be replaced by single sonorants while lengthening the preceding vowel at the same time. The possible explanation is that the two different alternation patterns, conveying grammatical information in Livonian, were borrowed and subsequently merged in Selonian Latvian where they have no grammatical function, becoming the alternative ways of pronouncing a stressed syllable in the same forms.

This hypothesis is going to be verified by the analysis of transcribed Selonian texts published by Poiša (1985, 1999). It is addressing the following issues: (1) if vowel lengthening and consonants gemination occur in the same phonetical and grammatical context; (2) if either vowel lengthening or consonant gemination has any phonetical or grammatical restriction.

References:

- Ābele A. Iso patskaņu pagarinājumi nebalsīgu līdzskaņu priekšā // Filologu biedrības raksti. 7. sēj. (1927), 110–111.
- Poiša M. Vidzemes sēliskās izloksnes. 1. d. Rīga: Zinātne, 1985.
- Poiša M. Vidzemes sēliskās izloksnes II Rīga: Latviešu valodas institūts, 1999.

Revisiting the subclassification of predicative and identifying clauses.

Davidse, Kristin
(University of Leuven).

The grammar and semantics of English copular clauses have been the topic of many studies, which are agreed that predicative clauses, which predicate a property or class membership of the subject referent, should be distinguished from identifying ones, which identify the other nominal referent in the clause. Beyond this basic distinction, controversies and puzzles remain. A first unsolved question is which of the semantic models that have been proposed for predicative clauses fit them best, property ascription (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002), class membership (e.g. Declerck 1988), or instantiation (Langacker 1991). Secondly, within the category of identifying clauses, some authors make a further subdivision. Declerck (1988) distinguishes descriptively-identifying from specificationally-identifying clauses, which corresponds partly to Halliday's (1967 1994) contrast between decoding versus encoding identifying clauses. The pros and cons of these two analyses remain to be assessed, as well as the necessity of making a subdivision, since Huddleston & Pullum (2002) for instance seem to collapse identifying clauses with specificational clauses. A final puzzle is formed by reversible clauses such as *He is one such example / One such example is him*, which hitherto have been classified as identifying – not satisfactorily in my view, as their instance-category semantics relate them to predicative clauses.

In this paper I will revisit and attempt to settle these questions, correlating semantics with form. The formal features considered will include intonation, word order, reversibility in the sense of subject-complement switch (Huddleston 1984), selection restrictions on the component elements, and agnate⁵ constructions such as clefts and interrogatives. One agnate that little attention has been paid to so far but that will prove to be revealing is indirect interrogatives, which in English have SVO-order when the subject is the WH-item, *If you ask me who is the best full-back in Brazil*, and SOV-order when the complement is the WH-item, *Tomorrow [...] we examine who the losers will be*. Formal arguments will be presented in terms of attested data, including generalizations over corpus extractions.

I will argue that identifying clauses do comprise two distinct construction paradigms, and that Declerck's distinction descriptive – specificational best captures their formal and semantic properties. Against Halliday (1967 1994), the main syntacticosemantic difference will be shown to be reversibility, with descriptive-identifying clauses *not* reversing. I will also argue that we need both the models of property-predication and category-predication to capture the difference between predicatives with an adjectival and a nominal complement. A crucial argument for this distinction is in fact the existence of a specificational variant within the latter subtype only: reversible clauses such as *I am an example – An example is me* will be argued to be specificational instance-category predicatives (rather than identifying clauses, as traditionally assumed). The overall classification of copular clauses that I propose is thus as follows. Within predicative clauses, property-predication and category-predication define two subtypes. Category-predicatives and identifying clauses crossclassify with the distinction descriptive – specificational, but specificational-identifying clauses are a much more common option than specificational-predicative clauses.

References:

- Declerck, R. 1988. *Studies on Copular Sentences, Clefts and Pseudo-clefts*. Leuven: Leuven UP.
Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Notes on transitivity and theme in English. Part I. *Journal of Linguistics* 3: 37-81.
Halliday, M.A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2nd Ed. London: Arnold.
Huddleston, R. 1984. *Introduction to the Grammar of English*. Cambridge: CUP.
Huddleston, R. & Pullum, H. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: CUP.
Langacker, R. 1991. *Foundations of Cognitive Grammar*. I. Descriptive Application. Stanford: Stanford UP.
McGregor, W. 1997. *Semiotic Grammar*. Oxford: Clarendon.

From passivity towards impersonality: reflexive constructions in Romance Languages.

de Benito, Carlota
(Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).

It is a well-known fact that reflexive systems may develop different values than those of pure reflexivity. One of these possible values is the passive, which appears in constructions where the reflexive element marks the demotion of the agent and the promotion of the patient to subjecthood. In many languages an impersonal reflexive construction is also found, in which the patient does not promote to subject position. In Romance languages the subject is identified with the participant that shows verbal agreement, so the opposition between passive and impersonal reflexive constructions is illustrated by the

⁵ 'Agnate' refers to a systematically related structural variant, see e.g. McGregor (1997).

fact that in the former the patient agrees with the verb while in the latter there is no verb-patient agreement. Data from a number of Indo-European languages suggest that the impersonal construction with transitive verbs is developed from the passive construction, since there are no languages showing the impersonal construction while lacking the passive construction, whereas the opposite situation is quite common. On the other hand, research based on medieval texts has not obtained such categorical results, which has led scholars to propose different explanations for the development of the impersonal reflexive constructions and the rest of reflexive constructions. In this view, while reflexive constructions are mainly related with argument demotion, the impersonal reflexive would be related with the indefiniteness of agents. This communication attempts to describe the path followed by passive reflexive constructions in their development to impersonal reflexive constructions from a cross-linguistic perspective. The method used for this purpose will be the comparison of nine dialectal maps charting passive and impersonal reflexive utterances in the Romance languages spoken in the Iberian Peninsula, namely Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Galician and Asturian. The data analysed come from the Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula (interviews around 1930). The comparison of the geographical patterns pictured by different utterances of one construction allows a fine-grained analysis of the factors that determined the evolution of such construction, as it shows different stages of the process. Thus, it is a valuable tool for the description of diachronic processes. The results of such a comparison are expected to show that not only the type of indefinite agent, but an array of clausal properties related to the low transitivity of the utterances, determine the absence of verb-patient agreement and, consequently, the coding of the patient as a subject or an object.

References:

- Cennamo, M. (1993): *The reanalysis of reflexives: a diachronic perspective*. Naples: Liguori.
 Genusiene, E. (1987): *The typology of reflexives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
 Givón, T. (2001): *Syntax*, vol. II. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 Hopper P. y S. Thompson (1980): "Transitivity in grammar and discourse", *Language* 56, 251-299.
 Linguistic Atlas of the Iberian Peninsula: www.alpi.ca
 Sansó, A. (2006): 'Agent defocusing' revisited. In W. Abraham and L. Leisiö (Eds.), *Passivization and Typology* (pp. 232-273). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 Werner Abraham and Elisabeth Leiss: The impersonal passive. In W. Abraham and L. Leisiö (Eds.), *Passivization and Typology* (pp. 502-517). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

(Inter)subjectivity in neuter demonstratives: Spanish *esto* vs. *eso*.

De Cock, Barbara
 (University of Leuven).

This paper focuses on the non-situational use of Spanish neuter demonstratives. These forms have moved away from traditional proximal/distal features a.o. in virtue of their more abstract reference to propositions rather than to nouns (see Gutiérrez-Rexach & Zulaica 2007). In line with Achard's research on French neuter demonstratives (2001), I will show through a detailed combinatorial analysis that *esto* and *eso* have developed new meanings which can be described in terms of subjectivity. The corpus of spoken informal European Spanish (UAM 1992), which serves as basis for this study, allows us to look beyond the more traditional research on demonstratives and deictics as part of narrative texts (whether spoken or written in origin) and focuses instead on everyday interaction. (Given its very low frequency in informal conversation, *aquello* will be discussed only to a limited extent.)

In the first place, we see that in copulative structures *eso* is used more frequently when an evaluative judgement is being emitted, e.g. *interesante*, *malo*, *aburrido*, as in (1). *Esto*, by contrast, occurs more frequently in combination with causal or comparative complements and subclauses, e.g. (2).

- (1) *Pero se acaba el monedero enseguida. Eso es lo malo.*
 'But the credit card is empty straight away. That's the bad thing.'
 (2) *Mire señora, esto es como la cocina, no creo yo que encuentre lo mismo usted freír un huevo que rellenar un pavo.*
 'Look, Mrs., this is like the kitchen, I for one don't think that you consider frying an egg to be the same as stuffing a turkey.'

Different tendencies are also observed in two grammaticalized constructions with a clear intersubjective value, namely *eso es* and *es que*. *Eso es* is frequently used as an expression of ascent or agreement as shown in (3). Though not impossible, the alternative with *esto* is highly infrequent and fulfills a different function, viz. introducing a reformulation.

- (3) - *No, salada y... salada y bien aceitada, ¿no?*
 - *Eso es.*
 '- No, salted and... salted and well sprinkled with oil, isn't it? - That's it.'

Es que on the other hand, is a focalizing strategy, used to present a proposition as undisputable and outside the influence domain of both speaker and hearer, which can be adduced as a justification. The sequence *esto/eso es que* sheds light on the

degree to which these demonstratives have come to express meanings that are outside the realm of speaker and hearer involvement.

(4) - *Total una tarjeta de esas cuesta cuarto mil pesetas.*

- *Si, eso es que no merece la pena.*

‘- So, a ticket of those costs four thousand pesetas. - Yes, that, it’s that it’s not worth it.’

At least in informal conversation, *eso* has developed in these contexts a strong association with the expression of subjective and intersubjective meanings. *Esto*, by contrast, seems more frequently used in text-deictic uses.

References:

- Achard, Michel. 2001. “French *ça* and the Dynamics of Reference”. In: Brend, R., A. Melby & A. Lommel (eds.), *LACUS Forum 27: Speaking and Comprehending*, 49-62.
- Gutierrez-Réxach, Javier & Zulaica, Iker. 2007. “Abstract Reference and Neuter Demonstratives in Spanish”. In: Branco, A. et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of DAARC 2007, The 6th Discourse Anaphora and Anaphor Resolution Colloquium. Centro da Linguística da Universidade do Porto: Portugal*, 25-30.
- UAM. 1992. *Corpus oral de referencia del español contemporáneo*. <<http://www.lllf.uam.es/corpus/corpus.html>>

A French puzzle: future reference with the composed past.

de Saussure Louis
(University of Neuchatel).

In French as in other languages, the Anterior Future tense is typically dedicated to the representation of an eventuality considered past from a future reference point. However, in a number of cases only, French offers the possibility to use the composed past (henceforth ‘CP’, roughly equivalent to the English past perfect), with a similar referential function. These FCP-utterances (FCP = future-composed-past) are only little described so far and the explanations on offer are controversial. We assume (following Sthioul 1998) that what is represented is the truth of the implied state of affairs in the future, not directly the eventuality itself. This however happens too with the Anterior future, hence the difference between (1) and (2) has to be another one, unless FCP and Anterior Future utterances are synonymous:

- (1) J’aurai fini dans deux minutes
I finish-Ant.Fut. in two minutes
- (2) J’ai fini dans deux minutes
I finish-CP in two minutes

Vet (1992 and 1994) suggests that FCP is a variant of future uses of the present with a focus on the implied state. (2) would thus represent not the pastness of the ‘finishing’ from a future point of view but the presentness of the ‘having finished’ situation from a future point of view. Vet (personal communication) suggests that, just as with the present, FCP-utterances presuppose that there is a course of actions that is projected in the future, therefore the oddness of FCP-utterances with no agentivity, as in (3):

- (3) ?? Il a plu demain / ?? Demain il a plu
it rain-CP tomorrow / Tomorrow it rain-CP

This paper argues that this assumption is not sufficient to explain the pragmatic licensing of FCP-utterances in French. It is suggested, along the lines of Relevance Theory and of numerous works on French tenses, that these utterances are ‘interpretive uses’ of the CP, thus implying an allocentric representation of the state of affairs from a future point of time where the utterance ‘can be said’. It is in particular claimed that a number of examples without agentivity can be perfectly natural as soon as another pragmatic criterion is met: the state of affairs represented as being accomplished in the future (always specified by a future adverb) must bear some practical-deontic relevance in the deictic present. More specifically, the representation of the eventuality as being truly past in the future has the effect for the hearer to allow for entering into some specific course of action or some attitude in the present. Thus (3) becomes acceptable in a context where the hearer realizes that he needs not, for example, wet his salads, since tomorrow that will be done by the rain. This line of argument provides also an explanation for the naturalness of FCP-utterances in conditionals, as in (4):

- (4) Si tu as fini ton travail demain, tu pourras aller te promener.
If you finish-PC your work, you can-FUT have a walk.

Here the consequence of the eventuality is explicitly stated (can go for a walk), thus the consequences in the present of the ‘finishing tomorrow’ are easier to infer (the hearer has good reasons to work hard, or can be in the state of mind of expecting a relaxing activity tomorrow).

The paper also suggests that the allocentric transposition in the future of (composed-)past utterances is not a systematically shared possibility across languages. Although the possibility exists in other romance languages (for example, Italian accepts utterances like *Ho quasi finito* with the same flavour of allocentricity as in French), even very common FCP utterances in French are not translatable in English with a present perfect tense:

- (5) J’ai bientôt fini.
- (6) * I have soon finished
- (7) Dans un an, j’ai fini ma thèse (Sthioul 1998)
- (8) * Within a year, I have finished my PhD.

A number of other problems raised by FCP-utterances will also be addressed, such as the oddness of some negative FCP-utterances such as (9) vs. (10) (see also Vuillaume 2000):

- (9) *Demain, Paul n’est pas arrivé.
- (10) Demain, Paul est arrivé.

In the conclusion, we will discuss the question of whether these effects are due to the procedure encoded by the composed past in French or to general pragmatic principles.

References:

- Sthioul, B. (1998), Le passé composé : une approche instructionnelle. In Vogeleer S., Borillo A., Veters C. & Vuillaume M. (éds), *Temps et discours*. Louvain-la-Neuve, Peeters, 79-94.
- Vet, C. (1992), Le passé composé, contextes d’emploi et interprétations. *Cahiers de praxématique* 19, 37-59.
- Vet, C. (1994), Future Tense and Discourse Representation, In Vet C. & Veters C. (eds), *Tense and Aspect in Discourse*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 49 -76.
- Vuillaume, M. (2000), Heureusement que Pierre n’est pas venu demain ! *Cahiers Chronos* 6, 107-116.

Dutch gender and the locus of morphological regularisation.

De Vogelaer, Gunther & De Vos, Lien
(Flemish Research Foundation/Ghent University, Université de Liège).

Pronominal gender in southern varieties of Dutch is currently undergoing a process of resemantisation. This process can be considered an instance of morphological regularisation, i.e. the rise of an innovative rule system when the traditional system becomes too opaque to be successfully acquired. This resemantisation takes effect along cross-linguistically widely attested lines (the Agreement Hierarchy), using parameters that are typologically common in gender systems, such as animacy or individuation (Siemund 2002; Audring 2006, 2009). In this paper, it is argued that resemantisation mainly takes place during language acquisition (cf. De Vogelaer 2006): data from a questionnaire survey carried out in two groups of Dutch-speaking children and three adult groups show that indeed most deviations from grammatical gender in adults are in line with the semantic system for pronominal reference that is found in young children. As children grow older and their lexicon expands, the semantic rules which categorically determine their pronominal reference at the age of three are turned into default rules, which mainly apply in cases where there is uncertainty concerning a noun’s grammatical gender, e.g. for infrequent nouns. Even 14-15 year old children do not reach adult-like proficiency. Thus the influence of grammatical gender on pronominal reference gradually decreases from generation to generation, leading to a gradual decline of grammatical gender in pronouns. This shows that there are indeed cases in which children are pushing forward linguistic change (cf. Bybee & Slobin 1982).

References:

- Audring, J., 2006. Pronominal gender in spoken Dutch. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18, 85-116.
- Audring, J., 2009. *Reinventing pronoun gender*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Bybee, J., Slobin, D., 1982. Why small children cannot change language on their own: suggestions from the English past tense. In: Ahlqvist, A. (ed.). *Papers from the 5th International Conference on Historical Linguistics*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. p.29-37.
- De Vogelaer, G., 2006. Pronominaal genus bij ‘Zuid-Nederlandse’ taalverwerwers: van grammaticaal naar semantisch systeem. In: Hüning, M., U. Vogl, T. van der Wouden & A. Verhagen (eds.). *Nederlands tussen Duits en Engels*. Leiden: Stichting Neerlandistiek Leiden. p.89-102.
- Siemund, P., 2002. Mass versus count: Pronominal gender in regional varieties of Germanic languages. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* (STUF) 55, 213-233.

The “present perfective paradox” in Sranan.

De Wit, Astrid & Frank Brisard
(Antwerp University).

In cross-linguistic studies of tense and aspect it has often been observed that there is a time reference restriction on markers of perfective aspect, since they cannot refer to the present, unless in performative constructions (e.g. Comrie 1976: 66-71; Dahl 1985: 79-81; Bybee et al. 1994: 83; Malchukov forthcoming). This so-called “present perfective paradox” (Malchukov forthcoming), which holds at the grammatical level, runs parallel with the oft-attested incompatibility of dynamic verbs – a type of *lexical* aspect, or actionality type – with the present (cf. for instance, Brisard & Meeuwis 2009 on the Bantu language Lingála). Apparently, then, there is a conceptual problem involved in present-time reference with situations that are, roughly, bounded in time and heterogeneous. In this presentation we give a corpus-based description and discussion of how this conceptual problem is manifested in Sranan, a Surinamese creole language.

Central to this investigation is the behaviour of the bare verb form in Sranan. In traditional studies (cf. Bickerton 1981, 1984), this unmarked verb form is analysed as having present-time reference with stative verbs and past-time reference with dynamic verbs (examples are taken from Winford (2000: 395)):

- (1) *A pikin wani go sribi.*
the.SG child want go sleep
'The child wants to go and sleep.'
- (2) *A kamra kowru bikaa mi opo a fensre.*
the.SG room cold because SUBJ.1SG open the.SG window
'The room is cold because I opened the window.'

Our corpus research points out that present and past are indeed the default interpretations of, respectively, stative and dynamic verbs (cf. also Winford 2000). Yet, other interpretations are available as well: the bare verb form is, for instance, frequently attested in the protasis of non-counterfactual conditional clauses (with both stative and dynamic verbs) and in the appropriate contexts, unmarked stative verbs can have past-time reference, while bare dynamic (atelic) verbs exceptionally allow for a present reading.

First, we offer a systematic description of these various usage types of the bare verb form in relation to the lexical aspect of the verb involved. Since we aim at a more fine-grained analysis of the actional/temporal interface than those thus far presented in the literature, we shall not only take into account the general ‘stative/dynamic’ distinction, but also other (sub)types of lexical aspect, thereby employing the actional classification of Tatevosov (2002). Next, we shall argue that the bare verb form functions as a marker of perfective aspect, as opposed to the imperfective marker *e*. Consequently, unmarked dynamic verbs are always perfective and there is thus no formal distinction between lexical and grammatical aspect in this case (cf. Giorgi & Pianesi (1997: 163-166) on the perfectivity of English dynamic verbs). Finally, we shall explain the default actionality/time-reference interactions in terms of the epistemic and durational problem that arguably arises with bounded situations in the present (Langacker 2001), while the observed variation can be accounted for in terms of an interplay of aspectual and actional characteristics with context.

References:

- Bickerton, Derek (1981), *Roots of Language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.
- Bickerton, Derek (1984), “The language bioprogram hypothesis”. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 7: 173-221.
- Brisard, Frank & Michael Meeuwis (2009), “Present and perfect in Bantu: The case of Lingála”. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 30(1): 21-43.
- Bybee, Joan, Revere Perkins & William Pagliuca (1994), *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Comrie, Bernard (1976), *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dahl, Östen (1985), *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Giorgi, Alessandra & Fabio Pianesi (1997), *Tense and Aspect: From Semantics to Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2001), “The English present tense”. *English Language and Linguistics* 5: 251-273.
- Malchukov, Andrej (forthcoming), “Incompatible categories: Resolving the ‘present perfective paradox’”. In: Hogeweg, Lotte et al. (eds.), *Cross-Linguistic Semantics of Tense, Aspect and Modality*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tatevosov, Sergej (2002), “The parameter of actionality”. *Linguistic Typology* 6, 317-401.
- Winford, Donald (2000), “Tense and aspect in Sranan and the creole prototype”. In: McWhorter, John (ed.), *Language Change and Language Contact in Pidgins and Creoles*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 383-442.

Bound Morphology and Relatedness in Awyu-Dumut Papuan Languages.

Dekker, Ruth & De Vries, Lourens
(Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam).

Since New Guinea is a linguistic area long known for its massive copying at all language levels, it was one of the first areas where researchers became discouraged to do research on genealogical relations. However, in recent years, genealogical research has found a new place in New Guinea linguistics. Two factors greatly contributed to this rehabilitation.

First, evidence from bound morphology turned out to be a much more reliable tool to establish lower level genetic relations than lexical evidence used in earlier research, but only if three constraints were applied. These constraints were not new to genealogical research but needed to be re-emphasized (Ross 2005, Foley 2005):

1. the paradigmaticity constraint
2. the exact form-function correlation constraint
3. the systematicity constraint.

Constraint (1) requires (proposed) related languages to share two or more forms in a particular paradigm and leads to entire paradigms being compared, rather than individual forms. Constraint (2) requires the forms and meanings of putative cognates in shared bound morphology to be identical or else relatable in a non-adhoc manner, thus avoiding the dangers of mass comparison. In addition to entire paradigms being compared (Constraint 1), the overall systems of languages must be compared and show similarities in bound morphology in multiple, independent paradigms in order to meet Constraint (3). When these three constraints are met, a genealogical relationship is *not* necessarily proven. What is proven is that a genealogical hypothesis is far more likely to account for the observed bound morphology correspondences than an explanation in terms of either chance or language contact.

Whereas the first factor of rehabilitation concerned a renewed and rigorous application of constraints known in the classical genealogical method, the second factor has to do with the relation of genealogical research to typological and areal (contact) linguistics. Genealogical research came to be viewed as part of a research agenda that focuses on trajectories of change in the sense of Foley (1998). Such a trajectory approach focuses on the outcomes of historical processes, tries to describe in explicit steps the innovation paths towards these outcomes, explains them in terms of area-specific interactions of genealogical, typological and contact factors (without an a-priori preference for one of these factors) and it relativizes the importance of genealogical affiliation for understanding the nature of a language or group of languages (e.g. the fact that a language is labelled genealogically as Austronesian does not predict much about its lexicon or grammar in the New Guinea context).

Our research focuses on the Awyu-Dumut family of Papuan languages spoken in South New Guinea, described by Drabbe (1950, 1957, 1959) and De Vries (1992, 1993). Using the constraints above, we present reconstructed proto-morphology to show that Mandobo, South-Wambon and North-Wambon form the Dumut subfamily. We illustrate the place of genealogical research in a wider trajectory approach by analyzing the trajectories of the proto-Dumut suffix *-t* in the three Dumut languages, as windows on processes that created switch reference and clause chaining in these languages.

References:

- Drabbe, P. 1950. Twee dialecten van de Awju-taal (met kaartje). *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 106:92-147.
- Drabbe, P. 1957. *Spraakunst van het Aghu dialect van de Awyu-taal*. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof.
- Drabbe, P. 1959. *Kaeti en Wambon, twee Awyu dialecten*. 's Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhof.
- Foley, W.A. 1998. Toward understanding Papuan languages. In *Perspectives on the Bird's Head of Irian Jaya, Indonesia: Proceedings of the Conference, Leiden, 13-17 October 1997*, J. Miedema, C. Odé, and R.A.C. Dam (eds), 503–518.
- Foley, W.A. 2005. Linguistic prehistory in the Sepik-Ramu basin. In *Papuan Pasts, cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, A. Pawley, R. Attenborough, J. Golson, and R. Hide (eds), Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. 109-144.
- Ross, M. 2005. Pronouns as a preliminary diagnostic for grouping Papuan languages. In *Papuan Pasts, cultural, linguistic and biological histories of Papuan-speaking peoples*, A. Pawley, R. Attenborough, J. Golson, and R. Hide (eds), Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. 15-66.
- Vries, L.J. de. 1993. *Forms and Functions in Kombai, an Awyu Language of Irian Jaya*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics (Series B-108).
- Vries, L.J. de, and R. de Vries-Wiersma. 1992. *The Morphology of Wambon of the Irian Jaya Upper Digul Area, with an introduction to its phonology*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

A cognitive perspective on the non-situational uses of the Spanish demonstratives *est-*, *es-* and *aquel-*.

Delbecque, Nicole
(University of Leuven).

The Spanish ternary demonstrative system is traditionally held to parallel person deixis. While modern typology rather privileges the notion of relative distance, distinguishing between proximal (*est-*), medial (*es-*) and distal (*aquel-*) (e.g. Anderson & Keenan 1985), the person and distance parameter are sometimes combined (e.g. Croft 1990). Metaphorical extension of this double classificatory frame from situational to non-situational uses, however, raises both descriptive and theoretical problems.

Unlike situational deixis, non situational deixis is not concerned with pointing in face-to-face interaction. It is therefore misleading to simply interpret “discourse space” in terms of a perception scene, shared by speaker and addressee, each occupying a specific observer “position” enabling them to identify the onstage entities in terms of “distance” with respect to one of their observer positions. Key notions, it will be argued, are rather the ongoing mental scanning activity of the conceptualizer, and the awareness that the set of entities and events connected to his/her actual consciousness -the operative knowledge base- evolves as the focus of attention and the communicative purposes change.

The “situatedness” and distance contrasts encoded by the demonstratives are therefore not to be analyzed firstly and foremost with respect to linguistic antecedents and fixed observer positions, but as a means for the speaker-conceptualizer to signal the cognitive status (s)he is momentarily attributing to a certain content. Under this hypothesis, turning to a demonstrative for realizing a tracking or linking function is a strategic device for (re)assessing the level of perceptual precision and conceptual anchoring. Conceptualizer involvement (CI) and epistemic stance (ES) will be argued to be the most relevant parameters, *est-* corresponding to [+CI, -ES], *es-* to [+CI, +ES], *aquel-* to [-CI, -ES].

This approach accounts for systematic alternations, traditionally coined idiosyncratic. In non-dialogic contexts with immediate antecedent, e.g., where “distance” is minimal and a shift to the deictic center of a supposed addressee is implausible, *es-* competes with *est-*. Instead of invoking free variation or neutralization (cf. De Kock 1995), the different encoding of the anaphoric relation will be shown to correspond to a different profiling. A similar point will be made for the discourse-deictic alternation between the more vs. less prototypical causal connectives *por eso* and *por esto*. These are but two examples of the distributional skewing observed in the non-situational uses of the demonstratives.

Representative examples will be drawn from a recent novel of M. Vargas Llosa. The analysis will involve the descriptive content of the NP and the elaboration site, in particular verb tense and temporal modifiers. The prediction is that *est-* punctually reflects the actual perceptual base, while *es-* represents the reassessment of an already established categorization, integrated in the conceptualizer’s base, and thus well suited for so-called recognitional uses; and *aquel-* puts the scope outside reach of the actual base, which makes it appropriate for abstract, generic definitions.

References:

- Anderson, Stephen R. & Edward L. Keenan (1985): Deixis." In: Shopen Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*. Volume 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 259–308.
- Croft, William (1990): *Typology and Universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Kock, Josse (1995): La relatividad gramatical en registros y áreas geográficas diferentes. In: J. De Kock, C. Gómez Molina, N. Delbecque, J. De Baere & F. Moreno Fernández, *Gramática española: Enseñanza e investigación. I. Apuntes metodológicos. 3. De la relatividad en lingüística*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 59–71.
- Vargas Llosa, Mario (2006): *Travesuras de la niña mala*. Madrid: Alfaguara.

Relatives, movement, and possessive features.

Delicado-Cantero, Manuel
(Swarthmore College).

Modern Spanish has several options to express possession in a relative clause. First, we find the rather literary possessive relative *cuyo* (whose), as in *cuya madre* (whose mother). A second construction is *NP del cual* (‘NP of which/whom’), as in *la madre del cual* (the mother of whom) where the relative *el cual* is introduced by the preposition *de* (of). In current colloquial Spanish speakers produce an alternative construction: *que su N* (‘that his/her/its/their N’), consisting of the complementizer *que* (that) and the resumptive possessive *su* (his/her/its/their) (Suñer 1998). In this paper I study a fourth innovative alternative: *el cual su N*, exemplified in (1) below.

This construction shares some properties with *que su X* and *NP del cual*. On the one hand, like *que su N*, it includes a resumptive possessive. However, while *que* can be described as an invariant complementizer, the nature of *el cual* in this construction must still overtly agree with its antecedent. In addition, it challenges the usual syntactic behavior of *el cual* (Brucart 1999), in that it appears in both restrictive and non-restrictive clauses. On the other hand, the new construction

involves the same relative found in *NP del cual*, albeit with a different word order due to inversion and without the genitive preposition [linker] *de* (of).

Assuming a Kaynean derivation for relatives (de Vries 2002), I argue that *el cual su N* derives from the construction *NP Ø el cual*. The relative moves to the left of the clause, leaving behind the rest of the DP. As a result of this predicate inversion, the features of possession are expressed by the resumptive possessive *su*. It predicts the non-occurrence of other possible derivations. This construction offers novel data in favor of the Predicate Inversion analysis (den Dikken 2006, den Dikken & Singhapreecha 2004, Danon 2008).

Finally, I discuss this construction with well-known cases of P-dropping in subordination, in Spanish and crosslinguistically (Demonte & Fernández Soriano 2005, Gómez Torrego 1999, Grosu 1996). I explore other constructions involving *el cual* in which prepositions are unexpectedly absent and determine the syntactic relationship between them and our innovative *el cual su X*.

This paper contributes to the study of relatives, particularly the nature of C/CP/subordinators and agreement and predication in subordination. It also provides new data showing new strategies being developed by the speakers, shedding light on innovation and variation (and change) in language.

Examples

(1) a. la biografía de una **mujer la cual su vida** nadie llegó a entender jamás
the biography of a woman the which-fem her life no one arrived to understand-inf never
the biography of a woman whose life no one could ever understand.

www4.los cuentos.net/cuentos/link/172/1726/print

b. y por último **el Communicative Method, el cual su principal función** es comunicar
& for last the communicative method, the which-masc its main function is comm.-inf
& finally the Communicative Method, which its main function is to communicate...

Los sistemas de calidad aplicados en las escuelas, Azucena Juárez Castellanos
www.astro labio.net/educacion/articulos/105140980254840.html

References:

- Alexiadou, A. et al. (2007). *Noun phrase in the generative perspective*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Alexiadou, A. et al. (2000). *The syntax of relative clauses*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Brucart, J. M. (1999). La estructura del sintagma nominal: las oraciones de relativo. In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, p. 395-522. Madrid: Real Academia Española/Espasa-Calpe.
Danon, G. (2008). Definiteness spreading in the Hebrew construct state. *Lingua*, 118, 872-906.
Demonte, V. & Fernández Soriano, O. (2005). Features in comp and syntactic variation: the case of '(de)queísmo' in Spanish. *Lingua*, 115, 1063-1082.
Den Dikken, M. (2006). *Relators and Linkers. The syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
Den Dikken, M. & Singhapreecha, P. (2004). Complex noun phrases and linkers. *Syntax*, 7(1), 1-54.
Gómez Torrego, L. (1999). La variación en las subordinadas sustantivas: Dequeísmo y queísmo. In *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, p. 2105-2148. Madrid: Real Academia Española/Espasa-Calpe.
Grosu, A. (1996). The proper analysis of missing-P free relative constructions. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 27(2), 257-293.
Herrmann, T. (2002/03). *Relative clauses in dialects of English. A typological approach*. PhD dissertation, Universität Freiburg.
Suñer, M. (1998). Resumptive restrictive clauses. A crosslinguistic perspective. *Language*, 74, 335-364.
de Vries, M. (2002). *The syntax of relativization*, PhD dissertation, LOT, The Netherlands.

Clitic left dislocation and clitic doubling in Modern Greek: their distinct information-structure functions.

Deligianni, Efrosini
(University of Lancaster).

Recent years have seen a proliferation of studies in the field of information structure (IS). Particular interest has been placed on constructions which seem to be pragmatically motivated by IS. This is due to the fact that they provide the ideal testing grounds for assessing the formative role of IS on grammatical structure.

Clitic reduplication is used in this context as an overarching term for all clausal constructions which involve the co-occurrence of a pronominal clitic with a coindexed direct or indirect object NP. In this paper I intend to focus on two representative subcategories, namely clitic left dislocation (CLLD) and clitic doubling (CL) in Modern Greek (henceforth MG). These are formally distinguished by the position of the coreferential NP in the clause, which is left-dislocated in CLLD, and post-verbal in CL. Clitic-doubled constructions constitute one of the most intensely studied issues in MG syntax (see Anagnostopoulou 1994, 1997, 1999; Janse 2006 among others). Nevertheless, the differentiating properties between these

two constructions have not been successfully tackled in MG literature, the only consensus being that CLLD-ed constituents typically encode topics, whereas CL-ed constituents are generally excluded from this pragmatic function (Alexopoulou & Kolliakou 1992: 206).

My major theoretical claim is that both constructions involve object promotion to a topic. The difference between CLLD and CL lies in the distinct IS functions each performs: CLLD formally encodes a primary topic, whereas CL a secondary topic. It is this latter hypothesis which appears to have been bypassed in the literature on the subject. There are a number of hints that point towards this direction though. First, Chrystalla Thoma (2007: 155) asserts that clitic pronouns function as “continuity markers of secondary topic cohesion”. Moreover, the secondary topic in Romance languages like Catalan and French is encoded by pronominal clitics which may participate in clitic reduplication constructions (Nikolaeva 2001: 9). Even though clitic reduplication in CL is optional, we could still argue that it formally signals the topical status of the object constituent, i.e. it can be regarded as a topic assignment marker on the object, in the same vein as Stanchev (2007) claims for Bulgarian.

This hypothesis has been further substantiated by an analysis of representative corpus data. Clitic reduplication constructions have been extracted out of the 20th century corpus of Modern Greek texts (SEK), which includes data from the 1990 onwards of both oral and written texts (Goutsos 2003). The representation of spoken discourse in SEK is a particular desideratum in the context of this research. As Verhoeven (2009) has empirically verified, CL is rarely attested in MG written discourse. A preliminary data analysis fully supports the current hypothesis.

This interpretation thus offers a plausible account for the data at hand. It also corroborates the view that syntactic constructions can be pragmatically motivated. Conclusively, the theoretical implications of this claim are that the IS component of grammar cannot be autonomous, as it directly interacts with the formal levels of linguistic structure, namely morphosyntax and prosody.

References:

- Alexopoulou, D. & D. Kolliakou (2002). “On Linkhood, Topicalisation and Clitic Left Dislocation”. *Journal of Linguistics*, vol. 38.2.193-245.
- Anagnostopoulou, E. (1994). *Clitic dependencies in Modern Greek*. PhD Dissertation, University of Salzburg.
- Anagnostopoulou, E (1997). “Clitic Left Dislocation and Contrastive Dislocation”. In Anagnostopoulou, E., van Riemsdijk, H. & Zwarts, F. (eds.), *Materials on Left Dislocation* (Linguistik Aktuell 14). Amsterdam: Benjamins, 151-192.
- Anagnostopoulou, E (1999). “Conditions on clitic doubling”. In van Riemsdijk H. (ed.), *Clitics in the languages of Europe*, vol. III. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 759-798.
- Goutsos, D. (2003). “Coprus of Greek texts: design and implementation”. *Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, Crete, Greece, 2003.
- Janse, M. (2006). “Clitic doubling from Ancient to Asia Minor Greek”. In D. Kallulli and L. Tasmowski (eds.) *Clitic doubling in Balkan languages*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 165-202.
- Nikolaeva, I. (2001). “Secondary topic as a relation in information structure” *Linguistics*, 39-1, 1-49.
- Stanchev, S. B. (2007). “Pragmatics, word order and cross-reference: Some issues with pronominal clitics in Bulgarian”. In *Functional Perspectives on Grammar and Discourse*, Butler, C. S., Raquel Hidalgo Downing and Julia Lavid (eds.), 233-256.
- Thoma, C. (2007). “Distribution and function of clitic object pronouns in popular 16th -18th century Greek narratives: a synchronic and diachronic perspective”. In J. Rehbein, C. Hohenstein & L. Pietsch (Eds.), *Connectivity in grammar and discourse*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 139-164.
- Verhoeven, E. (2009) “*Experiencer objects* and object clitics in Modern Greek: Evidence from a corpus study”. *Proceedings of the 8th International Conference on Greek Linguistics*, Ioannina, Greece, 2007.

SKT-constructions: The relation between synchronic and diachronic analysis.

Denison, David
(University of Manchester).

“SKT-constructions” is a handy cover-term for various *sort/kind/type* patterns found in English. The interaction between categorial indeterminacy and lexicalisation raises questions about the appropriateness of conventional structural analysis. Some typical instances involving *sort of* are illustrated below:

- (1) Davis was the worst sort_N of_P person to have at the head of a monopolistic company.
- (2) there was a [sort of]_{?A} emptiness inside her
- (3) Those [sort of]_{?D} jobs just don't exist for people like you and me.
- (4) If Andy thought a drawing by Paul Klee looked “[sort of]_{?Adv} funny”, he said so
- (5) Well, if you were to sort of pop off, I'd go on being a countess, wouldn't I?

- (6) but its demountable engine /drive system made it workable, sort of.
- (7) I really thought it was going to be sort of “You must not drink ever again” and “You naughty boy, you mustn’t do it ever again” sort of thing.

While (1) is a straightforward use of the noun *sort*, (2)–(3) involve problematic assignation of headedness within the NP, greater lexicalisation of *sort of*, and the resemblance of the possible lexical item *sort of* to different word classes. In (4)–(7) *of* is no longer followed by an NP, in (6)–(7) *sort of* has become a discourse particle. In (7) *sort of thing* takes on semantic and pragmatic functions very similar to *sort of*, once again calling into question the lexical and syntactic segmentation and the precise locus of frequency effects.

Some of these analytic problems are mitigated by a Construction Grammar model which permits dual inheritance of characteristics from different source constructions. Some can be explained as transitional effects of diachronic change. Diachrony, however, raises the question of group differences, since of the principal SKT words, *kin(d)* is the first to show SKT characteristics, then *manner* (which later falls out of the SKT group), then *sort*, and finally *type*. In Present-day English *type* only partially shares the constructional patterns of *sort* and *kind*, while showing a semi-suffixal use which they lack:

- (8) many moral theories may land their adherents in Prisoner's Dilemma type situations.

Why the similarities and the differences?

In this paper I shall use historical corpus data to make more precise the frequencies, trajectories and interrelations of the main patterns involved. In the time available I hope to offer a workable synchronic analysis and to clarify the relation between synchrony and diachrony in SKT-constructions. I will take advantage of advances in work on word classes, on Construction Grammar and grammaticalisation studies, and offer SKT-constructions in return as a useful case study.

References:

- Brems, Lieselotte. 2007. The grammaticalization of small size nouns: Reconsidering frequency and analogy. *Journal of English Linguistics* 35, 293-324.
- Brems, Lieselotte, Kristin Davidse & Liesbeth De Smedt. 2005. Type noun constructions: Paths of grammaticalization. Paper presented at New Reflections on Grammaticalization 3, Santiago de Compostela.
- Davidse, Kristin. 2009. *Complete* and *sort of*: From identifying to intensifying? *Transactions of the Philological Society* 107, 262-92.
- Denison, David. 2002. History of the *sort of* construction family. Paper presented at ICCG2: Second International Conference on Construction Grammar, Helsinki.
- Denison, David. 2007. Playing tag with category boundaries. *VARIENG e-Series 1, Annotating Variation and Change (Proceedings of ICAME 27 Annotation Workshop)* ed. Anneli Meurman-Solin & Arja Nurmi. Helsinki: Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English (VARIENG). <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/journal/volumes/01/denison/>
- De Smedt, Liesbeth, Lieselotte Brems & Kristin Davidse. 2007. NP-internal functions and extended uses of the ‘type’ nouns *kind*, *sort*, and *type*: Towards a comprehensive, corpus-based description. In Roberta Facchinetti (ed.), *Corpus linguistics 25 years on* (Language and Computers - Studies in Practical Linguistics 62), 227-57. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.
- Smittberg, Erik. 2006. Partitive constructions in nineteenth-century English. In Merja Kyto, Mats Rydén & Erik Smittberg (eds.), *Nineteenth-century English: Stability and change* (Studies in English Language), 242-71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tabor, Whitney. 1993. The gradual development of degree modifier *sort of* and *kind of*: A corpus proximity model. In Katharine Beals et al. (eds.), *Papers from the 29th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*, 451-65. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Trousdale, Graeme and Nikolas Gisborne (eds.) (2008) *Constructional approaches to English grammar*. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin. (Topics in English Linguistics 57).
- Trousdale, Graeme and Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.) (in press, 2010) *Gradience, gradualness and grammaticalization*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam. (Typological Studies in Language 90).

Linguistic annotation of learner corpora.

Díaz-Negrillo, A., Meurers, D., H. Wunsch
(University of Jaen, University of Tübingen, University of Tübingen).

Generally speaking, learner data is the empirical basis of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, and it exemplifies typical stages and common learner problems in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT). Such data collected in learner corpora can help validate generalizations about language acquisition and support the development of new hypotheses and theories in SLA. Learner corpora can also play a role in identifying areas of relevance for FLT practice and materials design.

To find relevant classes of examples, the terminology used to single out learner language aspects of interest needs to

be mapped to instances in the corpus. Effective querying of corpora for specific phenomena often requires reference to annotations (cf., e.g., Meurers, 2005; Meurers & Müller, 2009). Annotations essentially function as an index to classes of data which cannot easily be identified based on the surface form. For example, finding all sentences containing modal verbs using only the surface forms is possible, but would require a long list of all forms of the modal verbs. Even so, sentences where, for example, *can* is not actually a modal verb (e.g., *Pass me a can of beer* or *I can tuna for a living*) would be wrongly identified.

The annotation of corpora thus serves an important function, but also raises the question what type of learner language annotations are needed to support the searches for the data which are important for FLT and SLA research. A traditional focus of research on learner corpora has been the identification and classification of learner errors. As pointed out by Granger (2003), learner corpora can help overcome some of the key problems of the Error Analysis strand of SLA research in the 70s and 80s (cf., e.g., Richards, 1974; Corder, 1981). And indeed accuracy remains an important issue of interest to FLT (cf., e.g., the recent series of remedial books "Common Mistakes at..." by Cambridge University Press) and SLA (cf., e.g., Skehan, 1998). At the same time, prominent strands of SLA research are concerned with the stages of the acquisition process (cf., e.g., Pienemann, 1998), often independent of the accuracy of the execution of the patterns which are indicative of the different levels. In sum, SLA research essentially observes correlations of linguistic properties, whether erroneous or not. In consequence, learner corpora should ideally provide annotation of linguistic properties, including, but not limited, to errors. In this paper, we explore what may constitute appropriate linguistic annotation schemes for learner language. We argue for an approach to Part-Of-Speech (POS) tagging of learner corpora that systematically encodes the distributional, morphological, and lexical aspects special to such interlanguage. Based on NOCE, an English learner corpus by Spanish learners, we characterize areas where the properties of learner language systematically differ from those assumed by POS annotation schemes developed for native language with a view to disclose suitable paths for learner language-specific POS tagging.

References:

- Corder, S. P. (1981). *Error Analysis and Interlanguage*. Oxford University Press.
- Granger, S. (2003). Error-tagged learner corpora and CALL: A promising synergy. *CALICO Journal* 20(3), 465-480. URL <http://purl.org/calico/granger03.pdf>
- Meurers, W. D. (2005). On the use of electronic corpora for theoretical linguistics. Case studies from the syntax of German. *Lingua* 115(11), 1619-1639. URL <http://purl.org/dm/papers/meurers-03.html>.
- Meurers, W. D. & S. Müller (2009). Corpora and Syntax. In A. Lüdeling & M. Kytö (eds.), *Corpus linguistics*, Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, vol. 2 of *Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science*, pp. 920-933. URL <http://purl.org/dm/papers/meurers-mueller-09.html>.
- Pienemann, M. (1998). *Language Processing and Second Language Development: Processability Theory*. John Benjamins.
- Richards, J. C. (1974). *Error Analysis: Perspectives on Second Language Acquisition*. London: Longman.
- Skehan, P. (1998). *A Cognitive Approach to Learning Language*. Oxford University Press.

Baltic Influence on Slavic Spread: the Case of North Russian.

Dombrowski, Andrew
(University of Chicago).

In this paper, I assess the role that Baltic may have played in the development of the north Russian dialect reflected in the birchbark documents from the Novgorod region. Baltic influence has previously been posited in the development of Proto-Slavic *tl, *dl clusters into -kl-, -gl- clusters in the Novgorod region, e.g. *sustrěkli* < **sustrětli* 'met', *povegla* < **povedlǝ* 'lead' (Zaliznjak 2004, Anderson 2002/2003). In this paper, I provide a comprehensive overview of the divergent features of early north Russian that may be explained as resulting from a previous Baltic substrate. By doing so, I provide a concrete illustration of some of the possible results of the interaction between a spreading language (in this case, Slavic) and the languages it encounters (in this case, Baltic). This discussion also provides a case study of some methodological issues involved in studying the results of linguistic contact between related languages.

In addition to features previously analyzed as being due to Baltic influence, I also argue that the anomalous reflexes of the Common Slavic palatalizations in the north Russian dialects may have also been conditioned by a Baltic substrate (e.g. *kěle* < **kail-* 'whole', *xěr-* 'gray' and *vъxb* 'all') (Zaliznjak 2004: 41-45). This problem is intricately connected to the development of *cokan'e*, or the non-differentiation of the affricates /c/ and /č/ in a wide area of north Russian. Another innovation possibly due to Baltic influence may be the early tendency to generalize soft-stem paradigms in the nominal morphology of the Old Novgorod dialect, which I suggest may be linked to the Lithuanian tendency to generalize Indo-European -jo and -ja stems as productive declension types (Zinkevičius 1998: 108). I also discuss some phenomena in the Old Novgorod dialect whose connection to Baltic may be weaker, but nonetheless worth considering. One such feature is the unusually complete preservation of long adjectival forms composed of the nominal declension endings plus the corresponding form of the demonstrative *jъ (e.g. Masc.Dat.Sg. endings *u* ~ *umu*, Masc.Loc.Sg. *ě* ~ *ěmb*) (Zaliznjak 2004: 151). Another such feature is what seems to be the exceptionally early and relatively complete loss of the aorist and imperfect tenses in the Old Novgorod dialect (Zaliznjak 2004: 173). While these tenses were lost throughout East Slavic, the previous interaction between old North Russian and Baltic, which lacks a comparable set of past tense paradigms, suggests that external influence may have played a role.

The data presented above ranges from phenomena almost certainly due to Baltic influence (e.g., {tl, dl} > {kl, gl}) to phenomena where Baltic influence may have been one conditioning factor among many. I argue that despite the methodological difficulties involved in accounting for phenomena that may have been conditioned by multiple factors, a recognition of this multiplicity is nonetheless necessary in diachronic accounts of this type.

References:

- Andersen, H. 2002/3. "On the Late Common Slavic dialect correspondences *Kl—Tl—l'*". *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics*, 44/45.37–48
- Zaliznjak, A. A. 2004. *Drevnenovgorodskij dialekt*. Moscow: Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury.
- Zinkevičius, Z. 1998. *The History of the Lithuanian Language*. Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas: Vilnius.

Sources of Auxiliation in the Perfects of Europe.

Drinka, Bridget
(University of Texas at San Antonio).

The complex history of BE and HAVE auxiliation in the perfects of Europe provides a rich array of examples of multiple sources. As demonstrated in Jacob (1994), BE and HAVE perfects, though now forming a single category in many languages of western Europe, arose from different sources and took different paths of development: in those languages which maintain this distinction, transitive verbs use the HAVE auxiliary, while intransitives and mutatives (unaccusatives) use BE. The role of contact was crucial at several stages in the development of this category: not only did Greek apparently introduce this variable auxiliation to Latin, but Latin appears to have reintroduced its own version of the category back into Greek at the time of the Roman Empire. Multiple sources of influence continued to shape the complex path that the perfects would follow in their later history:

1. The BE / HAVE distinction is found in a contiguous area encompassing French, northern Italian, Romansch, German, and Dutch. This contiguity, in combination with other factors, implies areal spread.
2. The geographical distribution of the BE / HAVE variation was previously broader, extending to Swedish, English, and Spanish, among other languages. This fact suggests that a more complex characterization of this innovation is required than a simple account of the adoption of variable auxiliaries in the core languages.
3. In earlier German, HAVE perfects were used in a number of contexts where a BE perfect is used today. In English, on the other hand, the use of the BE perfect did not show increased frequency, but was flat throughout its history (Drinka and Roy, in preparation). These distributions reflect the fact that core and peripheral languages participate in this innovation to different extents and in different ways.
4. Remarkably, the languages which use both auxiliaries (e.g., French and German) are, to a large extent, also those which have given up the semantic feature of "current relevance" for their perfects; those which do not make the distinction (e.g., Spanish and English) tend to have maintained current relevance as a key feature of their perfects.

The interaction of these two factors—variable auxiliation and current relevance—is particularly well illustrated by the continuum of perfect formation found across the varieties of Italian: in northern Italian, where both auxiliaries are used, the perfect has become the normal means of marking the past. In southern Italian, on the other hand, the HAVE auxiliary predominates, and the perfect plays a much smaller role than in the north, marking current relevance exclusively. The loss of current relevance in the perfect of these European languages has been shown to have arisen through areal influence (Drinka 2004), and the co-occurrence of this feature with variable auxiliation suggests that linguistic contact is likewise at least partially responsible for this innovation.

This paper explores the implications of these and other related facts and assumptions surrounding the development of the perfect in Europe, and points to the role of multiple sources and language contact as more essential explanatory mechanisms in language change than is usually acknowledged.

References:

- Drinka, Bridget. 2004. *Präteritumschwund: Evidence for areal diffusion*. In: Werner Abraham (ed.). *Focus on Germanic typology*. [Studia Typologica 6]. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 211–40.
- Drinka, Bridget and Joseph Roy. (In preparation). *Periphrasis in Early Modern English: A Family Network Approach*.
- Jacob, Daniel. 1994. *Die Auxiliarisierung von *habere* und die Entstehung des romanischen periphrastischen Perfekts, dargestellt an der Entwicklung vom Latein zum Spanischen*. Habilitationsschrift Freiburg i. Br.

Some remarks about the optional ergative marking with 'ne' in 'Old Hindi'

Drocco, Andrea

(Department of Oriental Studies, Turin University, Italy).

Thanks to the works of various scholars we possess many studies concerning the origin of the ergative construction - which has developed out of the earlier predicative use of a non-finite verbal form, the Indo-Iranian past participle in *-ta*, for the expression of past events - in Old Indo-Aryan (e.g. Hook 1992; Klaiman 1978; Hock 1986; Bynon 2005) and its proliferation in Middle Indo-Aryan (e.g. Bubenik 1996, 1998; Jamison 2000; Peterson 1998). Unfortunately the same is not true for the development of the same construction in the New Indo-Aryan period leading to the conservation (e.g. Gujarātī), restoration (e.g. Hindī and Pañjābī) or elimination (e.g. Bhojpurī, Oriyā) of the original ergative-absolutive system (cfr. Stump 1983). Surely it is well known that starting from the last stage of Middle Indo-Aryan this past construction, with A in the Instrumental, become so frequent to be the only available means of expressing all past transitive propositions (cfr. Bloch 1934; Bubenik 1998). In the same manner we know, from the analysis of Khokhlova (1992, 2001), that the process of case merging during the first period of New Indo-Aryan led to the attrition of the distinction between S and A in the past, especially with singular nouns. However we don't know the process of grammaticalization of the new analytical ergative marker, the postposition *ne*, found, among others, in Hindī and Pañjābī. What were the reasons and the modalities which led to its present use?⁶ The main aim of this study is to give further considerations to an ongoing study about the restoration, in these languages, of the ergative-absolutive system of Old/Middle Indo-Aryan through the introduction of the afore-mentioned new form, the postposition *ne*, for an old function, the ergative case-marking of A in the past. In a recent talk I tried to demonstrate that the "macro-history" of this form suggests that the discriminatory function of case marking (cfr. Comrie 1989) is clearly important in the beginning of its process of diffusion. In this talk, I want to carry on this line of research by adding that there is no single interpretation as regards the high initial variability of the ergative case with A in this process. In fact, as I will show starting from data taken from texts written in old Hindī dialects and also from the present-day Eastern Rājasthānī dialects, where, in both cases, the use of the postposition *ne* is surely optional, but only apparently random, the full set of conditions on case alternations for A in the past is really complex. In particular, following Hook & Koul (1997: 167) who studied the fluid ergativity in Gujarātī inceptives, to determine which A in the past-tense clauses investigated get the ergative postposition we need to take into account a series of nested, sometimes competing, syntactic and semantic conditions. For example the presence in the construction of a human O and/or of an indirect object or the presence of a non-finite intransitive form. In some cases, I mean in similar past constructions, it seems very likely that there are also pragmatic factors governing the presence or absence of the new ergative case-marker with A.

References:

- Beames, J. 1872-1879. *A comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India*. London: Trubner & Co. (reprint 1966, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal).
- Bloch, J. 1934. *L'indo-aryen du védā au temps moderne*. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve. (English edition largely revised by the author and translated by Alfred Master, Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1965).
- Bubenik, V. 1996. *The Structure and Development of Middle Indo-Aryan Dialects*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
1998. *A Historical Syntax of Late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhramśa)*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
2001. 'On the Actualization of the Passive-to-Ergative shift in the Pre-Islamic India', in Andersen, H. (ed.) 2001, *Actualization. Linguistic Change in Progress*, (Papers from a workshop held at the 14th Conference on Historical Linguistics, Vancouver, B.C., 14 August 1999), Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 95-118.
- Bynon, T. 2005. 'Evidential, raised possessor, and the historical source of the ergative construction in Indo-Iranian', *Transactions of the Philological Society* 103/1, 1-72.
- Comrie, B. 1989. *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Oxford: Blackwell. (2nd edition)
- Hock, H. H. 1986. 'P-oriented constructions in Sanskrit', in Krishnamurti, Bh., Masica, C. P., & Sinha, A. K. (eds.), 1986, *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, pp. 15-26.
- Hoernle, A. F. Rudolf. 1880. *A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian (Aryo-Indian) Languages*. Amsterdam: Philo Press.
- Hook, P. E. 1992. 'On Identifying the Conceptual Restructuring of Passive as Ergative in Indo-Aryan', in Deshpande, M. M. & Bhate, S. (eds.) 1992, *Pāṇinian studies. Professor S. D. Joshi Felicitation Volume*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, pp. 177-199.
- Hook, P. E. & Koul, O. N. 1997. 'Fluid Ergativity in Gujarati and Kashmiri and the Notion of Suspension', *Papers from the Annual Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 33:2.163-173.
- Jamison, S. W. 2000. 'Lurching towards Ergativity: Expressions of Agency in the Niya Documents', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 63:1.64-80.
- Khokhlova, L. V. 1992. 'Trends in the Development of Ergativity in New Indo-Aryan', *Osmania Papers in Linguistics* 18.71-97.

⁶ Some authors, as Kachru & Pandharipande (1977: 236), have stressed the importance that could have a similar study; in fact they said: "It is interesting to investigate how and why the western dialects of the Hindi area, such as Braj, and Western Hindi-Urdu, as well as other cognate languages, [...] developed special markers (such as *ne* in Hindi-Urdu) to mark the ST" (1977: 233).

2001. 'Ergativity Attrition in the History of Western New Indo-Aryan Languages', in Singh, R. (ed.) 2001, *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics, Tokyo Symposium on South Asian Languages. Contact, Convergence and Typology*, New Delhi – Thousand Oaks – London: Sage Publications, pp. 159-184.
- Klaiman, M. H. 1978. 'Arguments against a passive origin of the IA ergative', *Papers from the Regional Meetings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 14.204-216.
1987. 'Mechanism of ergativity in South Asia', *Lingua* 71.61-102.
- Monier-Williams, M. 1858. *Rudiments of Hindūstānī Grammar*. Cheltenham.
- Nespital, H. 1998. 'The Linguistic Structure of Hindavī, Dakkhinī, Early Urdu and Early Khaṣī Bolī Hindī', *Berliner Indologische Studien* 11/12.195-217.
- Pandharipande, R. & Kachru, Y. 1977. 'Relational grammar, ergativity, and Hindi-Urdu', *Lingua* 41.217-238.
- Peterson, J. M. 1998. *Grammatical relations in Pāli and the Emergence of Ergativity in Indo-Aryan*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Stump, G. T. 1983. 'The Elimination of Ergative Patterns of Case Marking and Verbal Agreement in Modern Indic Languages', *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics* 27.140-164.

Reading, seeing or acting? - debating the semiotic power of language for national identification.

Duszak, Anna
(Warsaw University).

Modern linguistics is a topically and methodologically diversified field of studies with complex overlaps and points of contacts with other disciplines. The paper problematizes some of such issues from the perspective of critical discourse studies. These are approaches to language that, programmatically, combine linguistic and social analyses, and that focus on the dynamic ideological underpinnings of social and communicative change. An interdiscursive and semiotic concept of style-as-identification (after Fairclough 2003, van Leeuwen 2005) is applied to analyses of the discursive construction of national identities (e.g. Wodak et al. 2009 [1999]). This is done on the example of public discourses in the Polish media marking the 70th anniversary of World War II in the fall last year (September 1st 1939). A corpus analysis demonstrates the existence of three major 'styles' of dealing with War mythology, commemoration and legacy for how national identification is currently constructed. These are expository-argumentative texts (esp. commemorative speeches and addresses, as well as political-historical essays), semi-public narratives of individuals, and meta-discourses on a new, inter-semiotic, mode of War re-contextualization and mediation. Of particular interest is the last category, accommodating visual displays of genuine and reconstructed archival exhibits and, most importantly, the staging of historical reconstructions of the War ('war games'). The three 'styles' are discussed along a gradient of *generational continuity* and *discontinuity* relative to selected acts, memories and imaginaries, attitudes and emotions, as well as preferred modes of communication. What is meaningful and valuable to nationals from different age brackets? The main site of generational 'difference of mind', if not conflict, seems to locate in controversies over the 'new language of patriotism', with its preoccupation with the image and theatrical performance. An argument is made that – next to its traditional reliance on sociology and social psychology – (critical) discourse studies need more back-up from cognitive sciences, aesthetics and axiology of communication. In conclusion the paper raises a general issue of integrity and identity of linguistics, given the growing interdisciplinarity and methodological eclecticism of this field.

References:

- Fairclough N., 2003. *Analysing Discourse. Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London. VAN LEEUWEN T., 2005. *INTRODUCING SOCIAL SEMIOTICS*, LONDON.
- Wodak R., et al. 2009 [1999], *The discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh.

Morphological code-copying in languages of the Gansu Corridor.

Ebert, Karen H.
(University of Zurich).

Mongolic, Turkic, Sinitic and Tibetan languages have been in close contact for many centuries in the Gansu Corridor. There have been multiple language switches; speakers of Turkic languages have changed to Mongolic and speakers of both have gone over to Chinese. Copying has gone in all directions. Turkic and Mongolic speakers seem to have copied Chinese pronunciation and numerous lexemes, whereas the Chinese varieties of Gansu, rather unexpectedly in view of general ideas about what is 'borrowed', have adopted Altaic word order and some morphological categories. Thus the Hezhou (= Linxia) dialect has case markers as well as converbs in compound verbs and clause combining.

The case markers include (Li 1994):

- accusative/dative -a (-*xa* acc. to Lee-Smith) with vowel harmony,
- 'genitive' -*zi*, which is actually used like the typical Sino-Tibetan attributivizer/nominalizer;

— comitative/instrumental *-la*, that also exists in Turkic Salar and in several Mongolic Gansu varieties. Lee-Smith also mentions *liŋkəθ* < Chin. 'two' + classifier *-ge* as mainly used by Hui; but Charles Li, who describes Hui of Linxia, has only *-la*.

Converbs include

— the general converb in *-zhe* < Mongol. Dongxian *-ji* (Khalkha *-ad* is not used in Gansu),

— the conditional converb in *-shi*, homonymous with the Mandarin copula, but also reminiscent of the originally Turkic conditional converb suffix *-sA*, which is widespread also in Gansu Mongolian. It seems that the Hezhou Chinese have copied the concept of a conditional converb and adapted it to a more familiar form.

Similar morphemes are used by a much smaller group of speakers of Tangwang, which according to Lee-Smith is "lexically and phonetically Chinese; grammatically, it is Dongxian". Copying of grammatical constructions has also occurred in Mongolic and Turkic languages of the area, and as Slater states, it often "becomes impossible to trace the precise historical path of any given linguistic feature" (2003:329).

I have no new data on these languages, but rely on the (often rather poor) published material.

References:

- Dwyer, Adrienne. 1992. Altaic elements in the Linxia dialect: Contact-induced change on the Yellow River plateau. *J. of Chinese Linguistics* 20.1: 160-78.
- Lee-Smith, Mei W. 1996. "The Hezhou language" and "The Tangwang language"; in Stephen A. Wurm et al. (eds.) *Atlas of Intercultural Communication in the Pacific, Asia and the Americas*. Vol. II. 865-882. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Li, Charles N. 1984. From verb-medial analytic language to verb-final synthetic language: A case of typological change. *10th Annual Meeting BLS*, 307-323.
- Slater, Keith W. 2003. *A Grammar of Mangghuer. A Mongolic language of China's Qinghai-Gansu Sprachbund*. London & New York: Routledge.

On the degree of copiability of derivational and inflectional morphology: Evidence from Basque.

Eliasson, Stig
(Mainz University).

A common observation in language contact studies is that, while derivational affixes are frequently copied, inflectional affixes are highly resistant to copying (Winford 2003, Gardani 2008, etc.). Exceptions to the latter observation include the Turkish inflections copied in Anatolian Greek (Dawkins 1916). That contact situation involved a strongly agglutinative donor language (Turkish) and a fusional recipient language (Greek). In this paper, we turn to the reverse situation, the effect of fusional donor languages (Latin and western Romance idioms) on an agglutinating recipient language (Basque). As for detailed morphological characteristics, we recall that Basque possesses a rich array of case endings and tightly knit argument markers in a small number of synthetic verbs. Apart from verbal inflections, which encompass both prefixes and suffixes, and a single fossilized causative prefix, the native Basque morphological system is consistently suffixing. For two millennia, Basque has copied profusely from surrounding Latin (L) and Romance (R) sources. Due to radical loan adaptation, it is often difficult to determine whether a specific morphological element is native, Latin or Romance. Nevertheless, a sufficiently large, reasonably certain core of borrowings may be found that casts light on the degree of copiability of different types of morphemes. This talk will examine the influx of Latin/Romance affixes into Basque, specifically from the point of view of the distinction between derivation and inflection. Typical derivational suffixes deriving, or likely to derive, from Latin or Romance are *-ari*, *-lari*, *-kari*, *-dari*, *-tari* occupation, etc. (< *-ari*), *-gailu*, *-ailu*, *-kailu* instrument (< ?R < L *-aculu*), *-eri*, *-keri*, *-eria* collection, etc. (< Spanish *-eria* < R < L), *-keta* (< L ?-eta, pl. of *-etum*), *-ura*, *-tura*, *-dura* (< L *-ura*), *-zio* (< L *-iione*), and so on (cf. Azkue 1969, Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina 2003, Múgica 1978, Orpustan 1999, Segura & Etxebarria 2001). In Basque inflectional morphology, on the other hand, the closest we can get to a sweeping Latin impact is the introduction of the past participle ending *-tu/-du* < L *-tu* (Michelena 1990, Trask 1997), which Odriozola (2004) characterizes as "an inflection suffix", albeit with strong derivational properties. Only marginally do we observe in Basque other inflectional loans such as the Spanish-derived "quasi-inflectional masculine/feminine distinction" in the Lekeitio dialect (Hualde et al. 1994) in certain words referring to humans (e.g., *txotxólo/txotxóla* 'stupid', masc./fem., *morenotu/morenatu* 'to get tanned', of male/female). In conclusion, whereas the many Latin- and Romance-derived derivational affixes fill real gaps in Basque word-formation, the opulent Basque case system makes further inflectional distinctions in nominals superfluous, and the rich array of inflections in finite Basque verbs constitutes a fairly robust structural barrier to any kind of copying of Latin/Romance verb inflections. Thus, the Basque case adheres neatly to the notion of differing copiability of derivational and inflectional affixes. Despite massive Indo-European influence for over 2000 years, the linguistic isolate Basque provides no examples of overt borrowed inflectional markers that would blur the assumption that, in general, shared inflectional morphology is a sign of shared genetic origin.

References:

- Azkue, R. M. de. 1969. *Morfología vasca*, 1-3. Bilbao.

- Dawkins, R. M. 1916. *Modern Greek in Asia Minor. A study of the dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and Phárasa with grammar, texts, translations and glossary*. Cambridge.
- Gardani, Francesco. 2008. *Borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Hualde, J. I., G. Elordieta & A. Elordieta. 1994. *The Basque dialect of Lekeitio*. (Supplements of the *Anuario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»*, 34). Bilbo & Donostia.
- Hualde, J. I. & J. Ortiz de Urbina (eds.). 2003. *A grammar of Basque*. Berlin.
- Mitchelena, L. 1990. *Fonética histórica vasca*. (Anejos del *Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»*, 4). Donostia.
- Múgica, L. M. 1978. *Origen y desarrollo de la sufijación euskérica*. San Sebastián.
- Múgica, L. M. 1982. *Hitz konposatu eta eratorrien morfofonetika*. [Morphophonetics of compound and derived words.] Donostia.
- Odrizola Pereira, J. C. 2004. Verb-deriving processes in Basque. In: Oyharçabal, B. (ed.), *Inquiries into the lexicon-syntax relations in Basque* (Supplements of the *Anuario de Filología Vasca «Julio de Urquijo»*, 46), 185-222. Bilbao.
- Orpustan, J.-B. 1999. *La langue basque au Moyen Age (IX^e-XV^e siècles)*. St-Etienne-de-Baïgorri.
- Segura Munguía, S. & J. M. Etxebarria Ayesta. 2001. *Del latín al euskara / Latinetik euskarara*. Bilbao.
- Trask, L. R. 1997. *The history of Basque*. London.
- Winford, Donald. 2003. *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Malden, MA & Oxford, UK.

Prosodic accommodation in language contact: Spanish intonation in the Basque Country and Majorca.

Elordieta, Gorka and Romera, Magdalena
(University of the Basque Country/University of the Balearic Islands).

Recent studies have shown that there can be prosodic transfer from L1 to L2 (Ueyama and Jun 1998, Gut 2000, Chun 2002, Elordieta 2003, 2006, Colantoni and Gurlekian 2004, Mennen 2004, O'Rourke 2005, Raiser and Hiligsmann 2007, Trouvain and Gut 2007, Nguyễn et al. 2008, Simonet 2008, inter alia). In our paper we study a situation arising from language contact, in which speakers accommodate to a different variety of their L1 spoken as L2 in a linguistic community, a variety that shows features of the home language of that community. This would be the case of the varieties of Spanish spoken in the Basque Country and Majorca, which show intonational aspects of Basque and Majorcan Catalan, respectively. Our hypothesis is that newcomer L1 speakers of Spanish would be influenced by Basque and Catalan only indirectly, through the varieties of Spanish spoken by native speakers of those languages. The argument would be that prosodic accommodation is much easier between two varieties of the same language than between two languages. Two varieties of one language usually share the same syntax, morphology, and most of the vocabulary and segmental phonology and phonetics, and diverge in a few lexical items, some segmental phonology and phonetics, and above all, prosody and intonation. Thus, accommodating to one of the varieties necessarily implies accommodating to the prosody and intonation of that language.

In order to test this hypothesis, we set up an experiment in which we recorded four native Spanish speakers who arrived in Majorca and the Basque Country recently from monolingual areas of Spain, in two communicative situations. First, they had to maintain a semi-directed conversation in Spanish with a native speaker of Majorcan Catalan and Basque respectively. Second, they were shown a series of drawings representing scenes of a story, and they were asked to narrate the story. The speakers were selected from the most populated cities of the two regions, Bilbao (Basque Country) and Palma (Majorca), 2 males and 2 females in each city between the ages of 18 and 25, all of them university students. We expect that in the first situation the native speakers of Spanish will accommodate intonationally to the variety of Spanish of their Basque and Majorcan interlocutors, whereas in the second situation they will maintain to a higher extent the prosody of their native variety.

References:

- Chun, D. M. (2002). *Discourse intonation in L2 – From theory and research to practice*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Colantoni, L., and J. Gurlekian (2004). "Convergence and intonation: historical evidence from Buenos Aires Spanish". *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 7: 107-119.
- Elordieta, G. (2003). "The Spanish intonation of speakers of a Basque pitch-accent dialect". *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 2: 67-95.
- Elordieta, G. (2006). "Spanish pitch accent alignment by Northern Bizkaian Basque speakers". In B. Fernandez and I. Laka (eds.), *Andolin Gogoan. Essays in Honour of Profesor Eguzkitza*, 269-290. Bilbao: University of the Basque Country.
- Gut, U. (2000). *Bilingual acquisition of intonation*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Mennen, I. (2004). "Bi-directional interference in the intonation of Dutch speakers of Greek". *Journal of Phonetics* 32: 543-563.
- Nguyễn, T.A.-T., Ingram, C.L.J., and J.R. Pensalfini. (2008). "Prosodic transfer in Vietnamese acquisition of English contrastive stress patterns". *Journal of Phonetics* 36: 158-190.
- O'Rourke, E. (2005). *Intonation and language contact: A case study of two varieties of Peruvian Spanish*. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

- Rasier, L., and P. Hilgsmann. (2007). "Prosodic transfer from L1 to L2. Theoretical and methodological issues. *Nouveaux cahiers de linguistique française* 28: 41-66.
- Simonet, M. (2008). *Language contact in Majorca: An experimental sociophonetic approach*. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
- Trouvain, J., and U. Gut (eds.) (2007). *Non-native prosody: Phonetic description and teaching practice*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ueyama, M., and S.-A. Jun. (1998). "Focus realization in Japanese English and Korean English intonation". *Japanese and Korean Linguistics* 7: 629-645.

Evidential futures.

Escandell-Vidal, Victoria
(UNED - Madrid).

Asymmetries between future tense and future time reference –namely, the uses of the future with reference to the present and even to the past– are a pervasive problem in the semantic characterisation of future in many languages.

The aim of this paper is to offer an approach to the semantics of the future that can account for the multiplicity of discourse uses of future tenses in Romance languages while sticking to a monosemic hypothesis –that is, to the idea that the future has a single meaning, which underlies all its possible discursive uses. The adequate solution, I argue, has to be developed in terms of evidentiality (Aikhenvald 2004).

Several researchers have stated the relevance of evidentiality-related notions to the understanding of the modal systems of Romance languages (Dendale & Tasmowski 1994). Squartini (2001) discusses the evidential uses of the futures and conditionals in Romance as constituting a micro-system of evidential distinctions based on the contrast between inferred and second-hand information.

I want to take these proposals one step further and argue that evidentiality is not merely a convenient way to account for a particular family of uses, but the adequate dimension to characterise the semantic contribution of future tenses. My starting assumption is that the semantics of verbal morphology is procedural (i.e., encoding constraints on the inferential development of the logical form, Wilson & Sperber 1993) and underspecified (i.e., abstract and not completely determining the interpretation).

My proposal is that the future encodes an instruction to interpret the propositional content as a deduction of the speaker, i.e., the only available source is the speaker her/himself. The different interpretations are the result of inferentially combining this encoded procedural instruction with other linguistic (*Aktionsart*, temporal and aspectual adverbials...) and non-linguistic factors (situation, world knowledge...). The first obvious implicature is that the speaker is not in a position to assert the propositional content. The possible worlds in which this can happen fall into two main classes: those that are in a different time –hence there is no access to them because they are in the future– and those who are in different space –so they represent a possible, though unknown, alternative to the real world: temporal and conjectural readings are different inferential developments of a basic evidential semantics. Thus, a simple and economic explanation can be offered along these lines to account for the whole range of uses.

This proposal has additional advantages. First, Romance languages can be seen as illustrating different stages in the process to establishing evidential distinctions as the basic semantic content of the future tenses. Second, the fact that there are many concurrent ways to express future time can be easily explained if the future tense is not specialised in indicating temporal reference. This also explains why there is a consistent decrease of the future time values in favour of conjectural readings, as can be observed in diachronic statistical analysis. Finally, studies on acquisition show the priority of conjectural readings over future reference interpretations, a finding which is consistent across languages.

References:

- AIKHENVALD, A.Y. (2004): *Evidentiality*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DENDALE, P. & L. TASMOWSKI (eds.)(1994): *Les sources du savoir et leurs marques linguistiques. Langue française*, 102.
- SQUARTINI, M. (2001): "The Internal Structure of Evidentiality in Romance", *Studies in Language*, 25/2, pp. 297-334.
- WILSON, D. & D. SPERBER (1993): "Linguistic Form and Relevance", *Lingua*, 90, pp. 1-25.

Reconstructing Grammatical Relations.

Eythorsson, Thórhallur & Barðdal, Jóhanna
(University of Iceland & University of Bergen).

In historical-comparative research of today, syntactic reconstruction, as opposed to morphological and lexical reconstruction, is at best a highly controversial enterprise and at worst a stranded endeavor (cf. Jeffers 1976, Lightfoot 1979 and later work, Watkins 1964, 1976, Winter 1984). In a recent work, however, Barðdal and Eythorsson (2010), argue for the revival of

syntactic reconstruction, based on form and meaning. Such a resurgence of syntactic reconstruction is made possible by the development of the theory and framework of Construction Grammar. On this approach, complex syntactic structures are regarded as form–function correspondences, and are as such a legitimate object of the Comparative Method. Given the legitimacy of syntactic reconstruction, and hence the possible reconstruction of argument structure constructions, a major question arises as to whether grammatical relations are reconstructable for earlier undocumented language periods. In order to engage in such an enterprise, the constructions of each daughter language that single out the subject and the object relation must be identified. Thereafter, these constructions must be compared across the daughters, in order to reveal whether they can be reconstructed or not for the proto-branch of the language family. Given that a subset of the subject and object-test constructions can be reconstructed, the grammatical relations follow directly from these. In other words, if the constructions singling out grammatical relations can be reconstructed for a proto-branch, then the grammatical relations following from these are also reconstructable for that proto-branch. As such Construction Grammar not only contributes to the reconstruction of syntax, but also to the reconstruction of the grammar of proto-languages. In order to illustrate our methodology, we will attempt a reconstruction of the subject function in Proto-Germanic, based on the subject properties found in the earliest Germanic daughter languages.

References:

- Barðdal, J. and Th. Eythórsson. 2010. *Reconstructing Syntax: Construction Grammar and the Comparative Method*. To appear in *Sign-Based Construction Grammar*. Eds. Hans C. Boas and Ivan A. Sag. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Jeffers, R.J. 1976. Syntactic change and syntactic reconstruction. *Current Progress in Historical Linguistics: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Historical Linguistics*, 1–15. Ed. W. M. Christie, Jr. Amsterdam.
- Lightfoot, D. 1979. *Principles of Diachronic Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watkins, C. 1964. Preliminaries to the reconstruction of Indo-European sentence structure. In *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Linguists*, ed. H.G. Lunt, 1035–1045. The Hague: Mouton.
- Watkins, C. 1976. Toward Proto-Indo-European syntax: Problems and pseudoproblems. In *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistics Society: Papers from the parasession on diachronic syntax*, 305–326. Ed. S. B. Steever, C.A. Walker and S. S. Mufwene. Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society.
- Winter, W. 1984. Reconstructional comparative linguistics and the reconstruction of the syntax of undocumented stages in the development of languages and language families. In *Historical Syntax*, 613–625. Ed. J. Fisiak. The Hague: Mouton.

Degrees of clause cohesion: external and internal relativization in Chiapas Zoque.

Faarlund, Jan Terje
(University of Oslo).

The variety of Zoque spoken in Chiapas, Mexico exhibits various degrees of interclausal cohesion: simple juxtaposition, coordination with *i* ‘and’ (from the Spanish *y*), subordination with native or Spanish complementizers (the latter mainly in the informal spoken register), and relativized or “participial” constructions, which are the ones with the strongest morphosyntactic cohesion, and which are not based on a Spanish pattern.

The focus of this paper will be the Chiapas Zoque relative construction, which belongs to the category of “participial” constructions. Relative clauses are formed by adding the relativizer *-pA* to the finite verb. Zoque is an ergative language; the ergative case is marked with the clitic element *-’is*, while the absolutive case is zero marked. When either the head noun (and the whole relative construction) or the relativized phrase is in the ergative, a confusing pattern of case marking details can be observed: an ergative head noun may or may not be marked ergative, and the ergative may even be marked on the relativizer added to the verb. This contradicting pattern can be resolved if we assume that Zoque combines internal and external relativization. Cross-linguistically and typologically, a distinction can be made between external and internal relativization (Bianchi 1999, Cole 1987, Cole & Hermon 1994, Åfarli 1994). The former type corresponds to constructions with a nominal head and a clausal modifier, where the relativized element inside the clause is invisible or represented by a relative pronoun. The latter type corresponds to constructions where the relativized element is overtly present inside the clause. In a way, internal relativization yields a less dependent clause, since it is in a sense a complete clause, with all the sentence elements, including the relativized one, included within it. Chiapas Zoque differs from most other languages in allowing both of those relativization strategies. This has interesting consequences for the case marking of the relativized element, and for word order. In the paper I will present and analyze data from Zoque, showing that the position of the ergative clitic depends not only on whether the matrix or the relativized nominal is a transitive subject, but also on the relativization strategy used, whether it is external or internal.

Relative clauses of both types, as well as similar adverbial clauses, exhibit the strongest degree of clause cohesion. A weaker degree is represented by complementizer clauses, some of which are introduced by complementizers borrowed from Spanish. Thus it seems that a weaker cohesion type has become more prevalent in the language under the influence of a European language.

References:

- Åfarli, T.A. 1994. A promotion analysis of restrictive relative clauses. *The Linguistic Review* 11:81-100.

- Bianchi, V. 1999. *Consequences of Antisymmetry. Headed Relative Clauses*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
 Cole, P. 1987. The structure of internally headed relative clauses. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 5:288-302.
 Cole, P. & G. Hermon. 1994. Is there LF *Wh*-movement? *Linguistic Inquiry* 25:239-262.

Can the Pidgin be ‘Reborn’? Language Contacts in the Russian-Chinese Border Region.

Fedorova, Kapitolina
 (European University at St. Petersburg).

For a long period in history the border between Russian Empire and China was a place of constant and intensive cultural and language contacts. Since the Treaty of Kyakhta (1727) all trade between these two countries had to be carried out in Kyakhta, small city founded for this purpose. This centralization of contacts resulted in emerging of trade pidgin, so called Kyakhta language, or Russian-Chinese Pidgin. Then, after the liberalization of Russia-Chinese trade in 1860, this contact language spread along the border becoming the main medium of communication with Russians not only for Chinese people working in Russia but also for many aboriginal people of Siberia and the Far East.

In the end of 1930th the border between China and USSR was closed, a lot of Chinese were deported from the border regions, and any contacts became impossible. Russian-Chinese Pidgin passed out of use and was soon forgotten. Most of linguistic descriptions are based on written sources, mainly memoirs and travelers’ notes although some field materials were recorded as late as the beginning of the 1990th. After Perestroika in the Soviet Union the trade on the Russian-Chinese border started again, with a lot of seasonal migration between two countries. In communication with each other Russian and Chinese speakers use different language variants and those used in closed contacts between co-workers or business partners resemble linguistically Russian-Chinese Pidgin of the past. New contact variant shares with the old one such features as using imperatives as a basic verb form (‘Ya pishi’ – ‘I write-*Imperative*’ – instead of ‘Ya pishu’ – ‘I write-*I pers.sing.*’) or nouns as adjectives (‘Chita-firma’ – ‘Chita-*noun* company’ instead of ‘Chitinskaia firma’ – ‘Chita-*adjective* company’). What is more, the language attitudes of speakers and sociolinguistic situation in the border regions now and in the past are similar in some aspects which give researchers unique chance to witness the ‘second birth’ of a pidgin in the similar linguistic and social conditions.

The paper presents the results of field research conducted in Zabaikalskii region of Russia and the Chinese city of Manchuria in 2006–2009. They are compared with the data on the ‘old’ Russian-Chinese Pidgin and Russian foreigner talk register. The possibility of the ‘second birth’ of Russian-Chinese Pidgin is discussed with the stress on social and sociolinguistic situation on the Russian-Chinese border.

Quirky subjects in unaccusative constructions in Romance.

Fernández Soriano, Olga & Mendikoetxea, Amaya
 (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid).

The type of argument structure variation that allows additional noncore arguments is a pervasive property of human language (see e.g. Pykkänen 2008). In this paper we argue that Romance languages like Spanish have constructions with dative subjects in pseudo-intransitive or unaccusative contexts, whose properties are parallel to constructions with quirky (locative or dative) subjects in languages like Georgian, Icelandic and many others (see Sigurdsson 1996, Pykkänen 2008, McGinnis 1998, 2000, among others). Our hypothesis is that structures such as (1) are the result of adding a dative subject *A Juan* to a typically unaccusative structure like that in (2). Following Levin & Rappaport Hovav, sentences like (2) are derived from transitive structures expressing externally caused change of state events (3). Mendikoetxea (2000) claims that these structures are similar to true reflexives, but express stative causation: the cause is interpreted as property of the internal argument, which is understood as both (stative) cause and theme. Syntactically, they contain an empty pronominal subject in the specifier of the *vP*, so they are basically dyadic. The clitic *se* is analysed along with other person clitics in Romance, like those in reflexive structures, and heads a functional projection immediately above *T(ense)* (see Mendikoetxea 2008).

As for (1), Fernández Soriano (1999a) has argued that the dative element *A Juan* has properties typical of an external argument, though not interpreted as an agent, so that (1) and (3) are, in fact, comparable. However, the two structures differ crucially in the checking/agreement operations established between functional heads and the nominal arguments. In (3) an agreement relation is established between *Juan* and the functional head involved in checking nominative and subject agreement features (*T(ense)*). In (1), however, that head enters checking operations with both the dative element and the internal argument in the *VP*, which never externalizes. Thus it can be realized as a bare plural (4a), as opposed to the theme argument of typical unaccusative constructions, which must externalize and cannot be a bare noun (4b). Verbal agreement is the result of the agreement relation established between *T/V* and the internal argument. The syntactic properties of these constructions are the result of the complex agreement operations between the nominal arguments - the dative subject, the internal argument and the empty pronominal in *Spec,v* - and the functional heads *T*, *se* and *v*, as well as the features of *V*.

- (1) **A Juan** *se le* ha roto el vaso
 To Juan-DAT *se* CL-dat.sg has-3sg broken the glass
 (lit: 'To Juan the glass has broken = 'Juan has (unintentionally) broken the glass.')
- (2) *Se* ha roto el vaso
se has-3sg broken the glass
 'The glass has broken.'
- (3) Juan ha roto el vaso
 Juan has-3sg broken the glass.
 'Juan has broken the glass.'
- (4) a. **A Juan** *se le* rompen vasos continuamente,
 To Juan *se* CL-dat.sg break-3pl glasses continuously
 'Juan is always breaking glasses (unintentionally).'
- b. **Se* rompen vasos
se break-3pl glasses

References:

- Fernández Soriano, O. (1999a). 'Datives in constructions with unaccusative *se*', *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics*, 7, 89-105
- Fernández Soriano, O. (1999b). 'Two Types of Impersonal Sentences in Spanish: Locative and *Dative* Subjects', *Syntax*, 2, 2:101-140.
- Levin, B. & M. Rappaport-Hovav (1995). *Unaccusativity at the Lexical Semantics-Syntax Interface*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- McGinnis, M. (1998). 'Case and locality in I-syntax: Evidence from Georgian'. In Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect, ed. Heidi Harley. MITWPL 32. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 139-158.
- McGinnis, M. (2000). 'Reflexive clitics and the specifiers of vP'. In Papers from the UPenn/MIT Round Table on the Lexicon, ed. Liina Pykkänen, Heidi Harley, and Angeliek van Hout. MITWPL 35. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 137-160.
- Mendikoetxea, A. (2000). 'Relaciones de Interficie: los Verbos de Cambio de Estado', *Cuadernos de Lingüística VII*, Instituto Universitario Ortega y Gasset, 125-144.
- Mendikoetxea, A. (2008). Clitic impersonal constructions in Romance: Syntactic features and semantic interpretation. In A. Siewierska (ed) *Impersonal Constructions in Grammatical Theory*. Special Issue of the Transactions of the Philological Society, 106, 2, 290-336. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sigurdsson, H. (1996). «Icelandic finite verb agreement». *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 57: 1-46
- Pykkänen, L. (2008). *Introducing Arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press,

The Finnish Partitive revisited: a discourse-cognitive approach, in comparison with some other Finno-Ugric and Indo-European languages.

Fernandez-Vest, M.M. Jocelyne
 (C.N.R.S. - Universités Paris 3 & Paris 4).

The Finnish Partitive (FIP) is considered a core subject of analysis and debate within Finno-Ugric studies : a pivot of the grammatical structure, clearly identified as a separate case ending, it resists attempts to be assigned a syntactic or semantic case function. The main characteristics of FIP is its meaning of unboundedness : an indefinite quantity, number or matter, or a situation presented as lacking an end point. The FIP is most generally used as the case of the object (O), which depends on at least 3 reasons : 1/ the O is automatically marked by a FIP if the sentence is semantically negative or dubitative ; 2/ FIP can express that the referent of the O can be divided and is quantitatively indefinite ; 3/ the sentence itself can be aspectually unbounded (ISK 2004 :1186).

Many occurrences of FIP, principally aspectual, challenge the norms of perfectiveness vs. imperfectiveness in correlation with the aktionsart carried by the sentence, e.g. *Kannoin korja* (FIP) « I carried the basket » is normally descriptive or reserved to a continuous/simultaneous action (see the French imparfait), but can in a precise context express a perfective even though durative action. A cotextual/contextual knowledge is necessary to interpret this polyvalence correctly (Kangasmaa-Minn 1984, 1993).

In order to problematize further the polyvalent uses of FIP O, we have collected from a textual corpus of narratives and dialogues occurrences of resultative verbs which can, under certain conditions, take a FIP O. The diversity of factors which contribute towards the choice of the FIP can be analyzed in terms of cognitive processes underlying the aspectual constructions (see Desclés & Guentcheva, to appear). Usually approached through word order (Huomo 1993, Fernandez-Vest 2007), the contrasts of Information Structure will be enlightened by the thematic role of FIP, marginally as subject (see Helasvuo 2001), mainly as O.

A comparison will be made between A/ Finnish and its close Finnic relative, Estonian (see Sulkala 1993), B/ Finnish and

another neighboring Finno-Ugric language, Northern Sami, which has lost the partitive, and C/ with a Romance language, French, where the partitive article corresponds a limited number of the FIP uses. The role of FIP for the information structuring of longer utterances will be apprehended through the variations of translation in the different languages : fictive dialogues (novels, theater) and how the translator 1/ transfers a selection of the combined features of FIP into a partitive lacking language, 2/ tries to reconstruct a difference of topicality or definiteness when FIP has neutralized it (e.g. in negative sentences, see Fernandez-Vest 2009), 3/ makes explicit with FIP a polarity which was only latent in the other language.

As a continuation of a Finnish pioneer work, which has recently demonstrated that it is possible to define the conditions of choice of the object's case as precisely for FIP as for the accusative (Askonen 2001), classifying crosslinguistically the equivalents and/or the substitutes of FIP will be our contribution to a typological theoretizing of Partitive in natural discourse.

References:

- Askonen Ebba, 2001, *Objektin aspektuaalinen sijanvalinta*, Oulun yliopisto, Suomen ja saamen kielen ja logopedian laitoksen julkaisu – Publications of the Department of Finnish, Saami and Logopedics, 19.
- Desclés Jean-Pierre & Guentcheva Zlatka, to appear, *Aspect. III. Classification aspectuelle des schèmes sémantico-cognitifs*, Ms
- Fernandez-Vest M.M. Jocelyne, 2007, « Word Order in context : Information Structure, a revolutionary approach to Uralic typology ? », in M. Csepregi & V. Masonen (sz.), *Grammatika és kontextus új szempontok az uráli nyelvek kutatásában. Grammar and context – new approaches to the Uralic languages*”, Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Finnugor Tanszék, Budapest, 2004, április 4-7, Budapest, Urálistikai tanulmányok, 17, 88-100.
- Fernandez-Vest M.M. Jocelyne, 2009, « Typologie de la négation dans quelques langues ouraliennes nord-occidentales: degrés de phrasticité, degrés d'oralité », in Franck Floricic et Renée Lambert-Brétière (éds.), *Typo 4 – La négation et les énoncés non susceptibles d'être niés*, Paris, Presses du CNRS, 177-196.
- Helasvuo Marja-Liisa, 2001, *Syntax in the making : The emergence of syntactic units in Finnish conversation*, Amsterdam, Benjamins.
- Huumo Tuomas, 1993, « Suomen ja viron kontrastiivista sanajärjestelyvertailua », in V. Yli-Vakkuri (toim.), *Studia comparativa linguarum orbis Maris Baltici 1*, Turku, Turun yliopiston suomalaisen ja yleisen kielitieteen laitoksen julkaisu, 43, 97-158.
- ISK = *Iso suomen kielioppi*, 2004, Auli Hakulinen & Maria Vilku & Riitta Korhonen & Vesa Koivisto & Tarja-Riitta Heinonen & Irja Alho, Helsinki, SKS.
- Kangasmaa-Minn Eeva, 1984, « Tense, aspect and Aktionsart in Finno-Ugric », in C. de Groot & H. Tommola (eds.), *Aspect Bound*, Dordrecht, Foris Publication, 77-93.
- Kangasmaa-Minn Eeva, 1993, « Aspektista ja sen sukulaisilmiöistä suomalais-ugrilaisissa kielissä », in V. Yli-Vakkuri (toim.), *Studia comparativa linguarum orbis Maris Baltici 1*, 13-23.
- Sulkala Helena, 1996, « Expression of aspectual meanings in Finnish and Estonian », in M. Erelt (ed.), *Estonian : Typological studies I*, Tartu, Department of Estonian of the University of Tartu, 165-225.

The Charles V corpus: pre-processing of sound files and automatic parameter extraction.

Ferragne, Emmanuel
(Université Paris 7 - Diderot).

It is widely acknowledged that large-scale corpora have become indispensable tools in linguistic studies. The advent of inexpensive personal computers with adequate microprocessor performance and memory specifications has made it possible for researchers to easily handle large amounts of audio data. In addition, many software programs for speech processing are now available, to the extent that it no longer takes a trained engineer or computer scientist to perform basic signal processing operations. This state of affairs has led to a situation where the linguists who are interested in corpus-based research are required to carry out a vast number of tasks bearing no direct relation with traditional linguistics. Among these tasks is the pre-processing of sound files (noise cancellation, filtering, amplitude normalization, etc.) and the automatic extraction of acoustic parameters.

Based on my experience with the pre-processing of the Charles V corpus – which is an audio database of French learners of English collected by our team – the aim of this presentation is to demonstrate in practice 1) how to process sound files with popular software (Praat, SoX, and Matlab), and 2) how to compute estimates of long-term acoustic properties such as fundamental frequency (central tendency and spread).

The first part of the presentation shows how to diagnose the presence of unwanted noise in the signal, how to get rid of it, and why removing all types of noise is not always desirable. The various (basic) techniques of amplitude normalization (and compression) will also be covered and, here again, I will try to illustrate the necessity of a trade-off between noise cancellation – which generates distortion – and preserving the original acoustic features of the signal. The mathematical details will be left out, and the presentation will rely on visualizing the signal.

The second part will be devoted to exemplifying the long-term acoustic parameters that can be automatically extracted prior to segmentation. Learner corpora constitute a special case of speech corpora in that automatic methods such as

speech recognition cannot be directly applied to them. Speech recognition models are generally trained on native speech; they are therefore inadequate in our case because both the acoustic templates (i.e. the phonetic realization) and the language model (i.e. which encodes, for instance, the probability that the next word will be x) are bound to exhibit great mismatches with learner speech. Thus, given that no reliable automatic phonetic segmentation can be obtained with such methods, it is crucial that one should be able to form an opinion on their data before launching into the time-consuming task of manual segmentation.

Pre-aspiration of intervocalic voiceless coronal stops in Australasian Englishes: an acoustic and articulatory study.

Fiasson, Romain

(CNRS, Université de Provence, University of Canterbury).

Pre-aspiration is considered to be a rare phenomenon across the world's languages [1,2] although it has been reported in Newcastle English [3], Middlesbrough English [4] and more recently in New Zealand English (NZE) [5]. These studies on English were acoustically based. During an electropalatographic (EPG) pilot experiment in which an Australian English (AusE) speaker participated, tokens of pre-aspirated /t/s were also elicited and to our knowledge these tokens constitute the first articulatory data available on pre-aspiration.

This paper aims at a better characterisation of the phonetic properties of pre-aspiration that accompanies intervocalic voiceless coronal stops in Australasian Englishes (AusE and NZE) and presents the results of two experiments. The first experiment investigates pre-aspirated and post-aspirated /t/ found in wordlist data obtained from NZE speakers. We compared pre-aspiration and post-aspiration in terms of duration and acoustic intensity and found that post-aspiration was four times longer than pre-aspiration and that there was no significant difference between pre-aspiration and post-aspiration in terms of acoustic intensity (a two-sided signed rank test returned $p > .2$). The second experiment investigates the location of noise generation. Acoustic and EPG data were obtained from an AusE speaker, 45 intervocalic voiceless coronal stops identified as pre-aspirated and post-aspirated were analysed and 2 EPG frames per consonant were extracted (one at the mid-point of pre-aspiration and one at the mid-point of post-aspiration). We found that in most cases pre-aspiration mirrors post-aspiration in that the oral cavity is relatively open, thus allowing the air to flow out freely. Therefore the noise can only be generated at the glottis. However in a few cases 'pre-aspiration' noise is generated as a result of close approximation between the tongue and the palate when the articulators are on their way to closure. Thus for these tokens frication rather than pre-aspiration is involved.

This paper adds to the literature on the phonetics of pre-aspiration, and presents the first articulatory study on this phenomenon.

References:

- P. Ladefoged and I. Maddieson (1996), *Sounds of the World's Languages*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- D. Silverman (2003), On the Rarity of Pre-Aspirated Stops, *Journal of Linguistics* 39: 575–598.
- P. Foulkes, G. Docherty, and D. Watt (1999), Tracking the emergence of structured variation – realisations of (t) by Newcastle children, *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 7: 1-25.
- M. Jones and C. Llamas (2003), Fricated pre-aspirated /t/ in Middlesbrough English: An acoustic study. In *Proc. of the 15th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, Barcelona, Spain.
- R. Fiasson (2009), Intervocalic-/t/ in New Zealand English, *PAC workshop: models, variation and phonological copora*, Aix-en-Provence, France.

Against unidirectionality in grammaticalization: the influence of the grammatical system and analogy in processes of language change.

Fischer, Olga

(University of Amsterdam).

In order to explain rather than describe how and why language changes, historical linguists should not only consider what happens at the language output level but what speaker-listeners do at the processing level. It should therefore be taken into account what the language-specific system of grammar is within which the speaker/listener operates. In my presentation I will argue that analogy as an important principle in grammar formation (cf. Slobin 1985, Tomasello 2003) is the main mechanism in grammaticalization and in change in general, from a processing point of view.

I will illustrate the workings of analogy in a number of cases which have traditionally been interpreted as grammaticalization in the history of English. It will be argued that the working of analogy is likely in these cases because there has not been a unidirectional development within one construction but there has been a multiplicity of source constructions, which influenced one another and thus gave direction to the change.

My first example concerns a “syntactic blend”. It involves the development of the epistemic modal in English which can be seen as a blend of Old English monoclausal deontic modal usage, involving constructions with an agentive subject, and a biclausal impersonal modal usage. I will argue that due to changes in the grammatical system of English (the loss of case and the rise of a structural subject), the two usages collapsed in Middle English so that the epistemic modal construction could now occur in the same syntactic form as that of the deontic modal.

Another example where two lineages come together, involves the development of pragmatic or discourse markers in English. Within the grammaticalization model, it is usually proposed that the pragmatic marker developed out of manner adjuncts via a ‘sentence adverbial’ stage (cf. the cline proposed in Traugott 1995, Tabor and Traugott 1998). It will be argued here that there were two pathways which, due to word order developments in the grammatical system of English, could collapse: the construction with a reduced or ellipted clause, and the construction with a manner adjunct in initial position (cf. Noel 2005, Fischer 2007).

Finally, a regular grammaticalization trajectory may be “thrown off course” due to the fact that during the layering stage the older form regains new life because of changes taking place elsewhere in the system. This has happened to the development of the infinitival marker *to* in English. *To* did not grammaticalize further, as it did in Dutch and German (with *te* and *zu* respectively) due to the arrival of new types of infinitival constructions, which themselves were the result of language contact and word order changes (cf. Fischer 1997).

References:

- Fischer, O. (1997). 'The Grammaticalisation of Infinitival *to* in English Compared with German and Dutch', in Hickey, R. and Puppel, S. (eds), *Language History and Linguistic Modelling. A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. I: 265-80.
- Fischer, O. (2007) *Morphosyntactic Change. Functional and Formal Perspectives*. Oxford: OUP.
- Noël, D. (2005). 'The Productivity of a "Source of Information" Construction: Or, where Grammaticalization Theory and Construction Grammar Meet'. Paper given at the Fitigra Conference, Leuven, Belgium, February 2005.
- Slobin, D. I. (1985). 'Crosslinguistic Evidence for the Language-Making Capacity', in D. I. Slobin (ed.), *The Crosslinguistic Study of Language Acquisition. Vol. 2. Theoretical Issues*. Mahwah N.J.: Erlbaum Associates. 1158-256.
- Tabor, W. and Traugott, E. C. (1998). 'Structural Scope Expansion and Grammaticalization', in Giacalone Ramat, A. and Hopper, P.J. (eds), *The Limits of Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 229-72.
- Tomasello, M. (2003). *Constructing a Language. A Usage-Based Theory of Language Acquisition*. Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Traugott, E. C. (1995). 'The Role of the Development of Discourse Markers in a Theory of Grammaticalization'. Paper presented at ICHL 12, Manchester University. (www.stanford.edu/~traugott/traugott.html)

Complement Clauses in Nakh-Daghestanian.

Forker, Diana

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

This talk will analyze complement clauses in a number of Nakh-Daghestanian languages (Chechen, Avar, Godoberi, Hinuq, Icar Dargwa, Lezgian, Archi, and Tsakhur; the data come from own fieldwork and written sources). I will concentrate on the six most frequent types of complement taking predicates (*must, can/be able, begin, want, see* and *know*) and analyze the constructions according to the notions “balancing” and “deranking” as employed by Cristofaro (2003). Balancing complement constructions consist of structurally equivalent verb forms as could occur in independent clauses, whereas deranking refers to the lack of verbal categorical distinctions and/or use of special marking in the complement clause. It seems that not all Nakh-Daghestanian languages follow the “Complement Deranking Hierarchy” that Cristofaro (2003: 125) posits. For instance, Hinuq uses participles in complements of verbs of knowledge (1a), but finite verb forms in complements of perception verbs (1b). However, the hierarchy ranks perception > knowledge, and deranked verb forms used at any point of the hierarchy must be used at all points to the left.

(1) a. Hinuq

<i>dīž</i>	<i>r-ik-o</i>	<i>[mešīː</i>	<i>bex</i>	<i>r-acco]</i>
I.DAT	V-see-PRS	calf.ERG	grass(V)	V-eat.PRS
'I see that the calf eats grass.'				

b. Hinuq

<i>dīž</i>	<i>r-eq ʔi-yo</i>	<i>[xan-i</i>	<i>t ʔek-be</i>	<i>t ʔot ʔer-ʔos-ʔi]</i>
I.DAT	V-know-PRS	Khan-ERG	book-PL	read-PTCP-ABST
'I know that the khan reads a book.'				

In the second half of my talk I will focus on the agreement of the complement taking verb, a particularly interesting feature in Nakh-Daghestanian. A great number of verbs in most of the Nakh-Daghestanian languages show agreement with the absolutive argument of their clause. Since complement clauses are clauses that function as arguments of main predicates

(Noonan 1985), and are therefore in the position of absolutive arguments, the question is what agreement in the main predicate this triggers. There are basically two possibilities. The main verb agrees either with the entire complement clause which functions as its absolutive argument (2a), or it agrees with the absolutive argument of the complement clause (2b). The first construction has been given the name “Plain Local Agreement”, the second is called “Long Distance Agreement” (cf. Polinsky & Potsdam 2001).

(2) a. Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999: 139)

<i>ilu-ʃi</i>	<i>[quči-be</i>	<i>r-al-i]</i> _N	<i>q'ʷara ʃ-anta</i>	<i>bu-k'-a</i>
mother-DAT	book-PL	NPL-read-INF	want-CVB	N-be-AOR

‘Mother wanted to read books.’

b. Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999: 140)

<i>ilu-ʃi</i>	<i>[quči-be</i>	<i>r-al-i]</i>	<i>q'ʷara ʃ-anta</i>	<i>ru-k'-a</i>
mother-DAT	book-PL	NPL-read-INF	want-CVB	NPL-be-AOR

‘Mother wanted to read books.’

Not only the syntactic, but also the pragmatic properties of both agreement patterns will be discussed, because the choice between (2a) and (2b) seems to be determined by information structure.

References:

- Cristofaro, Sonia (2003) *Subordination*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin (1999) ‘Long-Distance Agreement in Godoberi (Daghestanian) Complement Clauses.’ *Folia Linguistica* 33, 131-151.
- Noonan, Michael (1985) ‘Complementation’. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.) *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 2: Complex Constructions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 42-140.
- Polinsky, Maria and Eric Potsdam (2001) ‘Long-Distance Agreement and Topic in Tsez.’ *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 19, 583-646.
- Polinsky, Maria and Eric Potsdam (2002) ‘Backward Control.’ *Linguistic Inquiry* 33(2), 245-282.

Copying and cognates in the Balkan Sprachbund.

Friedman, Viktor A.
(University of Chicago).

Rather than pursuing constraints on “borrowability”, we need to look at what does in fact get copied, and the social context of the copying. I shall examine two situations where inflectional morphology is copied across language boundaries, one where it is replaced by a copied analytism that is a cognate archaism, and one where establishing copying as the source of innovation is moot.

1) In dialects of Romani in Bulgaria, contrary to the expected hierarchy, Turkish inflectional morphology is more readily copied than Turkish derivational morphology. In these dialects, the Turkish 2pl marker *-Vz* is copied onto the Romani 2pl preterite marker *-an* (> *-anVs*) and then spreads to the Romani 1 pl pret marker *-am* (> *-amVs*; Turkish 1 pl pret marker in contact dialects is *-Vk*; Elšík and Maras 2006), but the widely copied Turkish derivational affixes *-cV*, *-IVk*, and *-IV*, which become productive in the other Balkan languages, do not get attached to native Romani roots (RMS 2001-2005). This is consistent with the grammatical compartmentalization of Romani (Friedman 2001), a language whose speakers are always both multilingual and socially marginalized, and contradicts formalist approaches such as Meyers-Scotton (2002).

2) The oft-cited copying of the 1&2sg present inflections *-m* and *-š*, respectively, from Macedonian into Megleno-Romanian (Weinreich 1953, Thompson 2001), when analyzed in the context of the complete Megleno-Romanian verbal system combined with the data on the villages where the phenomenon actually occurs (Capidan 1925, 1928, Atanasov 2002) and the Macedonian dialects that are the actual source of contact (Ivanov 1932), argues just as strongly for a possible internally motivated explanation.

3) The Albanian 3sg admirative present morpheme *-ka* is copied into the Frasherote Aromanian dialect of Bela di Supra, thus creating a new grammatical category in that dialect. Copying of nonconfirmative markers is attested elsewhere (Cypriot Greek, Futadzhi Romani) arguing for its saliency, but the phenomenon did not spread to the Mbalote dialect, spoken in that same village, owing to social distinctions that stigmatized Frasherote.

4) A shift from inflection to analytism that results in an Indo-European archaism becoming an innovation in Macedonian is the copying of the Albanian vocative marker *O* (long, with rising intonation) to replace inflected vocatives. At work here are social attitudes relating to politeness and covert prestige.

I shall conclude that the genealogical/areal divide, which is a useful heuristic device, must nonetheless be situated in the historical continuum that it is intended to elucidate but at times obfuscates. Recent work in anthropological linguistics and sociolinguistics (Enfield 2005) demonstrates the vital importance of social situatedness and emergent processes in understanding language both as it is and as it was. The historical accident that enabled both Indo-European and Balkan

linguistics to emerge as the earliest examples on each side of that divide now needs to be repositioned without losing its historical explanatory value, and this paper contributes to such repositioning.

References:

- Atanasov, P. 2002. *Meglenoromâna astăzi*. Bucharesy.
 Capidan, Th. 1925. *Meglenoromânii I*. Bucharesy.
 Capidan, Th. 1928. *Meglenoromânii II*. Bucharest.
 Elšík, V., and Y. Matras. 2006. *Markedness and Language Change: The Romani sample*. Berlin.
 Enfield, N.J. 2005. Areal Linguistics and Mainland Southeast Asia. *Annual Review of Anthropology*. 34.181-206.
 Friedman, V.A. 2001. Romani Multilingualism in its Balkan Context. *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung*, 54. 146-159.
 Ivanov, I. 1932. *Gevgeliskijat govor*. Sofia.
 Meyers-Scotton, C. 2002. *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual encounters and grammatical outcomes*. Oxford.
 RMS. 2001-2005. *Romani Morpho-Syntactic Database*, University of Manchester, Yaron Matras and Viktor Elšík. (The material in this database has been gathered on the basis of a standard questionnaire. The database can be accessed at <<http://romani.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/rms/>>.)
 Thomason, S. G. 2001. *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Washington, DC.
 Weinreich, U. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. The Hague.

NB The Data for points 3 and 4 and part of point 1 come from fieldwork.

Multiple sources for the German scandal construction.

Gaeta, Livio
 (University of Naples Federico II).

Recently, the word scandal has been used in association with the following German construction (cf. Vogel 2009):

- (1) *Karl bedauert, es nicht verhindert₃ haben₁ zu können₂.*
 Karl regret:PRES.3SG it not prevent:PSTPTC have:INF to can:INF
 'Karl regrets to have not been able to prevent it'.

The scandal is given by the fact that no single piece of the non-finite verbal complex is logically justified. In fact, the participle *verhindert* is unexpected instead of the infinitive; moreover, the infinitive *haben* appears in an unexpected place with regard to the normal German verb-final linearization; finally, the infinitive *können* occurs instead of an expected participle, which is furthermore placed in an unexpected place. Notice that the logical sequence [...] *verhindern₃ gekonnt₂ zu haben₁* is also attested even though less frequently than the scandal construction.

However, this way of seeing the scandal is not entirely correct. In fact, German modals, and more in general the so-called Acl-verbs, also display the surprising occurrence of an infinitive instead of a past participle when they are used in the perfect construction:

- (2) *Maria bedauert, dass Karl es nicht hat₁ verhindern₃ können₂.*
 Maria regret:PRES.3SG that Karl it not have:PRES.3SG prevent:INF can:INF
 'Maria regrets that Karl could not prevent it'.

Moreover, when such a substitutive infinitive occurs, the linearization within the verbal complex deviates from what is normally observed in that the finite verb opens the verbal complex instead of closing it. Thus, the scandal is not limited to the specific sequence in (1), but is fairly widespread among the German verbal complexes.

In the paper, it will be argued that the scandal construction results from the parallel development of two different grammaticalization processes. On the one hand, the grammaticalization of the perfect construction in late Old High German / early Middle High German was the source of the substitutive infinitives, which arose as a sort of side-effect (cf. Gaeta 2008, to appear).

On the other, this development was interwoven with the parallel grammaticalization of the spatial preposition *zu* into a complementizer, similar to what happened to its English cognate *to* (cf. Haspelmath 1989, Gaeta 1997, Abraham 2004). Notice that by virtue of the verb-final character of German the preposition *zu* turned out to systematically occupy the penult position within a verbal complex: [V_x ... V₂ zu V₁]. Furthermore, the perfect construction displaying substitutive infinitive characterizes only those verbal complexes which did not contain the preposition *zu*:

- (3) *Maria bedauert, dass Karl nicht geschafft₂ hat₁, zu kommen₃.*
 Maria regret:PRES.3SG that Karl not manage:PSTPTC have:PRES.3SG to come:INF
 'Maria regrets that Karl did not manage to come'.

What is relevant for our purposes is that the multiple sources provided recurrent surface patterns which were taken to be more reliable than what the logical combination of the single pieces of the verbal complex could have given rise to. Notice that the scandal sequence in (1) runs against what normative grammars recommend: *Maria bedauert, es nicht haben₁ verhindern₃ zu können₂*. The latter results from the logical combination of the sequences in (2) and (3). The story of the scandal construction tells us that recurrent patterns may get separated from their content words and become abstract models which are easier to process and accordingly extended to other content words, even if the latter are not immediately to be fitted into the abstract models. Constructions don't care about scandals.

References:

- Abraham, Werner (2004), "The Grammaticalization of the Infinitival Preposition – Toward a Theory of 'Grammaticalizing Reanalysis'", *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 7: 111–170.
- Gaeta, Livio (1997), "The Inflection vs. Derivation Dichotomy: the Case of German Infinitives", in Bernard Caron (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Linguists (Paris 20-25 July 1997)*, Oxford, Pergamon, Paper No. 0199.
- Gaeta, Livio (2008), "Mismatch: Grammar distortion and grammaticalization", in María José López-Couso and Elena Seoane (eds.), *Rethinking Grammaticalization. New perspectives*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 103-127.
- Gaeta, Livio (to appear), "The Invisible Hand of Grammaticalization: West-Germanic Substitutive Infinitive and the Prefix *ge-*", in Wolfgang U. Dressler, Dieter Kastovsky, Hans Christian Luschützky and Franz Rainer (eds.), *Variation and Change in Morphology. Selected papers from the 13th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna February 2008*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Haspelmath, Martin (1989), "From Purposive to Infinitive – A Universal Path of Grammaticization", *Folia Linguistica Historica* 10: 287–310.
- Vogel, Ralf (2009), "Skandal im Verbalkomplex. Betrachtungen zur scheinbar inkorrekten Morphologie in infiniten Verbkomplexen aus Deutschen", *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 28: 307-346.

Plural across inflection and derivation, fusion and agglutination.

Gardani, Francesco

(Vienna University of Economics and Business).

Whereas contact-induced morphological change is not rare in word formation, it is exceptional in inflection. The borrowing of inflectional morphemes is the rarest type of grammatical transfer in language contact. It is distinguished from mere quotation of foreign forms and acknowledged when inflectional morphemes are attached to native words of the receiving language and have maintained the (at least partially) identical meaning (and function) they carried out in the source language.

Empirical evidence drawn from contact settings involving Cappadocian Greek, Turkish, the Balkan *sprachbund*, Maltese, Italian, Welsh, English, Persian, Arabic, Spanish, Otomí, Imbabura Quichua, Tuareg, Tasawaq, and the Australian languages of Arnhem Land (cf. Gardani 2008 and forthc.) shows that, in the vast majority of the cases recorded, the morpheme involved in the process of inflectional borrowing marks nominal plurality. For instance, the Arabic plural suffix *-āt* shows up in the New Persian plural form *dehāt* of the genuine Persian noun *deh* 'village'. My paper argues that this relative borrowability, compared with that of other inflectional categories, is explainable in theoretical terms and, to some extent, predictable.

Moving from the theoretical distinction between inherent and contextual inflection (cf. Booij 1994, 1996, 2007, Kilani-Schoch & Dressler 2005:109-111), I claim that the category of nominal plural, as a prototypical category of inherent morphology, is borrowed more easily, hence more frequently, than categories pertinent to contextual inflection. This is predictable from the consideration that inherent inflection is more similar to derivation than contextual inflection (cf. Haspelmath 2002:82) and from the observation that derivation is more easily borrowed than inflection (cf. Thomason 2001:70-71).

Moreover, from the point of view of morphological typology, it can be observed that nominal plural morphemes are copied predominantly when they display prototypical properties of agglutinative rather than fusional inflection such as biuniqueness, that is, relational invariance between *signans* and *signatum* (cf. Dressler 1999:404). Accordingly, the structural principle of monofunctionality, which results from a universal tendency towards biuniqueness and responds to requirements of naturalness in the sense of Dressler (2000), is shown to display a relevant influence rating in favouring inflectional borrowing. In addition to the Persian example given above, this can be saliently illustrated with the borrowing of the Turkish plural morpheme *-lar* into Albanian, such as in *gjysh-llar*, plural of *gjysh* 'grandfather' (alongside with Standard Albanian *gjysh-ë(r)*).

The investigation of inflectional borrowing from the viewpoint of both morphological theory and morphological typology contributes to a more adequate understanding of the organisation of grammar and in particular of inflection.

References:

- Booij, Geert. 1994. Against split morphology. *Yearbook of Morphology 1993*. 27-50.
- Booij, Geert. 1996. Inherent versus contextual inflection and the split morphology hypothesis. *Yearbook of Morphology 1995*. 1-16.

- Booij, Geert. 2007². *The grammar of words. An introduction to linguistic morphology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. 1999. On a semiotic theory of preferences in language. In Michael Shapiro (ed.), *The Peirce seminar papers. Essays in semiotic analysis*. Vol. 4, 389-415. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Dressler, Wolfgang U. 2000. Naturalness. In Geert Booij, Christian Lehmann & Joachim Mugdan (eds.), *Morphology. An international handbook on inflection and word-formation*, Vol. I, 288-296. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Gardani, Francesco. 2008. *Borrowing of inflectional morphemes in language contact*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Gardani, Francesco (forthc.) Inflectional borrowing and naturalness. In Thomas Stolz, Martine Vanhove, Hitomi Otsuka & Aina Urdze (eds.), *Morphologies in contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2002. *Understanding morphology*. London: Arnold.
- Kilani-Schoch, Marianne & Wolfgang U. Dressler. 2005. *Morphologie naturelle et flexion du verbe français*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Thomason, Sarah G. 2001. *Language contact. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Do roots really grow trees? Quantitative root-based approaches in historical linguistics.

Geisler, Hans and Johann-Mattis List
(Heinrich Heine University Düsseldorf).

In historical linguistics, most recent quantitative approaches to genetic language classification (cf. the overview in Holm 2007) are based on lexicostatistics (Swadesh 1955): From a theoretical point of view, they adopt the lexicostatistical key assumption that cognates within the basic vocabulary of languages reflect degrees of genetic relationship. From a practical viewpoint, they employ Swadesh-lists (lists of supposedly universal semantic concepts which are usually represented by English glosses), which are mapped onto the respective languages, as a basis for the comparison of word-forms. Although all these new approaches, which are usually based on phylogenetic algorithms taken from biology, are surely improvements in comparison to the traditional method of lexicostatistics, they still have two major shortcomings: a limited sample size, which does not allow for true statistical tests (Starostin 1989), and the problem that not all concepts can be mapped consistently onto the languages, which often results in erroneously coded datasets (Geisler & List 2009).

In contrary to the "brute-force" character of lexicostatistical analyses, root based approaches, which have been sporadically applied to Indo-European data starting from the 1950s (cf. e.g. Ross 1950), might offer a possibility to make up for the shortcomings of lexicostatistics. In root-based approaches, the semantic criterion as reflected by the Swadesh-lists is abandoned. Etymological relatedness of words and morphemes is the sole criterion for character selection. Thus, while lexicostatistical comparison takes only a small part of the lexicon into account, root-based approaches allow for large sample sizes. Furthermore, since root-based approaches directly rely on etymological studies of the languages being compared, they are much closer to the traditional framework of the comparative method, which is still believed to be the most adequate method for genetic linguistics. Yet supposing that root-based approaches are a better choice for quantitative approaches in historical linguistics, there remains a fundamental question: Do these approaches yield tree-like evolutionary patterns, or do they reveal conflicts in the data, which might point to network-like evolution?

Based on two recent root based approaches (Holm's *Separation Base Method*, cf. Holm 2000 & 2008 and Starostin's *Etymostatistics*, cf. Starostin 1989) we have carried out analyses on Romance language data, which is well-documented regarding lexical and phonetical developments. Our results suggest that the problem of conflicting signals is not solved by the alternative approaches. Thus, root-based approaches won't yield true tree-like evolutionary patterns. Given the fact, that all quantitative approaches, which have been applied so far, have to deal with conflicting signals, we conclude that these are not due to the methods or the data but to the very character of language evolution which is more realistically characterized by network models of evolution than by simple family trees.

References:

- Gray, R. D. & Atkinson, Q. D. 2003. Language-tree divergence times support the Anatolian theory of Indo-European origin. *Nature*. 426. 435–439.
- Geisler H. & List, J.-M.: *Schöne Bäume auf schwankendem Grund: Zum Datenproblem in der Lexikostatistik*. Paper presented at the Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft 2009: Die Ausbreitung des Indogermanischen. Thesen aus Sprachwissenschaft, Archäologie und Genetik, Würzburg 24. - 26. September 2009. Handout available at: www.evoclass.de.
- Holm, H. J. 2000. Genealogy of the main Indo-European branches applying the Separation Base Method. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*. 7. 73–95.
- Holm, H. J. 2007. The new arboretum of Indo-European "trees": Can new algorithms reveal the phylogeny and even prehistory of Indo-European? *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*. 14. 167-214.
- Holm, H. J. 2008. The distribution of data in word lists and its impact on the subgrouping of languages. In: *Data Analysis, Machine Learning, and Applications. Proceedings of the 31th Annual Conference of the Gesellschaft für Klassifikation e.V., Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, März 7-9, 2007*. 629–636.
- Ross, A. S. C. 1950. Philological probability problems. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society. Series B (Methodological)*. 12. 19–59.

- Starostin, S. A. 1989. Sravnitel'no-istoričeskoe jazykoznanie i leksikostatistika (Comparative-historical linguistics and lexicostatistics). In: *Lingvističeskaja rekonstrukcija i drevnejšaja istorija Vostoka*. 3–39. Moskva: Institut vostokovedenija. (English translation by I. Peiros: Starostin, S. A. 2000. *Comparative-historical linguistics and lexicostatistics*. In: *Time depth in historical linguistics*. 1. Cambridge: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research. 223-265).
- Swadesh, M. 1955. Towards greater accuracy in lexicostatic dating. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 21. 121–137.

Diphthongs in a cross-linguistic perspective: Lessons from Finnish and Lithuanian.

Geyer, Klaus
(Erfurt University).

Around one third of the world's languages are assumed to comprise diphthongs as an integral part of their sound systems, but a sufficiently fine-grained means for their description and analysis is still lacking. The aim of my talk is to make a contribution to fill this gap by sketching a catalogue of criteria for describing and analysing diphthongs from a typological point of view; thus I consider the criteria to be potentially relevant within the sound systems of a wide range of languages. When I'll mainly rely on data from the Circum-Baltic languages, this is due to the fact that these languages are especially promising research objects for "diphthongology" due to their highly manifold and complex diphthong inventories or systems.

The aim as formulated is approached inductively in a twofold way. The first step is to have closer look at the descriptions of Finnish and its rather extensive diphthong inventory and complex system, as it is provided by grammatical sketches (e. g. Branch 1987) and reference grammars (e.g. Fromm 1982, Sulkala / Karjalainen 1997). Note that Finnish is one of the very well described languages of the world, not least since it has always attracted linguists' interest as a non-Indo-European language which is, however, located in Europe and easily accessible and is displaying a high degree of *Ausbau* as well. It will be shown that surprisingly wide differences and even contradictions can be found in the descriptions. The discussion of Finnish will give a series of mainly – but not exclusively! – articulatorily based diphthongal features like opening vs. closing, palatalising vs. velarising, lip-rounding vs. –spreading, narrow vs. wide, homogeneous vs. non-homogeneous, and rising vs. falling. Other features like nasalizing vs. de-nasalizing or centralising vs. de-centralising can be added. These observations are followed, secondly, by analysing the remarkably different diphthong types of Lithuanian in terms of syllable phonology. Amongst those diphthong types, the so called semi-diphthongs, consisting of a vocoid / vowel element and a contoid / sonorant element, are especially interesting, since contoid / sonorant element can bear the syllable peak (!) – a fact, which, of course, is challenging the well established sonority hierarchy (or its counterpart, the consonantal strength hierarchy, cf. e. g. Vennemann 1988) and is causing problems for constructing a proper non-linear representation.

References:

- Ambrazas, Vytautas (ed.). 1997. *Lithuanian grammar*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos.
- Branch, Michael. 1987. Finnish. In: Comrie, Bernard (ed.). *The world's major languages*. London etc.: Croom Helm, pp. 593-617.
- Fromm, Hans. 1982. *Finnische Grammatik*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Sulkala, Helena / Karjalainen, Merja. 1997. *Finnish*. London etc.: Routledge.
- Vennemann, Theo. 1988. *Preference laws for syllable structure and the explanation of sound change*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Factors at play in the development of coordinating connectives.

Giacalone Ramat, Anna & Caterina Mauri
(Università degli Studi Pavia).

The aim of the present paper is to focus on the recurrent diachronic paths which give origin to coordinating interclausal connectives and to propose a model to account for the changes under scrutiny. Coordinating interclausal connectives are characterized by their ability to establish alone (ie. further co-occurring connecting elements are optional not obligatory) a coordination relation between two clauses. Given the high cross-linguistic variability, coordinating connectives should be best described in terms of a cline or a continuum showing different degrees of grammaticalization (Haspelmath 2007). In the present study the well-established subdivision of coordinating relations in conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative has been adopted.

First of all, it will be argued that conjunctive and disjunctive connectives appear to be more stable across centuries than adversatives: as already noticed by Meillet (1958:171-72), out of the original Latin inventory Romance languages have preserved *et* for conjunction, *aut* for disjunction, while the set of adversative connectives *sed*, *tamen*, *autem verum* has been totally renovated. Hypotheses to explain *variation* and *renovation* of adversative connectives will be advanced and evaluated.

Secondly, we will show that the different sources of coordinating connectives attested across languages tend to follow regular paths of change: examples will be provided concerning a number of diachronic developments, examining data from different languages, especially, but not exclusively, from Europe. A restricted set of recurrent diachronic paths will be identified for each of the three types of coordinating connectives, involving metaphorical processes of abstraction from concrete (spatio-temporal) notions to more abstract (logical) functions (e.g. Greek *anti* "in front, against", English *and* < O. Saxon *ant-* 'in front of', English *but* < OE *be utan* 'at the outside', Italian *tuttavia* 'however' < Lat. *tota via*), the development of coordinating connectives starting from neighbouring functional domains (e.g. the development of 'or' connectives from irrealis, dubitative or interrogative markers, cf. Polish *czy*; the development of 'and' connectives from focal additive particles), and processes of reanalysis (e.g. the development of adversative connectives out of causal ones through the reanalysis of [NEG CAUSE] constructions, cf. Italian *però*, French *pourtant*; the development of conjunctive connectives out of verbs meaning 'go', reanalyzed in narrative contexts).

Finally, we will analyze the common features that appear to be crucial for the grammaticalization of coordinating connectives, starting from a corpus study on the grammaticalization of adversative connectives in Italian. Implications of this analysis for a general model of the development of connectives will be discussed, with special attention to the role that context (Diewald 2002, Heine 2002), frequency and specific syntactic distributions play in individuating the successive stages of change. The notion of "critical contexts" currently used in the literature will also be discussed in its relationship to frequency, leading to some innovative viewpoints.

References

- Diewald, G. 2002. *A model for relevant types of contexts in grammaticalization*. In I. Wischer and G. Diewald (eds.), *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2002, pp 103–120.
- Giocalone Ramat, Anna and Caterina Mauri. 2008. *From cause to contrast. A study in semantic change*, in *Studies on Grammaticalization*, ed. by E. Verhoeven, S. Skopeteas, Y. Shin, Y. Nishina, J. Helmbrecht, Berlin/New York, De Gruyter 2008, 303-321.
- Heine, Bernd. 2002. On the role of context in grammaticalization. In *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*, Wischer, Ilse and Gabriele Diewald (eds.), pp. 83–101. Amsterdam, New York: John Benjamins.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1958. Le renouvellement des conjonctions. In *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale*, pp. 159–174. Paris. Original edition in 1915-16: Champion.

The Illusion of Hidden Complexity in the Languages of Southeast Asia.

Gil, David

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

Anthony Burgess wrote that "[w]hat strikes the learner of Malay is the complete lack of those typically Indo-European properties — gender, inflection, conjugation. It is like diving into a bath of pure logic. Everything is pared to a minimum. [...] If one digs deeply enough into Malay, one comes to the conclusion that the Western concept of 'parts of speech' is alien to it." More generally, the languages of Southeast Asia are prime exemplars of the *isolating* linguistic type, with little or no morphosyntactic encoding of numerous categories which play a central role in the grammars of more familiar languages.

In analyzing such languages, many linguists argue that the overt simplicity of isolating languages is merely apparent, and that beneath such simplicity lurks *hidden complexity* of various kinds. In accordance with one approach, the impoverished morphological structures of such languages are compensated for by more complex syntactic structures; this approach is characteristic not only of most generative grammarians but also of many functionalists and typologists, who argue that the absence of morphological agreement and case marking correlates with more rigid word order. However, in other papers, I have provided extensive empirical evidence against the existence of such a compensatory mechanism linking morphological and syntactic structures.

A rather different approach to the isolating languages of Southeast Asia accepts that such languages may be simpler in both morphology and syntax, but assumes that formal simplicity is compensated for by more complex rules of pragmatics. The idea is an intuitive one, namely, that if the grammar of a language does not encode a particular category, then the relevant information must be inferred from the context of the utterance. For example, if a language lacks a grammatical category of number, then speakers must work harder, exercising their pragmatic competence, in order to figure out whether words are singular or plural. With pragmatics supposedly doing the job of an impoverished morphosyntax, such languages accordingly end up with a more complex pragmatic component. However, although intuitively appealing, this paper argues that such an approach is misguided on both empirical and conceptual grounds.

Taking Malay/Indonesian as a typical example of an isolating Southeast Asian language, an extensive corpus of naturalistic speech reveals that in real live language use, speakers do not necessarily fill in absent grammatical encodings by means of pragmatic inferences. The corpus is examined with respect to six selected semantic categories lacking obligatory encoding in the grammar of Malay/Indonesian: number, gender, tense, aspect, thematic role and ontological category. For each of these six categories, examples are adduced of utterances in which (a) the category in question is not encoded in the morphosyntax of the utterance; and (b) the context of the utterance is such that the hearer had no reason to fill in any supposedly missing information by means of pragmatic inferences. It is therefore concluded that the overt morphological and syntactic simplicity of Malay/Indonesian is not compensated for by hidden complexity in the pragmatic domain.

This result should not come as a surprise. All languages make use of pragmatic inferences to fill in missing

information up to a contextually appropriate level of specificity. However, the suggestion that languages with simpler morphosyntactic structures make greater use of such inferences is based on the fallacy of Eurocentrism, and the assumption that the contextually appropriate level of specificity just happens to be that which is encoded in the grammars of Standard Average European. (By the same token, a speaker of Larike, with grammatical dual and trial number, would be entitled to assume that all English speakers, when hearing a noun in the plural, have to figure out whether a dual, trial, or a four-or-more plural was intended — a clear *reductio ad absurdum*.) Thus, there is no reason to expect to find any systematic relationship between overt morphosyntactic simplicity and greater recourse to pragmatic inferences. Here too then, the notion of hidden complexity in Southeast Asian languages is nothing but an illusion, whose origin lies in the grammatical categories of the linguists' own native languages, and the assumption that such categories correspond to an ideal "language of thought" that speakers of all the worlds' languages must somehow strive to express.

Merger of lineages to create innovative main clauses in the Cariban Family.

Gildea, Spike
(University of Oregon).

In the Cariban family, there are multiple well-documented examples of nominalized clauses being reanalyzed as new main clause verbs, with different nominalizers (sometimes in combination with postpositions) serving as the source morphemes for new aspects or moods, some of which go on to become new tenses (Gildea 1998). Most of these are straightforward cases of construction reanalysis, however there are three cases in which the resultant innovative tense-aspect construction presents suppletive morphology on the verb: one form for intransitive verbs and a different form for transitive verbs. In these cases, it is clear that we have the merger of two different source constructions into a single paradigm: one source construction provided the morphosyntax for the intransitive conjugation, the other for the transitive conjugation.

What makes this case particularly interesting is that, in addition to providing different morphological forms to inflect the verb, in each case, the two source constructions also provided different argument structure, specifically in nominal case-marking and verb or auxiliary agreement patterns. The three nominalizations in question involve an action nominalizer and an infinitive (which can occur with any verb), and an agent nominalization (which can only occur with transitive verbs). The source constructions in which they occur are simple equative clauses (N_{SUBJ} [NZD clause] $_{PRED}$, no copula) and a locative clause (N_{SUBJ} COP [on [NZD clause]] $_{PRED}$). The nominalizations express argument structure via possession and oblique adjuncts: the action NZN is possessed by the notional absolutive (S/O) and takes an oblique agent (A) phrase, the infinitive phrase cannot express any of its arguments, and the agent nominalization is possessed by its notional O, with no additional expression possible for the notional A. The source constructions provide an additional argument slot, that of the clausal subject (of the predicate nominal or predicate locative clause), which may be an expression of one of the arguments of the nominalized verb. The interactions between the different constructions are too complex to summarize in one page (cf. Gildea 1998, chapters 9-10, 12), but the argument structures of the resultant innovative constructions are ergative-absolutive (ch. 9), nominative-absolutive (ch. 10), or nominative-accusative (ch. 12), depending on which source provides which half of the innovative paradigm.

Considering an initial typology of such mergers, one element of interest is frequency and/or motivation: two of these paradigmatic mergers only happened once, and more to the point, related languages independently innovated new tense-aspect constructions using one or both of the unmerged source constructions for both transitive and intransitive clauses. In other words, these mergers were clearly not necessary, but occurred incidentally in a single language. In the third case, however, the merger seems to have happened independently at least five times and the unmerged reanalysis of either of the two sources is not attested. This merger thus appears to be of a different nature, one that may provide insight into the motivations for merger: it appears that neither source construction was able to be reanalyzed as an innovative tense-aspect without the other.

References:

Gildea, Spike. 1998. *On Reconstructing Grammar: Comparative Cariban Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cognitive linguistic theory and the grammaticalization of definite articles.

Gisborne, Nikolas
(University of Edinburgh).

It is well understood in the grammaticalization and typological literature that demonstratives can be a source of both definite articles and relative pronouns (Diessel 1999). However, these grammaticalization paths raise theoretical problems.

There are two main approaches to definiteness (Lyons 1999). One is based on notions of familiarity and is commonly adopted in cognitive theories—for example, Hudson (2007) develops a cognitive treatment of a familiarity-theory

of definiteness. The other general approach is based on Russell's (1905) claim that definite articles are quantifiers which scope over a restricted set and is commonly assumed in formal theories.

In reference based theories there is the question of how to accommodate the increasing semantic complexity. Take the case of demonstratives>definite articles. If you assume that definite articles are quantifiers and that definite expressions are quantified expressions, how come an indexical item (the demonstrative) becomes the semantically more complex type, quantifier? In a truth based theory, the solution involves abandoning the treatment of definite articles as quantifiers, but this move results in the loss of a number of significant generalizations.

In a familiarity account of definiteness, the same grammaticalization path can be accounted for in terms of a development from subjective to intersubjective meanings. Demonstratives are deictic and speaker oriented. Definites express the shared understanding that the NP's referent is familiar to both speaker and hearer. Given most cognitive linguists adopt a familiarity-based notion of definiteness, this treatment works well as an account of the grammaticalization path for cognitivists.

However, the formal approach which treats definite articles as quantifiers has a number of advantages: it captures the similarities between THE and proportional quantifiers such as MOST; it captures the behaviour of definite NPs in opaque contexts; and it allows for a coherent treatment of specificational sentences (Patten 2010). In terms of the **linguistic** behaviour of definite articles, the Russellian account has a lot to commend it—in particular it explains more data than a familiarity approach.

There is no obvious reason why a cognitive theory should not adopt the Russellian analysis of THE as a proportional quantifier—cognitive theories need to model natural language quantifiers, so including THE among the quantifiers is possible, but if a cognitive theory were to adopt a Russellian semantics, then it would conceivably lose such theories' advantage in accounting for the grammaticalization path.

On the other hand, cognitive linguistics' treatment of reference as intramental means that indexicality is itself not so semantically simple. Furthermore, a treatment of quantification in cognitive approaches necessarily involves some kind of shared context between speaker and hearer, which arguably allows for a quantification view of the definite article to retain the subjectivity>intersubjectivity story for the grammaticalization of definite articles. The intramental view of indexicality, coupled with a model of speakers' shared context in quantification, allows cognitive linguistics to model a grammaticalization story which retains the quantificational treatment of definite articles and the semantic development subjective>intersubjective.

References:

- Diessel, Holger (1999) *Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
Hudson, Richard (2007) *Language Networks: the new Word Grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
Lyons, Christopher (1999) *Definiteness*. Cambridge: CUP.
Patten, Amanda L. (2010) *Clefts, construction grammar, and grammaticalization*. University of Edinburgh PhD dissertation.
Russell, Bertrand (1905) 'On referring'

Multifactorial Construction Grammar. The lexical and grammatical semantics of the [VERB off (with)] Construction

Glynn Dylan
(University of Lund).

This study demonstrates why a corpus-driven multifactorial approach to explaining and predicting lexico-grammatical composition is necessary. It also argues that if we are to properly understand constructional semantics, we need to consider the lexical elements of a construction more systematically than is typically done. The analysis focuses on the syntactic pattern [VERB *off (with)*] and a small set of verbs (*knock, nick, do, make*) that combine with this construction to mean STEAL or KILL. The data for the study are taken from the BNC, ANC, COCA and a corpus of on-line personal diaries.

Lexical licensing is an issue that traditional methods of constructional analysis, but also corpus-driven collocation methods, struggle to explain. Consider the following alternations:

She nicked / knocked off with the money
She nicked/ knocked the money off the state
She knocked/ ?nicked off the money
She knocked /*nicked the money off
She *knocked / nicked the money

The study seeks to demonstrate how such variation can be explained and predicted using a multifactorial approach to corpus analysis.

Firstly, Construction Grammar (Lakoff 1987, Goldberg 1995) made important progress by demonstrating how syntactic semantics interact with lexical semantics to determine grammaticality. Secondly, Collocation Analysis (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003, Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004) made important progress by integrating the usage-based model (Langacker 1988) into the analysis and thus operationalising relative degrees of grammaticality (entrenchment). However,

neither adequately explains why certain lexemes combine with certain forms and not others. Glynn (2004, 2006, 2008) has demonstrated that variation in expected grammaticality of composite forms can be motivated by a range of different factors from conflicts between lexical semantics and schematic grammatical semantics to foreignness of lexemes and sociolinguistic concerns such as dialect variation. Cognitive approaches to syntactic near-synonymy (alternations) developed Heylen (2005), Grondelaers & Speelman (2007), Speelman & Geeraerts (2010) and lexical near-synonymy (lexical fields) Divjak (2006) Glynn (2009, 2010), have developed a range of techniques designed at accounting for semantic variation in language use. Applying these multifactorial approaches to the question of lexical constructional pairing (licensing) treats all the parameters of use as variables. The syntactic form, its tense and aspect, indeed all formal features of the examples, are treated as variables that could affect grammaticality. The lexeme licensed by the construction is also treated as a variable.

The study extracts 500 occurrences of each of the 4 lexemes combined with the construction. Where possible, balanced numbers of examples are taken for British and American usage, and for the different text types represented (spoken, news press, written, and diary). The 2000 resulting examples form the dataset of the analysis. These are manually annotated for a full range of formal, semantic, and extralinguistic factors. The semantic analysis pays special attention to the different kinds of actors and their relations present in the argument structure. Features such as the animacy, complexity, dimensionality, and boundedness of Agents and Patients are carefully tagged. The results of the analysis are treated in with Hierarchical Cluster Analysis and Multiple Correspondence Analysis. These statistical techniques will identify patterns in the usage, relative to the factors under investigation. From this, we will see which lexemes occur in which formal and social contexts and with what kind of actors. The resulting picture will give us a rich description of how the constructions are used relative to head verbs. Differences in use between construction - lexeme pairs should be clear and verifiable using confirmatory statistical techniques such as Logistic Regression. Equipped with this multidimensional map of usage, we should be able to better identify the constraints upon lexical - constructional pairing.

References:

- Divjak, D. 2006. Delineating and Structuring Near-Synonyms. *Corpora in cognitive linguistics*, S. Gries & A. Stefanowitsch (eds), 19-56. Berlin: Mouton.
- Glynn, Dylan. 2004. Constructions at the Crossroads. The Place of construction grammar between field and frame. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 2: 197-233.
- Glynn, Dylan. 2006. Iconicity and the Grammar - Lexis Interface. O. Fischer, J. Ljungberg, & E. Tabakowska, (eds). *Iconicity in Language and Literature*. 267-286. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Glynn, Dylan. 2009. Arbitrary Structure, Cognitive Grammar, and the partes orationis. A Study in Polish Paradigms. K. Willems & L. De Cuypere (eds). *Naturalness and Iconicity in Linguistics*. 299-333. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Glynn, Dylan. 2009. Polysemy, Syntax, and Variation. A usage-based method for Cognitive Semantics. *New Directions in Cognitive Linguistics*, V. Evans & S. Pourcel (eds). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Glynn, Dylan. 2010. Frames, Fields, and Synonymy. Developing usage-based methodology for Cognitive Semantics. *Cognitive Foundations of Linguistic Usage Patterns*, H.J. Schmid & S. Handl (eds). Berlin: Mouton.
- Goldberg, A. 1995. *Constructions. A construction grammar approach to argument structure*. London: University of Chicago Press
- Gries, St. & Stefanowitsch, A. 2004. Extending collocation analysis: A corpus-based perspective on 'alternations'. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 9.1: 97-129.
- Grondelaers, S. & Speelman, D. 2007. A variationist account of constituent ordering in presentative sentences in Belgian Dutch. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 3:161-193.
- Heylen, K. 2005. A Quantitative Corpus Study of German Word Order Variation. *Linguistic Evidence: Empirical, Theoretical and Computational Perspectives*. St. Kepser & M. Reis (eds.), 241-264. Berlin, Mouton.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things. What categories reveal about the mind*. London: UCP.
- Langacker, R. 1988. A Usage-Based Model. *Topics in Cognitive Linguistics*, B. Rudzka-Ostyn (ed.), 127-161. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Speelman, D. & Geeraerts, D. 2010. Causes for causatives: the case of Dutch *doen* and *laten*. *Linguistics of Causality*. T. Sanders & E. Sweetser (eds.). Cambridge: CUP.
- Stefanowitsch, A. & Gries, St. 2003. Collocations: Investigating the interaction of words and constructions. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8.2: 209-43.

On coarticulatory diphthongization.

Gósy, Mária
(Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

Phonetic diphthongization can be viewed as a coarticulatory effect in terms of the constraints involved in the articulation of adjacent phonemes. Various consonants may trigger phonetic diphthongization in some VC sequences. The result is a diphthongal realization of a vowel phoneme. There are no diphthongs in the vowel inventory of Standard Hungarian; however, phonetic diphthongization is expected to exist in various speech sound combinations. This phenomenon is undoubtedly the articulatory consequence of coarticulatory accommodation of vowels in the neighborhood of certain consonants. There are several questions concerning the emergence, nature, and acoustic-phonetic properties of this phonetic

diphthongization, on the one hand, while the phenomenon needs also explanation within a coarticulation approach, on the other.

This paper aims at investigating the acoustic-phonetic realizations of the vowels in two types of VC combinations involving 7 different vowels (front and back, labial and illabial, with various tongue heights) and 5 consonants (dentalveolar and palatoalveolar, voiced and voiceless obstruents and a trill) both in read and spontaneous Hungarian speech. The hypotheses are that coarticulatory diphthongs tend to be centralized in their second part in various degrees and with various durations depending on both the vowel and the consonant of the VC sequence as well as on speech style. Research questions concern (i) the interrelations of the changes of the first two formant values and the durational structure of the diphthongs, (ii) the interrelation of the formant structures of the original vowel and the emerging diphthong, (iii) the effect of consonant type on diphthongization, (iv) the effect of syllabic affiliation of the consonant (*azért* 'thereupon' vs. *azérem* 'the medal') and (v) the possible differences between read and spontaneous speech.

Two kinds of speech material were used in the experiments, read isolated words and word combinations, and spontaneous narratives of 8 females and 8 males (ages between 22 and 36) from the BEA Hungarian spontaneous speech data base (altogether close to 9,000 items). The durational structures and the first two formants were measured (by *praat* software) and statistical analysis was conducted (by SPSS software).

Preliminary results show that both vowel quality and consonant type affect the features of diphthongs, resulting in opening and closing as well as rounding and de-rounding ones. There is also a wide range of variance in the durational structure of the diphthongs. VC combinations in spontaneous speech show similar tendencies with some specific exceptions. No difference was found, however, depending on syllabic position; i.e. whether the VC combinations were heterosyllabic or tautosyllabic.

On the basis of the findings, some conclusions emerge but some new questions also suggest themselves. Phonetic diphthongization in certain speech sound combinations seems to be of crucial importance for a better understanding of coarticulatory gestures and their interrelations. Furthermore, the language-specific conclusions drawn here might even turn out to have implications for a universalist perspective on coarticulatory diphthongization.

Bound morphology in English (and beyond): copy or cognate?

Grant, Anthony
(Edge Hill University).

This paper discusses the sources of bound inflectional (and also derivational) morphology in Present-Day Standard English and a number of other languages. In an attempt to test the extent to which morphological strata in a language are more immune to borrowing than the lexicon I compare patterns and levels of copying of bound morphological items in English with those patterns of morphemic borrowing found in a sample of 13 other 'heavy copying' languages from around the world. These languages have been selected because they have replaced a large proportion of their preexisting vocabulary with copies from other languages.

These languages fall into the category of "fusion languages" proposed in Weinreich (1973), which is itself a scalar rather than an absolute category as languages can be said to be more or less fusional. Unlike stable mixed languages such as Michif which have absorbed complete sets of morphological forms for use with a particular form-class from one of their component languages (Bakker and Mous 1994), Berbice Dutch which has taken all its bound morphology from Eastern Ijo while using many free morphemes from Dutch and Guyanese Creole English too (Kouwenberg 1994), or creoles such as Mauritian which have developed their morphological forms through grammaticalisation of items which were previously only lexical forms (Grant and Baker 2007), fusion languages have accreted borrowed bound morphemes onto a preexisting morphological system.

Patterns of copying and retention (especially cognate retention) of bound morphemes across the sample are presented and compared in the sample languages. It is clear that the correlation between heavy lexical borrowing (and also heavy lexical replacement through borrowing) and extensive replacement of bound morphemes through borrowing is a rather weak one. The reasons are not wholly to do with the prior structure of the language in question: in some languages (e.g. Kalderash Romani and also the Australian language Ngandi) some borrowed bound morphemes are also used with inherited stems and also with borrowed items acquired subsequent to the acquisition of the borrowed bound morphemes, while in other languages (such as Romani's Indic sister Hindi) borrowed morphemes are only used with borrowed lexicon. Yet other languages (such as Yapese) have replaced much of their basic lexicon with loan elements but have borrowed no morphology. The study shows that principles of borrowing developed in Heath (1978) are of much wider relevance.

References:

- Bakker, P and M. Mous eds. 1994. *Mixed languages: 15 case studies in language intertwining*. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
Grant, A.P. and P. Baker. 2007. 'Comparative Creole typology and the search for the sources of Mauritian Creole features.' *The making of Mauritian Creole: analyses diachroniques à partir des textes anciens*, edited by Philip Baker and Guillaume Fon Sing, 197-220. London: Battlebridge.
Heath, Jeffrey. 1978. *Linguistic diffusion in Atrnhem Land*. Canberra: AIAS.
Kouwenberg, Silvia. 1994. *A grammar of Berbice Dutch Creole*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
Weinreich, Max. 1973. *Geshikhte fun der Yidishn Shprakh: bagrifn, faktn, metodn*. New York: YIVO.

The Subject in Infinitive Constructions in Old Russian

Grillborzer, Christine
(Universität Regensburg)

The purpose of the study is to describe the properties of the subject in constructions of the type *dative case subject + (byt') + infinitive* in texts in Old Russian using criteria of priority that have been developed in order to identify the subject in Modern Russian. The main focus of the study will be on the governing of agreement of predicative nouns and adjectives. In Modern Russian dative case subjects, just like canonical subjects, govern the gender and number of the predicative complement in the instrumental case, cf.

On ne projdjot nezamechennym.
HE:MASC.NOM.SG. UNNOTICED:MASC.INST.SG.
,He will not pass unnoticed.'

Emu ne projti nezamechennym.
HE:MASC.DAT.SG. UNNOTICED:MASC.INST.SG.
,He cannot pass unnoticed.'

In Old Russian, on the contrary, we find a compulsory agreement between the subject and the predicative complement in infinitive constructions (just as compulsory as is agreement in the nominative case), the so-called "second" dative:

jako byti namъ rabomъ.
WE:DAT.PL. SLAVE:MASC.DAT.PL.
,that we will be slaves.'

jakože obratitsja emu ot puti svoego i zhivu byti.
HE:MASC.DAT.SG. ALIVE:MASC.DAT.SG.
'he should turn away from his way and be alive.'

The concordant dative forms may be found as late as the 19th century. Even in Modern Russian they do occur in some isolated cases, cf.:

Emu by ostat'sja odnomu.
HE:MASC.DAT.SG. ALONE:MASC.DAT.SG.
,He would like to remain alone'.

As to the instrumental forms, they first appear in the 16th century. In Old Russian texts, they are extremely rare and whenever they do occur, it is invariably in clearly Church Slavonic contexts. Thus, *Russkaja Pravda* does not contain a single quotation of the instrumental case being used in the predicate.

The study on the one hand deals with the question of why the instrumental construction eventually came to be the one preferred and whether this change may be traced back to the second South Slavonic influence. On the other hand, this aim is to describe some formal features of the constructions of the type *dative case subject + (byt') + infinitive* using the corpus of the Old Russian texts.

References:

- Besters-Dilger, J. (1999): Kirchenslavisches und Nicht-Kirchenslavisches in der Entwicklung der russischen Ausdrucksmittel für die Möglichkeits- und Notwendigkeitsmodalität, in: Hansack, E. et al. (eds.): Festschrift für Klaus Trost zum 65. Geburtstag, München, 29-36.
- Borkovskij, V. I. (1978): Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka: sintaksis, Moskva: Nauka.
- Fortuin, E. (2005): "From possibility to necessity: the semantic spectrum of the dative-infinitive construction in Russian". In: Hansen, B. & Karlík, P. (eds.), *Modality in Slavonic Languages. New Perspectives*. München: Otto Sagner, pp. 39-60.
- Hansen, B. (2001): *Das Modalauxiliar im Slavischen. Grammatikalisierung und Semantik im Russischen, Polnischen, Serbischen/Kroatischen und Altkirchenslavischen*. München (= Slavolinguistica; Bd. 2).
- Hansen, B. (2004): Выражение модальности в берестяных грамотах. In: *Slavia* 73/4. 411-422.
- Issatschenko, A. (1980): *Geschichte der russischen Sprache I*, Heidelberg.
- Kiparsky, V. (1963): *Russische historische Grammatik*. Bd. 1. Die Entwicklung des Lautsystems. Winter: Heidelberg.
- Moore, J. (2000): What Does It Take To Be A Dative Subject? In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. S.373ff.
- Testelec, J. G. (2001): *Vvedenie v obščij sintaksis*. Izdatel'stvo RGGU, Moskva.
- Vinogradov, V. V. (1964): *Izmenenija v sisteme prostogo i osložnennogo predloženija v russkom literaturnom jazyke XIX veka*. Moskva, Nauka (=Očerki po istoričeskoj grammatike russkogo literaturnogo jazyka XIX veka; 3).

Morphological borrowing and the issue of time.

Gutiérrez-Morales, Salomé

(Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, CIESAS).

Our understanding of the effect of contact has advanced from the idea that only sounds and vocabulary can be transferred to the recognition that most grammatical features can be borrowed from one language to another under intense and lengthy contact. (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, Thomason 2002, 2003, and Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005). The length of contact as one of the main criteria for a grammatical transfer is the main motivation of this paper for the following reason: Sierra Popoluca-Spanish contact is certainly intense now, but it is surprisingly recent. As late as 1970 most Sierra Popoluca speakers could not speak Spanish well, if at all. Nevertheless, the language shows evidence of grammatical transfer from Spanish leading us to ask whether the length of contact is crucial after all.

Modern Sierra Popoluca uses the suffix *-teeroj* 'agentive nominal', which seems to be a cognate with the Spanish nominalizer *-ero*. This suffix is deeply entrenched in the grammar of Sierra Popoluca and works very much in the same way as in Spanish: it used to form agentive nominals. Some examples are in (1-3)

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>yoom-teeroj</i>
(<i>yoomo</i> 'woman') | 'somebody who has several women' |
| (2) | <i>höy-tyeeroj</i>
(<i>höy</i> 'talk') | 'somebody who talks a lot' |
| (3) | <i>mööch-tyeeroj</i>
(<i>mööch</i> 'to play') | 'joker' |

The use of *-teeroj* in Sierra Popoluca leads us to ask whether this is a morphological borrowing from the Spanish *-ero*. It is intriguing to see that some varieties of Nahuatl also have the suffix *-tero*, which was borrowed from Spanish (Hill and Hill 1986). Is *-teeroj* a direct transfer from Spanish into Sierra Popoluca morphology? Or was it first adopted into Nahuatl grammar and then transferred into Sierra Popoluca? Or did it develop from the combined influence of both Nahuatl and Spanish?

In this presentation I will show that *-teeroj* in Sierra Popoluca was transferred from a neighboring Nahuatl language (Pajapan Nahuatl) where the Spanish *-ero* was first reanalyzed as *-teeroj* and then transferred to Sierra Popoluca. Pajapan Nahuatl speakers learned Spanish quite early than Sierra Popoluca speakers. Speakers of both languages have been in contact for a very long period of time. Consequently, my finding reinforces Thomason and Kaufman's hypothesis that grammatical transfer can be possible only under intense and long standing contact situation. Furthermore, this presentation also aim to show that the *-ero* transfer in Sierra Popoluca reveals the complexity of grammatical borrowing in language contact situation. A third language can play a crucial role in the transfer of grammar from one language to another. The data for this paper comes from a naturally occurring speech from Sierra Popoluca and Pajapan Nahuatl collected in 2006-2008 in Soteapan and Pajapan, Veracruz, México.

References:

- Butt, John and Carmen Benjamín. 2000. *A new reference grammar of modern Spanish*. Malta: NTC Publishing Group.
- Elson, Benjamin F. 1960. *Gramática del popoluca de la sierra*. Biblioteca de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Xalapa, México: Universidad Veracruzana.
- García de León, Antonio. 1976. *Pajapan. Un dialecto mexicano del Golfo*. Departamento de Lingüística. Colección Científica 43. México: INAH/SEP.
- Heine Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2003. On contact-induced grammaticalization. *Studies in Language* 27:529-572.
- Heine Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, Jane H. and Kenneth C. Hill. 1986. *Speaking Mexicano. Dynamics of syncretic language in central Mexico*. Tucson, Arizona: The University of Arizona Press.
- Sullivan's, Thelma D. 1988. *Compendium of Nahuatl grammar*. Salk Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2001. *Language contact: An introduction*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2002. *Language contact*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. 2003. Contact as a source of language change. In Brian Joseph and Richard Janda (eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 686-712
- Thomason, Sarah Grey and Terrence Kaufman 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press.
- Weinreich. Uriel. [1953] 1966. *Languages in contact*. London: Mouton.

Arguments for a dependency cline.

Hamans, Camiel
(European Parliament Brussels-Strasbourg).

Recently Kastovsky (2009) suggested “that compounding, affixation, clipping, and blending should be regarded as prototypical patterns arranged on a scale of progressively less independent constituents ranging from word via stem, affixoids, affix, curtailed word/stem to splinters as constituents of blends, and finally acronyms (letter combinations).”

In this paper ‘combining forms’ and processes of clipping and blending will be studied to argue in favor of a dependency cline and secondly to show how this cline works.

Essential for all these three morphological formations is a process of secretion:

- (1) combining forms
entrepreneur
info-preneur
home-preneur
- (2) clipping
information airplane
info plane
- (3) blending
picture + element pixel
frugal + google froogle

First will be discussed how the resulting segments have been isolated. It will shown that the processes of truncation are less irregular than it may seem. Preferred word and syllable structures turn out to be essential. Subsequently secretion usually appears to form a part of a process of reanalysis.

At the moment a form has been reanalyzed, it may be seen as a composite, a syntagma and therefore ‘may acquire derivative force’ (Marchand 1969:211).

- (4) sequel
prequel
sidequel

This process resembles productive blend formation, where a first blend has been analyzed as a syntagma as well

- (5) Spanglish
Danglish
Polglish

Clipped compounds may function in a similar way (Hamans 2009)

- (6) infotainment
docutainment
meditainment

Here the notion of (in)dependency comes to play a role.

The clipped form *info* is already a free form whereas the clipped segments *medi* and *tainment* still have a higher value on the scale of dependency, just as *preneur* (1) and *quell* (4).

In the final part of this paper the relation between ‘derivative force’ and ‘(in)dependency’ will be studied in detail, as to come to a refinement of Kastovsky’s scale (and against Hamans (2008) where clipped forms are described as nouns).

References:

- Hamans, Camiel (2008), ‘Why clipped forms should be accepted as nouns’. In: *Lingua Posnaniensis* 50: 96-109.
- Hamans, Camiel (2009), ‘Het belang van paradigmatische productiviteit. Over blends, clippings en andere oddities’. In: Ronny Boogaart a.o. (eds.) *Woorden wisselen. Voor Ariane van santen bij haar afscheid van de Leidse universiteit*. Leiden: Stichting Neerlandistiek Leiden: 37- 51.
- Kastovsky, Dieter (2009), ‘“Astronaut, astrology, astrophysics”: About Combining Forms, Classical Compounds and Affixoids.’ In: Rod W. McConchie, Alpo Honkapohja and Jukka Tyrkkö (eds.) *Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX2)*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project: 1-13; also www.lingref.com document #2161.
- Marchand, Hans (1969), *The Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation*. München: C.H. Beck.

Subject clitics as a means of topic marking: evidence from Chipaya.

Hannss, Katja
(University of Konstanz).

Chipaya is an endangered, isolated language of the Bolivian Altiplano, pragmatic issues of which have so far not been described. Chipaya has three subject clitics that agree with the subject of the clause by expressing number and gender (see also Cerrón-Palomino 2006: 173).

Table 1: The Chipaya subject clitics (taken from the applicant's corpus)

MARKER	AGREEMENT
= <i>l</i>	1 st sg / 3 rd sg fem / 1 st pl excl
= <i>m</i>	2 nd sg
= <i>z</i>	3 rd sg masc / 1 st pl incl / 2 nd pl / 3 rd pl masc & fem

Although subject and object clitics are a phenomenon well known from Romance languages, where they are often interpreted as agreement markers (see e.g. Gerlach and Grijzenhout 2000: 23), the use of the Chipaya subject clitics does not suggest an agreement marking function, since they are highly polysemous (see Table 1). Rather, they are reminiscent of markers indicating topic shifts and presentational topics.

The first question is thus (i) *whether the Chipaya subject clitics mark presentational topics and topic shifts.*

In contrast to topic markers as known from other topic marking languages, the Chipaya subject clitics express agreement with the subject of the clause. The second research question is therefore: (ii) *why do the Chipaya subject clitics have referential function?*

Since Chipaya is a topic prominent language, it has a regular topic marker =*ki*. A final question is (iii) *which function the topic marker =ki fulfils within the overall topic marking system of Chipaya.*

It will be shown that the Chipaya subject clitics are a means for marking presentational topic referents and re-activated referents that were not topical in the preceding discourse. It will furthermore be argued that the regular topic marker is used only on continuous topics. Finally, it will be shown that the referential function of the subject clitics is related to the potential interference that arises by interfering topics in situations of topic shifts. The more topic referents are present in a discourse, the greater is the potential for ambiguity. It will be proposed that the reference tracking function of the subject clitics is a means for disambiguating semantically identical topic referents (see Givón 1983: 11).

The research questions addressed here will be approached from a pragmatic, information structural background, pivotal to which are the concepts of activation and identifiability discourse referents have in the minds of the interlocutors (Lambrecht 1994: 76ff, 94ff). A presentational or re-activated topic referent is less active and less identifiable by the addressee than a continuous topic and a presentational topic or a topic resulting from topic shift is thus more likely to be marked by a subject clitic. (Pro)nominal elements marked by or referred to by a subject clitic will thus be examined with respect to the concepts of activation and identifiability. These concepts also relate to the one of referential distance (see Givón 1983: 13, Ariel 1988: 65, Ariel 2000: 33), which refers to the gap between the last occurrence of a topic referent and its current use. This gap is measured by counting clauses to the left of the clause under consideration. The greater the referential distance of a discourse referent, the greater is the potential for interfering topics, and the less active and identifiable is the discourse referent. A discourse referent with a referential distance notably greater than 1 (i.e. one clause) is more likely to be marked by a subject clitic. The data will be taken from the applicant's corpus on Chipaya. (499 words, exclusive of references)

References:

- Ariel, Mira 1988 Referring and accessibility. In: *Journal of Linguistics* 24. Cambridge University Press. 65-87.
2000 Accessibility theory: an overview. In: Ted Sanders, Joost Schilperood, Wilbert Spooren (eds.), *Text Representation. Linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects*. Human Cognitive Processing 8. John Benjamins. 29-87.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo 2006 *El chipaya o la lengua de los hombres del agua*. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú. Fondo Editorial.
- Gerlach, Birgit and Janet Grijzenhout 2000 Clitics from different perspectives. In: Birgit Gerlach and Janet Grijzenhout (eds.), *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*. Linguistics Today 36. John Benjamins. 1-29.
- Givón, Talmy 1983 Topic Continuity in Discourse: An Introduction. In: Talmy Givón (ed.), *Topic Continuity in Discourse. A quantitative cross-language study*. Typological Studies in Language 3. John Benjamins. 1-41.
- Lambrecht, Knud 1996 *Information Structure and Sentence Form. Topic, focus, and the mental representations of discourse referents*. Cambridge University Press.

An acoustic analysis of vowel sequences in Japanese.

Hara, Isao and Docherty Gerry
(Newcastle University).

Japanese is conventionally analysed as having five distinctive monophthong vowels and no diphthongs. However, all possible combinations of monophthongs into VV sequences are allowed and occur frequently both word-internally and across a word-boundary. Phonologically, two successive vowels such as [ai] are analysed as two syllables or moras (Inozuka *et al* 2003). However, there has been relatively little analysis of the phonetic characteristics of such sequences and how they might vary across different contexts. The few studies that have been carried out, however, suggest that the phonetic realisation of these sequences may be more complex than the phonological analysis suggests. Some studies, such as Saito (1997), note that Japanese vowel sequences can be diphthongs in fluent and fast speech. On the other hand, Gore (2006) measured the acoustic properties of one particular vowel sequence [ai] in three different morphological conditions, isolated production, morpheme-internal and across a morpheme boundary, concluding that there is little evidence for the [ai] sequence to be a diphthong in any of the conditions. Overall, the phonetic studies which have been carried out to date on Japanese VV sequences suggest that there is no consensus re: the extent to which it is appropriate to refer to these as diphthongs (Hattori 1967, Saito 1997, Kubozono 2001).

The aim of the present research project is to investigate the phonetic correlates of Japanese VV sequences in greater detail than has been achieved in previous studies. A wide range of VV sequences have been produced in a number of different environments and with different accent patterns by 6 male and 10 female speakers of Tokyo Japanese. Measurements include the durations of steady V1 and V2 intervals as well as the inter-vowel transition. Also comparisons have been made of the formant frequencies of vowels in VV contexts as opposed to when they occur as singletons.

This poster presents the results of a subset of the conditions investigated. They are discussed in light of whether the acoustic properties of vowels in VV sequences are significantly different from those of monophthongs, and whether the accent pattern and different phonological contexts have a role to play in respect of the acoustic properties investigated.

References:

- Gore, M. (2006). *English and Japanese Diphthongs and Vowel Sequences*. PhD thesis. Reading University.
Hattori, S. (1967). *Onseigaku [Phonetics]*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten
Inozuka, E and Inozuka, H. (2003). *Nihongo no Onsei Nyuumon -Kaisetu to Enshuu [An Introduction to Japanese Speech Sounds -Explanations and Drills]*. Tokyo: Babel Press [Japanese].
Kubozono, H. (2001). On the Markedness of Diphthongs. *Kobe papers in linguistics* 3. 60-73
Saito, S. (1997). *Nihongo Onseigaku Nyuumon [An Introduction to Japanese Phonetics]*. Tokyo: Sanseido [Japanese].
Takubo, Y et.al. (1998). *TokyoIwanami Kouza Gengo no Kagaku 2 Onsei [Iwanami series of Linguistic Science 2 Speech Sounds]*. : Iwanami Shoten [Japanese].

“It’s different when I write it down” - A comparison of syntactic features of written texts and oral narratives in Hoocak (Siouan).

Hartmann, Iren
(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

It has often been noted that written varieties of languages can differ from their spoken counterparts in many ways (e.g. Chafe 1985, Mithun 2009). This is certainly due not only to the absence of prosody in written speech but also to the fact that writers have the possibility of editing their linguistic output. Chafe (1985:105) refers to this as the difference between “the fragmented quality of spoken” vs. the “integrated quality of written language”. Though the difference between written and oral language has been studied extensively for those languages with a long-standing tradition in writing, much less is known about languages that are just beginning to develop a written tradition.

Hoocak (an endangered North American language of the Siouan family) is such a language. Only recently have native speakers of this oral tradition begun to write their language down. In 2009 a number of textbook texts as well as edited versions of oral narratives have been produced. The proposed paper will draw conclusions from a comparison between these written materials and a corpus of collected oral narratives. In addition a direct comparison of an oral narrative with its edited version will provide good examples for illustrating differences between the two varieties. It will be shown that the notion of what is a sentence is not always clear in the oral narratives, whereas the written texts do not pose this problem. One of the main differences between the two language varieties is that in the written texts the language’s subordination devices are used with greater frequency than in their oral counterparts even though sentences tend to be generally shorter. It can furthermore be observed that information packing is much denser in the written language than in its oral variety. It will become quite obvious that speakers of Hoocak perceive written texts as a different “genre” and that they make use of much the same editing devices as those cultures that already have a long-standing written tradition.

References:

- Chafe, Wallace. 1985. Linguistic Differences Produced by Differences between Speaking and Writing. In David R. Olson, Andrea Hildyard, and Nancy Torrance (eds.), *Literacy, Language, and Learning*, 105-123. Cambridge.
- Mithun, Marianne 2009 Re(e)volving complexity: Adding intonation. *Syntactic complexity: Diachrony, Acquisition, Neuro-cognition, Evolution*. T. Givón and M. Shibatani, eds. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 53-80.

Three-participant constructions in languages with hierarchically determined argument realization.

Haude, Katharina, Van Lier, Eva and Siewierska Anna
(University of Cologne/CNRS, Lancaster University).

In recent cross-linguistic research on three-participant clauses a number of generalizations are proposed about the effects of referential hierarchies (including animacy and person) on the encoding of such constructions (Haspelmath 2007, Kittilä 2006, 2008, Peterson 2007, Siewierska 2004). The aim of our talk is to show that some of these claims are in need of revision. We do so on the basis of data from three languages with hierarchically based systems of argument realization: Movima (isolate, Bolivia; Haude 2006), Itonama (isolate, Bolivia; Crevels in press), and Jamul Tiipay (Yuman; Miller 2001), focusing on the first language, for which we have access to fieldwork data.

The generalizations that we will take issue with are the following: First, according to Siewierska (2004: 66) hierarchical restrictions are less common in ditransitives than in monotransitives. Second, proposed universal animacy effects in ditransitives exclusively take into account the hierarchical ranking of the Theme and the Goal/Recipient, to the exclusion of the Agent (Haspelmath 2007, Kittilä 2006, 2008). Third, Peterson (2007: 51) claims that in derived three-participant constructions the added participant is always treated as a core argument.

As to the first claim, Movima, Itonama, and Jamul Tiipay all have hierarchically based systems of argument realization and direct-inverse marking that are operational in three-participant clauses. As such, they contravene the idea that such systems would be less relevant in these constructions than in monotransitives.

Secondly, the direct-inverse systems of Movima and Itonama present challenging evidence to the extent that they take into account the relative ranking of the Agent and the Goal/Recipient, to the exclusion of the Theme, as shown in (1):

- (1) a. *kaya*<*a*:> *ʔe* *n-i'ko* *jayna*
give<DR> OBL-PRO.PL DSC
'I'll give them to you now.' [1 → 2]
- b. *ulkwari* *iʔ* *kayʔe:-kay* *n-a'ko*
pro.2SG 1 give-INV OBL-PRO.N
'You gave me this.' [2 → 1]

Finally, Peterson's claim is challenged by data from Movima and Jamul Tiipay. In the latter language either the Causee or the embedded object may be marked as the core object by pronominal prefixes, depending on which participant outranks the other on the hierarchy (Miller 2001: 165). This is illustrated in (2):

- (2) a. *xenu-m* *kenaach* *nye-chaa.ányá*
be.sick-DS because 1/2-make.company
'He's sick, that's why I made you accompany him.'
- b. *nyaap* *nye-cha'anya-çhm* *w-aa*
me+ABS 3/1-make.company-DS 3-go
'She made him accompany me.'

In Movima, while it is normally the case that the added participant has core argument status, this may be changed by means of a special causative inverse marker *-as*, which turns the Patient into a core participant and the Causee into an oblique, as shown in (3):

- (3) *jayna* *kiro'* *leve-na-poj-as-na* *kis* *jo'me*
DSC DM.PL.A chase_off_DR-CAUS-C.INV-DR ART.PL.A bird
ni-kinos *a:na*
OBL-ART.F.A younger_sibling
'I already have the birds be chased away by my younger sister.' [1 –3]

In sum, our talk shows that data from Movima, Itonama, and Jamul Tiipay provide good reasons to rethink recently proposed typological generalizations about hierarchical effects in simple and derived three-participant constructions.

References:

- Crevels, Mily. In press. Ditransitives in Itonama. In: Andrej Malchukov et al. (Eds.): *Studies in Ditransitive Constructions: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haspelmath, Martin 2007. Ditransitive alignment splits and inverse alignment. *Functions of language* 14:1, 79-102
- Haude, Katharina 2006. A grammar of Movima. Doctoral dissertation, Nijmegen University.
- Kittilä, Seppo 2006. The woman showed the baby to her sister. On resolving humanness-driven ambiguity in ditransitives. In: Kulikov et al. (Eds): *Case, valency and transitivity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. pp. 483-514
- Kittilä, Seppo 2007. Animacy effects on differential Goal marking. *Linguistic Typology* 12, 245/268.
- Miller, Amy 2001. *A grammar of Jamul Tüipay*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Peterson, David 2007. *Applicative constructions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Siewierska, Anna 2004. *Person*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Indigenous and foreign properties in copied constituents.

Hayasi, Tooru
(University of Tokyo).

The Code-copying model developed and proposed by Johanson (1992) distinguishes two kinds of borrowing: global copying and selective copying. In the latter only a part of the properties or materials of the source language are introduced into the target language, while at least a portion of indigenous properties can remain in copied constituents. Selective copying thus entails ambiguous cases, in which decision is difficult to make about whether resemblance between two languages has resulted from copying or cognateness. In this paper, symbiosis of indigenous and foreign properties within the same lexeme will be exemplified by Eynu, a Uyghur-based secret language, as well as the Turkish neologism, and it will be argued that indeterminacy may be inevitable under certain conditions, such as the case of intentional manipulation of language.

The evidence of my argument first comes from Eynu, a secret language used by a small group of people called Abdal, who live separately in several villages scattered along the southern fringe of the Taklamakan Desert of West China. It is actually a variety of the modern Uyghur language but contains a lot of non-Uyghur words borrowed mainly from Persian, which make Eynu unintelligible to the majority of monolingual Uyghur speakers (Hayasi 2009).

At first glance, borrowed elements in Eynu looks like ordinary loan words. When we compare Eynu sentences with the corresponding Uyghur sentences, however, it is perceived that the correspondence of non-Uyghur borrowed words to Uyghur words is so close that they would always be interchangeable. In the following examples, borrowed elements are shown underlined.

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|----------|----------|
| (1) | <u>kalan</u> | <u>käs-lä:</u> | <u>häs</u> vol-di, | <u>soxun</u> -ni | <u>kämtä:</u> | qil-ayli | [Eynu] |
| (2) | čon | kiši-lä: | käl-di, | söz-ni | azraq | qil-ayli | [Uyghur] |
| | big | man-PL | come-PAST, | word-ACC | little | do-OPT | |
- ‘ Big people (i.e. the cadre) have come, let’s speak little. ’

Example (1) is an Eynu sentence and (2), a Uyghur one. Both have exactly the same meaning, since words in each pair (*kalan* and *čon* ‘big’; *käs* and *kiši* ‘man’; *häs vol-* and *käl-* ‘to come’; *soxun* and *söz* ‘word’; and *kämtä:* and *azraq* ‘little’) are totally equivalent, respectively. It is thus possible to make a new Eynu sentence by replacing some of the borrowed words in (1) with the Uyghur counterparts in (2), as follows:

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|-------|----------|--------|
| (1’) | <u>kalan</u> | <u>käs-lä:</u> | käl-di, | <u>soxun</u> -ni | azraq | qil-ayli | [Eynu] |
| (1’') | <u>kalan</u> | <u>käs-lä:</u> | <u>häs</u> vol-di, | söz-ni | azraq | qil-ayli | [Eynu] |

This may suggest that, instead of being separate lexemes, a borrowed word in Eynu and the corresponding Uyghur word form one lexeme. Putting it in the Code-copying framework, only part of properties, mostly phonological, is selectively copied from the original Persian lexeme onto the corresponding Uyghur lexeme of Eynu speakers, in which both foreign and indigenous properties are found. Eynu is, of course, an extreme case of such a symbiosis, since Persian word-forms may have been copied with the intension of disguising what Eynu speakers talk of among themselves, though such a symbiosis might potentially be possible for every language. Turkish neologism will also be mentioned as another evidence for my argument.

References:

- Johanson, Lars. 1992. *Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten*. Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der J. W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 29:5. Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Hayasi, Tooru. 2009. Is Eynu a mixed language, a borrowed lexicon, or something else? In: E.A. Csato, Gunvald Ims, Joakim Parslow, Finn Thiesen, and Emel Türker (eds.), *Turcological letters to Bernt Brendemoen*, 121-132. Oslo: Novus Press.

Clause combining in Otomi before and after contact with Spanish.

Hekking, Ewald & Bakker, Dik
(Universidad de Querétaro - Lancaster University).

Queretaro Otomi is one of the nine varieties of Otomi. It is spoken in the communities of Amealco and Toliman, in the state of Queretaro, in central Mexico. With 33.000 speakers on a total of around 250.000 it is one of the larger varieties of the Otomi branche. It belongs to the Oto-Manguean family, which includes all varieties of Chinantec, Mixtec, Popolocan and Zapotec, among others (Lewis 2009). Like most of the American languages, it has no traditional writing system. The Otomis being one of the largest cultural groups of the Mexican highlands, the Spanish conquerors were interested in converting them to Catholicism. Already in the 16th century, an Otomi spelling system was introduced by Spanish priests, and the bible and other texts were translated in the language. However, after the independence of Mexico in 1813, the indigenous communities were rapidly marginalized by the Spanish speaking ruling classes and Otomi stopped being written. Only very recently, a modern spelling system has been developed. This has led to a modest amount of publications in Otomi (cf. Hekking & Andrés de Jesús 2002).

Just like other Oto-manguean languages (cf. Rupp 1989; Veerman-Leichsenring 1991, Bradley & Hollenbach 1992; Sonnenschein 2005), classical Otomi is characterized by a high degree of asyndetic compounding and the bare juxtaposition of constituents at both the phrase and clause levels. The classical language has and employs very few explicit markers of semantic and syntactic relations, such as adpositions, coordinators and subordinators. For relative clauses, the gapping strategy is used (Hekking 1995). We collected a large corpus of spoken Otomi, involving around 60 native speakers from different age groups and social strata. The data is highly suggestive of the fact that Otomi is changing its phrase and clause combining strategies as a result of contact with Spanish. Among the Spanish loans in the corpus we found the following. The three grammatical categories in the table make up over a third of the total number of borrowed tokens.

Part of Speech	Percentage of total tokens borrowed
Preposition	21.2%
Coordinator	7.5%
Subordinator	6.1%

With respect to coordination, we see the use, by at least 80% of the informants of both unmarked *y* 'and', adversative *pero* 'but', and disjunctive *o* 'or'. These have native counterparts, which however are used rather infrequently. Furthermore, we found a number of Spanish subordinators in the initial position of subordinate clauses. Many Spanish subordinators consist of a preposition plus subordinator *que* 'that'. Examples are *por que* 'because', *para que* 'so that', *ya que* 'since', and *hasta que* 'until'. Interestingly, some of these are borrowed with the subordinator (*porke*, *yake*), while in other cases only the prepositional part is borrowed (*pa*, *hasta*). The most frequently appearing loan in this function is *pa*, which is used by virtually all speakers.

The paper discusses these, and other examples of the restructuring of clause combining in Otomi as a result of contact with Spanish. We will relate them to the respective sociolinguistic parameters. Since writing in Otomi is still in its prime, and practiced by only a modest part of the population, we will argue that these changes are due to bilingualism rather than to the influence of some written norm.

References:

- Bradley, C.H. & B.E. Hollenbach (1992). *Studies in the Syntax of Mixtecan Languages*. Dallas: SIL.
Hekking, E. (1995). *El otomí de Santiago Mexquititlán: desplazamiento lingüístico y cambios gramaticales*. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
Hekking E. and S. Andrés de Jesús, Severiano (2002). *Ya 'bède ar hñāñho Nsantūmuriya, Cuentos en el Otomí de Amealco*. Querétaro: Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro.
Lewis, M. Paul (ed.) (2009). *Ethnologue*. 16th Edition. Dallas: SIL International. <www.ethnologue.com>.
Rupp, J.E. (1989). *Lealao Chinantec Syntax*. Arlington: SIL.
Sonnenschein, A.H. (2005). *A Descriptive Grammar of San Bartolomé Zoogocho Zapotec*. Munchen: Lincom.
Veerman-Leichsenring, J. W. (1991). *Gramática del popoloca de Metzontla (con vocabulario y textos)*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

The epistemic and evidential use of Spanish modal adverbs and verbs of cognitive attitude.

Hennemann, Anja
(University of Potsdam).

Even though evidentiality is not a linguistic category grammatically inherent in the language system of Contemporary Spanish as it does not have real *evidentials*, it can be expressed by lexical and non- or partially grammaticalized means. Famous studies like the ones by Boas (1911), Barnes (1984), Willett (1988), Aikhenvald (2003, 2004) etc., where *evidentials* are described from a semasiological perspective, were the basis for research in languages that do not possess *evidentials*. That means, once having figured out the meanings of real *evidentials*, one can search for linguistic devices showing the same or

similar function(s). The articles written by Haßler (2004), Volkmann (2005), Große (2000), de Haan (1999, 2001), Cappelli (2007), Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer (2007), Wachtmeister-Bermúdez (2005), Squartini (2001, 2004) and Reyes (1996, 2002) treat evidentiality from an onomasiological perspective. In contrast to Cappelli who describes the epistemic and evidential use of British English verbs of cognitive attitude in a very detailed way, Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer explicitly examine the context-sensitive use of English modal adverbs. Also in Spanish do verbs of cognitive attitude as well as modal adverbs represent linguistic devices which are not only used to express the speaker's epistemic stance but also evidentiality.

Following Cappelli and Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer, the aim of this study is to figure out which epistemic predicates and which modal adverbs predominantly belong to the linguistic domain of evidentiality, which ones to epistemic modality. In Cappelli's line of argumentation, I also expect for Spanish verbs of cognitive attitude that each and every one of the members of the class has its own place within the system, even though contextual constraints can force the single verbs into the semantic space of the others (Cappelli 2007: 301), and that „[n]ot all evidential forms inherently convey epistemic meaning, and not all epistemic expressions bear reference to evidence“ (Cappelli 2007: 130). Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer, investigating the speakers' use of modal adverbs, also use translations as a clue to studying multifunctionality and establishing meaning relations between the adverbs. Cross-linguistic and monolingual analyses are combined to get an insight into connections between adverbs and meanings and to account for those connections (Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer 2007: 21). I expect, for example, translations to show that the adverbs *evidentemente* and *obviamente* share a semantic field, as both seem to indicate 'what is known from evidence', which can already be stated for *evidentemente* considering the following example:

El señor Briongos olía a tortilla francesa y la sombra de aceite que trataba de limpiarse de la barbilla con ayuda del pañuelo, era **evidentemente** una sombra de aceite de freír una tortilla a la francesa. (*Los mares del Sur* 167)

As the example indicates, this highly context-sensitive study will concentrate on feigned speech data based on written texts, especially Spanish detective novels and their translated editions. Thus, on the one hand I have to go beyond the sentence as "logical [...] relations which are expressed within the sentence in one case may indeed be expressed between sentences in other cases" (Simon-Vandenberg/Aijmer 2007: 82), but on the other, intonation and paralinguistic devices cannot be considered here.

All in all, this study seeks to contribute to the research field of evidentiality in languages that do not possess real *evidentials*.

References:

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2003): „Evidentiality in typological perspective“, in: Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (Ed.), *Studies in Evidentiality*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1-31.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2004): *Evidentiality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Barnes, Janet (1984): „Evidentials in the Tuyuca verb“. *International Journal of American Linguistics*. 50(3): 255-271.
- Boas, Franz (1911): *Handbook of American Indian Languages*. Ed. by Franz Boas. Part I. Washington: Government Printing Office. (Smithsonian Institution. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40).
- Cappelli, Gloria (2007): „I reckon I know how Leonardo da Vinci must have felt...“. *Epistemicity, evidentiality and English verbs of cognitive attitude*. Paris: Paris Publishing.
- Cornillie, Bert (2007): *Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality in Spanish (Semi-)Auxiliaries. A Cognitive-Functional Approach*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Große, Sybille (2000): „Evidencialidade no português brasileiro“, in: Sybille Große & Klaus Zimmermann (Eds.), *O português brasileiro: pesquisas e projetos*, Frankfurt am Main: Teo Ferrer de Mesquita, 409-426.
- Haan, Ferdinand de (1999): Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries. In: *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18, 83-101. <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~fdehaan/papers/boulder.pdf> (03.11.07)
- Haan, Ferdinand de (2001): „The Relation between Modality and Evidentiality“, in: Reimar Müller & Marga Reis (Eds.), *Modalität und Modalverben im Deutschen*, Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 201-216.
- Haßler, Gerda (2004): „El uso evidencial de adverbios modales“, in: Juan Cuartero & Gerd Wotjak (Eds.), *Algunos problemas específicos de la descripción sintáctico-semántica*, Berlin: Frank & Timme Verlag, 229-244.
- Reyes, Graciela (²1996): *Los procedimientos de cita: citas encubiertas y ecos*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Reyes, Graciela (³2002): *Los procedimientos de cita: estilo directo y estilo indirecto*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie & Karin Aijmer (2007): *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty. A Corpus-Based Study of English Adverbs*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Squartini, Mario (2001): The internal structure of evidentiality in Romance. In: *Studies in Language*. 25, Nr. 2, 297-334.
- Squartini, Mario (2004): Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in Romance. In: *Lingua*. 114, Nr. 7, 873-895.
- Volkmann, Gesina (2005): *Weltsicht und Sprache. Epistemische Relativierung am Beispiel des Spanischen*. Tübingen: gnv.
- Wachtmeister Bermúdez, Fernando (2005): *Evidencialidad. La codificación lingüística del punto de vista*. Tesis doctoral. Stockholms Universitet. http://www.diva-portal.org/diva/getDocument?urn_nbn_se_su_diva-806-2_fulltext.pdf (27.11.07)
- Willett, Thomas (1988): A cross-linguistic survey of the grammaticization of evidentiality. In: *Studies in Language*. (John Benjamins Publishing Company) Vol. 12, Nr. 1, 51-97.

Binominal NPs with a deverbal NP as head. A semantic, lexico-grammatical and discursive corpus-based typology.

Heyvaert, Liesbet and Willemse, Peter
(University of Leuven and University of Lille 3).

More than any other type of binominal NP, NPs containing a deverbal NP are semantically determined by the presence or absence of other NPs within the nominalized NP. The well-known semantic distinction between '(complex) event' and 'product/result' nominalizations (NOMs) (e.g. Grimshaw 1990), for instance, prototypically corresponds to the presence vs. absence of periphrastically realized clausal participants (e.g. (...) *permit the acquisition of pictures at least thirty years old* (CB) vs. *Click left to learn more about the highlight acquisitions of 2007* (CB)). Even within the 'event' category of derived NOMs, however, there is no automatic transfer of the base verb's clausal participants to NP level: the "actual valency" (or "the number of arguments that receive overt expression in attested discourse", Mackenzie 1985: 29) can differ substantially from the related clausal valency (e.g. *The 12- or 13-year old is assimilating an enormous amount of new (...) experiences. While all this absorption is going on (...) the young person is in a more or less perpetual state of disequilibrium.* (CB)). Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 15) points out that "all of the semantic arguments of an action nominal are seldom present in ANCs [action nominalizations]" because "they are either clear from the context or irrelevant" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1993: 15). Following Mackenzie (1985), Koptjevskaja-Tamm (1993: 261) further argues that the argument reduction that is found among nominalizations is closely tied up with their main function "to be a constituent part in the backgrounded portions of discourses".

In this paper we reconsider the so-called 'event' type of derived NOM and zoom in on the semantic impact of the periphrastic (non-)inclusion of clausal participants in it. On the basis of the analysis of a sample of 2000 instances of *-ion* and *-ing* NOMs from the COCA corpus (the Corpus of Contemporary American English), we argue that the language user's choice for an 'event' type of derived NOM that either includes or does not include secondary NPs (complements or modifiers) is not merely discursively motivated ("is it clear from the context who the participants of the derived noun are?"), but the result of a complex interplay of factors, such as the *aspectual* properties of the nominalized verb ('Aktionsart') and of the nominalized situation ('actualization aspect', cf. Declerck 2006: Ch.1), the *type of situation* that is referred to by the nominalized NP (an 'abstract situation type' or 'the actualization of a situation', cf. Declerck 2006: Ch.1), and the various lexicogrammatical options that are available within the NP (e.g. possessive, *-of* or *by*-phrase). In addition, we argue that a referential analysis of 'event' derived NOMs has to cover both their internal and external referential status. NP-internally, binominal NPs with 'event' derived NOMs may set up a complex referential mechanism in which an event is identified in relation to a clausal participant. On the other hand, the referents of these NPs may be 'externally' given or inferable in the discourse to a greater or lesser extent, due to their interaction with other referents or information in the preceding context (cf. Willemse, Davidse & Heyvaert 2009).

References:

- Declerck, R. 2006. *The grammar of the English verb phrase. Volume 1: The grammar of the English tense system. A comprehensive analysis*. Berlin/NY: Mouton de Gruyter — Grimshaw, J. 1990. *Argument structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT —
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. 1993. *Nominalization*. London: Routledge —
- Mackenzie, L.J. 1985. Nominalization and valency reduction. In *Predicates and terms in Functional Grammar*, M.Bolkestein, C.de Groot, L.J.Mackenzie (eds.), 29-47. Dordrecht: Foris. —
- Willemse, P., Davidse, K., Heyvaert, L. 2009. English possessives as reference-point constructions and their function in the discourse. In *The Expression of Possession*, W.B. McGregor (ed.), 13-51. Berlin/NY: Mouton de Gruyter.

Alternative trajectories toward accusativity in the Pamir languages.

Hippisley, Andrew & Stump, Gregory
(University of Kentucky).

The Pamir languages are a group of underdocumented and endangered Southeastern Iranian languages spoken in eastern Tajikistan and neighboring parts of Afghanistan, Pakistan and China. They possess systems of morphosyntactic alignment that are essentially accusative, but in the preterite tenses, they exhibit vestiges of an inherited system of partial ergative alignment; in their synchronic morphosyntax, these vestigial patterns are realized as various sorts of sensitivity to transitivity.

Here, we examine the patterns of vestigial ergativity in the Pamir languages; we show that the variety of these patterns suggests that these languages are following different paths toward full accusativity. These different paths can be distinguished by juxtaposing three independent dimensions of variation in these languages' systems of morphosyntactic alignment: (a) the pattern of person/number concord expressed by agreement clitics in the preterite; (b) the pattern of gender/number concord exhibited by past participial stems in the realization of the preterite tenses; and (c) the pattern of subject case-marking found in the preterite tenses.

In dimension (a), some languages (e.g. Bartangi, Yazgulyam) exhibit special third-person agreement clitics (formerly ergative pronouns) in the preterite realization of transitive verbs, both in the singular and in the plural; others (e.g. Rushani) do so only in the singular; and still others (e.g. Oroshori) lack any such special clitics. In dimension (b), some languages (Oroshori, Rushani, Bartangi) exhibit gender/number concord in the past participial stems of intransitive verbs (the vestige of an absolutive agreement system), but Yazgulyam exhibits no such concord. In dimension (c), some languages (Rushani, Yazgulyam) require the subject of a transitive verb to be oblique in the preterite (a vestige of ergative case marking); but in Bartangi, this is an option rather than a requirement; and in Oroshori, this is not even an option. This variation in dimensions (a)-(c) is summarized in (1).

(1) Variation in morphosyntactic alignment in four Pamir languages

In the preterite ...	Oroshori	Rushani	Bartangi	Yazgulyam
there are different third-person agreement clitics for transitive and intransitive verbs.	No	In the singular	In the singular and the plural	In the singular and the plural
intransitive verbs exhibit gender/number agreement.	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
subjects of transitive verbs are oblique in case.	No	Yes	Optionally	Yes

If there were but one path in the development from ergativity to accusativity, the alignment differences among these languages could be accounted for by ordering these languages linearly along this path; but the three dimensions in (1) cross-cut each other in such a way that they must be seen as reflecting alternative paths toward accusativity.

In elucidating these alternative trajectories, we draw upon the assumptions of canonical typology with particular reference to canonical properties of ergativity and accusativity. We examine evidence from all twelve Pamir languages to produce a fuller, finer-grained account of the dimensions of variation in (1); this account uncovers distinct but convergent trajectories in the evolution of the Pamir languages' alignment systems and, more broadly, informs a more realistic understanding of the channels of typological change.

References:

Theory:

- Bashir, E. 1986. Beyond split-ergativity: subject agreement in Wakhi. *CLS* 22.14-35.
- Bickel, Balthasar, & Johanna Nichols. 2009. Case marking and alignment. *The Oxford handbook of case*, ed. by Andrej Malchukov & Andrew Spencer, 304-321. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, B.J. 2001. *Case* (2nd edition). Cambridge: CUP.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2003. Agreement: Canonical instances and the extent of the phenomenon. In: Geert Booij, Janet DeCesaris, Angela Ralli & Sergio Scalise (eds.), *Topics in Morphology: Selected papers from the Third Mediterranean Morphology Meeting (Barcelona, September 20-22, 2001)*, 109-128. Barcelona : Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Corbett, Greville G. 2007. Canonical typology, suppletion and possible words. *Language* 83.8-42.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Haig, Geoffrey L. J. 2008. *Alignment change in Iranian languages: A Construction Grammar approach*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul; & Sandra Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56.251-99.
- Malchukov, Andrej and Andrew Spencer. 2009. Typology of case systems: parameters of variation. In: Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: OUP.
- Payne, John R. 1980. The decay of ergativity in Pamir languages. *Lingua* 51, 147-86.
- Pirejko, Lija. 1979. On the Genesis of the Ergative System in Indo-Iranian. In: Frans Plank (ed.) *Ergativity: Towards A Theory Of Grammatical Relations*. 481-488. London: Academic Press.
- Palancar, Enrique. 2009. Varieties of ergative. In: Andrej Malchukov and Andrew Spencer (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: OUP.
- Stilo, Donald. 2009. Case in Iranian: from reduction and loss to innovation and renewal. In: Andrej Malchukov & Andrew Spencer (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: OUP.
- Trask, Robert L. 1979. On the origins of ergativity. In: Frans Plank (ed.) *Ergativity: Towards A Theory Of Grammatical Relations*. 385-404. London: Academic Press.

Pamir languages:

- Dodyxudoeva, Lelia R. 1988. Šugnanskij glagol v istoričeskom osveščeenii.
- Èdel'man, D. I. 1966. *Jazguljamskij jazyk*. Moscow.
- Èdel'man, D. I. 2000. Jazguljamskij jazyk. In: V.S. Rastorgujeva, D. I. Èdel'man & V. V. Moškalo (eds.), *Jazyki mira: Iranskije jazyki. III. Vostočnoiranskije jazyki*. Moskva: Indrik.
- Faizov, M. 1966. *Jazyk rušantsev sovetskogo Pamira*. Dushanbe.
- Grjunberg, A.L., & I. M. Steblin-Kamenskij. 1976. *Jazyki vostočnogo Gindukuša. Vaxanskij jazyk*. Moscow.
- Grjunberg, A. L. 1972. *Jazyki vostočnogo Gindukuša: mundžanskij jazyk: teksty, slovar', grammatičeskij očerk*. Leningrad: Nauk.
- Karamxudoev, N. 1973. *Bartangskij jazyk*. Dushanbe.
- Karamšoev, Dodxudo. 1978. *Kategorija roda v pamirskix jazykax*. Dushanbe.
- Kurbanov H. 1976 *Rošorviskij jazyk [=Oroshori]*. Dushanbe
- Paxalina, T. N. 1959. *Iškašimskij jazyk*. Moscow.

Prosody and dialectology of final short vowels in Lithuanian and their implications.

Hock, Hans Henrich
(University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign).

Crosslinguistically, word- or utterance-final position tends to be prosodically weak, as reflected in a great variety of developments, including pitch displacement, devoicing or voice neutralization, and vowel loss.

This paper focuses on changes in final short vowels in Lithuanian, with different effects on the pitch accent system in different dialects, and with the resulting accent retraction being extended from the domain of final and penult syllables to the left. Two dialectally different developments trigger the process. One of these is relatively straightforward, involving apocope and reattachment of the final vowel's pitch accent to the preceding syllable; see (1). The other is more complex, involving not vowel loss, but loss of the ability of short vowels in final syllables to bear pitch accent and consequent reattachment of that accent to the preceding syllable; see (2). These two developments are quite different, as shown by the derivations in (3). (Note that coda nasals are mora-bearing and can support pitch accent.)

(1) "Dialect I"
manè [mané] 'me (acc. sg.)' > mañ [manʹ]

(2) "Dialect II"
manè [mané] 'me (acc. sg.)' > màne [máne]

(3)	Dialect I	Dialect II
	ma.né	ma.né
Apocope	ma.nʹ	-----
Resyllabification	manʹ	-----
Accent reattachment	manʹ	má.ne

Dialectal studies (see e.g. Stang 1966, Senn 1966, with references) show that the resulting leftward movement of pitch accent gets increasingly extended the farther north one goes in the Lithuanian dialects and eventually leads to a system with initial accent, very similar to that found in Latvian. I provide parallels for similar progressive extensions of accent retraction and consider the implications for a general historical explanation of initial-accent systems. In addition I address the implications of the Lithuanian dialectal extension of accent retraction for the historical explanation of the Latvian system: The latter is commonly attributed to convergence with neighboring Uralic languages; but the Lithuanian dialectal patterning raises important questions about this explanation.

References:

- Senn, Alfred. 1966. *Handbuch der litauischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Winter.
Stang, Christian S. 1966. *Vergleichende Grammatik der [b]altischen Sprachen*. Oslo/Bergen/Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.

In search of answers: the category of complex prepositions revisited.

Hoffmann, Sebastian
(University of Trier).

The class of complex prepositions as exemplified by *in terms of*, *in front of* and *on top of* is a controversial grammatical category. Some researchers (e.g. Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, Seppänen et al. 1994) argue that they do not exist at all. In their view, they are part of a nested syntactic structure involving two preposition phrases (and their NP complements); in other words, there is a constituent boundary between the noun and the final preposition, e.g. [_{pp} *in terms* [_{pp} *of X*]]. Others see complex prepositions as (indivisible) syntactic units functioning in the same way as simple prepositions (e.g. Hoffmann 2005).

However, even among those who posit the existence of a class of complex prepositions, there is disagreement about the processes involved in their development. While Quirk et al. (1985:1530) conceive of complex prepositions as a case of "phrasal lexicalization", Lehmann (2002) sees them as the result of two processes: first lexicalization and then grammaticalization. Yet others (e.g. Hoffmann 2005) treat them as clear-cut cases of grammaticalization only.

In my paper, I will first review the existing arguments for and against the view that complex prepositions exist as grammatical units. In particular, I will show how corpus data can be used as case of support – but I will also discuss the limitations of such an approach. In a second step, I will then turn to psycholinguistic methodology and present new findings

based on self-paced reading – and possibly eye-tracking – tests. At the time of writing, these tests have not been carried out. However, I expect that they will provide further evidence for the claim that complex prepositions are indeed stored in (and retrieved from) memory as single units.

In the final part of my presentation, I will turn to the processes that are involved in the development of complex prepositions. In particular, I will look at the role played by reanalysis and analogy. For example, Hoffmann (2005) claims that the grammaticalization of more recent complex prepositions (e.g. *in front of*) might have been accelerated through analogy with existing earlier forms. Such a view would suggest that it is in fact the underlying abstract construction (of the format Preposition–Noun–Preposition, or PNP) that grammaticalizes, which would then in turn allow new lexical items to form complex prepositions without undergoing the typical gradual processes of grammaticalization. This kind of approach could explain, for example, why the development of some complex prepositions involves a semantic change from literal to abstract (e.g. *in view of*) while that of others does not (e.g. *in front of*). The data presented will be drawn from a variety of historical corpora.

References:

- Hoffmann, Sebastian (2005). *Grammaticalization and English Complex Prepositions: a corpus-based study*. London: Routledge.
- Huddleston, Rodney D. & Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lehmann, Christian (2002). "New Reflections on Grammaticalization and Lexicalization." In: Wischer, Ilse & Diewald, Gabriele (eds.) *New Reflections on Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins. 1-18.
- Seppänen, Aimo, Rhonwen Bowen & Joe Trotta. 1994. "On the So-called Complex Prepositions." *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 29: 3–29.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech & Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Nouns and verbs: towards an empirical account.

Hollmann, Willem
(Lancaster University).

Within structuralist/generative linguistics word classes have traditionally been seen as based on structural (distributional) facts, meaning being backgrounded or ignored completely (e.g. Palmer 1971, Aarts 2007). In contrast to the structuralist tradition, cognitive linguistics usually emphasises the role of meaning—either semantic (see e.g. Langacker's 1991, 2008 characterisation of nouns as 'things' and verbs as 'processes') or semantic-pragmatic (see Croft's 2001 analysis of nouns as object words performing a referring function, and of verbs as action words used for predication).

However, neither structuralists nor cognitivists would appear to have paid much attention to relevant work in psycholinguistics, where in addition to structural and semantic factors, the importance of various phonological cues has been established for quite some time (e.g. Cassidy & Kelly 1991). Taylor (2002) is an interesting exception, but some of his generalisations concerning prototypical phonological properties of nouns and verbs do not follow from his corpus data, and his data are problematic to begin with (e.g. more than 92% is written not spoken; the CELEX database used by Taylor is based on the COBUILD corpus, but CELEX misses a lot of words from COBUILD, cf. Baayen & Renouf 1996).

Taking advances in psycholinguistics as its cue, this paper aims to shed more light on structural, semantic-pragmatic, and phonological aspects of nouns and verbs by drawing on evidence from (i) frequent nouns and verbs from the spoken part of the British National Corpus and (ii) an experiment involving the production of existing and nonsense nouns and verbs by 97 undergraduate students at Lancaster University.

I will show how these sources of information provide additional support for the relatively broad conception of word classes associated with psycholinguists, as against the narrow definitions of both structuralists and cognitivists. For example, on the level of phonology, my evidence confirms Cassidy & Kelly's (1991) suggestion that nouns are prototypically longer than verbs.

The corpus and experimental evidence will be integrated with conclusions from earlier psycholinguistic work to yield a more empirically grounded alternative to the traditional structuralist and cognitive accounts of nouns and verbs. I argue that the adjustments necessary to bring the established cognitive linguistic account(s) in line with usage-based and experimental data provide a cautionary tale for the cognitive linguistic community against (i) reacting to the structuralist tradition too strongly, and (ii) paying insufficient attention to available psycholinguistic evidence.

References:

- Aarts, B. 2007. *Syntactic gradience*. Oxford: OUP.
- Baayen, H. & A. Renouf. 1996. Chronically the Times: productive lexical innovations in an English newspaper. *Language* 72:69-96.
- Cassidy, K.W. & M.H. Kelly. 1991. Phonological information for grammatical category assignment. *Journal of Memory and Language* 30:348-369.

- Croft, W. 2001. *Radical construction grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
 Langacker, R.W. 1991. *Concept, image and symbol*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
 Langacker, R.W. 2008. *Cognitive grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
 Palmer, F. 1971. *Grammar*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
 Taylor, J.R. 2002. *Cognitive grammar*. Oxford: OUP.

Obliqueness, quasi-subjects and transitivity in Indo-European.

Holvoet, Axel

(Vilnius University / Warsaw University).

The presentation deals with syntactic structures containing dative quasi-subjects, attested in different Indo-European languages (Germanic, Baltic, Slavonic) and their relation to transitivity. The account offered here crucially invokes the notion of obliqueness, a hierarchy of noun phrases based on discourse saliency and reflected in word order as well as in syntactic accessibility. The prototypical subject is a pairing of (highest) obliqueness rank and morphosyntactic marking (nominative), but there are also structures in which this marking is not assigned and the highest obliqueness rank is occupied by a non-nominative NP displaying certain subject properties. These may range from a whole array of subject properties, as in Icelandic, to just a few, such as control of reflexivisation (as in Baltic and Slavonic). The basic pattern of relative obliqueness is subject > direct object > other objects (nominative > accusative > other cases), but this pattern has local exceptions: dative NPs typically outrank accusative NPs in the 'ditransitive construction', which is reflected in the neutral pattern of word order (cf. German *gab dem Kind ein Geschenk*, Russian *dal rebënku podarok* etc.) and in the fact that 'indirect objects' are often actually direct objects occurring alongside demoted direct objects (English *gave Mary a present*). It is argued here that intransitive constructions with dative quasi-subjects are an analogon, on a higher level of the obliqueness hierarchy, to the ditransitive construction: a dative NP, representing an experiencer, outranks the intransitive subject in obliqueness reducing it to the status of demoted intransitive object. Subject properties are therefore spread over two NPs. The status of demoted intransitive subject is reflected in cross-linguistic variation in case marking: sometimes nominative (Icel. *Jóni líkar þessi bók* 'John likes this book'), sometimes accusative (Latv. *Jānim vajag naudu* 'John needs money'); sometimes both co-occur within one language (Lith. *man skauda danti/dantis* 'My tooth:ACC/NOM aches'). Such structures with accusative-marked demoted intransitive subjects should not be mistaken for transitive structures: in a nominative-accusative alignment system, transitive structures require a nominative subject – having an accusative-marked NP is not a sufficient condition for transitivity. The evidence discussed in the presentation confirms the prototypical nature of subjecthood: far from being universal, subject status is often not assigned (though some NP can always be singled out as outranking the others in obliqueness), and we often observe diffusion of subject properties.

Temporality as a function of epistemic control: a rhetorical account.

Hommerberg, Charlotte & Paradis, Carita

(Linnaeus University, Lund University).

Following Jaszczolt's (2009) proposal that temporality is a function of epistemic control, we explore the use of temporal marking in wine-tasting notes written by world famous wine critic Robert Parker. On the basis of data from 200 tasting notes from Robert Parker's *WineAdvocate*, we propose that temporal marking is important evidence of the writer's epistemic control with implications for his rhetorical success and credibility as a wine critic. As in (1), his tasting notes typically start with a past-time description of the production-related aspects that caused the quality of the wine which is described in the subsequent passage (italics are ours). The texts are closed with a future-time reference to the wine's potential for future development and durability.

- (1) This unfiltered blend of 65% Tempranillo, 30% Cabernet Sauvignon, and 5% Merlot saw malolactic in barrel, and aging in French as well as American oak for 16 months. *Bordeaux-like, it exhibits a dense ruby/purple color in addition to a bouquet of sweet tobacco, black currants, and leathery aromas, medium to full body, terrific purity, an enduring texture, and a long finish revealing moderate but ripe tannin.* This beauty should drink well for 10-12 years.

We capitalize on the descriptions of the wine, which emulate the tasting event in how the perceptual information is presented (the part in italics). The descriptions reveal a strong preference for the present tense, suggesting epistemic control (Langacker 2009). The present tense invites the reader to take part in the describer's perceptual experiences, thus enhancing the direct visual, olfactory and gustatory perceptions as if they coincide with when the writer meets the reader. The simple present evokes a generic reading (Brisard 2002, Jaszczolt 2009), suggesting that the addressee will have the same experience of the wine if/when s/he tastes it, since the qualities are presented as permanent attributes of the wine. Such validity claims are rhetorically significant since they are indications of the ways in which writers/speakers achieve their goals, i.e. how they negotiate with or manipulate their audiences. It takes a conscious effort on the part of the reader to uncover the fact that what

is being described is the writer's personal perceptual experience at some specific moment in the past. In our data, only one occurrence of the past tense was found.

(2) An atypical 2003 white, the 2003 Crozes-Hermitage blanc from Albert Belle was acidified, tart, and green.

Our contention is that the communicative function of the past tense in (2), in addition to encoding epistemic distance, is also to direct the audience's attention away from the state of affairs that is being described, thus depicting it as unworthy of their attention. Conversely, we propose that the rhetorical function of the present tense in (1), in addition to expressing epistemic immediacy, is also to direct the audience's attention towards a shared writer/reader experience. This paper thus argues that the use of modal/temporal marking in the different parts of the tasting note has rhetorical significance, i.e. it affects the relationship between the writer and his audience in terms of the epistemic immediacy and control of the content of the utterance.

References:

- Brisard, F. 2002. The English present. In Brisard, F. (ed.) *Grounding: The epistemic footing of deixis and reference*. Berlin Mouton de Gruyter. 259–97.
- Jaszczolt, K. M. 2009. *Representing time: An essay on temporality as modality*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Langacker, R. 2009. *Investigations in cognitive grammar*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Partitives stretching borders: How well do Finnish and Estonian partitive subjects serve as a criterion for the existential clause?

Huumo, Tuomas & Lindström, Liina
(University of Tartu).

The received view in Finnish and Estonian linguistics holds that the use of the partitive subject is one of the main criteria that distinguishes existential (e-) from non-existential clauses. Partitive subjects only occur in e-clauses (and possessive constructions, which fulfil the criteria of e-clauses), whereas non-existential subjects are in the nominative. Some existential subjects, however, take the nominative, and the choice of the case depends on the quantity expressed by the subject NP: in affirmative e-clauses the nominative indicates a bounded and the partitive an unbounded quantity. Under negation, all e-subjects take the partitive, and the opposition based on quantity is neutralized. Other main criteria that characterize e-clauses are the lack of subject–verb agreement in person and number, and a typical inverse (X)VS word order. (ISK: 850–852, EKG II: 42–43).

The conditions for the partitive subject are thus presumably identical in Finnish and Estonian. Nevertheless, its distribution seems to differ in the two languages. For instance, a discourse-new postverbal subject often takes the nominative and triggers verb agreement in Estonian, while in Finnish the partitive must be used to convey the existential meaning, e.g. *Siin ela+vad vanuri+d* (ESTONIAN) [here live+PRES.3SG elderly.people+PL.NOM] ~ *Täällä asu+u vanhuks+i+a*. (FINNISH) [here live+PRES.3SG elderly.people+PL+PAR] 'There are elderly people living here'.

From another point of view, the use of the partitive of negation does not seem to follow the boundaries of e-clauses in the way assumed by the standard grammars. Huumo (1999) demonstrates that the Finnish partitive of negation is natural only with most canonical existential verbs (e.g. 'be', 'appear', 'come', 'arrive'), while more contentful verbs do not allow it. This yields a class of apparently existential affirmative clauses, which under negation do not turn their subjects into the partitive i.e. do not follow the morphosyntactic criteria for existentials. On the other hand, such canonical e-verbs allow the partitive of negation also in negated counterparts of non-existential clauses. Such a tendency is even stronger in Estonian, where even pronominal subjects (which trigger verb agreement and are obviously not discourse-new) can take the partitive marking under negation. This yields negated clauses whose affirmative counterparts display non-existential syntax, for instance *Mina ole+n kodu+s* 1SG.NOM be+PRES.1SG home+INE 'I am at home' can be negated as *Min+d ei ole kodu+s* [1SG+PAR NEG be home+INE] 'I am not at home' (lit. 'There is no me at home').

Our discussion shows, first, that even though identical grammatical criteria for the use of partitive subjects are given in the standard grammars of the two languages, there are crucial differences between them. Furthermore, we show that the partitive of negation does not follow the criteria for existentials as straightforwardly as has been supposed. From this it follows that either the borders of the clause types or the use of the partitive subject as a criterion for existentials needs to be reconsidered.

References:

- EKG II = Ereht, Mati, Reet Kasik, Helle Metslang, Henno Rajandi, Kristiina Ross, Henn Saari, Kaja Tael, Silvi Vare. 1993. *Eesti keele grammatika. II Süntaks*. [A grammar of Estonian II: Syntax]. Tallinn: Eesti TA Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut.
- Huumo, Tuomas. 1999. "Kiellonalaisen partitiivisubjektin semantiikkaa" [On the semantics of the partitive subject of negation]. *Sananjalka* 41: 21-42.

The inversion of the typological cycle in morphology.

Igartua, Iván

(University of the Basque Country at Vitoria-Gasteiz).

The typological cycle, widely assumed at least since A. Schleicher's times (for its modern formulation vid., for example, Croft 2003: 252), states that a morphologically isolating system can be replaced by an agglutinative one, whereas the latter can evolve into a fleective (fusional) structure. The cycle reinstitutes when in the place of the fusional type a new isolating system emerges.

This path of morphological change, traditionally applied to whole languages, but corresponding more adequately to particular grammatical phenomena (cf. Plank 1999 and the notion of *split morphology*), has been considered unidirectional. According to this strong claim, there exists no possibility of inverting the relation between any two of these morphological types.

But what we actually find in the attested history of several languages is precisely the existence of the inverse relation between the agglutinative and the fusional types. The diachrony of languages such as Georgian, Armenian, Ossetian, Lithuanian or Tocharian A and B shows a clear tendency towards the replacement of fusional structures by agglutinative ones in the realm of nominal morphology. (The special inflectional traits of Tocharian declension called the attention of scholars shortly after the discovering of those languages. Trubetzkoy (1939) was among the first to point out the typological relevance of Tocharian nominal declension inside Indo-European.) A similar process of diachronic substitution has been proposed for Uralic (an overall agglutinative language group, but whose ancestor might have been of the fleective type, vid. Korhonen 1996 [1981]). According to Donegan and Stampe (2004: 3, 21), the Munda languages have developed an agglutinative structure, too; the comparison of Munda with Mon-Khmer allows to reconstruct a diachronic process of change from the fusional system of Proto-Austro-Asiatic (more cautiously, Lehmann (1973: 57) called it "non-agglutinative") to the agglutination characteristic of modern Munda languages.

The mechanism underlying this kind of morphological evolution typically involves *addition* of new inflectional material (particles, postpositions, collective suffixes), which serves as the basis for the expression of new complex cases (as in Lithuanian or Tocharian) or for the separation of number exponence (Georgian, Armenian, Ossetian). But the historical analysis of the declension in East Slavic languages (especially Russian) reveals another mechanism of agglutination. The restructuring of the plural paradigm in Russian, which eliminated almost all gender distinctions, resulted in a unified inflectional class where a new formative for the plural meaning can be segmented, giving rise to a separate exponence that replaces the inherited cumulative structure (thus, modern Russian paradigms can be defined as semi-agglutinative, vid. Zaliznjak 2002 [1967]). This is an instance of what can be called *secretion*, a mechanism of exponence change consisting in the formal and functional emancipation of a particular morphological segment inside a morpheme.

The bidirectionality of typological change (from agglutination to fusion, but also viceversa) may be explained taking into account the different linguistic levels that trigger each kind of change. In the case of agglutination-oriented evolution it is morphological naturalness (uniformity and coding transparency) that can lie under this diachronic tendency.

References:

- Croft, William, 2003, *Typology and Universals*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (2nd edition).
- Donegan, Patricia and David Stampe, 2004, "Rhythm and the synthetic drift of Munda", in R. Singh (ed.), *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics* (2004), Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 3-36.
- Korhonen, Mikko, 1996 [1981], "Typological drift in the Finno-Ugrian languages with special referente to the case system", in *Typological and Historical Studies in Language* (T. Salminen, ed.), Helsinki, Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 195-206.
- Lehmann, Winfred P., 1973, "A structural principle of language and its implications", *Language* 49, 47-66.
- Plank, Frans, 1999, "Split morphology: How agglutination and flexion mix", *Linguistic Typology* 3, 279-340.
- Trubetzkoy, Nikolaj S., 1939, "Gedanken über das Indogermanenproblem", *Acta Linguistica* 1, 81-89.
- Zaliznjak, Andrej A., 2002 [1967], "O pokazateljax množestvennogo čisla v russkom sklonenii", in *Russkoe imennoe sklonenie s priloženiem izbrannyx rabot po sovremennomu russkomu jazyku i obščemu jazykoznaniju*, Moskva, Jazyki slavjanskoj kul'tury, 545-549.

Embedding Papiamentu in the Mixed Language Debate.

Jacobs, Bart

(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München).

This paper deals with the origins of the mixed Spanish-Portuguese vocabulary of Papiamentu, the creole language of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao. To account for its mixed vocabulary, I have argued (Jacobs 2009a & b, to appear a & b) that Papiamentu results from the relexification of Cape Verdean Portuguese Creole (CVPC) by Spanish on Curaçao in the second half of the 17th century, a claim based on the correspondence of the functional categories of the two creoles. This claim, though controversial, is in keeping with Martinus (1996) and Quint (2000) and is gradually finding more acceptance (e.g. Green 2007; Baptista 2009; Hagemeyer 2009).

In the present paper, now, I will examine the possibility of embedding Papiamentu in the study of mixed and intertwined languages (cf. Bakker & Mous 1994; Bakker 1997; Thomason 1997; Matras 2000; Bakker & Matras 2003; Siemund & Kintana 2008, etc.). I will propose that, besides being a creole, Papiamentu constitutes a mixed language with CVPC as the matrix language viz. the provider of the morpho-syntactic frame, and Spanish as the embedded language viz. the source of the non-functional lexicon. (Note that, to facilitate discussion, I will largely ignore the significant, although far less substantial, contributions to Papiamentu by, for instance, Dutch and several other languages.)

To review PA as a mixed language offers several descriptive advantages. For instance, whereas the notion of relexification is a divisive one in creole studies – due to its ungrateful association with the conjectural and now moribund monogenesis frameworks as well as with the extreme Relexification Hypothesis proposed by Lefebvre & Lumsden (1989 and beyond) –, it is a widely-recognized and well-defined phenomenon within the study of mixed languages (cf. Muysken 1981).

With the traditional lexical/functional distinction (cf. Thomason & Kaufman 1988; Myers-Scotton 1993; Comrie 2000; Muysken 2008; Matras 2009, etc.) in mind, I will provide an overview of which original CVPC morphemes were retained in Papiamentu and which were substituted by Spanish. I will show that the functional paradigms generally considered to constitute the morpho-syntactic skeleton of a (creole) language (TMA, auxiliaries, conjunctions, pronouns, demonstratives, adpositions, derivational and inflectional morphology) can all be traced back to CVPC, whereas Spanish has provided (or rather replaced) the big bulk of the basic non-functional vocabulary (e.g. the words for ‘man’, ‘woman’, ‘water’, ‘moon’, etc.). In addition, several possible counter-examples (e.g. the non-correspondence of the sentential negator, copula, deictic adverbs and nominal pluralizer) will be addressed and explained as the result of gap filling, replication, convergence and more or less predictable grammaticalization (cf. Heine & Kuteva 2002, 2005).

On the basis of this overview, I will compare Papiamentu with several recognized cases of language mixing and examine to what extent Papiamentu qualifies as a mixed language.

Finally, I will analyze the socio-linguistic and historical setting in which Papiamentu emerged and discuss to what extent this setting resembles the setting generally thought to favor the emergence of mixed languages (cf. Bakker 2003).

References:

- Bakker, Peter & Maarten Mous, eds. 1994. *Mixed Languages. 15 Case Studies in Language Intertwining*. Amsterdam: IFOTT.
- Bakker, Peter. *A language of our own. The Genesis of Michif, the Mixed Cree-French Language of the Canadian Métis*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World lexicon of grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language Contact and Grammatical Change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2009a. The Upper Guinea origins of Papiamentu. Linguistic and historical evidence. *Diachronica* 26:3, 319-379.
- Jacobs, Bart. 2009b. The origins of Old Portuguese features in Papiamentu. In: *Leeward voices: Fresh perspectives on Papiamentu and the literatures and cultures of the ABC Islands. Proceedings of the ECICC-conference, Curaçao 2008. Volume 1*. Ed. by Nicholas Faraclas, Ronald Severing, Christa Weijer, Liesbeth Echteld. Curaçao: FPI / UNA. pp. 11-38.
- Jacobs, Bart. To appear a. Papiamentu: a diachronic analysis of its core morphology. To appear in *Phrasis*, 2008-02.
- Jacobs, Bart. To appear b. On the Dutch presence in 17th century Senegambia and the emergence of Papiamentu. To appear in the *Proceedings of the Brokers of Change conference: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Pre-Colonial “Guinea of Cape Verde”*. Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, June 11 – June 13, 2009.
- Matras, Yaron & Peter Bakker, eds. 2003. *The Mixed Language Debate. Theoretical and Empirical Advances*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1981. Half-way between Quechua and Spanish: The case for relexification. In: *Historicity and variation in Creole studies*, ed. A. R. Highfield & A. Valdman, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Karoma. pp. 52-78.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2008. *Functional Categories*. Cambridge University Press.
- Siemund, Peter & Noemi Kintana, eds. 2008. *Language Contact and Contact Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey, ed. 1997. *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Why non-cognates and non-copies in the bound morphology of adjacent languages often look so similar?

Janhunen, Juha
(University of Helsinki-Helsingfors).

This paper investigates the phenomenon that similar grammatical functions are often expressed by similarly looking elements in adjacent languages. There are cases in which the function of an element is borrowed and the form looks like borrowed but is not.

To illustrate the phenomenon we may quote the well-known example of comitative-instrumental marking in the Sinitic and Mongolic languages of the Kuku Nor region, or Amdo Qinghai. In several of the Mongolic (Shirongolic) languages of the region, the function of the instrumental-comitative case is expressed by the suffix *-la*, which is a reflex of the Proto-Mongolic comitative marker **-lUxA*. In the Sinitic (Northwest Mandarin) languages and dialects of the region, the same function is expressed by the suffix *-lia* (dialectally possibly also *-la*). It would be easy to be misled to assuming that the Sinitic marker is a borrowing from Mongolic, but it is actually a reflex of the native Sinitic element (***)-*liang-ge* '(the) two (together)'. This means that both groups of languages have arrived at a formally and functionally similar result from their own material resources. The final paper will include several more examples also from other parts of Eurasia.

Among the trivial explanations of this phenomenon are the limited number of phonotactic choices in bound morphemes, and the general tendency of bound morphemes to undergo reduction. There are, however, also other possible explanations that are connected with the impact of linguistic adjacency. These will be discussed in the paper.

Language maintenance and language loss in marginalized communities: The case of the *bateyes* in the Dominican Republic.

Jansen, Silke
(University of Mainz).

The so called *bateyes*, former company towns for sugar workers in the Dominican Republic, are today marginalized communities with a high concentration of Dominicans of Haitian descent and illegal immigrants from Haiti. Although it can easily be seen that these communities are bilingual, no linguistic studies have been conducted yet to examine the language contact between Spanish and Haitian Creole. This is partly due to the substandard living conditions in these communities, but also to the fact that the cultural and linguistic affiliation of the *bateyeros* is a highly political issue in the Dominican Republic which is directly related to the internationally criticized practice by Dominican authorities of denying birth certificates and Dominican nationality to the children born in the *bateyes*.

In this paper, an initial attempt is made to describe the language contact situation in the Dominican *bateyes*, focusing on the linguistic behavior of young female informants of the second migrant generation in the two *bateyes* Altagracia and Cuarenta y Tres near Santo Domingo. The informants, who described themselves as fully bilingual in Spanish and Haitian Creole, were asked to give sociolinguistic information about their use of Spanish and Haitian Creole in different communicative situations, as well as their language attitudes in respect of the two languages in question. These partly structured interviews were followed by a free conversation in Haitian Creole and in Spanish about an HIV prevention program which was being realized in Altagracia and Cuarenta y Tres and in which all of the informants were involved. The data were transcribed and analyzed in view of language contact and interference phenomena.

As a first result, it can be stated that the informants speak Haitian Creole mainly with Haitian born people (who might also be older family members or, in many cases, their husbands), while they prefer to speak Spanish with their children, their peers from the second migrant generation and other persons born in the *batey*. The majority of the informants express positive attitudes to both of the languages in question and thus emphasize a double identity which relates them both to Haitian and to Dominican culture. Whereas their variety of Spanish, apart from a couple of integrated loans from Haitian Creole, is similar to that of other rural communities in the Dominican Republic, their variety of Haitian Creole is heavily influenced by Spanish, showing phonetic interference from Spanish, numerous instances of code-switching and other phenomena that may be related to language attrition. These results seem to indicate that, in spite of the generally positive attitudes in respect of Haitian Creole, the *bateyeros* born in the Dominican Republic tend to shift to Spanish, and that only the constant influx of new immigrants from Haiti contributes to the maintenance of Haitian Creole. Further investigations based upon a wider range of informants will have to be carried out in order to confirm this hypothesis.

Polish *mieć* ('to have') as evidential marker and its interplays with epistemic particles *jakoby* ('allegedly'), *podobno* ('apparently'), *rzekomo* ('reputedly').

Jedrzejowski, Lukasz & Olszewska Agnieszka
(Freie Universität Berlin & Uniwersytet Jagiellonski).

The subject of the research is the Polish verb *mieć* as an evidential marker, its appearance with epistemic particles, and the meaning the combinations of them (could) have.

Polish does not have at its disposal as many modals as Germanic languages. Thus, an epistemic reading of German *wollen* or Dutch *willen* is to be paraphrased in Polish by other means. In HANSEN (2001), however, it has been shown that the lack of epistemic reading does not always pertain to each Polish modal auxiliary. HANSEN (2001) also claims that one of the usage patterns of the Polish verb *mieć* is equivalent to the epistemic reading of the German verb *sollen*. Focusing on the data, however, it can be observed that there are two other possible scenarios that may allegedly encode the double displacement of *sollen*. The first one refers solely to epistemic particles. It is well-known, however, that epistemic particles are not conterminous with modal verbs. Whereas epistemic modal verbs encode the information source, epistemic particles do not (cf. ABRAHAM 2008, LEISS 2008). SOCKA (2009) mentions the second one, whereby the usage both of *mieć* and one of the epistemic particles is concerned. Our speech undertakes it to explain the double displacement in Polish-German contrastive study.

In this presentation we will take into account the fact that epistemic modal verbs and epistemic particles are not equal to one another. We shall address three questions. First, we will briefly explain why epistemic particles as *jakoby*, *podobno* and *rzekomo* are not efficient counterparts of German *sollen*, even if they seem to range higher in speaker/addressee deixis. Second, it will have to be seen why the Polish verb *mieć* does not often correspond to the German verb *sollen* and its both evidential and epistemic components, which refer to a person who is neither the proposition subject nor the speaker himself, are enhanced by the aforementioned epistemic particles. Finally, based on *mieć* we will to argue that epistemic speaker commitment hinges upon the interpretation of the information source by both the speaker and the listener.

References:

- Abraham, Werner (2008): *Illocutive force is speaker and information source concern. What type of syntax does the representation of speaker deixis require? Templates vs. derivational structure?* Manuskript. München • Wien.
- Hansen, Björn (2001): *Das slavische Modalauxiliar. Semantik und Grammatikalisierung im Russischen, Polnischen, Serbischen / Kroatischen und Altkirchenslavischen.* München: Otto Sagner.
- Leiss, Elisabeth (2008): „The silent and aspect-driven patterns of deonticity and epistemicity. A chapter in diachronic typology.“ In: Abraham, W. & Leiss, E. (eds.) *Modality-aspect interfaces – implications and typological solutions.* Philadelphia: Benjamins, 15-41.
- Socka, Anna (2009): „Reportative Partikeln in kontrastiver Sicht (Polnisch – Deutsch). In: Socka, A. & Kałny, A. (eds.): *Modalität/Temporalität in kontrastiver und typologischer Perspektive.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 239-264.

Future tense, prospective aspect, and irrealis mood as part of the situation perspective: Insights from Basque, Turkish, and Papuan.

Jendraschek, Gerd
(Regensburg University).

A morphological category whose primary function is to indicate future time reference is commonly called ‘future tense’. In descriptive practice, however, such morphological markers are often polysemous or multifunctional. I will provide a short typological overview of some of the problems involved, drawing examples from languages as different as Turkish, Basque, and the Papuan language Iatmul. The approach is first onomasiological: We single out the concept of future (tense/time) and look for its structural correlates in our language sample. The second step is semasiological, as we describe the polysemy and, where applicable, diachrony of the morphemes and constructions found through the onomasiological approach.

In Turkish, we have two competing markers for the expression of future tense, which we may call ‘dispositive’ and ‘prospective’. Morphologically, they are both in the aspectual slot and therefore combine with present and past tense markers. The label ‘future tense’ is therefore problematic. Basque has a verbal morpheme *-ke* (glossable as potential or irrealis) appearing in a wide range of contexts having in common a certain distance from reality, such as future, epistemic assumption, conditional, or possibility/ability. In addition, Basque has an innovative periphrastic construction which is, like the Turkish markers, of aspectual origin and can combine with either present, past, or hypothetical ‘tense’. It is the latter, periphrastic construction, which has come to express future tense in most modern varieties of Basque, restricting *-ke* to its modal functions. Finally, the Papuan language Iatmul has a marker *-kiya* which not only covers future time reference, but also deontic modality and hypothetical statements. In addition, the language has innovative periphrastic constructions for a more determined future, which is a parallel to the Basque scenario. Interestingly, both Turkish and Iatmul have a reduced system in (some) subordinate clauses, which conflates the non-future/realis categories, but leaves the future/irrealis category intact.

For linguistic theory, these observations invite two hypotheses. First, the tendency of future time markers to expand into the broad domain of irrealis makes them diachronically unsuitable for the expression of future events that are felt to have a closer connection with the reality of the speech situation, such as intentions. Second, the label 'tense' is often problematic for those markers of future time reference which are morphologically and/or semantically akin to aspectual and modal categories. A more adequate concept is therefore that of the situation perspective, which includes localization in time and with respect to reality. Tense, aspect, and mood should be seen as interacting prototypical categories within that macro-category.

Multiple Sources and Multiple Causes.

Joseph, Brian
(The Ohio State University).

While the study of multiple sources has recently gained some degree of currency and interest, there is actually a rather long tradition of looking at multiple *causes* for language change. Sapir 1921, for instance, discussed several factors acting in concert to bring about the demise of the *who/whom* case distinction once so strong in earlier stages of English. And, it has long been recognized that language contact can promote and hasten the emergence and spread of a development which is emergent on internal grounds in a language.

In this paper, focusing mainly on morphosyntax and taking as my point of departure the scenario of "multiple causation" that was argued as essential in understanding the loss of the infinitive in Balkan languages and its replacement by finite complementation, as discussed in Joseph 1983, I argue that we are actually better off if we can identify multiple pressures on some part of a language system, rather than having to choose (arbitrarily) one as the single answer to why a change happened as it did. That is, when presented with multiple causes, we should aim to take all reasonable ones into account. Oftentimes all of the factors represent reasonable pressures that speakers could have been aware of and influenced by, and to exclude any from playing a role would simply be arbitrary.

Other examples are examined here, including the emergence and spread of evidentiality in the Balkans under conditions of language contact.

Multiple causation thus offers a basis for thinking about multiple sources in language change; instead of insisting on a single source for a construction, all of the input factors which could have played a role need to be taken into consideration. The result is a more nuanced, but at the same time far richer, view of how languages actually change, or, more accurately, how speakers change their language.

Causes and effects of rapid change of morphemes and corresponding semantic categories in Hittite.

Josephson, Folke
(University of Göteborg).

We will investigate to what extent there was copying of case endings and nominal suffixes from unrelated languages (Hattic, Hurrian) or from the related Luvian and if Hittite had a need for such elements due to change of typological traits caused by external influence or language specific historical change. Did loss of productivity of such elements increase the need for borrowing? Loss of morphemes and weakness of word formation will be discussed in this context. Questions raised in Watkins (1999) concerning possible Hattic or Hurrian origin of Hittite ergativity and enclitic pronoun and particle chains will be examined.

The questions will be approached from the points of view of areal linguistics, historical sociolinguistics, diffusion and inheritance, diachronic typology, and semantics.

The syntactic function of morphemes and other elements and the grammaticalization of elements leading to new ways of expressing categories will play a role in defining the results of typological change that may or may not have been caused by external influence. Data are found in Hittite texts of different periods of the attested history of the language (Old, Middle, and Late Hittite) which cover four centuries of rapid linguistic change.

There is no evidence of morphological copying from adjacent non-IE languages. Syntactic copying is possible but not easy to prove. The use of sentence introductory particles may possibly be copied from Hattic as proposed by Watkins. Syntactic projection of elements into Wackernagel position is not necessarily of Hattic or Hurrian origin. Hittite split ergativity may be a regional feature but has peculiar traits. The enrichment of the case system and the morphology by an ergative case is beset with many problems. Areal influence on syntactic structure by a non-IE language cannot be excluded but does not involve transfer of morphemes. It is not certain that Hittite loss of case forms is a result of the more advanced loss found in Luvian. Similar internal developments are attested in many languages. Rapid change is evidenced in the historical development of Hittite. There was a lack of productivity of many Hittite nominal suffixes and Hittite copying of Luvian suffixes and of political and technical words with Luvian suffixes. It was caused by changing norms in language choice and widespread Hittite-Luvian bilingualism. There was an increase of loans of specialized terminology. Nomina instrumenti were the first to be invaded by Luvian loan words and forms. Copying in the opposite direction occurs in the case of nomina actionis where Hittite shows the greatest resistance and a Luvian suffix is replaced by a Hittite one in

loanwords. The enclitic particles -san and -kan did not occur exclusively in Wackernagel position. They were localising and directional elements and affected the actionality of verbs and accompanied important changes in the semantics of local adverbs. (Josephson, forthcoming). Grammaticalisation of the particles led to overt specification of the normally abstract category of *mode* described by Kracht (2002). This unusual result of rapid change is neither an areal phenomenon nor a result of copying.

References:

- Josephson, F. 1999. Decay of suffixation in a corpus language. In *Language Change. Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics*. (E.H. Jahr ed.) Berlin-New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 85-95.
- Josephson, F. forthcoming. Directionality, case and actionality in Hittite. In *Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Language Typology in a Diachronical Perspective held at Göteborg University* (provisional title). (F. Josephson and I. S'an eds).
- Kracht, M. 2002. On the semantics of locatives. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 25: 157-232.
- Watkins, C. 2001. An Indo-European Linguistic Area: Ancient Anatolia. Areal Diffusion as a Challenge to the Comparative Method? In *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance. Problems in Comparative Linguistics*. (A.Y. Aikhenvald and R.M. Dixon eds.) Oxford: Oxford University Press. 44-63.

The historical background of the transfer of a Kurdish bound morpheme to Neo-Aramaic.

Josephson, Judith
(University of Göthenburg).

It has been observed that the northeastern Neo-Aramaic dialects (henceforth NENA) have copied different morphological elements from the surrounding Kurdish dialects. Among these elements one finds the definite article suffix, the ergative inflection with verbs and the modal particle of volition *ba* (Khan 2007: 201, 204, 206). The particle *ba/be* will be the focus of the present study in which the historical process of borrowing will be considered within the broader perspective of comparative Iranian.

The approach will be diachronic and comparative mixed with areal studies in three steps. 1) In Classical Persian, which was the dominant language in religion and administration in the area from the 12th to the 15th centuries, the particle *be* slowly acquires new functions and evolves into a prefixed morpheme. 2) By the 16th and 17th centuries manifestations of written Kurdish show strong influence from Classical Persian. It can be suggested that under this influence Kurdish copied Persian *be* in form and function or copied the function of Persian *be* onto an already existing Kurdish cognate *be* with adverbial function. 3) Written specimens of NENA from 1738 illustrate the usage of *b-/bed* to indicate future/possible (Poizat 1990: 173).

The question: Can the hypothesis that there was a process of copying in two stages, first by Kurdish from Classical Persian and subsequently by NENA from Kurdish, be demonstrated?

The method will consist of three steps. First the usage of *be* in the Classical Persian texts of the 12th to 16th centuries with samples of 40 to 60 pages from representative styles will be compared. The usages of *be* + present stem of the verb and that of *be* + preterite will be summarized to form the background of the second step. This step will be a survey of the function of *be* as morpheme in the verbal systems of the northwest (including Kurdish) and central dialects to establish its distribution and range of functions. Finally this will be compared with the distribution of functions of modal *be* in the NENA dialects.

Results: Preliminary samples from Classical Persian texts show approximately when *be* began to develop one function with the present stem of the verb and a different one with the past. It is reaching the end of a centuries-long process of grammaticalization (Josephson: work in progress). It also shows that *be* is used in all of the functions of this same morphological element *be/bi* observed in the dialects. The second survey shows that Kurdish clearly belongs to the northwest dialects in which the function of *be* as a modal particle is the only one. Further conclusions about this borrowing process will need more research. The third survey shows that while NENA dialects have copied different usages of *be* as modal prefix, no one dialect has all of the functions of modal *be* found in Kurdish. Therefore at present it seems plausible to assume that the morphological element *be* was first borrowed by Kurdish from Classical Persian and subsequently by NENA from Kurdish.

References:

- Blau, Joyce, 1980, *Manuel de kurde*, Paris Josephson, Judith (work in progress) *The functions of the preverb/particle be in Middle Persian*
- Khan, Geoffrey, 2007, Grammatical borrowing in North-eastern Neo-Aramaic in *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross Linguistic Perspective*, ed. Y. Matras & J. Sakel, 197-214.
- Poizat, Bruno, 1990, La peste de Pioz in *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*, ed. W. Heinrichs, 161-179.

Patterns of Lexis in Learner Language: Lithuanian Learners vs. Native Speakers.

Juknevičienė, Rita
(Vilnius University).

Corpus linguistics approach to the study of learner language continues to give many new insights into different aspects of vocabulary acquisition. This study, which is a part of my PhD research into lexical differences between L1 and L2 written English, has also been inspired by corpus studies. More specifically, the presentation will discuss those lexical differences which could be established by analysing multi-word units, *i.e.* lexical bundles, understood as "most frequent recurring sequences of words" (Biber 2006: 133). This research draws on corpus studies of English (Altenberg 1998, Biber *et al.* 1999, Biber *et al.* 2004, Biber 2006, Hyland 2008) and learner corpus research (Granger 1998b, De Cock 2004). The present study is expected to contribute to the field in two aspects. Firstly, to the best of my knowledge corpus-driven approach has been hardly ever used to the study of vocabulary acquisition of Lithuanian EFL learners which only became possible with the compilation of LICLE, a Lithuanian component of the ICLE project, launched by S. Granger (Grigaliūnienė *et al.* 2008). Secondly, an attempt is made here to analyze learner language in terms of Pattern Grammar (Hunston and Francis 2000) which views lexis and grammar as inseparable aspects of language welding into one unit different aspects of language competence. This study has been designed as Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis (Granger 1998a) to compare lexical patterns established in written English produced by native and non-native speakers of the language. The data has been retrieved from three corpora of student essays, namely, corpora AFK1 and LICLE both of which represent written English of Lithuanian university students at two different levels of proficiency and LOCNESS, a corpus of native speaker English compiled at the University of Louvain (Granger 1998a). The method involves both automated and manual analysis. The WordSmith Tools program has been used to retrieve lexical bundles of three, four, five and six words. The lists of the bundles have been manually edited to eliminate sequences of non-authentic language, e.g. quotations, fiction titles *etc.*, and to conflate identical bundles of varying lengths, e.g. *end of the* and *the end of the*. The shortened lists have been used to describe the prevailing patterns of lexis following in as much as possible patterns presented in Hunston and Francis (2000). Preliminary findings show that in terms of different pattern types, the analysed corpora bear similarities, which is perhaps the outcome of similarity in language type, namely written argumentative essays. For example, noun patterns, e.g. **a N of** as in *a problem of*, *a matter of* are the most numerous in all the corpora. Yet the language of native speakers is much more lexically varied than NNS language which is evidenced by different realizations of individual patterns. Another early observation is related to the completeness of patterns in the bundle lists. The NS corpus yields a much larger proportion of complete patterns whereas the NNS corpora contain significantly fewer complete-pattern bundles which possibly indicates a transitional stage on the continuum of vocabulary acquisition.

References:

- Altenberg, B. 1998. On the phraseology of spoken English. The evidence of recurrent word-combinations. From Cowie, A.P. (ed.) *Phraseology. Theory, Analysis, and Applications*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 101-122.
- Biber, D. 2006. *University Language. A Corpus-Based Study of Spoken and Written Registers*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S. & E. Finegan. 1999. *The Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Biber, D., S. Conrad & V. Cortes. 2004. *If you look at...: Lexical bundles in university teaching and textbooks*. *Applied Linguistics* 25: 371-405.
- De Cock, S. 2004. Preferred Sequences of Words in NS and NNS Speech. *BELL (Belgian journal of English language and literature)*, 225-246.
- Granger, S. 1998a. Prefabricated patterns in advanced EFL writing: collocations and formulae. In A. P. Cowie (ed.) *Phraseology. Theory, Analysis, And Applications*. Oxford: Clarendon. 145-160.
- Granger, S. (ed.) 1998b. *Learner English on Computer*. London: Longman.
- Grigaliūnienė, J., L. Bikelienė & R. Juknevičienė. 2008. The Lithuanian Component of the International Corpus of Learner English (LICLE): A resource for English language learning, teaching and research at Lithuanian institutions of higher learning. *Žmogus ir žodis* 10 (III). 62-66.
- Hunston, S. & G. Francis. 2000. *Pattern Grammar*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hyland, K. 2008. As Can Be Seen: Lexical Bundles and Disciplinary Variation. *English for Specific Purposes* (27), 4-10.

Thematic Feature Reduction and the Rise of Dative-Infinitive Modal Construction in Russian.

Jung, Hakyung
(Hankuk University of Foreign Studies).

This paper investigates the developmental path of the Dative-Infinitive Modal construction (DIM) in Russian (1), with a focus on changes in the thematic contents of overt arguments and the diathesis of the structure. The DIM, in both Modern Russian and Old North Russian, consists of a dative subject, an infinitival predicate, and BE. In the modern DIM object obligatorily appears in the ACC case, whereas in Old North Russian object is marked either with NOM or ACC, depending

on its grammatical animacy. Since Potebnja (1958), the Old North Russian DIM with differential object marking has been widely assumed to hint at its origin as an existential/possessive sentence in the form of *mihi est* 'me_{DAT} there is', combined with a nominative theme noun and a purposive action nominal.

- (1) Gde nam bylo spat'?
 where we.DAT be.PST.N.SG sleep.INF
 'Where did we have to sleep?'

Starting from this hypothesis, this paper reconstructs the developmental process of the DIM, based on the structural gradation of language-internal parallels of the DIM. Syntactic change, unlike phonological change, typically produces apparently identical items/structures with different functions in the same language, which is captured as "layering" (Hopper 1991), historical "residue" (Harris and Campbell 1995), or "gradience" (Aarts 2004) in the literature. I argue that possessive/existential constructions similar to the DIM represent distinct directions of changes in an identical original structure. I identify the locus, nature, and motivation of crucial innovations, as well as the conditional relationship among the innovations, by comparing the underlying structures of the DIM and its language-internal parallels. The grammaticalization of the DIM, in light of the structural gradation of its parallels, is construed as the change of the semantic and syntactic status of the dative and nominative phrases, along with the emergence of transitivity through category shift of the purposive verbal noun. The rise of the dative agentive subject and the nominative object out of the possessive/existential construction results from thematic feature reduction: overt arguments of a matrix possessive clause, referring to covert arguments in an embedded nominal clause > overt arguments of an embedded infinitive. This proposal instantiates a general principle of syntactic change: syntactic change presupposes featural ambiguity of overt arguments, which is eliminated by reanalysis reducing involved features.

References:

- Aarts, B. 2004. "Modeling Linguistic Gradience." *Studies in Language* 28, 1-49.
 Harris, A. and L. Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Cambridge Studies in Linguistics, 74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Hopper, P. 1991. "On Some Principles of Grammaticalization." In *Approaches to Grammaticalization*, Vol. 1, eds. E. Traugott and B. Heine, 17-35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 Potebnja, A. A. 1888/1958. *Iz zapiskov po russkoj grammatike* I-II. Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe učebno-pedagogičeskoe izdatel'stvo.

Singular bare nouns with specific referents in Brazilian Portuguese: "ungrammatical" constructions or another evidence for a different grammar?

Kabatek, Johannes & Wall, Albert
 (University of Tübingen).

In Brazilian Portuguese (BP), as in elder states of other Romance languages, bare singulars as well as bare plurals can refer to generic entities, as in (1), a phenomenon (i) largely described in literature in the last years and interpreted in terms of formal semantics (Schmitt & Munn 1999, 2002; Müller 2002), (ii) easily to be accounted for in corpora and (iii) accepted by natives as a variant to other ways of expressing genericity:

- (1) BP Bicicleta não polui.
 Ø Bicycle not pollutes.
Bicycles do not cause pollution.

Certain cases of singular bare nouns in BP, though, seem to be of a different kind:

- (2) Bicicleta ia se arrebentar. (BDI, 144)
 Ø Bicycle wanted itself break.
The bicycle was about to break into pieces.

Examples like those in (2), bare nouns denoting specific referents, are (i) almost uncommented in linguistic literature (Kabatek 2005), (ii) very difficult to be found in corpora and (iii) often rejected by native speakers and judged to be ungrammatical at a first glance. Therefore, it would be desirable to get a better hold of these "ungrammatical" phenomena in order to determine their status.

By combining a corpus linguistic approach with psycholinguistic experiments, we will argue that it is in fact possible to deal with the problems mentioned above and show a way this can be done for marginal constructions as in (2). We will present new data for the phenomenon, which were extracted of records of spoken language and a corpus of newspaper texts, and the results of two experiments based on these: (i) a language production test with 35 participants

including manipulation by a priming stimulus in order to raise the frequency of this kind of bare nouns and (ii) a “thermometer judgement” experiment (Featherston 2006, 2008) with 60 participants revealing speakers’ intuitions about the construction in a more differentiated way. By combining these approaches we are able to discuss restrictions for the occurrence of these bare nouns in the structure of the noun phrase and the co- and context.

As to our hypotheses, our claim for the spoken language would be that the (physical) presence of the referent in the discourse context licenses the absence of the determiner. This could be called the “presentative singular” in opposite to the “generic aspectual singular” (Meisterfeld 1998). We would also put up for discussion another hypothesis from a typological point of view. In contrast to European Portuguese and Romance languages in general, BP has been described as having properties of a topic-prominent language (Pontes 1987; Galves 1998, 2001). It is known that in these languages articles generally do not occur. It is also known that in article languages topicalization is a possible reason for the omission of the determiner. The idea would be to see if the absence of the article in our examples can be brought into one theoretical line with the general tendency of grammaticalization of topic constructions in BP.

References:

- Galves, Ch. (1998): “Tópicos, Sujeitos, Pronomes e Concordância no Português Brasileiro”, *Cadernos de Estudos Linguísticos*, UNICAMP, vol. 34: 7-21.
- Galves, Ch. (2001): *Ensaio sobre as gramáticas do português*. Campinas, Editora da Unicamp.
- Featherston, S. (2006): “Experimentell erhobene Grammatikalitätsurteile und ihre Bedeutung für die Syntaxtheorie“, in: Kallmeyer, W. & Zifonun, G. (eds): *Sprachkorpora - Datenmengen und Erkenntnisfortschritt*, Berlin, de Gruyter: 49-69.
- Featherston S. (2008): “Thermometer judgements as linguistic evidence“, in: Riehl, C. & Rothe, A. (eds): *Was ist linguistische Evidenz?*, Shaker Verlag, Aachen: 69-89.
- Kabatek, J. (2005): „Existe-t-il un cycle de grammaticalisation de l’article dans les langues romanes?“, in van Deyck, R., Sornicola R. & Kabatek, J. (Hrsg.): *La variabilité en langue*, vol. II., *Les quatre variations*, Gand 2005, Communication & Cognition, (Studies in Language 9): 139-172.
- Meisterfeld, R. (1998): *Numerus und Nominalaspekt. Eine Studie zur romanischen Apprehension*, Niemeyer, Tübingen.
- Müller, A. L. (2002): „The Semantics of Generic Quantification in Brazilian Portuguese“, *Probus* 14: 279-298.
- Pontes, E. (1987): *O tópico no português do Brasil*, Campinas, Pontes.
- Schmitt, C. & Munn, A. (1999): “Against the Nominal Mapping Parameter: Bare nouns in Brazilian Portuguese“, *NELS* 29, <http://www.msu.edu/~amunn/psfiles/nels29.pdf>.
- Schmitt, C. & Munn, A. (2002): „The syntax and semantics of bare arguments in Brazilian Portuguese“, *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 2: 253-281.

Language-specific existential sentences: evidence from English and Lithuanian.

Kalėdaitė, Violeta
(Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas).

Existential sentences (ES) in the world’s languages tend to develop specific morphological, syntactic and lexical properties (see, for example, Mihailović 1971, Lipińska 1973, Kirsner 1979, Babby 1980, Suñer 1982, Vähämäki 1984, Muromatsu 1997, Ebeling 1999, Kalėdaitė 2000). More recent studies on English ESs, as a rule, have concentrated on such aspects of *there*-sentences as the interpretation of *there*, the definiteness restriction, or the semantic classes of verbs eligible for existential assertion (see Milsark 1974, Hannay 1985, Lumsden 1988, Breivik 1990, McNally 1992, Bimer and Ward 1993, Martínez Insua 2004, among others). In other words, they have focused on the ‘mainstream’ ES construction and the features considered salient to existential sentences in general.

The aim of this paper is therefore to offer a contrastive syntactic description of less widely discussed types of ESs in two typologically different languages, English and Lithuanian. In English, the ‘*there*-family’ (Ross 1974) takes a number of different syntactic forms. One syntactic variant of ESs has a gerund as the logical subject:

- (1) *There is no telling what will happen.*

This gerundive *there*-construction (Erdmann 1976, Kjellmer 1980) is special in the sense that it acquires an extra, unexpected modal meaning “it is impossible that...” or “one cannot...”.

As regards Lithuanian, the peculiarity of the language-specific *BKI*-construction lies in its syntactic organisation and the grammatical form that the three obligatory elements of the construction take:

- (2) *Kojos nėra kur pastatyti!*
leg:GENsg not-is where put:INF
‘There is no place to put a foot in!’/‘It is not possible to find some place to put a foot in!’

It is interesting to note that Lithuanian structures in question can also be rendered into English with an additional modal idea of an existing/not existing ‘possibility’ for carrying out an action referred to by the infinitive. In this respect the *BKI* construction is reminiscent of the Greek ‘potential’ ‘be’+ *infinitive* construction discussed in Kahn (1973: 292ff).

It is a qualitative study, drawing on corpus findings in the *BNC corpus* and the *Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian*. The research questions refer to several levels of linguistic description (syntax, semantics, and information structure) thus the approach taken for analysis of the data can be defined as integration of semantic and pragmatic parameters into the investigation of syntactic phenomena. It will be shown that even though the English gerundive *there*-construction and the Lithuanian *BKI*-construction are not structural equivalents, the negated versions of the idiomatic ES structures in the two languages (a research question in itself) share the following characteristics: (a) the impersonal value of the non-finite forms (gerund and infinitive) in the respective existential constructions; (b) the inherent modal colouring; (c) the appearance of a special kind of noun phrase; and (d) the absence of the locative element.

References:

- Babby, Leonard H. 1980. *Existential sentences and negation in Russian*. Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc.
- Birner, Betty J. & Gregory Ward. 1993. *There*-sentences and inversion as distinct constructions: a functional account. *Berkeley Linguistics Society* 19: 27-39.
- Breivik, Leiv Egil. 1990. *Existential there. A synchronic and diachronic study*. 2nd ed. Oslo: Novus.
- Corpus of Contemporary Lithuanian* (<http://www.donelaitis.vdu.lt>).
- Ebeling, Jarle. 1999. *Presentative constructions in English and Norwegian*. University of Oslo.
- Erdmann, Peter. 1976. *There sentences in English: a relational study based on a corpus of written texts*. München: Tuduv.
- Hannay, Michael. 1985. *English existentials in functional grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Kahn, Charles H. 1973. *The verb 'be' in ancient Greek. Foundations of Language Supplementary Series*. Vol 16. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Kalėdaitė, Violeta. 2000. *Existential sentences in English and Lithuanian: a contrastive study*. Ph.D. dissertation, Bergen University, Norway.
- Kirsner, Robert S. 1979. *The problem of presentative sentences in Modern Dutch*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- Kjellmer, Göran. 1980. 'There is no hiding you in the house': on a modal use of the English gerund. *English Studies* 61: 47-60.
- Lipińska, Maria. 1973. Existential sentences in English and Polish. *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 5: 87-103.
- Lumsden, Michael. 1988. *Existential sentences: their structure and meaning*. London: Routledge.
- Martínez Insua, Anna E. 2004. *Existential there-constructions in contemporary British English*. Lincom Europa.
- McNally, Louise. 1992. *An interpretation for the English existential construction*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Cruz.
- Mihailović, Ljiljana. 1971. Existential sentences in English and Serbo-Croatian. *The Yugoslav Serbo-Croatian-English Contrastive Project, B.Studies* 5: 67-109.
- Milsark, Gary L. 1974. *Existential sentences in English*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.
- Muromatsu, Keiko. 1997. Two types of existentials: evidence from Japanese. *Lingua* 101: 245-69.
- Ross, John Robert. 1974. There, There, (There, (There, (There...))). *Chicago Linguistic Society* 10: 569-87.
- Suñer, Margarita. 1982. *Syntax and semantics of Spanish presentational sentence-types*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Vähämäki, Börje K. 1984. *Existence and identity. A study of the semantics and syntax of existential sentences in Finnish*. Åbo: Åbo Akademi.

Properties of possessive suffixes and personal clitics in the Siberian Turkic languages.

Karakoç, Birsal
(Uppsala University).

The present research is concerned with some possessive suffixes and personal clitics found in the contemporary Siberian (Northeastern) Turkic languages. The Siberian subbranch of Turkic languages consists of the North Siberian languages Yakut and Dolgan, as well as of a heterogeneous South Siberian group comprising various written and spoken varieties such as Khakas, Altay, Tuvan, Shor, Chulym, etc. The possessive suffixes and personal clitics of Siberian Turkic are characterised by certain developments showing distinctive features as compared to the corresponding morphemes of other Turkic languages. These are a.o.: (1) Second person possessive suffixes consist of the nominal plural *-LAR, e.g. Chulym -(I)ŋAr, Altay -(I)GAR, Khakas, Tuvan and Tofa -(I)ŋAr, Shor -LARlŋ (Schönig 2004: 408), whereas their older and modern Common Turkic functional cognates are composed of the so-called pronominal element *-(I)z, e.g. Old Turkic -(X)ŋXz ~-(X)gXz, Chaghatay -(I)ŋIz, Turkish -(I)nIz, Kazakh and Noghay -(I)ŋIz, Uzbek -(i)ŋiz. (2) Some personal clitics obviously include the element *-LAR in their morphology as well, e.g. Khakas 2p.pl. -ZAr (Schönig 2004: 413). The corresponding morphemes of other Turkic languages do not exhibit this element, e.g. Azerbaijanian clitics -sInIz or Noghay -sIz for second person plural. (3) In Yakut, personal clitics for first and second person plurals contain an initial -LAR plus the respective possessive suffix such as 1p.pl. -LAR-bl and 2p.pl. -LAR-gl (Stachowski & Menz 1998: 430). (4) Some possessive suffixes and personal clitics display the same morphological structure, e.g. Altay -(I)GAR is used as possessive suffix and personal clitic for second person plural. These distinctive developments in Siberian Turkic may merit attention for several reasons. The main questions to be dealt with in the presentation are: (1) To which extent are these developments in accordance with those triggered by language-internal factors in other Turkic languages? (2) To which extent are we concerned with copied or genealogical morphology as approaching with these developments? The present paper will discuss these issues based on an empirical approach by

applying diachronic and synchronous comparative methods. The code-copying model (Johanson 1992) will serve as the theoretical and methodical framework of the analysis. The investigation of the phenomena comes about on the basis of data gathered from various written sources as well as from sources of field research. This paper represents a special part of an ongoing research project which investigates the diachronic development and synchronous variation of personal clitics and copular markers from a contrastive perspective in Turkic languages.

References:

- Johanson, Lars 1992. *Strukturelle Faktoren in türkischen Sprachkontakten*. (Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der J. W. Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main, 29: 5.) Stuttgart: Steiner.
- Schönig, Claus 1998. South Siberian Turkic. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London, New York: Routledge. 403-416.
- Stachowski, Marek & Menz, Astrid. 1998. Yakut. In: Johanson, Lars & Csató, Éva Á. (eds.) *The Turkic languages*. London, New York: Routledge. 417-433.

We teachers, you fools: the use of pronouns in close appositions.

Keizer, Evelien
(University of Amsterdam).

Subject of this paper will be a type of close apposition that has tended to be overlooked in most studies of apposition: English close appositions with a pronominal first element (*we teachers, you fools*). Although these constructions qualify as close appositions in terms of their general formal properties, they are characterized by a set of distinctive pragmatic, semantic and syntactic features. This paper will describe the specific behaviour of these constructions and will suggest an analysis reflecting their distinctive properties.

Despite the different analyses that have been proposed for close appositions (e.g. Haugen 1953; Hockett 1955; Quirk et al. 1985; Burton-Roberts 1975, 1994, Acuña-Fariña 1996, 2009; Keizer 2005a,b, 2007), linguists generally agree that close appositions share the following properties: (i) they contain two nominal elements; (ii) these elements form one intonation unit; (iii) there is no linking element between the elements; (iv) one element is a proper noun or uniquely defining element, the other a count noun. Within the set of constructions thus defined, however, there turns out to be considerable variation, which has led to the distinction of a number of subtypes (e.g. *the actor Orson Welles, my friend Orson Welles, actor Orson Welles*). In order to reflect the pragmatic, semantic and morphosyntactic differences between these subtypes, Keizer (2005a, 2007) has provided each subtype with its own analysis.

Although constructions such as *we teachers* or *you fools* (henceforth *pronominal appositions*) fulfill the requirements mentioned above, none of the previous accounts of close apposition has discussed them in any detail. Like the other subtypes, however, pronominal appositions have their own distinctive features (with regard to person/number restrictions, definiteness, reversibility and omissibility). In the paper, these features will be described in detail.

In addition, pronominal appositions can fulfill different syntactic functions. In many cases, they simply function as arguments (subject, object). Pronominal appositions with *you*, however, are often used as vocatives (as in *That's champagne, you idiot*). This particular use of pronominal appositions typically involves evaluation by the speaker, either negative (offensive) or positive (endearing). It is therefore not surprising that in this group the second noun tends to be preceded by an (evaluative) adjective (e.g. *You poor little dear*).

A completely different use of the construction is the combination *you guys*, which has been analysed as a grammaticalized plural form of the pronoun *you* (e.g. Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008). It is, however, by no means clear which combinations of *you* + noun can be taken to have grammaticalized in this way, and which are still to be regarded as appositional constructions. It will be suggested that we are dealing with a scale, ranging from completely grammaticalized forms (*you-guys, you-all*), via intermediate forms (e.g. *you lot, you people/folks, you chaps, you gentlemen*), to full appositional forms (*you children*).

Using data from a variety of corpora, this paper will describe the formal properties of pronominal appositions, as well as their syntactic uses and discourse functions. In addition, an attempt will be made to explain the formal properties of pronominal appositions in terms of their (syntactic/discourse) function, and to provide these constructions with an underlying representation which reflects their specific formal and functional characteristics.

References:

- Acuña-Fariña, Juan Carlos (1996). *The puzzle of apposition: on so-called appositive structures in English*. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.
- Acuña-Fariña, J.C. (2009). Aspects of the grammar of close apposition and the structure of the noun phrase. *English Language and Linguistics* 13/3, 453-481.
- Burton-Roberts, N. (1975). Nominal apposition. *Foundations of Language* 13, 391-419.
- Burton-Roberts, N. (1994). Apposition. In: R.E. Asher & J.M.Y. Simpson (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics*, Vol. I. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 184-187.
- Haugen, E. (1953). On resolving the close apposition. *American Speech* 28, 165-170.
- Hengeveld, K. & J.L. Mackenzie (2008). *Functional Discourse Grammar*. Oxford: OUP.

- Hockett, Ch. F. (1955). Attribution and apposition in English. *American Speech* 30: 99-102.
- Huddleston, R. (1984). *An Introduction to the Grammar of English*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Huddleston, R. & G.K. Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Keizer, M.E. (2005a). The discourse function of close appositions. *Neophilologus* 89, 447-467.
- Keizer, M.E. (2005b). Close appositions. In: C. de Groot & K. Hengeveld (eds), *Morphosyntactic expression in Functional Grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 281-417.
- Keizer, M.E. (2007). *The English Noun Phrase: the Nature of Linguistic Categorization*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, & J. Svartvik (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.

Gender resolution in Khwarshi.

Khalilova, Zaira

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

Khwarshi, a language of the Tsezic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian family, has five genders in the singular and two genders in the plural: In the singular, Gender 1 includes all and only male humans, Gender 2 all and only female humans; Gender 3 includes nouns referring to animals and inanimate objects, Gender 4 includes nouns referring to inanimate objects, and Gender 5 consists of nouns referring to inanimate objects and young of animals. In the plural, Genders 1 and 2 are neutralized to human plural, whereas Genders 3, 4, and 5 are neutralized to non-human plural. Khwarshi vowel-initial verbs agree with the Absolutive noun phrase in gender.

A noun phrase consisting of two conjoined NPs belonging to different genders also triggers agreement. In this case, Khwarshi uses one of two resolution rules, semantic or syntactic. The semantic resolution principle involves reference to the meaning of the conjoined NPs, while the syntactic resolution principle chooses one of the plural agreement genders irrespective of meaning.

Gender resolution based on the semantic principle is applied when conjoined noun phrases are all of Genders 1 and 2, i.e. the resolved gender is always human plural. For instance, when a) all the conjunct elements are of Gender 1 (male gender) (ex. 1), b) all the conjuncts are of Gender 2 (female gender) (ex. 2), or c) one of the conjuncts is of Gender 1 and the other of Gender 2 (ex. 3), the agreement is human plural.

The semantic resolution rule is also available when the conjoined NPs are of Gender 3 and Gender 4, or of Gender 4 and Gender 5, etc., then the resolved agreement is the non-human plural (ex. 4, ex. 5), as all the conjoined noun phrases are non-human.

Gender resolution based on the syntactic principle applies to conjoined noun phrases denoting human and non-human entities. Conjoined NPs which refer both to humans (of Gender 1 and Gender 2) and non-humans (of Gender 4 or Gender 5) show non-human plural agreement (ex. 6) and (ex. 7).

The semantic principle makes no prediction when human and non-human nouns are conjoined. In such conjoined NPs nonhuman agreement is a default agreement with regard to the human/nonhuman opposition. Gender 3, incidentally, introduces some further complications which will be discussed in the presentation.

Table 1: Resolution rules

Type of resolution rule	predicted form
semantic: human +human	=> human
semantic: non-human + non-human	=> non-human
syntactic: non-human +human	=> non-human

Glossing: I-V – gender markers, ABS – absolutive, HPL – human plural, NHPL – non-human plural, OBL –oblique, PST.W – past witnessed

Reference:

Corbett, Greville. 2006. *Agreement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Examples

1. obu-n uže-n b-axxač m-ok'-i.
father(I)-AND boy(I)-AND HPL-back HPL-go-PST.W
'The father and the son went back.'

2. išu-n kad-i n b-ot'q'-i.
mother(II)-AND daughter(II)-AND HPL-come-PST.W

'The mother and the daughter came.'

3. a<w>edu obu-n a<y>edu išu-n b-ot'q'-i.
 <I>this father(I)-AND <II>this mother(II)-AND HPL-come-PST.W
 'This father and this mother came.'
4. de a<r>edu oⁿg-i n aedu uⁿč-i n l-ez-i.
 1SG.ERG <IV>this axe(IV)-AND <III>this jug(III)-AND NHPL-buy-PST.W
 'I bought this axe and this jug.'
5. užá k'oro-n a<y>edu bataxu-n l-ac'-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG cheese(IV)-AND <V>this bread(V)-AND NHPL-eat-PST.W
 'The boy ate this bread and cheese.'
6. kad-i n oⁿg-i n l-eč-i.
 girl(II)-AND axe(IV)-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were a girl and an axe.'
7. ono uže-n čik'e-n l-eč-i.
 there boy(I)-AND kid(V)-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were a boy and a kid.'

The turning point in the process of ergativity fading in Indo-Aryan history.

Khokhlova, Liudmila
 (Moscow University).

There are many theories concerning the origin of ergativity in Indo-Aryan languages. Most scholars describe it through the reinterpretation of passive *ta*-participle construction (Anderson 1977, Bloch 1965, Masica 1991 etc.). Discussing the origin of ergative markers, M. Butt states that 'passive to ergative' shift was structurally motivated by movement of instrumental (passive) agents to the position where they were reinterpreted as subjects. M. Klaiman (1978) supports the claim that the *ta*-participle construction was ergative, not passive, since Proto-Indo-European times. H. Hock (1986) analyzes the syntactic evolution of such P-oriented constructions as *-ta*-participle, gerundive and passive and shows that ergativity in modern NIA may reflect the older ergatives as well as the older passives. In all these theories the development of ergativity is usually described as a unilateral process. I tried to show elsewhere /Khokhlova 1992; 1995;2001/ the main trends in increasing and then fading of ergativity in the history of Indo-Aryan. In this paper I shall try to determine the turning point in the process of ergativity fading. The data analyzed here have been obtained from texts in Old and Modern Rajasthani, Gujarati, Punjabi as well as from native speakers of corresponding languages (see references). The conceptual framework adopted here is mainly based on the ideas of Moscow Typological School /Kibrik 1992; Klimov 1983 etc/.

An ideal ergative pattern in noun declension got developed in Apabhramsha when Nominative vs. Accusative distinction had been destroyed by sound changes. Since that time the case marking as well as the verbal agreement in the constructions with the reflexes of the historical *-ta*-participle were maximally ergative, i.e. intransitive subjects (S) were grouped together with direct objects (O) and opposed to transitive subjects (A). Few intransitive verbs like 'to laugh' in Rajasthani were used interchangeably with the markers of A and S. More research needs to be done to find out if these alternations signaled the degree of agentivity. In general the accusative to ergative shift was restricted to morphological level. No IA language exhibits any semantic ergativity typical, for example, for the languages of Dagestan /Kibrik 1992/. However, Apabhramsha demonstrates deviations from the accusative pattern of clauses combination - the phenomena not preserved by Modern NIA languages.

The diminishing of ergativity took place in the syntactic systems of the analyzed NIA languages in the 17-20-th centuries. In the process of case merging the Instrumental case stopped to exist. This led to the elimination of A/S opposition. The development of special O-marking at NIA stage has resulted in appearance of two main case marking systems: the accusative S=A; S≠O; A≠O (the majority of Rajasthani nominal paradigms and personal pronouns in Panjabi) and the tripartite S≠O≠A (prevailing in Gujarati and Panjabi); Rajasthani has moved further than the other languages towards the attrition of ergativity in the nominal system. In view of many NP splits (nouns/pronouns; Sg/Pl nouns; 1-2/3 personal pronouns), whereby only a subset of nominals may exhibit ergative morphology, there is one common feature in all the described NIA: O expressed by the pronouns of the first and second persons is consistently marked. I shall show in my paper that the turning point towards the ergativity fading was the time when constructions like *tiNii hauM tumh kanhai mokaLiu* 'He sent me to you /I was sent by him to you' (15-th century Rajasthani) stopped being used. Compulsory identified object marking was followed by other changes towards accusative syntax: the development of active/passive opposition, the ban on Agent deletion from perfective transitive clauses, the development of accusatively patterned resultative constructions in Rajasthani, etc.

References:

- Anderson, Steven R. 1977, On Mechanisms by Which Languages Become Ergative. In: Charles N. Li (ed.) *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 317 - 363.
- _____. 1988. Morphological Theory. *Linguistics: The Cambridge Survey*. Vol1: *Linguistic Theory: Foundations*, ed. by Frederick Newmeyer, Cambridge: University Press.
- Bloch, Jules. 1965. Indo-Aryan. (English edition by A. Master). Paris: Maisonneuve.
- Bubenik, Vit. 1998. A Historical Syntax of Late Middle Indo-Aryan (Apabhramṣa). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Cardona, George. 1965. A Gujarati Reference Grammar. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Comrie, B. 1978. Ergativity. In: W. P. Lehmann (ed.) *Syntactic Typology*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 329-95.
- _____. 1981. *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 98-116.
- Dave, Trimbalal. 1935. A Study of the Gujarati Language in the 16-th Century (V.S.). London: The Royal Asiatic Society.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. Ergativity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gill H.S. and Gleason J.R. 1963, A Reference Grammar of Panjabi. Hartford, Connecticut, Hartford Seminary Foundation.
- Hock, H. H. 1986, P-Oriented Constructions in Sanskrit. In: B. H. Krishnamurty (ed.), *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*, vol. 3. Delhi etc.: Motilal Banarsidass. 15-26.
- Hook, Peter Edwin. 1992. On Identifying the conceptual Restructuring of Passive as Ergative in Indo-Aryan. In: Madhav M. Deshpande, Saroja Bhate (ed): *Paninian Studies*. Professor S.D. Joshi Felicitation Volume. Michigan: Center for South and South East Asian Studies, University of Michigan, N 37. 177-199.
- Khokhlova, L.V. 1992, Trends in the Development of Ergativity in New Indo-Aryan. *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 18. 71-98.
- _____. 1995. The Development of Patient-Oriented Constructions in Late Western NIA Languages. *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, vol. 21. 15-54.
- _____. 2001. Ergativity Attrition in the History of Western New Indo-Aryan Languages (Punjabi, Gujarati, Rajasthani), *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*. Ed. P. Bhaskararao, K.V. Subbarao, New Delhi, Sage Publications. 159-184.
- Kibrik, A.E. 1992. Očerki po obščim i prikladnym voprosam jazykoznanija. Moscow: Moscow University Press.
- Klaiman, M.H. 1978, Arguments against a Passive Origin of the IA Ergative, *Papers from the 14-th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society*. 204-216.
- _____. 1987, Mechanisms of Ergativity in South Asia, *Lingua* 71. 61 - 102.
- Klimov, G.A. 1983. Printsipy Kontensivnoj Tipologii, Moscow, Nauka.
- Masica, Colin. 1991, The Indo-Aryan Languages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magier, David S. 1983, Topics in the Grammar of Marwari, UCLA dissertation.
- Singh, R.A. 1980, Syntax of Apabhramsha. Calcutta: Simant Publications.
- ShrivastayD. 1970, Historical Syntax of Early Hindi Prose. Calcutta: Atima Prakashan.
- Stump, G.T, 1983. The Elimination of Ergative patterns of Case Marking and Verbal Agreement in Modern Indic Languages. *Ohio State University Working Papers in Linguistics* 27. 140-164.
- Tessitory, L.P. 1914 -1916, Notes on the Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani with Special Reference to Apabhramsha and Gujarati and Marwari. *Indian Antiquary* 1914-1916.
- Wallace, William D. 1984, The interaction of Word Order and Pragmatics in a Sanskrit text, *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 14, n.1.167-187.

Referred data sources

- A.G. Adi Granth, Lahaur, Shabdarth Gurbani Trust, 1944-1957.
- Bhandari, Ganpatichand. Preface to Rajasthani Ekanki (Collection of One Act Plays in Rajasthani). Udaipur, Rajasthan Sahitya Academi. 1966.
- Dhola Maru ra Duha. Shambhusingh Manohar (ed) Jaipur: The Students' Book Company, 1965
- Shlok te Shabd Farid Satik. Sahib Singh (ed). 8-th edition. Amritsar. Singh Brothers, Mai Seva, 1980.
- Kaviya, Shaktidan. *Virmati/Rajasthani Ekanki*. Bhandari, Ganpatichand (ed), Udaipur Rajasthan Sahitya Academi, 1966.
- Mathur, Govindlal. *Daktar rau Bya'v. //Rajasthani Ekanki*. Bhandari, Ganpatichand (ed), Udaipur Rajasthan Sahitya Academi, 1966.
- P.P.V. – Puratan Panjabi Vartak. Surindar Singh Kohli (ed). Chandigarh: Publication Bureau, 1973
- R.G. – Rajasthani Gadya: Vikas aur Prakash. Narendra Bhanavat (ed). Agra: Shriram Mehta and Company, 1969.

The negative suffix in Hungarian.

Kiefer, Ferenc
(Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

In Hungarian the negative suffix *-lAn* attaches productively to certain subclasses of simplex verbs as well as to certain types of nouns and unproductively to simplex adjectives. Under certain conditions it also occurs productively with derived verbs and adjectives, though not with derived nouns. The output is always an adjective. In the case of simplex adjectives it yields,

as expected, contrary negation, in the productive cases, on the other hand, it leads to contradictory negation. In the latter case, but not in the former, it may bring about a morphosemantic mismatch. The form suffixed with the negative suffix is not the negation of the base form but rather of another derived adjective. E.g. *vasal-atlan* ‘unironed’ is not the negation of the verb *vasal* ‘iron’ but of *vasal-t* ‘ironed’. The semantically regular form **vasalt-atlan* is morphologically unacceptable. This mismatch can be resolved by defining a paradigmatic relation between the two derivatives. A similar mismatch arises when the negative suffix is attached to a verb which contains the possibility suffix: *olvas-hat* ‘can read’ – *olvas-hat-ó* ‘readable’ and *olvas-hat-atlan* ‘unreadable’, where, once again, *olvas-hat-ó* and *olvas-hat-atlan* form an antonymous pair though the latter form cannot be derived morphologically from the former.

The negative suffix appears in three different forms *-tlAn*, *-tAlAn* and *-AtlAn*, whose distribution is governed by the phonological and morphosyntactic properties of the stem. The explanation is straightforward.

It is less clear what kind of constraints are at work in the selection of nouns and verbs which admit the negative suffix. It will be claimed that the negative suffix can productively be attached to nouns that exhibit a certain type of part-of relation (‘meronymic relation’) or an attachment relation. As for verbs, the attachment of the negative suffix results in an adjective with passive meaning. It will be shown how this meaning can be arrived at given that Hungarian has no passive verbs.

The possessive perfect in Standard Russian compared with similar constructions in North Russian dialects and other Slavic languages: formal varieties and trends of evolution.

Knjazev Jurij
(St. Petersburg University).

The paper is concerned with new passive-like periphrastic constructions based on past passive *-n/-t* participles with possessive marking (below – PP for short) such as

(1) Russian
U menja kupleny bilety
‘I have bought the tickets’

or

(2) Czech
Mám už všechno sněženo
‘I have already eaten everything’,

which are occasionally treated as the latest (“third”) round of formation of derivatives with the perfect meaning in Indo-European languages (Maslov 1988: 80; Tamm 2000: 461). These two structural subtypes of PP (i. e. employing either a prepositional phrase denoting the possessor or an auxiliary verb *have*) are in accordance with a prevailing style of expression of possession in Russian (and other East Slavic languages) and in Czech (and the rest of Slavic languages) respectively.

Given that linguists paid attention to them not earlier than the first decades of the 20th century (Nitsch 1913; Ščerba 1915: 133; Havránek 1936; Mathesius 1947: 190-194), the appreciable growth of usage of PP seems to be a relatively new phenomenon. One should bear in mind, however, that several examples of PP have been noticed during the course of recent profound studies of Old Slavic (Xodova 1971: 176-177; Mirčev 1973: 565-567) and the Novgorod birch bark letters (Zaliznjak 1995: 228), i. e. in texts written about a thousand years ago.

As regards PP, Slavic languages are far from being completely uniform (see for some details Knjazev 1989: 203-217). The most sufficient of them are as follows.

1. First of all, Slavic languages differ greatly in degree to which PP are used. Though they are employed mainly in conversation rather than in writing or formal speech and, therefore, are not properly attested in any of them, we may presumably state that languages, where PP have become the most widespread, are Macedonian, North Russian dialects and Czech. Interestingly enough, they belong to three different branches of Slavic languages. Besides, it is also generally accepted that Serbian is a language where PP have obtained the least extension (Gallis 1960: 187; Mrázek 1973: 180-181; Đurovič 1980: 19-28).

2. A characteristic feature of PP in various Slavic languages is the gradual expansion of their lexical base. In 1913 K. Nitsch pointed out that Polish PP are derived mainly from verbs expressing acquisition or appearance and flatly denied PP with opposite meanings, such as *mam zjedzone* ‘I have eaten’ or *mam sprzedany* ‘I have sold’, on the grounds that the latter are incompatible with the idea of ‘having’ (Nitsch 1913: 105-106). Nowadays such (formerly rejected) PP are quoted without reservations:

(3) Polish (Stieber 1973: 189)
Mam już wszystkie bilety wysprzedany
‘I have already sold all tickets’;

(4) Polish (Pisarkowa 1964: 235)
Mamy już obiad zjedzony
‘We have already eaten our dinner meal’.

In this respect, the final point has been reached in Macedonian, especially in its Ohrid dialect, where practically all verbs, both perfective and imperfective, transitive and intransitive, reflexive and non-reflexive, occur in PP (Friedman 1974: 99; Usikova 1977: 364-365; Koneski 1981: 434; Graves 2000: 481-482). Moreover, Macedonian PP do not presuppose an animate agent; cf. the following noteworthy example taken from a scientific text:

(5) Macedonian (Koneski 1965; quoted from Usikova 1973: 365)

Členot se ima razvieno od pokazni zamenki vo postpozicija

'The article has developed from demonstrative pronouns in postposition'.

3. The central uses of PP in the majority of Slavic languages are either the perfect of result or the resultative proper. In Macedonian and North Russian dialects (where a noticeable spread of PP from telic to atelic verbs has taken place), the meaning of experientiality can be freely rendered with PP, too. Besides, the North Russian dialectal PP are occasionally used as ordinary preterital narrative forms and cease to be a perfect:

(6) North Russian (Šapiro 1953: 143; slightly adapted)

U losja vybežano na bereg, da napilsja vody, da v les i ušel

'The/an elk ran to the beach, drank a plenty of water, and went to the forest'

Examples like (6) are usually treated as an evidence of transformation of the possessive complement into the surface subject (Timberlake 1975: 561; Kozinskij & Sokolovskaja 1984: 73; Trubinskij 1984: 148).

References:







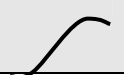

- Dahl, Östen (ed.) 2000. Tense and aspect in the languages of Europe. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Đurovič, L'ubomír 1980. Vzťah sloviess ESSE – HABERE v slovanských jazykoch a otázka pasíva v slovenčine. *Slavica Lundensia* 8, 19-28.
- Friedman, Victor A. 1974. Dialectal synchrony and diachronic syntax: the Macedonian Perfect. In: *Papers from the parasession on diachronical syntax*. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society, 98-104.
- Gallis, Arne. 1960. Die neue slavische Perfekte von Typus *casus sum, *casum habeo. *Scando-Slavica*. 6, 176-188.
- Graves, Nina. 2000. Macedonian – a language with three perfects? In Dahl 2000 (ed.), 479-494.
- Havránek, Bohuslav. 1936. Románský typ perfecta *factum habeo* a *casus sum, casum habeo* v makedonských nářečích. In: Šesták A. (ed.). *Sborník prací věnovaných památce prof. dr. P. M. Haškovce*. Brno: Globus, 147-54.
- Knjazev, Jurij P. 1989. Akcional'nost' i sttal'nost': ix sootnošenie v russkix konstrukcijax s pričastijami na -n, -t. München: Verlag Otto Sagner (=Specimena Philologicae Slavicae. Bd. 81).
- Koneski, Blaže. 1965. Istorija na makedonskiot jazik. Skopje: Kultura.
- Koneski, Blaže. 1981. Gramatika na makedonskiot literaturno jazik. Skopje: Kultura.
- Kozinskij, Isaak Š. & Sokolovskaja, Natal'ja K. 1984. O sootnošenii aktual'nogo i sintaksičeskogo členenija v sinxronii i diaxronii. In: Solncev, Vladimir M. (ed.). *Vostočnoe jazykoznanie: Grammatičeskoe i aktual'noe členenie predloženia*. Moscow, 63-76.
- Maslov, Jurij S. 1988. Resultative, Perfect, and Aspect. In: Nedjalkov (ed.) 1988, 63-85.
- Mathesius, Vilem. 1947. Slovesné časy typu perfektního v hovorové češtině. In: Mathesius V. *Čeština a obecný jazykozpyt*. Praha: Melantrich, 190-194.
- Mirčev, Kiril. 1973. Za sačetanijata na glagol *imam* + minalo stradatelno pričastie v bálgarski ezik. *Bálgarski ezik* 23:6, 565-567.
- Mrázek, Roman. 1973. Funkční distribuce habere a esse v slovanské větě. In: Havránek B. (ed.). *Československé přednášky pro VII mezinárodní sjezd slavistů ve Varšavě*. Lingvistika. Praha: Academia, 175-182.
- Nedjalkov, Vladimir P. (ed.) 1988. *Typology of resultative constructions*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Nitsch, Kazimierz. 1913. Nowy czas przeszły złożony. *Język Polski* 4: 102-106.
- Pisarkowa, Krystyna. 1964. Składniowa funkcja imiesłowów z czasownikiem *mieć*. *Język Polski* 44: 4, 231-237.
- Stieber, Zdzisław. 1973. Z problematyki polskiego czasownika. *Język Polski* 53: 2-3.
- Šapiro, Abram B. 1953. Očerki po sintasisu russkix narodnyx govorov. Moscow: AN SSSR.
- Ščerba, Lev V. 1915. Vostočno-lužickoe narečie. Saint Petersburg: Kollins.
- Timberlake, Alan 1976. Subject properties in the North Russian passive. In: Li C. N. (ed.). *Subject and topic*. New York, etc.: Academic Press, 547-570.
- Trubinskij, Valentin I. 1984. Očerki russkogo dialektного sintaksisa. Leningrad: LGU.
- Usikova, Rina P. 1973. Značenija i upotreblenija pričastij v makedonskom literaturnom jazyke. In: *Balkanskoe jazykoznanie*. Moscow: Nauka, 257-282.
- Usikova, Rina P. 1977. Makedonskij jazik. In: *Slavjanskije jazyki*. Moscow: MGU, 333-374.
- Tommola, Hannu. 2000. On the perfect in North Slavic. In: Dahl Ö. (ed.) 2000, 441-478.
- Xodova, Kapitolina I. 1971. Padeži s predlogami v staroslavjanskom jazyke. Moscow: Nauka.
- Zaliznjak, Andrej A. 1995. *Drevnenovrogodskij dialect*. Moscow: Jazyki ruskoj kul'tury.

The tonal reversal in Franconian dialects: Language contact and its influence on the interaction of phonology and phonetics.

Köhnlein, Björn
(University of Leiden).

The issue. In Franconian dialects, spoken in Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg, we find an opposition of two tone accents, Accent 1 and Accent 2. A minority of these dialects, show an intriguing phenomenon whose origins are as yet poorly understood: the so-called *Rule B*-area displays tonal contours that are the opposite of the common *Rule A*-contours (Bach 1921). Crucially, as recent data from the Arzbach dialect show (Köhnlein to appear), this only holds for declarative intonation – in interrogation, the contours resemble each other closely (the Rule A-data are taken from Roermond, Gussenhoven 2000):

(1)

Dialect group	Rule A		Rule B	
Accent	Accent 1	Accent 2	Accent 1	Accent 2
Declaration				
Interrogation				

Several explanation attempts have been given in order to account for this phenomenon (see e.g. Bach 1921, Schmidt 2006, Kortlandt 2007). Yet, besides other problematic aspects, none of these approaches could possibly account for the non-reversed interrogation contours. In our talk, we show that the development of these semi-reversed tonal contours can be understood as a result of language contact between ‘accent dialects’ and neighboring ‘non-accent dialects’. Hereby, the tonal contours of Rule A and Rule B display independent developments but share the same predecessor.

Explanation, part 1: the predecessor. Synchronic reflexes of this predecessor are to be found in dialects within the Belgium part of the area. There, we find identical intonation contours for declaration and interrogation – both are realized with ‘question intonation’, i.e. with rising intonation within the focus syllable (see e.g. Peters 2004), thereby strongly resembling the interrogation contours of Rule A- / Rule B-dialects.

Explanation, part 2: problems in language contact. As typological studies show, rising intonation in declaratives is pragmatically marked, high pitch at the beginning of the focus syllable being the default (see e.g. Gussenhoven 2004, Peters 2006). In language contact, these marked declaration contours must have led to problems at the pragmatic level, e.g., speakers of other varieties with unmarked declaration contours interpreting statements of Franconian speakers as questions.

Explanation, part 3: improving mutual intelligibility. In order to improve mutual intelligibility, speakers of Rule A- and Rule B-dialects gave up the marked intonation contours, thereby aiming at having high pitch at the beginning of the focus syllable. During this process, both dialect groups chose for different strategies: in Rule A, the complete sentence intonation (rising-falling from the focus syllable) was shifted to the left, thereby aligning the highest point of the rise with the focus syllable. This resulted in a falling contour for Accent 1 and high level pitch for Accent 2. In Rule B, pitch was raised at the beginning of the focus syllable, resulting in high level pitch for Accent 1 and falling contours for Accent 2. We explain how these developments can be understood from a theoretical perspective as an interaction of phonological representation (based on autosegmental theory, see Goldsmith 1976), phonetic implementation and phonological reinterpretation.

References:

- Bach, Adolf (1921): Die Schärfung in der moselfränkischen Mundart von Arzbach (Unterwesterwaldkreis). In: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB). Band 1921, 45, 266–290.
- Gussenhoven, Carlos: The lexical tone contrast of Roermond Dutch in Optimality Theory. In M. Horne (ed.), *Prosody: Theory and Experiment*. Studies Presented to Gösta Bruce. Amsterdam: Kluwer. 129-167 (2000)
- Köhnlein, Björn (2009): Now monophthong, soon diphthong? The hybrid status of low tone as an indicator of diphthongization processes. Handout from a talk presented at the Manchester Phonology Meeting 2009, 05-29-2009, Manchester.
- Kortlandt, Frederik: The origin of the *Franconian* tone accents. *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 63 (2007), 1-3.
- Peters, Jörg: *Intonation deutscher Regionalsprachen*. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin & New York.
- Peters, Jörg: Tone and intonation in the dialect of Hasselt. In: *Linguistics* 46, 983-1018.

Differential subject marking in classical Armenian. The possessive perfect.

Kölligan, Daniel
(University of Cologne).

A well-known feature of Classical Armenian is that subjects of transitive verbs are in the genitive case in the perfect tense, e.g. *nora*[GEN] *teseal ê z-kin-n*[ACC] ,He[GEN] has seen the woman[ACC].', a construction which Benveniste 1952 analyzed as an originally possessive expression of the Latin type *mihi est liber* 'I have a book', lit. 'to me (there) is a book'. While the logical subject of the perfect could thus be described as the „possessor of an act“ (cf. Seiler 1973, Feydit 1969: 45 “possesseur de l'action accomplie”), the subject of transitive perfects can also be marked with the nominative case, e.g. *nok^ca*[NOM] *z-ašxarh-n*[ACC] *graveal ein*[3PL] *i cařayowf^ciwn* ,they[NOM] had subdued[3PL] the country[ACC] into slavery', a construction which has become the norm in Modern Eastern Armenian (e.g. *Yes*[NOM] *k^cez*[ACC] *hravirel em* 'I[NOM] have invited you[ACC].'). The same variation is found with intransitive verbs, e.g. *mteal êr nok^ca*[GEN] 'they[GEN] had gone inside' beside *mteal êin nok^ca*[NOM] 'id.' In Heine/Kuteva's theory of the grammaticalization of possessive perfects Classical Armenian would thus be an instance of stage II (use of itr. verbs, no obvious possessive interpretation possible, etc.). The paper will investigate which semantic and syntactic factors trigger the use of these different constructions and how they developed into Middle and, as a continuation of this stage of development, into Modern Armenian. The data under scrutiny will be two texts from the 5th ct., namely the first Classical Armenian text known to us, the Bible translation, and, as a check against translational syntax, the prose collection known as the “Epic histories” attributed to P^cawstos of Byzantium, which is presumably based on oral literature, making the influence of learned loan syntax less likely. The Middle Armenian data will consist of Mxit^car Herac^ci's “Consolatio februm” (“On the relief of fevers”) from the 12th ct., which does not yet consistently use the newly developed Middle Armenian passive in *-v-* (e.g. 3S *grê* '(s)he writes' : *grvê* '(s)he is (being) written') and the concomitant participle in *-vel*, hence still has *-el* < *-eal* in its classical passive function, and as an example of a further developed Middle Armenian Grigor of Akanc^c’ “History of the Archers” from the 13th ct. All occurrences of the construction will be collected and classified according to their syntactic behaviour (tr./itr. etc.) and to their semantic categories (such as the aspectual classes of the Vendlerian type, the semantic roles of their arguments, etc.) While the general outlines of the development of the genitival construction seem to be clear, i.e. a spread from transitive to intransitive verbs and the loss of possessive meaning (if ever present), a more fine-grained analysis will show how it was lost over time.

References:

- Benveniste, Émile. 1952. “La construction passive du parfait transitive.”, *BSL* 48, 52-62.
Feydit, Frédéric. 1969. “Le système du verbe Arménien classique”, *Cahiers de grammaire arménienne*, N. II, Venise: Saint Lazare [= *Pazmaveb* 126 (1968), 286-329].
Kuteva, Tania; Heine, Bernd. 2004. “On the possessive perfect in North Russian”, *Word* 55(1), 37-72.
Seiler, Hans-Jakob. 1973. “On the semanto-syntactic configuration ‘possessor of an act’”, in: KACHRU, Braj (ed.) *Issues in linguistics : papers in honor of Henry and Renée Kahane*. Urbana. 836-853.

Semantics and pragmatics of the Basque reportative particle *omen*.

Korta, Kepa & Zubeldia Larraitz
(ILCLI, University of the Basque Country).

The aim of our proposal is to provide new data from Basque *reportative* particle ‘*omen*’ for the database of evidential markers in European languages. We will focus on the criteria of semantic-pragmatic properties proposed by Wiemer (2009), specifically on the lack of speaker’s assessment of the trustworthiness or veracity of the utterance. We contend that by using ‘*omen*’ the speaker indicates that the reported proposition has been said (or written) by someone else beyond herself. ‘*Omen*’ has no other semantic meaning. In our view, the speaker’s expression of uncertainty often attached to ‘*omen*’ (among others by Euskaltzaindia (1987), the academy of the Basque language) is a pragmatic content, and specifically a possible implicature that can be generated in some contexts. Grice’s (1967) cancelability ‘test’ supports our conclusion. The speaker’s expression of doubt is explicitly or contextually cancelable, and we found many examples in which the speaker’s certainty on the truth or falsity of the reported proposition is clear. Furthermore, we will also contend that the role of ‘*omen*’ is best interpreted as contributing to the truth-conditions or propositional content of the utterance, and not as either an illocutionary or a modal operator.

References:

- Euskaltzaindia (1987), *Euskal Gramatika. Lehen Urratsak II*. Bilbo.
Grice, Paul (1967), “Logic and conversation”. In D. Davidson & G. Harman (arg.) (1975), *The Logic of Grammar*, Encino: Dickenson, pp. 64-75. Also published in P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (arg.) (1975), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 41-58. Reprinted in P. Grice (1989), *Studies in the way of words*. Cambridge (MA): Harvard University Press, pp. 22-40.

Causatives and Anticausatives, Unaccusatives and Unergatives: or How Can Lexicon Contribute to the Sentence Structure.

Kosta, Peter
(University Potsdam).

This paper focuses on the features of the externally and internally caused verbs and their implication to the unaccusativity phenomenon. My purpose is to bring more light into the question of the Syntax-Lexicon relation in terms of the concepts of Distributed Morphology and ROOT Semantics of the verbs participating or not participating in causative alternation and unaccusativity phenomena. A major criterion for distinguishing between externally and internally caused verbs is taken to be the causative alternation (CAL) where the unaccusative verbs are divided into two classes – alternating unaccusative (AU) and non-alternating unaccusative (NAU) verbs. An alternative distinctive feature between these two classes of verbs has been established, namely, the unavailability of information how the respective process has been caused. In addition, the universal concept of the encyclopedic Lexicon allows the existence of minimum four ROOTS for English, German and Czech with respect to verbs classified on the basis of the anti-causativity opposition:

- (1) √agentive (murder, assassinate, cut),
- (2) √externally caused (destroy, kill, slay) and
- (3) √cause unspecified (break, open, melt).
- (4) √internally caused (blossom, wilt, grow),

It will be further demonstrated that unergative/causative pairs present an independent phenomenon/case and do not influence the CAL considerations (in agreement with Alexiadou et al. 2006, a, b and Marantz 2007 but contra Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995 und Reinhart 2000).

Causative/Anticausative Verbal Classes:

- (1) A large verbal class which focuses their external arguments on the AGENT theta-role: cut, krájet, schneiden..See(136). This is the class adopted by Levin, Rappaport & Hovav (1995) and Reinhart (2000) as a decisive criterion for causative alternation.
- (2) A smaller class of verbs which permit AGENT and CAUSER as subjects but yet do not form any anticausatives, e.g. destroy,zerstören, zničit (see 2).
- (3) ROOTS/Verbs forming both causatives and anticausatives, e.g. break, zerschlagen, rozbít.. (see 3).
- (4) ROOTS/Verbs forming only anticausatives/inchoatives, but no causatives, e.g. blossom, blühen, kvést (see 4)

Examples:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">(1) a. The baker cut the bread (agent subject)
b. Der Bäcker schnitt das Brot
c. Pekař krájel chléb
d. *The lightning cut the clothesline (*causer subject)
e. *Der Blitz schnitt die Wäscheleine
f. *Bouřka krájela drát
g. *The bread cut (*anticausative)
h. *Das Brot schnitt
i. *Chléb se krájel | <ol style="list-style-type: none">(2) a. John destroyed the parcel (agent subject)
b. The explosion destroyed the parcel (causer subject)
c. *The parcel destroyed (*anticausative)
d. John zerstörte das Grundstück
e. Die Explosion zerstörte das Grundstück
f. *Das Grundstück zerstörte
g. John zničil parcelu.
h. Exploze zničila parcelu.
i. *Parcela se zničila. |
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">(3) a. The vandals broke the window (agent subject)
b. The storm broke the window (causer subject)
c. The window broke (anticausative)
d. Die Vandalen brachen das Fenster
e. Der Sturm brach das Fenster
f. Das Fenster brach
g. Vandalové rozbili okno | <ol style="list-style-type: none">(4) a. *The gardener blossomed the flower (*agent subject)
b. *The warm weather blossomed the flower (*causer subject)
c. The flower blossomed (anticausative)
d. *Der Gärtner (er)blühte die Blumen
e. *Das warme Wetter erblühte die Blumen
f. Die Blumen erblühten
g. *Zahradník rozkvetl květiny |

h. Bouřka rozbila okno
i. Okno se robilo

h. *Teplé počasí rozkvetlo květiny
i. Květiny rozkvetly

References:

- Alexiadou, Artemis/ Agnastopoulou, E./ Schäfer, F. (2006a): The properties of anticausatives crosslinguistically. In: Frascarelli, M. (ed.): Phases of Interpretation. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 187-211.
- Alexiadou, Artemis/ Agnastopoulou, E./ Schäfer, F. (2006b): The fine structure of (anti-) causatives. In: Davis, C./ Deal, A.-R./Zabbal, Y. (eds.): Proceedings NELS 36. Amherst MA: GLSA, 115-128.
- Levin, Beth and Malka Rappaport Hovav (1995). Unaccusativity: at the syntax-lexical semantics interface. – Cambridge (Massachusetts): MIT Press.
- Marantz, A. (1984): On the Nature of Grammatical Relations in Syntax. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Marantz, A. (1987): No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In: Dimitriadis, A./Siegel, L./Surek-Clark, C./Williams, A. Proceedings of the 21st annual Penn linguistics colloquium [Penn Working Papers in Linguistics]. Philadelphia PA: University of Pennsylvania, 201-225.
- Reinhart, Tanya (2000): The theta system: Syntactic realization of verbal concepts. OTS working papers. TL-00.002. Utrecht University.

An Automatic Detection of Topicality in Lithuanian News.

Kovalevskaite, Jolanta, Grigonyte Gintare
(Vytautas Magnus University).

The motivation

Organizing documents, and performing search is a common but not a trivial task in information systems. With the increasing number of documents, it is becoming crucial to automate these processes. Clustering is a solution for organizing large amount of documents.

Our work is motivated by the need to develop an automatic topic-annotation system for text documents. Assigning of meta-information to documents is an actual task in libraries, news agencies, governmental institutions, and never the less for corpus collecting activities performed in KLC (KLC - <http://donelaitis.vdu.lt/>). Text data is currently being organized by people namely librarians, journalist, editors, public servants, in the case of corpus collecting task – by linguist. It is not only laborious task, but soon-to-be hardly manageable due to the amount of textual data we have to deal with everyday. In this paper we will shortly outline the initial experiment on topic-based clustering of Lithuanian news and will look at the results from the perspective of evaluating clustering experiments and it's applicability for developing information systems in the future.

The data

The research data contains 1858 articles from Lithuanian Internet news portals: *DELFI*, *BERNARDINAI*, *KAUNO DIENA*, *VERSLO ZINIOS*. All articles are tagged by the topic groups like „Lietuvos naujienos“ (Lithuania news), „Pasaulis“ (World), „Laisvalaikis“ (Leisure time), etc.

The experiment

We will use K-means algorithm to learn groups of topically related news. The assumption is that certain topics will contain certain vocabulary and therefore, similarities between news articles can be detected. Based on vocabulary similarities, different news topics groups can be identified. Next to the “bag of words” approach, we will investigate what additional linguistic and statistical data might be useful for improving the learning of topic groups.

We will present the results of different experiments:

1. topic detection with text function information;
2. topic detection with morphological information;
3. topic detection with word frequency lists.

We will evaluate automatic clustering results against person-tagged Lithuanian news corpus. And discuss the adaptability of the experiments to automatic topic detection systems.

Issues in diachronic typology of transitivity: Guidelines and parameters [introductory paper].

Kulikov, Leonid
(Leiden University).

This paper focuses on the main issues in transitivity in a diachronic typological perspective. It will discuss the main trends in the evolution of the core grammatical relations, which determine the transitivity features of the clause, – subject and direct object. There are several features which are relevant for a syntactic typology and subject to diachronic changes. These include, in particular, the classification of verbs based on a variety of syntactic and semantic features (many of which are identified in the seminal paper Hopper & Thomson 1980). This classification serves as basis for the main subdivision into high transitive vs. low transitive verbs, correlated with the traditional transitive/intransitive distinction. It may drastically change in the history of languages, so that the boundary between these two large classes of verbal lexemes can drift and some non-canonical transitives/intransitives can be transferred from one class to another (cf. the drift from semantic to syntactically oriented transitivity distinction in the history of the Indo-Aryan verbal syntax, which has crucially affected the inventory of intransitives, arguably identifiable as causativizable verbs; see Hock 1981).

Apparently, the notion of transitivity should be determined separately for different languages. If we determine transitivity as a set of parameters, some verbs can display only a subset of transitivity or (conversely) intransitivity features. Thus, instead of the traditional binary classification (intransitive vs. transitive verbs), in some cases a more complex gradual classification (e.g., prototypically intransitive – quasi-intransitive – quasi-transitive – prototypically transitive) appears to be more adequate. The number of relevant classes should be determined separately for individual languages, on the basis of the relevant syntactic phenomena, such as the causative derivation. Moreover, the scope of transitivity can change within a particular language during the course of its history (see Kulikov 1989).

Another parameter relevant for diachronic typology of transitivity is the inventory of semantic features correlated with the degree of transitivity, such as aspectual characteristics of verbal forms, referential status of the main arguments etc.

The paper will further focus on the diachronic trends in the marking of core grammatical relations, i.e. subject and object, which are relevant for the transitivity characteristics of a clause. The status of canonical/non-canonical marking of the subject and object is one of the basic characteristics of an individual language, which determines its syntactic type and, ultimately, possible ways of its diachronic evolution, as far as the type of alignment and other basic syntactic features are concerned. Special attention will be paid to the scenarios of the rise or disappearance of non-canonical subject marking attested in the history of several Indo-European languages. The emergence (as in the history of Indo-Aryan language group), decline (as in Germanic) or preservation (as in some Baltic or Slavic languages) of this phenomenon represents an important diachronic characteristic of a language and determines its evolutionary type.

References:

- Hock, H. H. 1981. Sanskrit causative syntax: a diachronic study. *Studies in the linguistic sciences* 11 (2): 9-33.
Hopper, P. J. & S. A. Thompson, 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56 (2): 251-299.
Kulikov, L. 1989. K tipologii tranzitivnosti (o nekotoryx ograničenijax na obrazovanie kauzativnyx glagolov v vedijskom sanskrite). [Towards a typology of transitivity (some constraints on the causative derivation in Vedic Sanskrit)]. In: V.I. Podlesskaja & L.I. Kulikov (eds.), *Problemy semantičeskoj i sintaksičeskoj tipologii* [Issues in semantic and syntactic typology], 31-52. Moscow: Nauka.

On the spatial semantics of preverb systems in South-Caucasian languages.

Kutscher, Silvia
(Humboldt University).

In my talk, I will discuss the morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of spatial expressions in Laz, focusing on the coding of static relations as expressed by the preverbs in this language. Within the family of South Caucasian languages, the largest inventories of spatial preverbs can be found in Mingrelian and Laz. Accordingly, for Laz a preverb system with more than 40 members has been reported (Holisky 1991). Laz has several dialectal varieties and no spoken or written standard form. In my talk, I will focus on the variety spoken in the city of Ardeshen and the villages of the Ardeshen region, the variety of which I have collected data on the occasion of several field work stays. I will start with an overview of the morphosyntactic characteristics of the language relevant to the subject of spatial expressions. This will be followed by a detailed analysis of the spatial semantics of the preverbs. Basically, in Ardeshen-Laz, the static spatial relation between figure and ground is expressed solely in the predicate, not by adpositions or cases, i.e. the ground-NP is unmarked, cf. (1).

- (1) a. *tasi masa ce-dgun*
 bowl table on-stand:3s:PRS
 'The bowl is (lit.: is standing) on the table.'
 b. *mskala ce-bulur*
 ladder down-go:1s:PRS
 'I go down the ladder.'

As the usage of the preverb *ce-* in the examples in (1a) and (1b) illustrates, the semantic system of the spatial preverbs in Laz is of major interest for research in the semantic typology of spatial expressions. The preverb *ce-* is used to denote a spatial configuration where a figure is on the surface of a ground (1a) as well as where a figure is moving downwards (1b). Based on data which were elicited by using special stimuli (e.g. the TRPS by the Language&Cognition Group of the MPI Nijmegen, cf. Levinson/Wilkins (eds.) 2006), I will show that in order to understand the semantics of the preverbs in Laz, concepts have to be taken into consideration which are rather different from those that in research are taken as universal in the domain of space (e.g. inclusion/containment, surface/superposition, cf. Levinson/Meira 2003). With respect to its spatial semantics, the preverbal system of Laz will then be contrasted with the comparatively smaller sets of preverbs in the genetically related South Caucasian languages Georgian and Svan, which with respect to semantics and function are rather different from the preverbs in Laz.

References:

- Holisky, Dee A. (1991): Laz, in: Harris, Alice C. (ed.), *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus. Bd.1: The Kartvelian Languages*. (Anatolian and Caucasian Studies). Delmar/New York: Caravan Books, 395–472.
- Levinson, Stephen C. & Meira, Sérgio (2003): ‘Natural concepts’ in the spatial topological domain – adpositional meanings in crosslinguistic perspective: An exercise in semantic typology, in: *Language* 79(3), 485–516.
- Levinson, Stephen C. & Wilkins, David (eds.) (2006): *Grammars of Space. Explorations in cognitive diversity*. (Language, culture, and cognition 6). Cambridge: University.

The more specific, the less evidential? On sense-related adverbs in English and their treatment in a database of ‘Evidential markers in European Languages’.

Lampert, Günther
(Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz).

Compared to the vast literature on epistemic modality in English, research on potential evidential markers has been scarce, the focus being mainly on adverbs that interface with epistemic modality, such as *apparently, evidently, obviously, clearly* (cf. Simon-Vandenberg & Aijmer 2007) or on verbs of appearance (cf. Gisborne & Holmes 2007, Aijmer 2009). As to the ‘evidential’ adverbs mentioned, they all have vision as their home domain, but, as historical evidence clearly shows, the reference to vision has been bleached out, though to different degrees. Of the five perceptual senses (seeing, hearing, touching, tasting, smelling), the auditory and the tactile senses are not so readily used as lexical evidential in English, and the gustatory and olfactory senses are not tapped at all (in accord to what is the case in most languages). Thus, the class of English de-adjectival adverbs referring to the respective senses (*audibly, tangibly, palpably, gustatorily, olfactorily*, but, interestingly, also *visibly*) are generally *not* used as evidentials. As evidence obtained from large corpora (BNC, COCA) reveals, these adverbs are comparatively infrequent or even non-attested, and if used at all, only so as manner or degree adverbs, mostly adjacent to verbs that likewise relate to the sense in question (*sigh, sniff, mumble, breathe audibly*, for instance). Though very occasional functional extensions into the domain of evidentiality can be observed in large corpora and especially on the Web, a bleaching of their specific perceptual reference does not obtain; correspondingly, in their syntax, a position at the periphery of clauses is not found, and they are only occasionally used parenthetically in medial position with a concomitant widening of scope. A general widening of scope, which is observable for prototypical evidential adverbs, does also not obtain. Thus, in general, there are no signs for evidential lexicalization (in the sense of Wiemer 2008, to appear).

From a cognitive semantics point of view (cf. Talmy, n.d.), a first descriptive generalization is predictable: it is indeed not coincidental that there is little overlap between inferential evidentiality and other sensory modalities apart from vision—human beings are, at least in western cultures, first and foremost visual beings.

What is more intriguing, though, and meriting closer inspection, is the finding that sense-denoting expressions obviously reject their potential functionalization as evidential markers. This is line with a general observation that also pertains to hearsay markers (see Lampert & Lampert, to appear): the more specific the values for the relevant parameters of evidentiality in the envisaged database are (like source, mode and evidence in the immediate context), the less likely is the tendency for lexical items to become re-categorized as ‘true’ evidential markers (in contradistinction to very ‘unspecific’ prototypical markers such as *seem* or *it is said*). The paper will discuss the consequences that such observations may have for the compilation of a comprehensive database of evidential markers in European languages.

References

- Aijmer, Karin (2009): “*Seem* and evidentiality.” *Functions of Language* 16.1, 63-88.
- Lampert, Günther & Lampert Martina (to appear), “Where does evidentiality reside? Notes on alleged (limiting) cases: *seem* and *be like*.”
- Gisborne, Nicholas & Holmes, Jasper (2007): A history of evidential verbs of appearance, in: *English Language and Linguistics* 11.1, 1-29.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie & Karin Aijmer (2007), *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty. A Corpus-Based Study of English Adverbs*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Talmy, Leonard (not dated), “Relating Language to Other Cognitive Systems.”

<http://linguistics.buffalo.edu/people/faculty/talmy/talmyweb/Handouts/relating4.pdf>

- Wiemer, Björn (2008): Lexikalische Markierungen evidenzieller Funktionen: zur Theoriebildung und empirischen Erforschung im Slavischen, in: Wiemer, Björn & Plungian, V. A. (eds.), *Lexikalische Evidenzialitätsmarker im Slavischen*. München: Sagner, 5-49. (=Wiener Slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 72).
- Wiemer, Björn (to appear): Evidentialität aus kognitiver Sicht [Preprint].

English Quotatives and/or vs. Reportatives in the Euro-Evid Database?

Lampert, Martina

(Johannes Gutenberg-Universität, Mainz).

Elaborating on and exemplifying the suggestions on criteria to delineate evidentiality and its subfunctions forwarded in Lampert & Lampert (to appear), this paper is meant to probe into a set of linguistic representations from report(at)ive evidentiality. The test cases, quotative *be like*, *say* and reportative *is said to*, *it is said*, for different (structural and distributional) reasons, pose problems for the database: The canonical reporting verb *say*, though obligatorily specifying both the source and the mode of evidence (Squartini 2008) is probably excluded for want of lexicalization (Wiemer 2008), while *be like*, a newcomer to the quotative system in English largely sharing *say*'s semantics and discourse functions (cf. Author, forthcoming), would be included on just this criterion. *is said to* and *it is said*, in contrast, are seldom called into question as members of lexical evidentiality, though they regularly lack reference to a source of evidence (in the immediate context). While *say* and *be like* are found to owe their (potential) evidential function to an argumentative context, not necessarily within a proposition of clausal scope (see Lampert, forthcoming), *it is said* is predominantly used parenthetically with a concomitant widening of scope, and *is said to* is syntactically integrated, disallowing a position at the periphery of clauses. From this perspective, it remains to be determined whether the functionality of a conceptual domain should be constrained by criteria like lexicalization or by a specific reading of 'propositional scope.'

The paper's focus will thus be on the treatment of report(at)ives and quotatives in the database, with special reference to evidential subfunction layer 2rep and potential further differentiations in layer 3: While the structure of the database prescribes inclusion by a candidate's default meaning (layer 1), the associated components activated in specific contexts count only as secondary criteria for category membership. A current study by Lampert (on *be like*) provides ample evidence that to ignore the context will result in a skewed account for candidate members of evidentiality, since the discourse context may well provide a criterial parameter for inclusion in the category: Quotatives, specifying both the source and the mode of evidence called on for whether speakers present a quote as the legitimate source of evidence for their assertion in a specific discourse context, would then also meet Wiemer's (2008) 'justification' requirement. This paper, then, will, on the basis of corpus data, submit an initial suggestion as to how and where such contextual effects may be treated in the database.

As a first result, a general tendency appears to be feasible: The more specific the values for relevant parameters of evidentiality in the items analyzed are (indicating both source and mode of evidence) and the more systematically the evidence surfaces in the immediate context, the less likely a lexical marker will be included as a member of evidentiality as proposed in the framework of Euro-Evid. Whether or not this is a desirable, or the desired, consequence may be subject to discussion at the conference.

References:

- Lampert, Günther & Lampert Martina (to appear), Where does evidentiality reside? Notes on alleged (limiting) cases: *seem* and *be like*."
- Lampert, Martina (forthcoming): 'Predicting' (*Be*) *Like*'s Domain(s) of Reference: Evidence and Emotion, in: Lampert, M. (ed.): *Be Like—Newcomer to the Quotative System in English: Dimensions of Meaning and Use*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Lampert, Martina & Sophie-Thérèse Seita (forthcoming), Revisiting the Semantics of *Be Like*, in: Author (ed.): *Be Like—Newcomer to the Quotative System in English: Dimensions of Meaning and Use*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Squartini, Mario (2008): Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian, in: *Linguistics* 46.5, 917-947.
- Wiemer, Björn (2008): Lexikalische Markierungen evidenzieller Funktionen: zur Theoriebildung und empirischen Erforschung im Slavischen, in: Wiemer, Björn & Plungian, V. A. (eds.), *Lexikalische Evidenzialitätsmarker im Slavischen*. München: Sagner, 5-49. (=Wiener Slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 72).

Non-canonical case marking in diachrony and the role of voice: evidence from Greek.

Lavidas, Nikolaos

(Aristotle University of Thessaloniki).

The aim of this paper is to examine the role that voice plays in non-canonical case marking in a diachronic perspective. Non-canonically case marked subjects have been assumed to be the result of a development from syntactic objects to subjects (Hewson and Bubenik 2006), or to be syntactic subjects already in Proto-Indo-European (Eythórsson and Barðdal 2005; Barðdal and Eythórsson 2009). Diachronic data from the Greek language show a link between the development of voice and

some tendencies in subject marking. Of special interest is the frequent marking of subjects of finite verbs with accusative case in papyri of the Byzantine period (Kapsomenakis 1938).

- (1) ala ke tus Persus ilthen
 but and the.ACC Persians.ACC come.ACT.PAST.PERFVE.3SG
 'but also the Persians came' (Russ-Georg IV Anhang S.100 (619/29p), 3-4)

In most of these cases, the specific verbs bear medio-passive voice morphology. The paper will explore the relationship of this tendency in subject marking with other changes in (non-)active voice and transitivity.

- (2) esfrajisthi tinkelan aftu
 seal.NACT.PAST.PERFVE.3SG the.ACC cell.ACC he.GEN
 'his cell was sealed' (Oxy VII 1067, 12/3)

Indicative of the instability of the period is also the presence of the opposite phenomenon, in other words the use of nominative instead of accusative case for the objects of finite verbs. Also in this instance, examples of verbs with non-active voice morphology are very frequent:

- (3) ke pros sin asfalian pepiime i apoxi
 and to your safety do.NACT.PERF.1SG the.NOM abstinence.NOM
 'and I did the abstinence for your safety' (PKF 309, 2 (VIp))

The above phenomena are connected to more general changes in the system of voice morphology, and mainly to the change of absorption of the accusative case by the non-active voice: in Ancient but not in Medieval Greek, the structure non-active type + NP-in accusative was grammatical. The differences in voice morphology between these two periods can be summarised as follows: (a) in Ancient Greek: (i) the structure non-active type + NP-in accusative as direct object is grammatical, (ii) presence of active passives and non-active anticausatives is in evidence; (b) from the Byzantine period: (i) the structure non-active + NP-in accusative as direct object is not productive (the non-active blocks/absorbs the accusative case), (ii) the presence of non-active passives and active anticausatives is very systematic (Lavidas 2006). On the other hand, these tendencies are also connected with the loss of the infinitives which take subjects in accusative case (for the cross-linguistic evolution of case systems, cf. Kulikov 2006, 2009). Finally, we argue that linked to this phenomenon is (a) the homonymy of the nominative and accusative endings for the nouns of the first declension and the impossibility of distinguishing between these two cases; and (b) the re-organisation of the tense-aspect system during that period.

References:

- Barðdal, J. & Eythórsson, Th. 2009. "The origin of the oblique subject construction: an Indo-European comparison. In V. Bubeník et al. (eds), *Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 179-193.
- Eythórsson, Th. & Barðdal, J. 2005. "Oblique subjects: a common Germanic inheritance". *Language* 81(4): 824-881.
- Hewson, J. & Bubeník, V. 2006. *From Case to Adposition: the Development of Configurational Syntax in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: J. Benjamins.
- Kapsomenakis, S. G. 1938. *Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit*. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte. Munich: Beck.
- Kulikov, L.I. 2006. "Case systems in a diachronic perspective: a typological sketch". In L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov & P. de Swart (eds), *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 23-47.
- Kulikov, L.I. 2009. "Evolution of case systems". In A. Malchukov & A. Spencer (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 439-457.
- Lavidas, N. 2006. *Changes in Verb Transitivity*. PhD Dissertation. National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

Causation and Transitivity in East Slavic Impersonals.

Lavine, James E.
 (Bucknell University).

Background. The functional head *v* is assumed in recent generative syntax to exhibit both an argument-projecting property (the licensing of canonical subjects) and a transitivity property (the licensing of accusative). The virtue of this analysis is that it provides a phrase-structural implementation of Burzio's Generalization, which seeks to unify these two properties. However, it has been suggested widely in recent work that the argument-projecting property of *v* is potentially distinct from *v*'s function as an accusative case assigner (Bowers 2002; Pykkänen 2008, a.o.). The most straightforward way to distinguish these functions of *v* is to consider predicates in which *v*, if present, is not argument-projecting, as in the case of the Transitive Impersonal construction in Ukrainian (non-agreeing, passive in form). Unaccusative Transitive Impersonals, such as those in (1-2), freely allow accusative to occur, so long as the predicate is dyadic and the non-Theme argument asserts causation (a causative sub-event). Crucially, accusative in such constructions is ungrammatical in the case of Experiencer predicates, which are also dyadic unaccusatives, but stative, rather than eventive (3-4). I will show that accusative is consistent only with

the eventive interpretation. I argue that the eventuality denoted by the verb, and more specifically, how the property of causation is syntactically packaged, directly reflects the predicate's internal case possibilities.

Proposal. Experiencer *impersonals* project only a state—the eventive extended projection (*v*) is not constructed. In the terms developed here, the non-Experiencer argument, as a Theme, fails to identify a causative sub-event (i.e., initiate causation when put in motion)—it is “inert” with respect to event structure (Ramchand 2008). On the analysis of Pykkänen 2008, *v* comes in an argument-projecting variety with causative semantics (*v*-VOICE + *v*-CAUSE) and in a non-argument projecting variety with only the latter property (*v*-CAUSE). In the case of Transitive Impersonals, *v*-CAUSE enters the syntax “unbundled” with VOICE via identification with an internal argument with causative semantics (the instrumental NP in (1a, 2a). That is, *v*-CAUSE enters the syntax (with the accusative-case-assigning property) when identified by an internal argument that asserts a causing event, in the same way that other object DPs, perfective prefixes, and verbal particles identify a telic event (also with well known morphosyntactic consequences, particularly with respect to case) (see, a.o., Borer 2005). The fact that stative predicates in the Transitive Impersonal construction are infelicitous is further demonstrated by the examples in (5), where nominative is strongly preferred. Accusative is ruled out in (5a) because there is no person or cause (even abstract and covert) that can concentrate the meaning of a word into its root (see the sentence gloss).

The same distribution with respect to case and event-semantics is found in an analogous *non-cognate* construction in Russian, in (6). Note further that the diachronic source for the Ukrainian construction, the Polish *-no/-to* passive, is Voice-bundling, in contrast with the Ukrainian structure—that is, the Polish expression contains a causative *v* that requires an agentive, sentient participant, though silent, giving rise to ungrammatical (7b). This micro-variation between closely-related languages provides strong evidence for the idea that differences in the syntactic expression of causation are directly related to the expression of transitivity and associated case possibilities, suggesting an augmented role for internal arguments in identifying the functional projections necessary to construct events.

Ukrainian Transitive Impersonals: “Causative Unaccusatives”

- (1) a. Dim bulo spaleno blyskavkoju. [dyadic]
 house:ACC was burned-down:[-AGR] lightning:INST
 ‘The house was burned down by a strike of lightning.’
 b. * Dim zhoreno. [monadic]
 house:ACC burned-down:[-AGR]
 [Intended: ‘The house burned down.’]
- (2) a. Kulju rozirvano cvjaxom. [dyadic]
 balloon:ACC pierced:[-AGR] nail:INST
 ‘The balloon was pierced by a nail.’
 b. * Kulju trisnuto. [monadic]
 balloon:ACC burst:[-AGR]
 [Intended: ‘The balloon burst.’]

Ukrainian Experiencer Impersonals: “Stative Unaccusatives”

- (3) *Ivana bulo zdyvovano ihraškoju. [stative]
 Ivan:ACC was surprised:[-AGR] toy:INST
 [Intended: ‘Ivan was surprised at the toy.’]
- (4) *Ivana bulo vtišeno novynoj. [stative]
 Ivan:ACC was consoled:[-AGR] news:INST
 [Intended: ‘Ivan was consoled at/by the news.’]

Ukrainian Stative Impersonals:

- (5) a. ???Osnovne značennja slova zoseredženo v koreni.
 basic meaning:ACC of-word concentrated:[-AGR] in root
 b. Osnovne značennja slova zoseredžene v koreni.
 basic meaning:NOM.N.SG of-word concentrated:N.SG in root
 ‘The basic meaning of the word is concentrated in its root.’ [Shevelov 1963: 142]

Russian Transitive Impersonal: “Causative Unaccusative”

- (6) Šarik protknulo bulavkoj. [cf. (2a)]
 balloon:ACC pierced:[-AGR] pin:INST
 ‘The balloon was pierced by a pin.’

Polish *-no/-to* Passive [+Agentive, +Sentient]

- (7) a. Wzięto żołnierzy do wojska.
 taken:[-TO] soldiers:ACC to army
 ‘They drafted soldiers into the army.’
 b. *Spalono książkę słońcem. [cf. (1a)]
 burned:[-NO] book:ACC sun:INST
 [Intended: ‘The book was warped by the sun.’]

References:

- Borer, H. 2005. *Structuring sense: The normal course of events*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bowers, J. 2002. "Transitivity". *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 183–224.
- Grimshaw, J. 1990. *Argument structure*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pylkkänen, L. 2008. *Introducing arguments*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ramchand, G. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon: A First-Phase syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shevelov, G. 1963. *The syntax of Modern Literary Ukrainian*. The Hague: Mouton.

The Evidentiality Marker *de(i)* in the History of Russian.

Lazar, Marija
(University of Hamburg).

The evidentiality marker *de(i)* arose in the Old Russian written in the chancelleries on the territory of Moscovy at the end of the 14th ct. It had explicitly regional character as in the northern and in the western parts of Rus' these markers were not used. It is noticeable that *de(i)* regularly appeared in particular business genres which tended to transfer spoken words into their written forms, namely: court reportings (*sudnye gramoty*), questioning reportings (*skazki*), business letters (mostly *gramoty* or *gramotki*), and petitions (*čelobitnye*). It was used in two variants - *de* and *dei-*, the application of which might have depended on the writer's preference.

Due to its etymological origin from the verb *dějati*, which developed its meaning "to speak" simultaneously with the common ie. "to do, to act" only in some Slavic languages, *de(i)* (3rd P. Present of *dějati*) seems to have been borrowed by the Old Russian during the 2nd Church Slavonic influence. This hypothesis explains the absence of *de(i)* e.g. in the Novgorodian written tradition.

The fact of its usage only in particular genres predefined the lexical and syntactic context of the marker. Indirect speech was often introduced by *verbi dicendi* or *verbi sentiendi* combined with the conjunction *čto* (*that/which*), and in embedded contribution occurred to be refocused through transferring direct speech into reported one. In 14th-16th ct. the marker *de(i)* was mostly used to highlight reported speech in the midst of a matrix construction and possessed only an evidential function, since in those written in minuscule texts (*skoropis'*) the limits of words and punctuation were rarely set if at all.

De(i) was the most frequent marker of reported speech, which was actively used during the whole period (15th-18th ct.) in the Old Russian and was spread in the whole area of its use. On the one hand it developed evidential connotations (first of all the reduced reliance) known in the modern Russian, which were not regular, though. The contrasting contexts show the opposition of null manifestation of the marker by quoting the documents and the usage of *de(i)* by quoting the utterances. The other reason for omitting *de(i)* was the need to stress the contrast between utterances of a master and the ones of his servant. On the other hand there could be traced a differentiation between the more prestigious form *jakoby* versus the neutral *de(i)*, which probably goes back to the genesis of *jakoby* as a form borrowed from the Russian Church Slavonic (cf. Molotkov 1962, 188-190), which was actively used in the clerical texts while in the Codex Supraslensis only several examples of *de(i)* are found.

Towards the end of the 18th ct. the tendency to omit evidentiality markers settled. The tendency seemed to have been predetermined by the smooth transition to another writing praxis in *graždanicica* (civil alphabet), which introduced the rules of constituency of a text and its interpunctoric marking. As a result, the lexical markers highlighting reported speech were not actual any more. This process activated the usage of relative clauses and thus supported the hypotaxis tendency, which had expanded by that time owing to borrowings from French. The use of the evidential markers in written texts is therefore connected with their conceptual informality.

References:

- Cejtlin, R.M., Večerka, R., Blagova, E. 1999. *Staroslavjanskij slovar' (po rukopisjam X-XI vekov)*. 2-e izd. Moskva.
- Faarlund, J.T. 1990. *Syntactic Change. Toward a Theory of Historical Syntax*. Berlin; New York. (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 50)
- Fasmer [= Vasmer], M. 1964. *Ėtimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*. T. I-IV. Moskva: Progress.
- Koch, P., Österreicher, W. 2008. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit von Texten. Janich, N. (ed.): *Textlinguistik: 15 Einführungen*. Tübingen, 199-215.
- Molotkov, A. I. 1962. Osobyje sintaksičeskie konstrukcii dlja peredači čužoj reči v drevnerusskom jazyke. *Issledovanija po grammatike russkogo jazyka III. Učenyje zapiski LGU. Nr. 302. Serija filologičeskich nauk. Vyp. 61*. Leningrad, 162-192.
- Otin, Je. S. 1981. K ėtimologii odnogo slavjanskogo glagola reči (v svjazi s istorijej časticy *de*). Šanskij, N.M. (ed.): *Ėtimologičeskije issledovanija po russkomu jazyku*. Vyp. IX. Moskva, 142-166.
- Plungjan, V.A. 2008. O pokazateljach čužoj reči i nedostovernosti v russkom jazyke: *mol, jakoby* i drugie. Wiemer, B.; Plungjan, V.A. (eds.): *Lexikalische Evidenzialitäts-Marker in slavischen Sprachen. Wiener slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 72*. München; Wien, 285-311.
- Rix, H. (ed.) 2001. *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben: Die Wurzeln und ihre Primärstammbildungen*. – 2., erw. und verbesserte Auflage. Wiesbaden.

- Wiemer, B. 2008a. Lexikalische Markierungen evidenzieller Funktionen: zur Theoriebildung und empirischen Erforschung im Slavischen. Wiemer, B.; Plungjan, V.A. (eds.): *Lexikalische Evidenzialitäts-Marker in slavischen Sprachen. Wiener slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 72*. München; Wien, 5-50.
- Wiemer, B. 2008b. Pokazateli s citativnoj i inferentivnoj funkcijami v ruskom i pol'skom jazykach – kommunikativnye mehanizmy semantičeskogo sdviga. Wiemer, B.; Plungjan, V.A. (eds.): *Lexikalische Evidenzialitäts-Marker in slavischen Sprachen. Wiener slawistischer Almanach. Sonderband 72*. München; Wien, 335-375.

How to determine the borders of inferential zone (based on Russian data).

Letuchiy Alexander

(Moscow, Russian Language Institute of Russian Academy of Sciences).

The inferential zone of evidentiality is the most difficult to distinguish from the other ones. This is very relevant for the database on evidential markers in European languages: full description of inferential markers in a given language is a separate problem. This difficulty of analysis results from the fact that the inferential meaning (the speaker draws a conclusion from some perceptual or non-perceptual evidence) is very probable to be expressed together with the epistemic meaning. This functional proximity let Plungjan (2001) say that inferential markers almost always comprise an epistemic component.

In my talk, I will try to determine the borders of inferential zone for Russian, based on some Russian lexical units, to show whether they can be included into the database and whether they contain a conventionalized epistemic component:

1. *vidimo* 'apparently, evidently' and *vidno* 'seemingly'. *Vidno* is obviously an evidential unit, because it is used in contexts like (1):

(1) *Jego vskore uvoli-l-i. Vidno, on mnogix kritikova-l.*
 he.ACC soon discharged-PST-PL seemingly he.NOM many.ACC.PL criticize-PST.M
 'He was soon discharged. It seems [INFERENTIAL] that he criticized a lot of people [and this was the reason he was discharged]'

Therefore, *vidno* should be considered as an evidential unit with a conventionalized epistemic component.

The case with *vidimo* is more difficult. It can express the epistemic meaning in contexts like (2):

(2) *Zavtra ja, vidimo, prid-u domoj pozdno*
 tomorrow I.NOM apparently come-1SG.PRS home late
 'It seems that tomorrow I will come home late.'

However, it is possible that this meaning can also be regarded as inferential. The speaker not only says that the given event ('coming home late') is probable; he must have an evidence to draw a conclusion. On the other hand, following this logic, any unit with a conventionalized epistemic component of high probability can be regarded as evidential: the speaker must have some reason to say that the probability of an event is high.

2. *kaže-t-sja* 'it seems' [\$seem\$-3SG.PRS-REFL]. The unit has an apparently inferential use, for instance:

(3) *Kažetsja, Vasj-a upa-l.*
 it.seem Vasja-NOM fall-PST.M
 'It seems that Vasja fell.'

There exists another use where *kažetsja* denotes that the speaker cannot remember something: *On, kažetsja, rabotal na zavode* 'It seems to me / As I remember, he worked in a factory'. We could in principle regard this use as non-evidential. However, it is more plausible to regard it as inferential-modal (inferential with a conventionalized epistemic component): *kažetsja* is not used in purely modal contexts as (2). As a result, the following scheme emerges:

- (1) purely inferential *kažetsja*, as in (3);
- (2) inferential-modal *kažetsja* which includes two components: (a) rather high degree of probability ('it is probable that he worked in a factory'); (b) non-standard piece of non-perceptual evidence (speaker's memory).

I will show that the solution can be to postulate several subtypes of inferential, in addition to the perceptual vs. non-perceptual classification contained in the database.

References:

- Plungjan V.A. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 2001. 349-357.

Modelling the Outcome of Language Contact in the Speech of Bilingual Children and Adults in Monolingual and Bilingual Environments.

Lleo, Conxita, Cortes, Susana, Benet, Ariadna
(University of Hamburg).

Variables conditioning the outcome of language contact are numerous, and must be divided in internal and external ones. Internal variables (markedness, frequency, complexity, feature economy, uniformity or lack of variation) emerge more clearly in early childhood, whereas later on external variables (age, school, family language, language of the peer-group, prestige, sex, etc.) take the lead. The weight of various variables is determined both in family bilingualism in a widely monolingual community (children growing up bilingual in Hamburg) and in family monolingualism and bilingualism in a widely bilingual community (children and adults living in Barcelona). From the external variables, school seems to be relevant in childhood, too, as those children who attend a bilingual school develop a better command of the non-dominant language.

Our study focuses on phono-prosodic aspects of bilingualism and includes two approaches: internal linguistic and sociolinguistic. It comprises three parts. First, through spontaneous data we analyze and try to model the contact-language situation of young bilingual children within family bilingualism and societal monolingualism (Spanish from the mother and German from the father as well as from the broad German-speaking community in Hamburg). Such cases of individual bilingualism at a very early age only receive the impact of internal variables, which can be weighted to one another. In fact, such a situation is an ideal one to establish a hierarchy of internal variables, among which we have found the following ordering from those having more to less impact: frequency > complexity > uniformity > feature economy > markedness. The resulting picture is converging results between the two languages in several areas, especially in prosody (rhythm and intonation), and uniform production of morphemes at the segmental level (avoidance of spirantization and of nasal assimilation in Spanish, avoidance of final devoicing in German).

Second, through the elicitation of target words we analyze the speech of bilingual children in a bilingual society (with Catalan and Spanish in Barcelona, in families that are dominant Catalan or dominant Spanish). Here, too, mainly internal factors are relevant. Although we could not check all internal variables, it seems that frequency is also the most powerful one and that markedness does not have much strength. Again, school and the concomitant peer-group seem to play an important role, as it has more predictive power than the language spoken at home.

Third, through further elicitation tasks we analyze the speech of Catalan-Spanish adults from Barcelona between 32 and 40 years of age, who started having Catalan lessons at some point in primary school, and from a group of youngsters, aged between 19 and 23, who have had all their schooling in Catalan. The focus is on sounds that belong to the Catalan sound system, but are absent from the Spanish sound system. Results show that age and school are among the most predictive variables. For the younger group, school is also related to the peer-group and the district where they live, which are strongly predictive variables.

The Semantics and Distribution of Reflexive Verbs in Latvian.

Lokmane, Ilze; Kalnaca Andra & Vogina Līga
(University of Latvia).

Investigation of Latvian reflexive verbs (e.g., *mazgāties* 'to wash [oneself]', *celties* 'to get [oneself] up', *ģērbties* 'to dress [oneself]) proves that they function as a heterogeneous semantically and grammatically unclear group in Latvian. Reflexive verbs are considered as a part of the active voice in Modern Latvian.

Historically, reflexive verbs are the part of **active voice** – **middle voice** opposition. Transition from **active** – **middle voice** paradigm to **active** – **passive voice** paradigm and the development of special passive voice forms in Latvian (*auxiliary verb* *tikt* + *past passive participle*, e.g., *nams tiek celts* 'the house is being built') have caused the change of the semantic and grammatical status of reflexive verbs. These verbs via grammaticalization and lexicalization have developed the meanings of both active and passive voice. At the same time, a significant part of reflexive verbs have still kept the old middle voice meanings (in details see Geniušienė 1983; Holvoet 2001).

In terms of semantic roles, the scope covered by reflexive verbs can be characterized as follows (Plungian 2000):

reflexive → **reciprocal** → **medio-passive** → **passive**

The so-called prototypical reflexive, where the agent and the patient of the action are coreferential (Wierzbicka 1996; Enger & Nessel 1999), has developed into reciprocal, where doubling of semantic roles has taken place – two or more participants are agents and patients at the same time. The next step is medio-passive, where one of the participants – the agent – is eliminated from the situation and there is only one participant in the speaker's field of vision. Passive meaning is the most recent – it is concentrated rather on the final state or the result of the action than the dynamic process itself. In fact, we can observe some kind of blending of semantic roles on each step (except passive).

The semantic changes are illustrated also by changes in distribution of reflexive verbs. The agent gradually loses its outstanding position of syntactic subject, instead, the position of subject is occupied by the patient.

- Reflexives with patient as object:
syntactic subject = agent [+anim]
Viņš mazgājas 'He washes himself'
- Reflexives with recipient as object: (transitive)
syntactic subject = agent [+anim]
syntactic object = patient [-anim]
Viņš apāvēs zābakus 'He put on his boots'
- Reciprocals:
syntactic subject (plural) = agents [+anim]
Viņi sarunājas 'They are talking to each other'
- Medio-passives:
 - 1) syntactic subject = patient [-anim]
Durvis atvērās 'The door opened'
 - 2) syntactic subject = experiencer [+anim]
Es saaukstējos 'I caught a cold'

If the process is felt by a person, a dative experiencer is common. The subject is either the patient or there is no grammatical subject at all:

Man veicas darbs 'I succeed in my job'

The dative experiencer stresses the uncontrolled nature of the process. The model with dative experiencer can even be extended to situations with an animate agent. The role of grammatical subject is fulfilled by patient:

Man apēdās visi cepumi 'I accidentally ate all the cookies'

- Passives
Syntactic subject = patient [-anim]
Paraugi nepārdodas 'Samples are not being sold'

The borderline between these semantic groups is not clear-cut. The same process can be viewed or conceptualized as somebody's action upon himself or as a process experienced by somebody: *sagatavoties* 'to get ready' – either 'to get oneself to the state of readiness' or 'to reach the state of readiness' (Plungian 2000).

Language material is taken from the Corpus of Latvian (www.korpuss.lv) and other sources (mass media texts, fiction etc.).

References:

- Enger H.-O. & Nessel T. (1999). The value of cognitive grammar in typological studies: the case of Norwegian and Russian Passive, Middle and Reflexive. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 22., 27-60.
- Geniušienė, E. (1983). *Refleksivnye glagoly v baltijskich jazykov i tipologija refleksivov*. Vilnius: Viljnusskij gosudarstvennij universitet.
- Holvoet, A. (2001). *Studies in the Latvian Verb*. Kraków: Wydawnictwo universitetu Jagiellońskiego.
Latviešu valodas tekstu korpuss. www.korpuss.lv
- Plungian, V. A. (2000). *Obščaja morfologija*. Moskva: Editorial URSS
- Wierzbicka A. (1996). *Semantics. Primes and Universals*. Oxford UP.

From clause to pragmatic marker: Developments in evidential complement constructions in Contemporary English.

López-Couso, María José & Méndez-Naya, Belén
(University of Santiago de Compostela).

Huddleston and Pullum et al. (2002: 895) define parentheticals like *I think, I believe, it seems* as "expressions which can be appended parenthetically to an anchor clause but which also have a non-parenthetical use in which they take a declarative content clause as complement" (for a wider definition of the term parenthetical, see Dehé and Kavalova 2007). In the parenthetical use of such constructions the matrix-subordinate relation is reversed, the parenthetical clause becomes syntactically more independent, is intonationally detached from its anchor or host clause, and shows greater positional

mobility. Since they frequently express a comment, usually the speaker's opinion on the truth-value of their anchor, parentheticals are also commonly known as 'comment clauses' (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1112-1118; Brinton 2008).

It is widely acknowledged that parenthetical clauses constitute an intermediate stage in one of the possible trajectories in the development of pragmatic markers, namely *matrix clause* > *parenthetical disjunct* > *pragmatic marker* (cf. Brinton 2008: 35-47). A classic example is the development of *I think* (cf. Thompson and Mulac 1991).

In this paper we provide further examples of this developmental path by focusing on parentheticals emerging in complementation structures with the high-frequency evidential predicates *seem*, *appear*, *look* and *sound*. These predicates occur very frequently in impersonal constructions, such as that in example (1). With the verbs *seem* and *appear* the complementizers *that* and zero enter into variation with the comparative links *as if*, *as though* and *like*, while these comparative complementizers are the only possibility available with the predicates *look* and *sound* (cf. Bender and Flickinger 1999; López-Couso and Méndez-Naya 2008, 2009), as in (2).

(1) It seems that (as if/as though/like), in some sense, men fantasise much more than women or have more visual fantasies. (FLOB G 55)

(2) It looks as if (as though/like/*that) the three of you will have a very cosy evening. (FLOB P29)

In our presentation we will describe the different parenthetical types available for the four evidential predicates under study (e.g. *so/as*) *it seems/appears/looks/sounds*; *(it) seems/looks/sounds like*), paying attention, among other issues, to (i) the presence/absence of the pronoun *it*; (ii) the presence/absence of adverbial/relative *so/as*; (iii) the position of the evidential clause in relation to its anchor; (iv) the tense of the evidential verb; and (v) the presence/absence of the complementizer in the parenthetical clause, since there seems to be a clear difference in behaviour between the complementizers *that/as if/as though*, on the one hand, and *like*, on the other. Moreover, we will also explore the possibility of whether the strings *looks/seems/sounds like*, as in (3), can be said to be moving a step further and developing into non-clausal evidential markers in Contemporary English.

(3) "And in hibernation?" "Looks like." (COCA)

Since only a small proportion of examples of these high-frequency evidential predicates appear in parentheticals, our study calls for the use of large corpora such as BYU-BNC (100 million words) and COCA (ca. 400 million words). Additional data will be provided by the Brown family of corpora.

References:

- Bender, Emily and Dan Flickinger. 1999. "Diachronic evidence for extended argument structure". In Gosse Bouma, Erhard Hinrichs, Geert-Jan M. Kruijff and Richard Oehrle (eds.). *Constraints and resources in natural language syntax and semantics*. Stanford, CA: CSLI: 3-16.
- Brinton, Laurel J. 2008. *The comment clause in English. Syntactic origins and pragmatic development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, Mark. 2004- BYU-BNC: *The British National Corpus*. Available online at <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc>.
- Davies, Mark. 2008- COCA: *Corpus of Contemporary American English*. Available online at <http://www.americancorpus.org>.
- Dehé, Nicole and Yordanka Kavalova (eds.). 2007. *Parentheticals*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hofland, Knut, Anne Lindebjerg and Jørn Thunestvedt (eds.). 1999. *ICAME Collection of English Language Corpora*. 2nd ed. University of Bergen. The HIT Centre.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey K. Pullum et al. 2002. *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- López-Couso, María José and Belén Méndez-Naya. 2008. "It looks as if it's a complementizer: On the origin and development of the minor declarative complementizers *as if* and *as though*." Paper presented at 13 ICEHL, Munich, 24-30 August 2008.
- López-Couso, María José and Belén Méndez-Naya. 2009. "It seems like times are changing: On the use of *as if*, *as though* and *like* as complementizers in Contemporary English." Paper presented at ICLCE-3, London, 15-17 July 2009.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Thompson, Sandra A. and Anthony Mulac. 1991. "A quantitative perspective on the grammaticization of epistemic parentheticals in English." In Elizabeth C. Traugott and Bernd Heine (eds.). *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, vol. II: 313-329.

Subject clitics offshore: the pronominal progressive construction in Pantiscu.

Loporcaro, Michele
(University of Zurich).

Subject clitics are a much-debated issue in Romance comparative syntax. In the extensive literature on the topic (e.g. Poletto 1993, Manzini & Savoia 2005, I: 69-196, Diémoz 2007 etc.), their occurrence is documented in a dialect area spanning from Bordeaux to Istria to Florence (cf. e.g. Heap's 2000 charts). Applying classic tests for clitic-hood (e.g. Kayne 1975, Zwicky 1977), this paper demonstrates that Pantiscu, the variety of Sicilian spoken on the island of Pantelleria (some 60 miles off the coast of Sicily, and half so distant from that of Tunisia), also possesses subject clitics, as exemplified in (1):

- (1) *je Je chianci-u*
1SG 1SG.CLIT cry.PRES-1SG
'I'm crying'

The data discussed in this study are drawn from fieldwork conducted on the island in the summer of 2009. (The first mention of the occurrence of pronominal strings of the kind exemplified in (1) occurs in Tropea 1975:241, 1988:xlii, which offers a small amount of data and yet remained the only study of Pantiscu morphosyntax based on first-hand data until the present one.)

Not only are Pantiscu clitics exceptional in a geolinguistic perspective, they also are structurally unprecedented. In fact, contrary to all Central Romance subject clitics described so far, they are not semantically empty but convey progressive meaning: as will be shown, their occurrence is subject to morphological, aspectual and Aktionsart restrictions on progressives familiar from the typological literature (like the non-occurrence with imperatives or permanent statives; cf. e.g. Comrie 1981³:35-38, Bertinetto 1994:66-67) as well as restrictions constraining the grammaticality of progressive periphrases in Italo-Romance (like the non-acceptability with passive and with perfective verb tenses: cf. Bertinetto 1986:138, Squartini 1998:ch. 2). The progressive function they fulfil makes them interesting in a typological perspective too, since (progressive) aspect is usually not marked *through* pronouns (though in some languages it is marked within syntactic constituents including pronominal elements, some cases in point being Hausa and Australian languages like Warlpiri, Gurindji Kriol, etc.; cf. respectively Jaggar 2001:148, Hale et al. 1995, O'Shanessy 2005:37, Meakins 2009).

Occasionally, Arabic influence has been invoked (SgROI 1986:130-132) to explain this syntactic property of Pantiscu, whose morphosyntax indeed has attracted interest especially because of its long history of contact with Arabic. For instance, this is the only Romance variety in which the pluperfect is calqued on Arabic: e.g. *era scrissi* 'I had written', comparable to e.g. Maltese *kont ktibt* (cf. Lüdtke 1978:217, Pellegrini 1989:47-48, Brincat 2004:104). In the case of subject clitics, however, the contact explanation does not seem to stand closer examination, as argued in the present paper.

References:

- Bertinetto, Pier Marco. 1986. *Tempo, aspetto e azione nel verbo italiano. Il sistema dell'indicativo*, Firenze: Accademia della Crusca.
- Bertinetto, Pier Marco. 1994. Statives, progressives and habituals: Analogies and divergencies. *Linguistics* 32:391-423 [also in Bertinetto 1997. *Il dominio tempo-aspetto*. Turin: Rosenberg & Sellier, 61-93].
- Brincat, Giuseppe. 2004. Malta. Una storia linguistica. Presentazione di Francesco Bruni. Recco (Genova): Le mani/Udine: CIP.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1981³. Aspect. An introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problema. Cambridge: CUP.
- Diémoz, Federica. 2007. Morphologie et syntaxe des pronoms personnels sujets dans les parlers francoprovençaux de la Vallée d'Aoste. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Hale Kenneth, Mary Laughren & Jane Simpson. 1995. Warlpiri. In Joachim Jacobs, Arnim von Stechov, Wolfgang Sternefeld & Theo Vennemann (eds.), *An International Handbook of Contemporary Research 2*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1430-1449.
- Heap, David (2000). *La variation grammaticale en géolinguistique: les pronoms sujet en roman central*, München: Lincom Europa.
- Jaggar, Philip J. 2001. Hausa. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kayne, Richard S. 1975. *French syntax. The Transformational Cycle*. Cambridge (Mass.): MIT Press.
- Lüdtke, Helmut. 1978. Sur la morphosyntaxe mélangée de trois parlers insulaires de la Méditerranée (maltais, arabe de Chypre, pantellerien), in *Actes du Deuxième Congrès International d'Etude des Cultures de la Méditerranée occidentale, II*, Alger: S.N.E.O., 214-219.
- Manzini, Maria Rita & Leonardo Maria Savoia. 2005. *I dialetti italiani e romanci. Morfosintassi generativa*. 3 vols. Alessandria: Orso.
- Meakins, Felicity. 2009. Case-Marking and Postcolonial Language Contact in an Australian Mixed Language. Paper given at *Morphologies in Contact* (Bremen, Oktober 1-3, 2009).
- Poletto, Cecilia. 1993. *La sintassi del soggetto nei dialetti italiani settentrionali*. Padova: Unipress.
- O'Shanessy, Carmel. 2005. Light Warlpiri: A New Language. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 25: 31-57.
- Pellegrini, Giovan Battista. 1989. *Ricerche sugli arabismi italiani con particolare riguardo alla Sicilia*, Palermo: CSFLS.
- SgROI, Salvatore Claudio. 1986. *Interferenze fonologiche, morfo-sintattiche e lessicali fra l'arabo e il siciliano*, Palermo: CSFLS.

- Squartini, Mario. 1998. Verbal periphrases in Romance: Aspect, actionality and grammaticalization. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Tropea, Giovanni. 1975. Per una monografia sul dialetto dell'isola di Pantelleria. In Manlio Cortelazzo (ed.), *La Ricerca Dialettale*. I. Pisa: Pacini, 223-277.
- Tropea, Giovanni. 1988. *Lessico del dialetto di Pantelleria*. Palermo: CSFLS.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. *On clitics*. Bloomington (Indiana): IULC.

The Middle Construction in Chinese: The Descriptive V-de Construction.

Luo, Lyih-Peir
(National Chi-Nan University).

Based on the criteria developed for the West Germanic languages (e.g. Ackema and Schoorlemmer 2005; Lekakou 2006; Stroik 2006), this study examines the Chinese descriptive *V-de* constructions and argues that they are in the range of middle constructions. Following Rappaport Hovav and Levin's (2001) diagnostics for event structure, we claim that the construction has a simple event structure, which explains on one hand why only one argument is realised in middles and on the other hand how the stativity of middles is established. The stativity (i.e. non-eventivity) has further to do with the Agent-demoting. Adopting Davidson's (1967) and Larson's (2004) analyses of adverbs, we propose that the adverb is an event predicate taking the event denoted by the verb as its argument and determines also the aspectual class of the event. Syntactically, the adverb is base generated in the complement position of the verb and form a state denoting complex predicate with the verb. The necessity of the sentence final adverb thus follows naturally and why they cannot appear in the preverbal position can be straightforwardly accounted for.

The paper proceeds in the following order: after a representation of the characteristics of the middle construction basically found in German and English, we raise evidences with respect to the syntactic behaviours, semantic features and also the event structure to support the analysis that the Chinese descriptive *V-de* constructions are middles. Finally, we apply Larson's (2004) semanto-syntactic mapping model to analyse the construction and propose how the middle construction is derived.

Partitives, transitivity, and non-canonical marking of core arguments.

Luraghi, Silvia
(Università di Pavia).

Non-canonical marking of core arguments often involves markers usually associated with a semantic role different from agent or patient: e.g. in various Romance varieties the preposition associated with recipient/beneficiary is a possible marker of non-canonical subjects/objects:

- (1) *Giovanni ha dato il libro a Maria*
Juan le dió el libro a Maria
John gave the book **A** Mary(=recipient)
- (2) *A Giovanni piace la pasta*
A John(=subj.) like pasta
- (3) *Juan vió a Maria*
John saw **A** Mary(=obj.)

In many languages, the partitive can also mark subjects/objects. The Romance languages are a case in point: however, the Romance partitive (in origin a preposition) shares the distribution of determiners rather than case markers:

- (4) *E' venuto l'amico di Giovanni / E' venuto un amico di Giovanni*
is come the friend of John / is come a friend of John
"John's friend / a friend of John's came"
- (5) *Sono venuti gli amici di Giovanni / Sono venuti degli amici di Giovanni*
are come the friends of John / are come PART friends of John
"John's friends / some friends of John's came"
- (6) *E' venuto Giovanni con gli amici / E' venuto Giovanni con degli amici*
is come John with the friends / is come John with PART friends
"John came with his / some friends"

Clearly, the partitive is not associated with any semantic role or grammatical relation (it can also occur with prepositions): this is also true of partitives cross-linguistically. Thus, partitives do not share the distribution of other case marking devices (Moravcsik 1978), and are close to determiners (e.g. Laka 1993, Luraghi 2009). In principle, this is not a reason for not

considering partitives a possible device for non-canonical marking: both partitive subjects and objects are connected with low transitivity (Conti forthcoming on Greek; in Basque, partitive subjects are limited to intransitives, in Finnish their appearance with action verbs is limited, Huumo 2003; partitive objects are partially affected or at least indefinite). However the Romance data raise the question whether it would be preferable to draw a distinction between non-canonical marking and determination; note further the different distribution of the partitive between languages where partitives are (a) articles (Italian, French) (b) ‘dedicated’ cases (Finnish, Basque), (c) cases that also have other functions (most Indo-European languages), which goes along with different degrees of grammaticalization. The paper addresses the issue of the relation between partitives and other devices for non-canonical marking. Corpus-based investigation on modern Italian will indicate whether partitive subjects/objects appear with specific verbs. Comparison with partitives in other languages will point to a scale between case marking and determination for different manifestations of the partitive across languages, also in connection with historical developments (Carlier 2007, Rijk 1996). As expected result, a difference will emerge between partitive and other types of non-canonical marking of core arguments: while partitives focus on degrees of transitivity and involvement, and for this reason can end up indicating indefiniteness, other types of differential marking focus on non-prototypicality of semantic roles, and do not undergo such development.

References:

- Carlier, Anne. 2007. “From Preposition to Article : The Grammaticalization of the French Partitive”. *Studies in Language* 31: 1-49.
- Conti, Luz forthcoming. „Synchronie und Diachronie des altgriechischen Genitivs als Semisubjekt”. In *Historische Sprachwissenschaft*.
- Huumo, Tuomas 2003. Incremental Existence: The World According to the Finnish Existential Sentence. *Linguistics* 41/3: 461–493
- Laka, Itziar 1993. “Unergatives that Assign Ergative, Unaccusatives that Assign Accusative”. *MITWPL* 18: 149-172.
- Le Bidois, R. 1952. *L'inversion du sujet dans la prose contemporaine* (1900-1950), Paris.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2009. “The internal structure of adpositional phrases”. In J. Helmbrecht Y. Nishina, Y.M. Shin, S. Skopeteas, E. Verhoeven, eds., *Form and Function in Language Research: Papers in honour of Christian Lehmann*. Berlin/ New York, Mouton de Gruyter, 231-254.
- Moravcsik, Edith 1978. “On the case marking of objects”. In Joseph Greenberg *et al.* (eds.) *Universals of Human Language*, vol IV. *Syntax*. Stanford University Press, 249-290.
- Rijk, R. P. G. De, 1996. “On the origin of the partitive determiner”, *ASJU* 30, 435-447.

Word order V(O)S in Spanish. Focus, prosodic prominence and information structure.

Madrid, Edgar

(Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana - Iztapalapa).

From a purely theoretical point of view, it has been stated that V(O)S word order in Spanish is a strategy for marking the subject of the sentence as focus (Zubizarreta 1998, among others):

Porque no era otra cosa el jefe del ejecutivo local
BECAUSE NOT WAS ANOTHER THING THE CHIEF OF THE EXECUTIVE LOCAL

No puede tener el apoyo social esa huelga
NOT CAN-3SG HAVE THE SUPPORT SOCIAL THAT STRIKE

The basis for such statement is double. In one hand, when subject comes after the verb, it would match up the nuclear accent of the intonational phrase. In the other hand, subjects following the verb would contribute new information to the information structure of the sentence. That is, it would be an *informative focus* (Kiss, 1998). However, such statements rarely have empirical support, like acoustic instrumental studies which confirm the prosodic prominence given by nuclear accent. Furthermore, examples of subjects as focalized constituents in sentence are commonly given without any discursive context. That makes difficult the identification of the subject as a *new* information constituent bearer.

In the present study, two aspects of V(O)S structures are under empirical analysis. The first is the prosodic prominence itself, that is, the alignment between final subjects and nuclear accent. The second is the quality of the information brought by the final subjects. The analyzed corpus is constituted by ten hours of spontaneous speech recorded with six speakers from Mexico City. Thirty segments of three minutes each were randomly chosen (five per speaker). An amount of 42 sentences with V(O)S structure were founded.

A preliminary analysis of corpora shows several patterns of prosodic structuring in V(O)S sentences. First, the sentence and/or the subject can become split in more than one intonational phrase. For that reason, the alignment of the final subject with the nuclear accent is not always easy to find. Second, the tonal configuration at the end of the intonational phrases shows at least five different patterns (H* H%, H* L, H* H+L%, L* L%, L* L+H%). This fact reveals that the nuclear accent is not always the most prominent one, at least in acoustic terms (absolute frequency), especially when the nuclear accent is associated with a low tone (L*). Only in less of fifty per cent of the cases nuclear accent was the most prominent of the intonational phrase containing the final subject.

The informative structure of the sentences found in corpus doesn't achieve either the expected results about the focal quality of the final subjects. Only in twenty per cent of the cases the final subject really brought *new* information to the discursive context. In most of the cases (eighty per cent) was possible to find an antecedent of the final subjects inside the discursive context. This represents a challenge for the common statements about the information structure of clauses.

References:

- Zubizarreta, Ma. Luisa (1998) *Prosody, focus and word order*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
 Kiss, Katalin (1998) "Identificational focus versus information focus. *Language* 74, 245-273.

The Common Balkan lexical evidential markers.

Makartsev, Maxim

(Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow).

While preparing the Balkan (Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian) data for the Database of European evidential markers it became clear that some significant part of the markers list is common, both due to genetic relations between the languages (e.g. Bulg. and Maced. *spored*) and to areal factors (e.g. Turk. word *güya/güya* was loaned into Bulg. dialectal *gyoa*, Maced. *goa* and Alb. *gjoja*; this marker also exists in Serb.). The data (the examples are taken from three language corpora designed on the basis of belles-lettres) shows that the common markers generally have similar meanings. In my report I am going to demonstrate it using the conceptual design of the Database.

In the lists of lexical evidential markers of the languages under analysis the following items can be described as common: *demek* 'it means; as they say' (Bulg. dial. and popular, Maced. and Alb.); *gyoa/goa/gjoja* 'allegedly; sort of' (Bulg. dial., Maced. and Alb.); *spored* 'according to' (Bulg. and Maced.).

The first evidential subfunction of these three markers is reportive and they generally refer to the content of the utterance. They can also convey inferential meaning (which is less represented in texts for Bulg. *spored* and Alb. *gjoja*). The epistemic component in *demek* and *gyoa/goa/gjoja* is conventionalized (but sometimes the epistemic degree can be lowered because of the context). Quite interesting is that *spored* is very often connected to the category of stance (in sentences where *spored* is used to present the speaker's viewpoint). It can be stated that as for this marker, its evidential values might have emerged from the stance meaning.

In spite of the clear morphological format and morphotactic status of the markers (free, one-word items), there is little or no correspondence between the dictionaries as how to treat them as syntactic classes (the clearest is the case of *spored*, which is treated as preposition in the majority of dictionaries; the other two markers are sometimes called adverbs, conjunctions or particles).

The distribution of these markers can vary. Thus, mainly these markers can have any constituent in their scope, but some speakers of literary Albanian from Tirana reject that there can be an NP in scope of *gjoja* and *demek* (which is normal in the texts from both Southern Albania and Northern Albania and Kosovo). Only *spored* cannot be used parenthetically, and the reason is quite clear, as it is a preposition.

Demek and *gyoa/goa/gjoja* are loaned from Turkish *demek* 'say, speak; mean' and *güya/güya* 'als ob; gleichsam, vielleicht'. The second marker is a loan in Turkish as well and it was taken from Persian *gü* 'say, speak'. The primary meaning of *spored* is that of accordance to something, its stance meaning emerged later and became the base for its evidential usage.

As Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian have grammatical evidential systems as well, there is a question as to how the lexical evidential markers interact with evidential forms. Here the distinction between analytic and holistic reading can be quite helpful, as it clarifies the role of each of the components in constructions. In my report I will analyze it on the basis of translations between the Balkan languages.

Objective and Subjective Reference Points in Spanish: *aquí/acá* 'here'.

Maldonado, Ricardo

(Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México - Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro).

In Spanish there are two deictic locative markers of proximity that contrast in subtle ways. *Aquí* / *acá* 'here' both refer to elements located near the deictic center as in (1), however there is a basic contrast between them in that only *acá* profiles a path toward the speaker as in (2):

- | | | |
|----|----|--|
| 1. | a | <i>Aquí</i> hace mucho frío 'Here it is very cold' |
| | b. | <i>Acá</i> hace mucho frío 'Here it is very cold' |
| 2. | a. | Venga para <i>acá</i> 'Come here' |
| | b. | * Venga para <i>aquí</i> |

Based on oral and written data from Mexican current Spanish this paper shows that only *acá* develops a wide variety of pragmatic extensions that involve the speaker's involvement in the event. It is shown first that *acá* provides representations where the located element is consistently closer to the speaker than the representation provided by *aquí*. Then it is shown that the contrast extends to more abstract domains in predictable ways. The more objective representations of the referent point are provided by *aquí* (3) while in those representing the speaker's interests *acá* constitutes the norm. The contrast correlates with a variety of syntactic constructions reflecting different degrees of speaker's involvement as in (4a) where the use of *aquí* takes the impersonal *se* construction while *acá* is best represented with the first person:

- | | | | |
|----|----|----|--|
| 3. | a. | | ¿Vives por aquí ? 'Do you live around here?' |
| | b. | ?? | ¿Vives por acá ? 'Do you live around here?' |
| 4. | a. | | Aquí no se hace eso 'This is not done here' |
| | b. | | Acá no hacemos eso 'We don't do that here' |

The paper explores an ample variety of pragmatic developments of *acá* that are not available for *aquí* as in (5):

- | | | | |
|----|----|---|--|
| 5. | a | | Ana viste muy acá 'Ana wears trendy/chick clothes' |
| | b. | * | Ana viste muy aquí |

The more the speaker is involved in the event the more *acá* is accepted in detriment of *aquí*. The development of pragmatic meanings is accounted for as a subjectification process that develops from the schematic representation of the trajectory towards the deictic center only found in *acá*. I propose that the locative path towards the speaker is further developed as a schema operating in abstract domains to represent first speaker's affectedness, then the speaker's interests and finally the speaker's involvement in the event (which also activates a variety of empathy relations). These changes correspond to general subjectification and grammaticalization patterns (Langacker 1985, 1991; Traugott 1982) where meanings located in the referential world move to the realm of the speaker. It also conforms to general patterns of subjectification (Langacker 1991) where the representation of the event involves the speaker's presence in the event's onstage region. I will also show the parallelisms between *acá* and the abstract "paths towards a goal" developed in subjective datives (Maldonado 1992) where affectedness and speaker's involvement are profiled to different degrees. However, the fact that the path is oriented towards the deictic center licenses degrees of speaker's subjective involvement not to be found in subjective datives.

Speaker accountability as metadiscourse?

Malmström, Hans
(Royal Institute of Technology, Sweden).

There is some fear that evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols, 1986; Aikhenvald, 2004) is becoming too much of a catch-all linguistic category, especially when it is claimed to exist in languages without morphological coding of evidentiality such as English.

Drawing on data in the form of so-called knowledge statements (e.g. *We would argue that... Smith argues that... It is suggested by Smith that...*) from a corpus of research journals in literary studies (*Shakespeare Quarterly* and *English Literary Renaissance*) and linguistics (*Brain and Language* and *Language*) (Malmström, 2007), this paper considers the discourse phenomenon of accountability. The argument is that accountability should not be confused with evidentiality as such, even though it is intimately associated with evidentiality (and with epistemic modality, Palmer, 2001), and even if some people would be inclined to say that knowledge statements like those above are *par excellence* candidates for non-grammaticalised evidentials in English. Instead it sets out to investigate whether accountability is more appropriately described as a metadiscourse phenomenon (Hyland, 2005).

Several reasons to support such a view are discussed; for example, accountability, but not evidentiality, can be graded as "more or less". Moreover, the fact that accountability sometimes involves a substantial element of self manifestation (e.g. *I argue that...*), is also a problem for scholars of evidentiality since it has been claimed that "evidentiality may not always be allowed in 1st person contexts" (Aikhenvald, 2004). Aikhenvald (2004) also says that "evidentiality relates only marginally to the speaker-hearer contract". This paper will argue that accountability can be said to highlight an interpersonal dimension in communication since its manifestation acknowledges the existence of a mental representation, shared by the communicator as well as the audience, pertaining to what is socially expected or acceptable at that point in discourse. This interpersonal aspect of accountability is yet another piece of evidence in favour of a distinction between accountability and evidentiality.

Based on ideas from research into metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005; Vande Kopple, 2002) and social epidemiology (Sperber, 1996), the reasoning about accountability in this paper also leads me to propose a layered model of metadiscourse, incorporating both lower-level and higher-level kinds of metadiscourse, which is a rather new take on metadiscourse, but still very relevant to a discussion about accountability and evidentiality since both can thus be called metadiscourse phenomena.

The proposals and conclusions from this paper are potentially very important for the work on the database being set up in connection with the project "Towards a unified account of evidentiality markers in the languages of Europe" – if knowledge statements highlight accountability and not evidentiality, then it should be discussed whether linguistic structures characteristic of knowledge statements should be included in the database. However, the conclusions are also of interest to the continued debate on the relationship between evidentiality and epistemic modality.

References:

- Aikhenvald, A. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP.
- Chafe, W. & Nichols, J. (eds.). 1986. *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of evidentiality*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hyland, K. 2005. *Metadiscourse: exploring interaction in writing*. London: Continuum.
- Malmström, H. 2007. *Accountability and the making of knowledge statements – a study of academic discourse*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Lund University.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Sperber, D. 1996. *Explaining culture: A naturalistic approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vande Kopple, W.J. 2002. Metadiscourse, discourse, and issues in composition and rhetoric. In Barton, E. & Stygall, G. (eds.). *Discourse studies in composition*. Creskill, NJ: Hampton Press.

Colour Terms and Language Contact between Japanese and Chinese in 7th-10th Centuries.

Manieri, Antonio
(Daito Bunka University).

Abstract:

In Old (12th c. B.C.-1st c. A.D.) and Middle Chinese (2nd-10th cc. A.D.) the five basic colour terms (*qing*, ‘blue/green’, *chi*, ‘red’, *bai*, ‘white’, *hei*, ‘black’, *huang*, ‘yellow’) are related to the doctrine of the Five Phases (Ch. *wuxing*). It has its first attestation in *Shujing* (Classic of Documents, 6th c. B.C), even if the first correspondence between five phases and five colours (Ch. *wuse*) occurs only in *Huangdi neijing* (The Inner Canon of Yellow Emperor, 1st c. B.C.). In addition to this, *huang* (‘yellow’) is regarded as a major colour term, since in the Doctrine of the Five Phases it is linked to the concepts for Earth, Centre, and China itself (Ch. *Zhongguo*, lit. ‘Middle-Country’).

On the other hand, in Old Japanese (5th-8th cen.) there exist only four basic colour terms (*awo*, ‘blue/green’, *ake/aka*, ‘red’, *shiro/shira*, ‘white’, *kuro/kura*, ‘black’) and there is no term for ‘yellow’.

In the 6th-9th centuries, thank to the continuous exchanges between Japan and the Continent, a strong linguistic and cultural contact among people of East Asia takes place. Following the ‘book road’, Japanese come in acquaintance with the Chinese doctrine of colours and use of Chinese colour terms. In Japanese literature written in Chinese, colour terms occur in the same context of use of Continental Chinese. In addition to this, sinographs for colours are used to write Japanese-origin words in no actual semantic relation with colour terms. For example, in *Man’yōshū* (5th cen.-759), there is found a word as *panipu* (‘earth’, ‘clay’), which has no morpheme for colour, but it is written using a Chinese compound where a morpheme for RED or YELLOW occurs. In particular, it is first attested the use of the semantograph *huang* to indicate a new colour, ‘yellow’, autonomous from the RED macro-category expressed by *aka/ake*.

Therefore, Japanese are certainly influenced in their chromatic view of the world, and from the late tenth century onward, the term *ki*, referring to the chromatic area of ‘yellow’ occurs also in Japanese.

In this paper, focusing on Japanese sources and comparing them with sources in Chinese, I will deal with some cases which lead to a new categorization of RED chromatic area in the passage from Old (6th – 8th c.) to Classical Japanese (9th -13th c.). I will argue that the lexical change in colour denomination has to be considered a crucial result of the linguistic and cultural contact between Chinese and Japanese in the 7th-9th centuries.

References:

- Ihara Aki, 1967, “Man’yōshū daijūroku no 3888 no uta no ki nitsuite”, *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, 44(9), pp. 1-14.
- , 1986, *Nihonbungaku shikisaiyōgo shūsei, Jōdai 1 hen*, Tōkyō: Kasamashoin.
- , 1997, “Jōdai bungaku ni okeru shikisai”, *Nihonbungaku shiin kiyō*, 32, pp. 57-100.
- Ishii Hiroshi, 2001, “Shikisaigo ‘ni’ to sono shiinkōtaikai ‘ki’”, *Waseda daigaku goken fōramu*, 4, pp. 41-60.
- Kamimori Tetsuya, 1998, “Shikimei ‘ki’ no seiritsu nitsuite”, *Ryūtsū kagaku daigaku ronshū jinbun-shizen hen*, 10(2), pp. 67-77.
- , 2000, “Man’yōshū ni okeru shikimei “ki” nitsuite – maki jūroku-3888 no “ninuri no yakata” o chūshin ni”, in Nishimiya Kazuujī (a cura di) *Jōdaigo to hyōki*, Tōkyō: Ōfū, pp. 747-760.
- , 2004, “Jōdai ni okeru shikimei ‘ki’ nitsuite”, *Kōgakkan ronsō*, 37 (1), pp. 19-36.
- Manieri Antonio (forth.), Man’yōshū ni okeru akakeitō. Aka o chūshin ni, Gaikokugo gakkaiishi, 39.
- , (forth.), Crononimi nel giapponese arcaico: la questione del 黃, in A. Maurizi (ed.), *Atti del xxxiii Convegno di Studi Giapponesi*, Milano.
- , (forth.), Man’yōshū ni okeru kango beni to wago kurenawi, *Gogaku kenkyū ronsō*, 27.
- Satake Akihiro, 1955, “Kodai nihongo ni okeru shikimei no seikaku”, *Kokugokubun*, 24 (6), pp. 331-346.

Asymmetry in Votic-Ingrian Language Contacts.

Markus, Elena & Rozhanskiy Fedor
(University of Tartu; Institute of Linguistics of Russian Academy of Sciences).

This presentation focuses on Votic and Ingrian – two highly endangered Finnic languages located in Ingria. These languages share many similar features; however, their social status is not the same. The aim of this study is to analyze the causes of this inequality using areal-typological approach.

A major part of the data comes from field work. The authors of the presentation conducted extensive research in Ingria and investigated both the grammar and the sociolinguistic background of both languages.

From the sociolinguistic point of view, Votic and Ingrian have much in common: neither of them is a written language (the attempts to introduce an Ingrian written language in the beginning of the 1930-ies and to teach Ingrian at schools were suppressed in 1937). Both languages never had an administrative status. Both Votic and Ingrian people are Orthodox and had close contacts with the Russian culture that greatly influenced their native languages. Both nations faced severe times during and after World War II (people were deported to Finland, then scattered over central Russia and since then the communication in their native languages was often persecuted). Both languages had close contacts with each other; there were many villages with mixed population, especially in the Lower Luga area.

Despite similar history, the status of the discussed languages was not the same. On the one hand, the Lower Luga Ingrian variety borrowed many grammatical and phonetic features from Votic (the "voiced-unvoiced" and "single-geminated" opposition for stop consonants; the phonological status of the mid central vowel; the Comitative marker -ka/-kä; preservation of the vowel in the Active Participle marker -nnu(d)/-nnü(d) in most sub-dialects; the replacement of 3PI verbal forms with impersonal forms, etc.). The Ingrian influence is less noticeable in Votic and mostly limited to some minor examples (probably the only systematic feature borrowed from Ingrian is the development of secondary gemination, compare, for example: *kala* 'fish (Nominative)' – *kalla* 'fish (Partitive)', *kuza* 'where' – *kuzza* 'nowhere'). On the other hand, Votic people often switched to Ingrian language, but not vice versa. It is noted in [Tsvetkov 1925: 43] that the communication between a Votic man and his Ingrian wife would always be in Ingrian, and even the older generation in their family often switched into Ingrian. Probably this process can explain why there were 18489 Ingrians and 5148 Votians in 1848, but already in 1926 (before the repressions and the deportation) there were 16137 Ingrians and only 705 Votians left [Köppen 1867], [Vsesojuznaja perepisj 1928], [Ermits 2007]). By now there are about 10 speakers of Votic and 150-200 speakers of Ingrian.

Thus, in spite of a similar background, Ingrian appeared to be more socially prestigious. Several reasons for this situation could be named, but none of them is enough to explain the inequality of the discussed languages.

Considering the facts listed above, the borrowing of Votic grammatical and phonetic features into Ingrian confirms the following observation [Pevnov 2007]: when two languages are rivals, the adaptation of one language to the other demonstrates its ability to resist the language shift. On the contrary, when a language is unable to adopt itself to the influence from a neighbor, it is on the way to extinction.

References:

- Ermits E. Isurite asualadest ja algkodust // Õdagumeressoomõ kodo. Läänmeresooe kodu. Toim. Helen Koks ja Jan Rahman. Konvõrents Võrul, 19.-21. rehekuul 2006. Võro, 2007, 13-32. (Võro instituudi toimõndusõq 20)
- Köppen P. Erklärender Text zu der ethnographischen Karte des St. Petersburger Gouvernements. St. Petersburg, 1867.
- Pevnov A.M. Jazyk na grani smeny // Jazykovyje izmememija v uslovijah jazykovogo sdviga. Otv. red. N.B.Vahtin. St. Peterburg, 2007, 99-114.
- Tsvetkov D. Vadjalased // Eesti Keel 4/1-2, 1925, 39-44.
- Vsesojuznaja perepisj naselenija 1926 g. Ch. I: Severnyj rajon, Leningradsko-Kareljskij rajon. Narodnostj, rodnoj jazyk. Vozrast. Gramotnostj. Moskva, 1928.

The pervivence of Germanic *ga-*: fading, grammaticalization and loss of Old English *ge-*.

Martín Arista, Javier
(Universidad de La Rioja).

The aim of this paper is to examine the pervivence of the Germanic prefix *ga-* in Old English, both in the inflectional and derivational morphology of the latter language. Old English *ge-* marks the past participle of weak verbs and, on the derivational side, it represents the most type-frequent prefix in the language.

The methodology adopted in this study involves the analysis of the lexical distribution of *ge-* as well as the scrutiny of the morphological processes in which the prefix partakes. Beginning with lexical distribution, the evidence retrieved from the lexical database of Old English *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com) shows that *ge-* can be prefixed to 2,616 predicates, including 877 nouns, 468 adjectives, 131 adverbs, 1,136 verbs and 4 predicates of minor grammatical categories. No adposition is preceded by *ge-*. The prefix is distinctive in 1,270 predicates, of which 532 are nouns, 359 adjectives, 84 adverbs, 293 verbs, and 2 belong to minor grammatical categories. The prefix is non-distinctive in 1,346, derivatives, out of

which 345 are nouns, 109 adjectives, 47 adverbs, 843 verbs, and 2 belong to minor grammatical categories. *Ge-* is not attached to adpositions. Example (1) illustrates, respectively, distinctive and non-distinctive *ge-*:

- (1)
- a. *hlid* 'lid'~*gehlid* 'roof', *lang* 'long'~*gelang* 'dependent', *spræ:dan* 'to spread'~*gespræ:dan* 'to stretch forth', *hwæ:r* 'where'~*gehwa:r* 'everywhere'
 - b. *eardung* 'tabernacle'~*geardung* 'tabernacle', *gylden* 'golden'~*gegylden* 'golden', *wærian* 'to pass by'~*gewærian* 'to pass by', *hle:owe* 'in a sheltered manner'~*gehle:owe* 'in a sheltered manner'

As for the morphological processes of word-formation in which *ge-* takes part, this prefix appears both in variable base morphology and invariable base morphology, as can be seen, respectively, in (2a) and (2b):

- (2)
- a. *bæc* 'back'~*gebæcu* 'back part', *clibbor* 'clinging'~*geclibs* 'clamour',
 - b. *fre:o* 'freedom'~*gefre:ogend* 'liberator', *glo:f* 'glove'~*geglo:fed* 'gloved'

Conclusions are expected along the following lines. In the first place, *ge-* spreads through the derivation based on the strong verb, which is going through a process of semantic fading with the consequence of the alternation of *ge-* vs. \emptyset without change of meaning. The alternation is reflected all the way down the derivation, as (3) shows:

- (3)
- a. *bindan/gebindan* 'to bind': *binde* 'headband', *bindele* 'binding', *bindere* 'binder', *binding* 'binding', *una:bindendlic* 'indissoluble', *gebind* 'binding'
 - b. *dre:fan/gedrefan* 'to trouble', *dre:fre* 'disturber', *dre:fung* 'disturbance', *gedre:fedlic* 'oppressive', *dre:fednes* 'trouble', *gedre:fnes* 'confusion'

In the second place, the function of Germanic *ga-* is kept in examples like (4a), while the nominal aspectualizer illustrated by (4b) and the analogical adjectival formation exemplified by (4c) represent new functions developed in Old English:

- (4)
- a. *ri:nan* 'to rain'~*geri:nan* 'to wet with rain', *sadian* 'to be sated'~*gesadian* 'to satiate'
 - b. *ba:n* 'bone'~*geba:n* 'bones', *mann* 'man'~*gema:na* 'community'
 - c. *byrd* 'burden'~*gebyrd* 'burdened', *byrst* 'bristle'~*gebyrst* 'furnished with bristles'

In general, the evidence gathered points in the direction of a process of grammaticalization starting from the Germanic derivational verbal prefix *ga-*, which spreads through word-formation based on the strong verb in Old English, while undergoing semantic fading that eventually results in the disappearance from derivational morphology and survival into the inflectional morphology of the Middle English period.

The origin of the Basque ergative.

Martínez-Areta, Mikel
(University of the Basque Country).

Basque is unique, among the languages of Western Europe, in marking subjects of transitive sentences as ergative: *gizon-a-k* (stem-artic.-erg.) *ume-a ikusi du* 'the man has seen the child'. It is also remarkable, among ergative languages, for having no split system at all: intra-clausal marking is of the absolutive-ergative type in all cases.

The ergative mark proper is *-k*, accompanied by the article *-a-* in the sg. declension (*zaldi-a-k* 'the horse (erg.)', *gizon-a-k* 'the man (erg.)'). That the pure mark is *-k* is clear from proper names (*Peru-k ikusi nau* 'Peru has seen me') as well as from the indef. of the normal declension (*edozein zaldi-k irrintzi egin dezake* 'any horse can whinny'). Up to recently, there had never been speculation as to where this morpheme *-k* may come from or be related to. But Lakarra (2005: 442-444) has derived *-k* from **-ga*. This derivation is proposed on phonotactic grounds (according to him all autochthonous morphemes ending in *-T* (voiceless stop) derive from *-DV* (corresponding voiced stop + vowel)), but sparks a series of interesting possible relations among several morphemes. What Lakarra proposes is to relate **-ga* to a particle which, in the Basque declension, is necessary to form the local cases of animate nouns. For instance, the ablative sg. form of *etxe* 'house' is *etxe-tik* 'to the house', but the ablative of *ume* 'child' cannot be ***ume-tik*, but *ume-a-ga-n-dik* 'from the child'. That is, unlike inanimate nouns, the abl. suffix is not attached directly to the stem, but to a particle *gan*, which in addition needs the article to be attached to the stem. What Lakarra suggests is that this *gan* is to be split into an animate marker *ga* (in origin the same mark as the ergative **-ga > -k*), plus a binding *-n*, with parallels in the morphology. This mark **-ga* came probably to be used to mark also the subject in ambiguous sentences like 'John saw Mary' and eventually morphologised as an ergative mark (**-ga > -k*).

Another interesting point is the fact that the Basque plural suffix is also *-k*, hence homophonous with the erg. Moreover, this pl. mark *-k* is probably in historical relationship with a suffix *-ga* which, attached to the stem-article form, is

present in many place and family names and seems to indicate ‘abundance of’: *Arri-a-ga* ‘place with plenty of stones’, *Etxezarr-a-ga* ‘place with plenty of old houses’, and so on. Now if we consider the fact that in many languages ergative marks derive from oblique cases and local markers (see Trask 1979), one might propose that perhaps an original **-ga* had a wide semantic scope covering ideas like ‘abundance of’, ‘place with’ (from which the ergative suffix arose) and also ‘plurality’.

References:

- Dixon, R. M. W., 1994, *Ergativity*, Cambridge University Press.
 Lakarra, J. A., 2005, “Prolegómenos a la reconstrucción de segundo grado y al análisis del cambio tipológico en (proto)vasco”, *Paleohispanica* 5, 407-470.
 Trask, R. L., 1979, “On the Origins of Ergativity”, in Plank, F. (ed.), *Ergativity. Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations*, London, Academic Press, 1979, 385-404.
 —, 1997, *The History of Basque*, London, Routledge.

Binominal constructions in Italian of the N-di-N type: towards a typology of light noun constructions.

Masini, Francesca
(Università Roma Tre).

Although a number of works have investigated binominal constructions in English of the N-of-N type (e.g. Kay 1997, Denison 2002, 2005, Traugott 2007), very little attention has been paid to the corresponding constructions in Romance languages, and especially in Italian.

The variety of functions covered by binominal constructions in Italian is pretty large. If we concentrate on the binominal syntactic construction with the preposition *di* ‘of’ as a linking element (N-*di*-N), we can enumerate at least the following functions:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--|
| (1) | APPROXIMATION
<i>una specie di casa</i> | lit. a species of house | ‘a sort of house’ |
| (2) | ASPECT
<i>un colpo di telefono</i> | lit. a blow of telephone | ‘a ring’ |
| (3) | IDENTIFICATION
<i>un tipo di carta</i> | lit. a type of paper | ‘a type of paper’ |
| (4) | POSSESSION
<i>il gatto di Maria</i> | lit. the cat of Mary | ‘Mary’s cat’ |
| (5) | QUALIFICATION
<i>una bellezza di ragazza</i> | lit. a beauty of girl | ‘a beautiful girl’ |
| (6) | QUANTIFICATION
a. <i>una bottiglia di vino</i>
b. <i>un chilo di mele</i> | lit. a bottle of wine
lit. a kilo of apples | ‘a bottle of wine’
‘a kilo of apples’ |
| (7) | SPECIFICATION
<i>la giacca di cotone</i> | lit. the jacket of cotton | ‘the cotton jacket’ |

Most of these functions are well known and can be found in corresponding constructions in other European languages (e.g. possession, specification, and so on). However, the aspectual function is not generally taken into consideration. Simone & Masini (2009) define binominal constructions with an aspectual function as “support noun constructions”: the first noun (N1: *colpo* ‘blow’ in (2)) is analysed not as a fully referential noun but as a “support noun” that acts as an aspectualiser, i.e. an element that turns a noun describing generic and indefinite events or states (N2) into a noun describing a definite event or state (especially short and abrupt).

The low referentiality of N1 is common to other binominal constructions, such as approximating and quantifying constructions. This leads to the identification of a class of “light nouns” occurring in N1 position within N-*di*-N constructions. These light nouns take on different grammatical meanings and present different degrees of referentiality. A different analysis might be required for the qualifying type (5): here N1 may belong to a larger class of nouns with respect to the above mentioned types, although there are of course restrictions on the construction (e.g. *una meraviglia di tavolo* lit. a wonderfulness of table ‘a wonderful table’ vs. **una larghezza di tavolo* lit. a largeness of table ‘a large table’).

To sum up, the paper will provide a first typology of N-*di*-N binominal constructions in Italian, as well as a formal and semantic description of these constructions (including tests for determining head status). Special attention will be paid to the support noun construction. Moreover, in the paper we will explore the possibility of analysing Italian N-*di*-N constructions in a constructional network in which a general schema becomes more specific by means of the instantiation of the N1 slot.

References:

- Denison, David (2002), *History of the sort of construction family*, paper presented at “ICCG2: Second International Conference on Construction Grammar”, Helsinki, 6-8 September 2002.
- Denison, David (2005), *The grammaticalisation of sort of, kind of and type of in English*, paper presented at “New Reflections on Grammaticalization 3”, Santiago de Compostela, 17-20 July 2005.
- Kay, Paul (1997), *The Kind of / Sort of Constructions*, in Kay, Paul, “Words and the Meaning of Context”, Stanford, CSLI Publications, 145-158.
- Simone, Raffaele & Francesca Masini (2009), *Support nouns and verbal features: a case study from Italian*, in “Verbum” XXIX (1-2/2007), 143-172.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs (2007), *The concepts of constructional mismatch and type-shifting from the perspective of grammaticalization*, in “Cognitive Linguistics” 18 (4), 523–557.

Non-Canonical Marking of Subjects and Objects in Sentences with Lexical Converses as Predicates in the Baltic Languages.

Maskaliūnienė, Nijolė
(Vilnius University).

This presentation addresses the little-studied phenomenon of lexical converses (LCs) in two East Baltic languages: Latvian and Lithuanian. An inquiry into this category has revealed that LCs, i.e. pairs of words of the type *buy–sell*, *give–take*, *pirkti–parduoti*, *atspindėti–atsispindėti*, etc. that describe one and the same denotative situation but from the perspective of its different participants, are by far more heterogeneous than conventionally presented in works on lexical semantics, and that determining their scope in different languages is problematic not only because there exist no uniform definitional criteria, but also because languages use different means to express the converse relationship.

A comparison of LCs in a number of languages shows that where Lithuanian and Latvian LCs do not allow passive constructions (see Wiemer 2006 on constrains concerning passivization of Lithuanian reflexive converses), in other languages a converse transformation is possible only through a respective passive, cf.: Lith. *Ežeras atspindi medžius – Medžiai atspindi ežerę* / **Medžiai atspindimi ežero* and Engl. *The lake reflects the trees – The trees are reflected in the lake* / **The trees reflect themselves in the lake*).

In my presentation I aim to show how these constrains are reflected in the diathesis of converse pairs (in line with the diathesis theory developed by Geniušienė for the analysis of reflexives (1987: 53ff)) and what effect they have on the canonical subject-object relationship (expressed by nominative–accusative in the surface structure) in LCs in the Baltic languages. I argue that the base member of the LC opposition in converse constructions is usually represented by canonical forms of NPs, while non-canonical forms are more characteristic of their syntactic converses.

Furthermore, a comparison of LCs in East Baltic languages with LCs in Russian and Polish shows that instances of non-canonical forms of NPs are restricted to certain morphological types of LCs, namely those that are related as the base form and its derivative (directional morphological derivation) and those with non-directional morphological derivation (see Nedjalkov and Sil'nicky 1969), e.g. Lith. *Aš matau mišką* ‘I see the forest’ (canonical Nom, Acc) – *Man matosi miškas* ‘To me the forest is seen’ (non-canonical Dat, Nom, where the Subject is marked by the Dative.) and *Purvas aplipo batus* ‘Mud has stuck to the shoes’ – *Batai aplipo purvu* ‘The shoes have been caked with mud’ (where canonical Nom, Acc is changed into non-canonical Nom, Instr). It is proposed that LCs in the above sentences should be regarded as semantic derivatives; the syntactic realization of their arguments reflects the obliqueness hierarchy proposed by Keenan&Comrie (1977).

Finally, I intend to show that instances of LCs with non-canonical marking of subjects and objects in reflexive derivatives are scarce and are restricted to a specific semantic class of verb. The nominative–instrumental correlation is quite a productive pattern, especially in modern Lithuanian, even though, according to Ambrasas (2006:182), it is historically less common and manifests itself mainly through metaphorical extension.

References:

- Aikhenvald A.Y., R.M.V. Dixon, Onishi, M. (eds.), 2001. *Non-canonical Marking of Subjects and Objects*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ambrasas V., 2006. *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė sintaksė*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas.
- Geniušienė E., 1987. *The Typology of Reflexives*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holvoet A.&L. Semėnienė, 2005. Veiksnių ir tiesioginio papildinio sąvokos. In: Holvoet A.&R. Mikulskas (eds.) 2005. *Gramatinių funkcijų tyrimai*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas (Lietuvių kalbos gramatikos darbai, 3), p. 35–64.
- Holvoet A.&R. Mikulskas (eds.) 2009. Gramatinių funkcijų prigimtis ir raiška. *Acta Salensia 1*. Vilnius.
- Keenan E.L.&B.Comrie, 1977. Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar. *Linguistic Inquiry* 8 (I), p. 63–99.
- Nedjalkov V.P., Sil'nicky G.G. 1969. Tipologija morfologičeskovo i leksičeskovo kauzativov. In: *Tipologija kauzativnych konstrukcij: Morfologičeskij kauzativ*. Leningrad: Nauka.
- Valiulytė E., 1991. Instrumento raiška dabartinėje lietuvių kalboje. In: *Lietuvių leksikos ir terminologijos problemos*. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas. 148–159.
- Wiemer B., 2006. Relations between Actor-demoting devices in Lithuanian: Dedicated to Emma Geniušienė. In:

**An endangered Japanese contact variety in multilingual Republic of Palau:
A new expanded function of sentence tag *-desho*.**

Matsumoto, Kazuko
(University of Tokyo).

Much research on endangered languages has focused upon “exotic” languages whose loss means the loss of “unique” and “unusual” linguistic features that cannot be found anywhere else in the world. This paper, however, is a progress report on how a contact variety of one of the world’s major languages is dying. In this case, I examine how a Pacific variety of Japanese is decaying in the multilingual Palauan Islands, a former Japanese territory in the Western Pacific.

Palau was occupied by Japan between 1914 and 1945, and subsequently by the United States between 1945 and 1994. Japanese rule led both to mass migration to the Palauan islands by Japanese workers and considerable Japanese-Palauan bilingualism on the part of the native islanders. The arrival of American colonisers in 1945, however, halted the expansion of a Japanese speech community, and introduced English as the ‘high’ language of colonial administration.

In this paper, I explore a new function of sentence tag *-desho* in Palauan Japanese (i.e., cognitive request for new information), which is also widely observed in other contact varieties of Japanese in former Japanese territories, such as Japanese Creole in Taiwan, Japanese variety in Saipan and Sakhalin as well as in Tokyo, the metropolitan city where different dialects and languages are in contact. I will argue that similar to High Rising Terminals and ‘eh?’ in New Zealand English, the function of *-desho* might have expanded as a result of contact with non-native speakers, since in such a contact situation shared knowledge is less taken-for-granted than in more stable homogeneous communities. Thus, it is expected to find this new function more in post-colonial contexts and in fluid urban cities.

Furthermore, given the distinction made in the literature on language death studies (e.g. Wolfram 2002) between “dissipation models” (which claim that dying languages go through structural and stylistic reduction and attrition) and “concentration models” (suggesting that the final speakers of a language retain full competence and trigger divergent changes leading to dialect ‘intensification’), this paper will address which one accounts best for my Palauan Japanese data.

This research forms part of a broader investigation into multilingualism, cultural and linguistic hegemony, language obsolescence, dialect contact in Palau. For this analysis, therefore, I will select relevant data from a variety of data gathered in the former Palauan capital, Koror involving nearly a year of participant observation; 121 ethnographic interviews; 233 ethnographic questionnaires; and over 100 hours of recorded spontaneous conversation, as well as many hours of informal discussions.

Subjecthood of the Russian *u* + genitive oblique possessor: a diachronic account.

McAnallen, Julia
(University of California, Berkeley).

Oblique dative subject constructions, particularly dative experiencers and dative + infinitive constructions, have received much attention in linguistics literature, especially using Icelandic as a point of comparison with German and Russian (see e.g. Moore & Perlmutter 2000, Perlmutter & Moore 2002, Sigurðsson 2002, Barðdal 2006). Less attention, however, has been paid to oblique possessors in constructions for predicative possession, such as the locative existential construction found in Russian (‘I have a book’: *u menja est’ knig-a*, lit. ‘at me.GEN is book-NOM.SG’) and Finnish (*minu-lla on kirja*, lit. ‘at_me-ADES is book.NOM.SG’). But as I show in this paper, the Russian *u* + genitive predicative possessive construction exhibits as many subjecthood properties as dative experiencer constructions. While the Russian nominative possessum (*kniga* in the example above) controls verb agreement in the *u* + genitive construction, the oblique *u* + genitive possessor controls reflexivization, adverbial participles, and occupies the first position in declarative clauses with an intonation contour paralleling transitive, *not* intransitive, Russian verbs. The Russian construction for predicative possession cannot be said to have one monolithic subject, rather it has different subjects for different syntactic processes.

I argue that the increase in subjecthood properties of the oblique *u* + genitive possessor is primarily the result of three circumstances in the history of Russian: 1) increased entrenchment of the possessive *u* + genitive PP in the grammar as a result of its occurrence in a wider range of semantic contexts (e.g. with inanimate possessors), and subsequently syntactic contexts; 2) the concomitant increase in objecthood properties of the nominative possessum (*kniga* above), which is partially attributable to unrelated historical changes in the verb ‘be’, i.e. *byti* (*byt’*) ‘be’ ceased to decline in the present tense retaining only the frozen form *est’* ‘is’; and 3) contact with Finnic languages (primarily substratal), which have a comparable construction for predicative possession and an oblique possessor that exhibits similar syntactic control properties. Thus the current subjecthood status of oblique *u* + genitive possessor in Russian can be explained by a combination of internal and external historical linguistic factors.

Interlanguage Strata in L2 Phonology.

Méli, Adrien & Nicolas Ballier
(Paris 7 Diderot).

This paper aims at providing insight into the stages French learners of English go through in order to master L2 pronunciation. These phonological interlanguage strata are shown to follow fairly predictable patterns, at least on a segmental level, ranging from the acquisition of specific L2 phonemes (e.g. /ð/ and /θ/ for consonants, and diphthongs for vowels) to phonemes seemingly common to both L1 and L2 (e.g. /t/ and /d/ for consonants, and for vowels, English /ʊ/ and /u:/ as opposed to French /u/).

Most of the findings concur with Flege's Speech Learning Model (SLM), which states that "the greater the perceived dissimilarity of an L2 sound from the closet L1 sound, the more likely a new category will be formed for the L2 sound" (Flege, 2005). The reverse proposition is even found to be true. Yet the article also aims at challenging one of the few remaining common points between SLM and the older contrastive analysis. It is often implied that the phonological systems of both L1 and L2, especially in the case of French and English, share many common features.

One proof of such presupposition may well be found in the use of similar phonemic symbols for sounds actually realized in different manners in the two languages: /e/ in "bed", transcribed /bed/, is not the same as in "été", yet also transcribed /ete/. Likewise, /ɔ/ in "door" or "homme", or /d/ and /t/ in "dental". This paper therefore argues the case for a more phonetic approach to interlanguage phonology, by trying to establish a connection between the time of acquisition and the phonetic distance separating sets of given phonemes from L1 and L2.

The material used consists in existing corpora of advanced learners of English at various levels, i.e. recordings of English first-year students for the Longdale project, of intermediary students in L2 and L3 and of very advanced students (competitors for the agrégation, the highly selective national examinations for teachers of English).

The final section of the paper confronts the findings and the reality of second language acquisition with the requirements of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) for phonetic performance and its longitudinal mapping onto phonological competence.

References:

- Major Roy C., «INTERLANGUAGE PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY», in *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* (1998), 20:131-137 Cambridge University Press
- Ballier, N. & Fournier, J.-M., 2007, « La compétence phonologique en anglais au-delà des questions à l'agrégation », dans le numéro spécial des /Langues modernes/ sur la compétence phonologique, 3/2007, 18-28.
- Roach Peter, *English Phonetics and Phonology: A practical course*, Cambridge University Press; 4th edition (2009)
- Flege James E., *Origins and development of the Speech Learning Model*, 1st ASA Workshop on L2 Speech Learning, Simon Fraser Univ., Vancouver, BC (2005)
- Carey Michael *Interlanguage Phonology: Sources of L2 Pronunciation "Errors"*
(<http://clas.mq.edu.au/phonetics/phonology/interlanguage/pronerrors.html>)
- Vaissiere Jacqueline, *La Phonétique*, Presses Universitaires de France (2006)
- Delais-Roussaire Elisabeth & Durand Jacques, *Corpus et variation en phonologie du français : Méthodes et analyses*, PU Mirail (8 janvier 2004)

Non-canonical 'subjects' in Spanish: Contexts of emergence and paths of evolution.

Melis, Chantal & Marcela Flores
(Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México).

Among the modern Indo-European languages, Spanish is known to possess a series of constructions with peculiar characteristics that seem to suggest a phenomenon of non-canonical subject marking (Masullo 1993, Fernández Soriano 1999a,b, Rivero 2004, among others). Most of these constructions did not exist in the early stages of the language, but developed over time, gradually, and along a variety of paths dependent on the types of verbs involved in the change. In all cases, the process of change amounted to the introduction, in certain clausal environments, of a new DAT-V-NOM pattern, which signified a movement away from the language's canonical transitive syntax (Melis & Flores 2009).

In this paper, we intend to focus on the mechanisms by which some of these dative-subject constructions came into being. Specifically, we will be looking at 1) *gustar* (Me_{DAT} *gusta esta novela*_{NOM} 'I like this novel') – the most discussed example of the Spanish dative-subject verbs, whose origin goes back to a more or less regular experiencer-subject verb (Melis 1998, Vázquez Rozas & Rivas 2007) –, 2) some members of the causative emotional class (*A Juan*_{DAT} *le preocupa la salud*_{NOM} *de María* 'Mary's health worries John / John worries about Mary's health'), 3) the "sufficiency" verbs (*Te*_{DAT} *sobra dinero*_{NOM} 'You have more than enough money'), 4) the reflexive passive (*Se le*_{DAT} *dio una propina*_{NOM} 'He was given a tip'), and 5) the accidental event construction (*Se me*_{DAT} *rompió el vaso*_{NOM} 'I broke the vase [accidentally]'). Our corpus-based

analysis will highlight formal properties, semantic features, and pragmatic motivations, which, at one point or another, to varying degrees, and sometimes conjointly, played an essential role in the rise, spread, and increasing entrenchment of the non-canonical case assignment phenomenon.

References:

- Fernández Soriano, Olga. 1999a. "Datives in constructions with unaccusative *se*". *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 7: 89-105.
- Fernández Soriano, Olga. 1999b. "Two types of impersonal sentences in Spanish: locative and dative subjects". *Syntax* 2: 101-104.
- Masullo, Pascual J. 1993. "Two types of quirky subjects: Spanish versus Icelandic". *Proceedings of NELS* 23: 303-317.
- Melis, Chantal. 1998. "Sobre la historia sintáctica de *gustar*". In C. García Turza, F. González Bachiller, J. Mangado Martínez, eds. *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Lengua Española (La Rioja, 1-5 de abril de 1997)*, vol. II. Logroño: Universidad de la Rioja, 295-305.
- Melis, Chantal & Marcela Flores. 2009. "Non-canonical subject marking in Spanish. A challenge to the assumed unidirectionality of change". Paper presented at the *19th International Conference on Historical Linguistics* (Nijmegen, 10-15 August 2009).
- Rivero, Maria Luisa. 2004. "Spanish quirky subjects: person restrictions and the Person-Case constraint". *Linguistic Inquiry* 35: 494-502.
- Vázquez Rozas, Victoria & Elena Rivas. 2007. "Un análisis construccionista de la diacronía de *gustar*". In Iraide Ibarretxe-Antuñano, Carlos Inchaurrealde & Jesús Sánchez, eds. *Language, mind and the lexicon*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 143-164.

The Linguistic Influence of Spanish on P'urhepecha: Language Contact in Central Western Mexico.

Mendoza, Martha
(Florida Atlantic University).

Spanish has been in contact with numerous Mexican indigenous languages since Spanish Conquistadors arrived in Mexico in the 16th century. Such is the case of P'urhepecha (also known as Tarascan), one of the 56 indigenous languages still spoken in Mexican territory. It is the language of the P'urhepecha people, who originally inhabited an area covering large portions of the states of Michoacán, Jalisco, Estado de México, and Colima in central western Mexico. P'urhepecha represents a language isolate and, even though it is still spoken today by perhaps as many as 200,000 people—mostly in the state of Michoacán—P'urhepecha has not been sufficiently researched, and the contact between this intriguing indigenous language and Spanish, more specifically the Spanish of Michoacán, has largely been ignored.

To be sure, both Spanish and P'urhepecha have been influenced by each other in the five hundred years since the Spanish Conquest. Centuries of close contact have modified the linguistic landscape of each of these two languages. However, in this exchange Spanish, as a global language and the dominant language in Mexico, has exerted by far the greatest impact on P'urhepecha, which has experienced lexical as well as grammatical influences as a result of this contact, while Spanish has been mostly altered with respect to its lexicon. The present descriptive study explores the history and current state of the contact between the two languages and, drawing from sources such as folk tales, songs, and the author's own notes, provides an analysis of the major lexical and grammatical features that have been borrowed from Spanish into P'urhepecha, as well as some considerations on the possible future that this situation of close linguistic contact may bring for the minority language, all this with the intention of shedding light upon issues of language contact between Spanish and the indigenous languages of Mesoamerica.

References:

- Chávez Rivadeneyra, D. A. (1999). *Contacto lingüístico entre el purépecha y el español*. Unpublished BA Thesis. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Demišová, L. (1999). *El español y el purépecha: Lenguas en contacto. Influencias mutuas en el campo del léxico*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad Carolina de Praga. República Checa.
- Friedrich, P. (1971). *The Tarascan Suffixes of Locative Space*. Bloomington: Indiana University Publications.
- Friedrich, P. (1969). On the Meaning of the Tarascan Suffixes of Space. *Supplement to the International Journal of American Linguistics*, 35(4), 1-83.
- Hernández, J. A., and Medina Pérez, A. (2000). *Vocabulario p'urhepecha-español y español-p'urhepecha*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés Editores.
- Hidalgo, M. (1996). A Profile of Language Issues in Contemporary Mexico. In *Spanish in Contact. Issues in Bilingualism*, eds. Ana Roca and John B. Jensen, 45-72. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- Krippner-Martínez, J. (2001). *Rereading the Conquest: Power, Politics, and the History of Early Colonial Michoacán, Mexico, 1521-1565*. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

- Mendoza, M. (2007). Derivational Resources in P'urhepecha: Morphological Complexity and Verb Formation. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 54(2), 157-172.
- Mendoza, M. (2006). Spatial language in Tarascan: Body parts, shape, and the grammar of location. In *Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, eds. Zhenya Antic et al. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Thomason, S. G. (2001). *Language Contact. An Introduction*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Velásquez Gallardo, P. (1988). *Diccionario de la lengua p'orhepecha*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Warren, B. (2007). *Estudios sobre el Michoacán Colonial. Los lingüistas y la lengua*. Morelia, Mexico: Fimax Publicistas Editores.

Morphological irregularity in Russian and Byelorussian.

Menzel, Thomas
(Universität Oldenburg).

In the history of Common Slavic several sound changes appeared that caused palatalization of velar plosives to palatal affricates and / or fricatives (mainly) when preceding front vowels. This resulted in allomorphy of consonantal stems according to the phonological shape of the inflection markers: cf. *bogъ*_{nominative sg.} ‚god‘, *boga*_{genitive sg.} (back vowels) vs. *bože*_{vocative sg.}, *bo(d)zě*_{locative sg.} (front vowels). Reflexes of these historical sound changes can be found as morphological rules up to now in all Slavic languages, but with interesting differences in their distribution. E.g., in Serbian / Croatian the morphological alternation of stem final velars is fully productive in noun inflection, but it has been reduced in the inflection of verbs. During the 13th-14th century the phonological rule turned into a morphological rule in Russian, too. In fact, allomorphy in stems with velar plosives does not appear in the noun inflection of contemporary Russian (with the one archaism *Bože!* ‚oh God!‘ as an exception). But allomorphic stems have been preserved in verb inflection and derivation. Finite verb forms in the present / perfective future tense show morphological palatalization very regularly, cf. *moč'* ‚to can‘: *moгу*_{1st pers.sg.}, *možeš'*_{2nd pers.sg.}.

In the neighbouring and genetically related language Byelorussian the distribution of alternating verbal stems in velar plosives is similar to the situation in Russian, but noun allomorphy behaves differently in several respects. First, stem allomorphy with front vowels has not only been preserved in Byelorussian nouns, but also expanded to dental plosives (cf. *horad* ‚town‘, *horadzě*_{locative sg.}). Second, masculine nouns on velar plosives developed a tendency to avoid stem allomorphy by introducing a marker on a back vowel *-u*_{locative sg.}, which is assigned by formal criteria in Byelorussian (cf. *u voku* ‚in the eye‘). The corresponding marker *-u* in Russian nouns, instead, is assigned on functional criteria only (a „locative“ marker in the strict sense, in contrast with the more abstract concept of the „prepositional case“ on the front vowel marker *-e*: cf. *les* ‚forest‘, *v lesu*_{locative sg.} ‚in the forest‘ vs. *o lese*_{prepositive sg.} ‚about the forest‘). Thus, the distribution of allomorphic stems in the two languages shows considerable differences in detail, which can be interpreted as differences in markedness / naturalness of the forms under discussion.

Actually the language situation in Byelarus is determined by Russian-Byelorussian bilingualism and by a high social prestige of using Russian. In informal contexts different degrees of mixture between the two languages can be observed. A 175 000 word forms corpus of spoken texts is at our disposal, which attests the strategies of mixing on the lexical, morphological and phonological level. This corpus will be consulted to examine the actual usage of the mentioned inflectional forms in the non-standard varieties spoken in Byelarus. The theory to be tested is: Do speakers chose in any case the more regular (less allomorphic, unmarked) of two varying forms? Or do they show some kind of allegiance to one of the competing grammatical systems? And what are the criteria (social or linguistical) that decide about the speakers' preferences for allomorphic or non-allomorphic forms in their „mixed“ speech?

How close are the Estonian partitive subjects to partitive objects?

Metslang Helena
(University of Tartu - Tallinn University).

In the Baltic language area differential subject and object marking are wide-spread phenomena but they are conditioned by different factors. Differential subject marking (especially in existential clauses) is often more characteristic of subjects with fewer properties of a prototypical subject, to subjects closer to the objects. The subjects of existential clauses alternate between nominative and partitive/genitive. The latter is automatically accompanied by the unagreement of the predicate. (Wälchli and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 656, 665.) E.g. in Estonian:

Peenal kasva-b lilli.
On the flowerbed grow+3sg flowers.prtv.pl
'There are *some* flowers growing on the flowerbed.'

Wälchli and Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001) have described these non-canonical grammatical relations as a grey area between typical objects and subjects that permit different sub-divisions. Hiietam (2003: 239-240, 249) illustrates that Hopper and

Thompson's Transitivity Hypothesis is in broad terms able to account for the case variation of Estonian subjects and objects, but also that the hypothesis needs to make a more subtle distinction of possible noun phrases constituting the subject relation in terms of Individuation (properties like concrete – abstract, singular – plural, etc. that have been assigned to object arguments only in Hopper and Thompson's theory).

This talk takes a typological approach to differential subject and object marking in Estonian. It compares the phenomena and rules triggering partitive subject marking with the ones triggering partitive object marking (clause type, verb type, meaning of the situation, semantics of the referent of the NP, pragmatic factors) in different clause types. The talk discusses whether the nature of Estonian subject marking can be accounted for in terms of split-S system (cf. Dixon 1994, Nichols 2008) and will place the Estonian data in the typological context (gradient of various split-S languages at Nichols 2008). To test Wälchli's and Koptjevskaja-Tamm's view the results of the case study measuring the distances of partitive and nominative subjects from partitive and total case objects will be presented. In my talk I also present a case study which tests how well Hiietam's suggestions work on broader data of various existential sentences.

References:

- Dixon, R., M., W. (1994). Ergativity. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hiietam, K. (2003). *Definiteness and Grammatical Relations in Estonian*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Manchester.
- Hopper, P. J. and S. A. Thompson. (1980). Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56.2: 251-299.
- Itkonen, T. (1974). Ergatiivisuutta suomessa, I. (Abstract: Ergativity in Finnish.) *Virittäjä* 78, pp. 379-398.
- Itkonen, T. (1975). Ergatiivisuutta suomessa, II. (Abstract: Ergativity in Finnish.) *Virittäjä* 79, pp. 31-65.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M., Wälchli, B. (2001). The Circum-Baltic languages. An areal-typological approach. – Östen Dahl, Maria Koptjevskaja-Tamm (toim.), *Circum-Baltic Languages*, vol. 2: Grammar and typology, lk. 615-750. *Studies in Language Companion Series* 55. Amsterdam: Benjamins
- Nemvalts, Peep (2000). *Aluse sisu ja vorm: alusfraasi käändevaheldus tänapäeva eesti kirjakeeles*. Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus.
- Nemvalts, Peep (1996). Case marking of subject phrases in modern standard Estonian. (= *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Uralica Upsaliensia* 25.) Uppsala.
- Nichols, Johanna (2008). Typological perspective on split subject marking.

Gradualness of grammaticalization: a comparative approach of existential constructions in three Romance languages.

Meulleman, Machteld
(Universiteit Gent).

It is widely assumed that grammaticalization is a gradual process and that languages are grammaticalized to different extents. For the Romance languages it has often been claimed that French is far more grammaticalized than Spanish and that Italian occupies an intermediate position between French and Spanish. The existing evidence for this claim comes from several areas, such as auxiliaries (Kuteva 2001), prepositions (Lamiroy 2001) and word order (Marchello-Nizia 2006). The aim of this contribution is to investigate whether and to what extent this hypothesis also applies to existential constructions in the three languages under consideration.

In French, Italian and Spanish the most frequent existential construction is respectively *il y a* (1), *c'è* (2) and *hay* (3) :

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

Interestingly, these existential constructions are highly grammaticalized in the three languages. Firstly, they contain a locative morpheme: *y* in French, *ci* in Italian and enclitic *-y* in Spanish (Blasco Ferrer 2004). Secondly, the verb used in French and Spanish has a possessive origin, which is desemantized in its existential use (Heine et Kuteva 2005). Finally, all three languages manifest either lack of flexion or a tendency towards its loss (it is the case of *c'è* in certain variants of informal Italian), which are both considered to be characteristic of a process of decategorialization (Traugott & Heine 1991).

The purpose of this contribution is to offer a comparative approach of the gradualness of grammaticalization of existentials in French, Spanish and Italian drawing on empirical evidence. The analysis will be based on a systematic corpus study of written newspaper articles of "Le Monde" for French, "Il Corriere della Sera" for Italian and "El País" for Spanish. The analysis will apply the six parameters of grammaticalization as defined by Lehmann (1985 and 1995), i.e. attrition, paradigmaticization, obligatorification, condensation, coalescence and fixation. These parameters are particularly useful for our purpose as they are "characteristic of grammaticalization which has already attained a fairly advanced stage" (Hopper 1991 : 21).

The discussion of Lehmann's six parameters of grammaticalization suggests that - as expected - French existential constructions display several signs of a very advanced grammaticalization process, which their Spanish and Italian

correspondants lack. However, it shows that - at least for the case of existential constructions - it is not Spanish but Italian which is least grammaticalized of the three Romance languages under consideration.

References:

- Blasco Ferrer, E. 2004. "Tipologia, storia e classificazione delle costruzioni presentative romanze. Contributo a una teoria della grammaticalizzazione". *Quaderns de Filologia. Estudis Lingüístics* 9: 27-49.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuteva, T. 2001. *Auxiliation. An inquiry into the nature of grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lamiroy, B. 2001. "La préposition en français et en espagnol: une question de grammaticalisation?". *Langages* 35 (134): 91-105.
- Lehmann, C. 1985. "Grammaticalization : Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change". *Lingua e Stile* 20 : 303-318.
- Lehmann, C. 1995. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. München : Lincom Europa.
- Marchello-Nizia, C. 2006. *Grammaticalisation et changement linguistique*. Bruxelles: De Boeck.
- Traugott, E.C. & Heine, B. 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Transitivity and the diachronic development of impersonals with indefinite agents in West Slavic.

Meyer, Roland
(University of Regensburg).

Impersonals with indefinite agents in West Slavic form a mixed bag, including clauses with 3rd person plural verbs (1-b), reflexive verbs (1-a, 1-c), and the Polish (Pl) *-no /-to* construction (2). These have been analyzed repeatedly synchronically (Růžička 1986, Siewierska 1988 and references therein), but only rarely in diachrony. According to existing analyses, Old Czech (OCz) had indefinite impersonals with *non-reflexive* verbs (Trávníček 1951), which were replaced by reflexive constructions in the 16th century. Agreeing reflexive impersonals (traditionally viewed as passive) were formed from transitive verbs in OCz (Havránek 1928) and spread to intransitives after the 15th century (Schäfer 1982, Gebauer 1929 [2007]). In (modern) Polish (Pl), agreeing reflexive impersonals are restricted to mediopassive use (Wilczewska 1966, Szymańska 2000). Pisarkowa (1984) views them as remnants of a change towards non-agreeing forms since 17th century. In Pl, but not in Cz, the non-agreeing variant shows binding and control properties which indicate the presence of a zero [+human] syntactic subject (Dyła 1983, Siewierska 1988, Růžička 1986), and allows for accusative objects. So does the Pl *-no /-to* construction, which allegedly arose in 17th century (Oesterreicher 1926, Shevelov 1968, Lavine 2005). All the relevant constructions in Pl and Cz semantically imply [+human] first arguments which cannot be realized overtly as "by-phrases".

The paper scrutinizes the history of the mentioned impersonals on the basis of diachronic corpora (Institute of Polish language, Kraków, and several others; Czech National Corpus; Czech Academy corpus), taking into account qualitative and quantitative developments. Random samples of 1000 reflexive constructions per language and half century, along with about 2200 *-no /-to* cases have been analyzed. Both in Cz and in Pl, the basic development runs from agreeing to non-agreeing, gradually extending over larger verb classes. Accusative objects in Pl non-agreeing reflexives were clearly established after the respective cases of *-no /-to* constructions (a fact unnoticed in the literature), which may explain the lack of transitivity in Cz reflexive impersonals. This point is confronted with the development of the impersonal perfect in North Russian (Serzhants 2009). Synchronic analyses argue that Pl *-no /-to* is an instance of degrammaticalization (violation of unidirectionality), namely, the "freeing" of a passive suffix to become an auxiliary (Lavine 2005). Others assume a semantically bleached zero subject (Szucsich 2008). Lavine's analysis predicts a constraint rate of change (cf. Kroch 2000) for the loss of the copula and the rise of transitivity. We argue that the decisive factor distinguishing Pl from Cz indefinite impersonals was the introduction of an empty indefinite which could be assigned an external theta role. The increase in transitivity was thus related to a fixation of subject properties.

Examples

- (1) a. Hovorí sa, že tu v Pásme niekto žije, nejakí ľudia.
say-3SG REFL.ACC that here in zone someone-NOM live-PRS.3SG some-NOM.PL people
,It is said that someone lives here in the zone, some people.' (Strugackie: Picknick, Slovak translation)
- b. Opowiadają podobno, że w Strefie ktoś mieszka.
say-3PL allegedly that ... (Polish trl.)
- c. Ono se říká, že v Pásmu nějací lidé žijí.
EXPL REFL.ACC say-3SG that ... (Czech trl.)
- (2) Przykazał, aby łódkę uczyniono z rokitnicy.
order-PT.M.SG that-SBJ boat-F.ACC.SG make-NTF from wicker-F.GEN.SG
,He ordered that a boat be made of wicker.' [1510; Brajerski 1979, cit. after Lavine 2005]

References:

- Dyła, S. (1983). A Non-Argument Against Multiple COMP Polish. *Wiener Linguistische Gazette*, 30, 19–26.
- Gebauer, J. (2007). *Historická mluvnické jazyka českého*, volume 4. Praha: Academia.
- Havránek, B. (1928). *Genera verbi v slovanských jazycích*, volume 1. Praha: Nakladatelství Kr. České Spol. Nauk.
- Kroch, A. (2000). Syntactic Change. In M. Baltin & C. Collins (Eds.), *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lavine, J. (2005). The Morphosyntax of Polish and Ukrainian -no/-to. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 13(1), 75–117.
- Oesterreicher, H. (1926). *Imiesłów bierny w języku polskim*. Kraków: Polska akademja umiejętności.
- Pisarkowa, K. (1984). *Historia składni języka polskiego*. Wrocław: Ossolineum.
- Růžička, R. (1986). Typologie der Diathese slavischer Sprachen in parametrischen Variationen. *Die Welt der Slaven*, 21, 225–274.
- Schäfer, F. (1982). Untersuchungen zur Reflexivität im Alttschechischen. Beginn des Schrifttums bis 1350, volume 52 of *Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für Slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) an der Freien Universität Berlin*. Harrassowitz.
- Serzhants, I. (2009). Agented perfect with the possessor-like marked subject in North Russian and the Circum-Baltic area. ms., University of Bergen.
- Shevelov, G. Y. (1968). Orzeczenia bezpodmiotowe odimieslowowe na -no/to w języku polskim przed rokiem 1450. *Slavia Orientalis*, 17(3), 387–393.
- Siewierska, A. (1988). The Passive in Slavic. In M. Shibatani (Ed.), *Passive and Voice* (pp. 243–289). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Szucsich, L. (2008). Evidenz für syntaktische Nullen aus dem Burgenlandkroatischen, Polnischen, Russischen und Slovenischen: Merkmalsausstattung, Merkmalshierarchien und morphologische Defaults. *Zeitschrift für Slavistik*, 53(2), 160–177.
- Szymańska, I. (2000). A Construction Grammar Account of the Reflexive się in Polish. PhD thesis, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Wydział Neofilologii, Warszawa.
- Trávníček, F. (1961). *Historická mluvnické česká. Skladba*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 2 edition.
- Wilczewska, K. (1966). *Czasowniki zwrotne we współczesnej polszczyźnie*. Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe.

Partitives and negation, a cross-linguistic survey.

Miestamo, Matti
(University of Helsinki).

Negation affects case marking in some European languages (Finnic, Baltic, Slavic and Basque): NPs in the scope of negation are marked with a case that has a partitive-marking function (partitive or genitive), either obligatorily or as a matter of preference. The following examples illustrate the case alternations in Finnish:

(1) Finnish (constructed examples)

- | | |
|--|---|
| a. <i>söin banaani-n</i>
eat.PST.1SG banana-GEN
'I ate {a/the} banana.' | b. <i>söin banaani-t</i>
eat.PST.1SG banana-PL.NOM
'I ate the bananas.' |
| c. <i>söin banaani-a</i>
eat.PST.1SG banana-PART
'I {ate some / was eating {a/the}}
banana.' | d. <i>söin banaane-j-a</i>
eat.PST.1SG banana-PL-PART
'I {ate (some) / was eating {(some)/the}}
bananas.' |
| e. <i>en syönyt banaani-a</i>
NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PART
'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} {a/the}
banana.' | f. <i>en syönyt banaane-j-a</i>
NEG.1SG eat.PST.PTCP banana-PL-PART
'I {didn't eat / wasn't eating} (the) bananas.' |

In these examples, the object of the affirmative may be, on the one hand, in the genitive or nominative depending on the morphosyntactic environment (1a-b), or, on the other, in the partitive (1c-d). In the negative, only the partitive is possible (1e-f). Related case asymmetries between affirmatives and negatives are also found in some existential sentences where subjects can be either nominative or partitive in affirmatives but negatives have to use the partitive.

The tendency for NPs to receive partitive marking in the scope of negation is not limited to morphologically bound case marking. French negatives show a similar pattern with free determiners. The partitive marker *de* occurs instead of indefinite articles in most contexts: *Je mange une pomme* 'I eat / am eating an apple' vs. *Je ne mange pas de pomme* 'I do not eat / am not eating an apple'.

Although the link between partitives and negation is relatively well-studied in European languages, it has not been systematically addressed in typological research. Similar phenomena have been reported in some language groups outside Europe, e.g., in some Oceanic languages, but their cross-linguistic distribution is not known. The present papers aims to fill this gap. It will report the results of a large-scale typological survey of the link between partitives and negation.

To situate the phenomenon in a larger context, attention will be paid to other effects that negation has on the marking of grammatical categories within NPs, e.g. on the marking of referentiality and focus. In a yet larger context, the

effects on NPs are one of the many ways in which negation can affect the structure of clauses, or in Miestamo's (2005) terms, one of the many ways in which negatives can show asymmetry vis-à-vis affirmatives.

These larger contexts become relevant when we start looking for explanations for the link between partitives and negation. In the literature, it has been attributed to different semantic and pragmatic factors, including aspect and referentiality. The typological evidence suggests that aspect does not play a role, but referentiality is an important factor in explaining the link.

References:

Miestamo, Matti. 2005. *Standard negation: The negation of declarative verbal main clauses in a typological perspective*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

The syntax and semantics of kind of/sort of-binominals in Romance languages.

Mihatsch, Wiltrud
(University of Bochum).

While there are now a number of detailed syntactic and semantic analyses of the English *kind of/sort* binominals (see, for instance, Brems/Davidse/De Smedt 2007 and 2008, Denison (in preparation) and Keizer 2007), systematic studies in Romance languages are still rather scarce. The aim of this paper is to analyze the equivalent *kind of/sort of*-binominals in French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish based on both spoken and written corpus data and by combining the synchronic and the diachronic perspective. The paper by Brems/Davidse/De Smedt (2008) will serve as a starting point for a comparison of Romance languages and English as well as the different Romance languages, which, however, share important properties which distinguish them from English. In a first step the ungrammaticalized taxonomic nouns and their various discourse uses will be discussed, in particular the differences between uses and functions in learned contexts, where these nouns originated, and colloquial uses will be analyzed. The particular colloquial functions of nouns referring to subclasses such as French *espèce* and its cognates in the other Romance languages pointing to new or marginal category members will be shown to be crucial for the emergence of anaphoric uses as well as emphatic quantifier uses with universal quantifiers, negative quantifiers and free-choice determiners. These uses can lead to further grammaticalization processes as in the case of the Catalan negative particle *gens*. As shown in Mihatsch (2007) a parallel strand of development based on peripheral category membership leads to approximator uses, which in turn are the source of a series of derived discourse marker functions such as quotative markers, attenuating devices and numeric approximation in English, not, however, in the analyzed Romance languages. Here, we observe a different, although related construction type, namely taxonomic nouns either used attributively or post-nominally and which refer to superordinate categories. This explains why a different set of taxonomic nouns is recruited for this function in the Romance languages, i.e. French *genre*, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish *tipo*, while English *kind* and *sort* may express both sub- and superordination. As in English all the new functions are accompanied by the loss of reference and trigger grammatical changes which lead to the loss of nouniness of the taxonomic noun, as can be seen, for instance, in the loss of the possibility to get modified by adjectives. However, unlike the English *kind of/sort of*- construction the Romance equivalents show number concord with the following noun rather than the loss of number marking, and, invisible in English, the most grammaticalized forms show gender concord.

References:

- Brems, Lieselotte / Davidse, Kristin/ De Smedt, Liesbeth (2007): "NP-internal functions and extended uses of the 'type' nouns *kind*, *sort*, and *type*: Towards a comprehensive, corpus-based description", in Roberta Facchinetti (ed.): *Corpus linguistics 25 years on*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 225-255.
- Brems, Lieselotte / Davidse, Kristin/ De Smedt, Liesbeth (2008): "Type noun uses in the English NP: A case of right to left layering", in *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13 (2): 139-168.
- C-ORAL-ROM = Cresti, Emanuela et Massimo Moneglia (eds.) (2005): *C-ORAL-ROM: integrated reference corpora for spoken Romance languages*. CD-ROM. Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: Benjamins (Studies in Corpus Linguistics 15).
- Denison, David (in preparation): „History of the *sort of* construction family. (<http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lel/staff/david-denison/papers/thefile,100126,en.pdf>)
- Keizer, M. Evelien (2007): *The English Noun Phrase: the Nature of Linguistic Categorization*. Cambridge: CUP. (Studies in English language).
- Mihatsch, Wiltrud (2007): "The construction of vagueness: "Sort of" expressions in Romance languages", in Günter Radden, Klaus-Michael Koepcke, Thomas Berg, Peter Siemund (eds.): *Aspects of Meaning Constructing Meaning: From Concepts to Utterances*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 225-245.

Exuberant Complexity: The Interplay of Morphology, Syntax, and Prosody in Central Alaskan Yup'ik.

Mithun, Marianne
(University of California at Santa Barbara).

In many European languages, written language shows greater syntactic complexity than spoken varieties. Writing lacks the prosodic cues to structure available to listeners, necessitating greater exploitation of segmental marking. Writers also have more time to create complex structures. It has thus been hypothesized that unwritten languages will have less developed grammatical machinery for expressing relations among ideas. A number of unwritten languages of the Americas appear to confirm the hypothesis.

One set of American languages provides striking counter-evidence. The Eskimo-Aleut languages show elaborate marking of syntactic complexity. (Examples here are drawn from Central Alaskan Yup'ik spontaneous speech, primarily conversation.) All verbs carry an inflectional 'mood' suffix which distinguishes independent from dependent clauses. There are three independent moods: indicative, interrogative (for content questions), and optative (for requests). There are ten dependent moods: subordinative, participial, past contemporative ('when in the past'), overlapping contemporative ('while'), simultaneous contemporative ('at the same time that'), precessive ('before'), concessive ('although, even if'), contingent ('whenever'), consequential ('because'), and conditional ('if', 'when in the future'). These constructions show more advanced grammaticalization than most European counterparts: they are marked by bound morphology. Furthermore, some ideas expressible in European languages only with complex sentences can be conveyed in a single Yup'ik word, like *Tangvagnia* 'He says that someone is watching her'. Individual components can even be negated or tensed. A past suffix can be added after the root *tangvag-* 'watch' to yield 'He says that someone was watching her', or after the suffix *-ni-* 'say' to yield 'He said that someone was watching her', or after both, for 'He said that someone had been watching her'.

Such elaboration might seem redundant for spoken language, where prosodic structuring is always available. In fact the two kinds of structuring are not always the same. They often run in parallel. Most clauses are spoken in a separate intonation unit (or more). Simple sentences typically begin with a pitch reset then descend to a terminal fall. Complex sentences are also typically spoken under a single prosodic envelope but with internal structure; each sub-phrase begins with a smaller reset and descends to a non-terminal fall, until the last. But speakers have choices in clause combining. Sequences of events can be expressed in series of independent sentences, perhaps related by a discourse particle. These portray events perceived as quite distinct. They can also be conveyed by complex sentences, where sub-events are more closely associated. There is a third option. They can be conveyed by series of grammatically dependent clauses, each pronounced as a complete intonation unit in itself. The prosody reflects their distinctness, but the grammar reflects their discourse-level relatedness. Additional prosodic constructions convey aspects of semantic, discourse, and information structure not available from the syntax alone.

The syntactic complexity of these languages is not the result of contact with European languages. The markers and structures can be traced back to Proto-Eskimo-Aleut (Fortescue, Jacobson, Kaplan 1994). But the complexity does not mean that literacy can have no effect on the development of complex syntax. It simply shows that complexity can arise on its own in unwritten languages.

Reference:

Fortescue, Michael, Steven Jacobson, and Lawrence Kaplan 1994. *Comparative Eskimo Dictionary with Aleut Cognates*. Fairbanks, AK: Alaskan Native Language Center.

Properties of the progressive aspect in Chechen.

Molochieva, Zarina
(University of Leipzig).

This paper deals with the properties of the progressive aspect in Chechen (Nakh, Nakh-Daghestanian). Chechen has very complex aspectual system which has not been described before. Chechen has four basic aspectual distinctions: perfective, imperfective, habitual, and progressive. This paper also gives an overview of Chechen aspectual system (Chechen has an equipollent aspectual system), but the attention is paid mostly to the aspectual properties of the progressive aspect.

In some languages, the use of the progressive forms is obligatory (e.g. in English), i.e. requiring progressive form, a non-progressive form cannot be used. In others languages, the use of the progressive is optional (e.g. in Spanish, Italian), i.e. a non-progressive form can also have a progressive reading (Comrie 1976:33). Chechen also belongs to the languages characterized by the obligatory use of progressive forms. It distinguishes two kinds of progressive aspect: *durative* and *focalized* progressive (these terms are adopted from Bertinetto et al. 2000:527).

First, this paper shows how Chechen progressive aspect relates to the imperfective, and how progressive differs from imperfective. According to Dahl (1985:92), 'in languages with a perfective-imperfective distinction, the prototypical progressive contexts would be imperfective.' The imperfective and progressive are often treated as 'partially or wholly identified' (ibid.). The aspectual distinction expressed by stem form alternation is perfective and imperfective. The progressives are marked as imperfective. The progressives (focalized and durative) are marked periphrastically, i.e. the

combination of the simultaneous converb *-(u)sh* (which is marked as imperfective) and auxiliary *du* forms the durative progressive (ex. 1) and *doall* for the focalized progressive (ex. 2).

Second, this paper also investigates the interaction of the focalized and durative progressives with the iterative habitual aspects and its compatibility with Aktionsarten. While the focalized progressive is compatible only with activity and accomplishments verbs, the durative progressive is compatible with many Aktionsart categories, for instance, it can occur with the stative verbs. The focalized progressive indicates a certain frame of time where the activity is in progress at the moment of speech. In addition, there is a full-fledged iterative aspect, which can be marked as perfective, imperfective, habitual, and progressive as well.

Finally, the restrictions on using animate and inanimate subjects in the progressive tenses are discussed. The progressive constructions (durative and focalized) can be used with the subject in nominative or in ergative case (most preferable subject in nominative case). The focalized progressive allows only human subjects in the nominative case, whereas the durative progressive allows human and animate subject. The subject in both progressive constructions must be in the ergative case, hence, with nominative subject, is ungrammatical (Table 1).

Table 1.

	Human subject	Non-human subject	Inanimate subject
Focalized Progressive	+	-	-
Durative Progressive	+	+	-
Focalized and durative progressive with the subject in the ergative case	+	+	+

Durative progressive

1. *naana xudar d-ie-sh j-u*
 mother.NOM(J) porridge.NOM(D) D-make:IPFV-CVBsim J-be.PRS
 'Mother is cooking some porridge.'

Focalized Progressive

2. *naana xudar d-ie-sh j-oall*
 mother.NOM(J) porridge.NOM(D) D-make:IPFV-CVBsim J-be.PROG.PRS
 'Mother is cooking some porridge (at this moment).'

References:

- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
 Dahl, Östen. 1985. *Tense and Aspect Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
 Bertinetto, Pier Marco, Ebert, Karen, de Groot, Casper. 2000. The Progressive in Europe. In: Dahl, Östen. (ed). *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Atypical ergative marking in Hindi and related languages.

Montaut, Annie
 (INALCO, Paris).

The ergative case is said to be the case for agents in specific languages and under specific conditions (split ergativity according to aspect (Hindi/Urdu) or salience or both (Panjabi/Marathi)) (Pandharipande 1991; 1997). However it occurs with non-agentive intransitive subjects that have been attested: a) with so called 'anti-impersonal' verbs - a well documented chapter of the relevant literature (Lazard 1985; Montaut 2004); b) in modal constructions such as potential or obligatory ones - not so well documented chapter (Pandharipande 1997, Montaut 2009). The ergative case marks also transitive non-agentive (experiential) subjects in Hindi (which constitute again a less documented chapter, dealing predominantly with ergative construction of predicates such as 'feel').

There are two main working questions posed in the paper. Is there a link between these two categories of the agent in accomplished transitive action predicates and non-agents marked with the ergative case? Do we have to analyze the postposition *ne/ni* (or *le/la* in Himalayan speeches) as one marker or two distinct markers?

In order to answer the above questions I will examine the data from Hindi/Urdu and other Indo-Aryan tongues (Marathi, Punjabi, Pahari dialects etc.). It appears that, although the canonical construction involving ergative case is required essentially by transitive verbs which in Hindi, and generally in Indo-Aryan, are predominantly agentive, the *ne/ni* marker was not originally a marker for source (agent), but for location. This original meaning is still perceptible in the non-canonical ergative patterns such as potential or obligative structures of Marathi, which resemble 'experiential' structures in Hindi (dative/locative/genitive main argument). What is common to these patterns, viewed in terms of cognitive trajectory (Langacker 1999) is that they profile a predicative relation of an intransitive type in the foreground, and background the source (or the locator). What is specific to ergative patterns will be investigated in contrast to nominative (aspectual

semantics) and to other locational case markers (semantic roles) with reference to predicative notions displaying dative/ergative, or locative/ergative, alternation in their construction.

References:

- Kibrik, A. 1997. "Beyond subject and object: Toward a comprehensive relational typology". *Linguistic Typology* 1: 279-346.
- Lazard, G. 1985. "Anti-impersonal verbs, transitivity continuum and the notion of transitivity" in Seiler, H & G. Brettschneider (eds.) 1985. *Language invariants and mental operations*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr. 115-123.
- Langacker, R. 1999. *Grammar and Conceptualization*. New-York: Mouton deGruyter
- Montaut A. 2004. *A grammar of Hindi*. Munchen: Lincom Europa (Indo-European linguistics).
- Montaut A. 2009. Ergative and pre-ergative patterns in Indo-Aryan, A diachronic view of Past and Future systems, in A. R. Fatihi (ed.). *Language Vitality in South Asia*. Aligarh Muslim University: 295-325.
- Pandharipande, R. 1991. "Experiencers (dative) NPs in Marathi" in Verma Mahindra K. & K.P. Mohanan (eds.) 1991. *Experiencer Subjects in South Asian Languages*. Stanford: The Stanford Linguistics Association. 161-79.
- Pandharipande, R. 1997. *Marathi Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Subbarao, K.V. & P. Bhaskararao, 2003. *Non-nominative Subjects*. Amsterdam/New-York: Benjamins.

Verb Movement: The Contrast between English and Lithuanian.

Murakami, Madoka
(Jissen Women's University).

This paper discusses V features, nominative case checking, and V movement in Chomsky's (1995) minimalist program, explains the facets of the English subjunctive and imperative, and contrasts the difference of V movement between English and Lithuanian.

I propose that V movement can be accounted for in the unitary Infl system where I is a bundle of features. The feature matrices [-Tense, +Agr] and [+Tense, -Agr] will be argued for the subjunctive and imperative respectively; the auxiliary *do*, a dummy tense carrier, can be inserted into [+Tense] of imperatives, while untensed I cannot accommodate *do* in subjunctives, e.g.:

- (1) Imperative: Do not be lenient.
- (2) Subjunctive: I insist that you (*do) not be lenient.

The imperative *do* never inflects for agreement even if its overt subject is either third person singular or archaic *thou*, hence [-Agr]:

- (3) Present-day: Everybody do/*does sit down.
- (4) Shakespeare: Now do/*dost thou watch, for I can stay no longer.

On the other hand, [+Agr] is a dependent case checker which must be activated by another head under head-to-head adjacency (Raposo 1987); the complementizer *that* is necessary for subjunctives to connect to the chain of Agr activation and check off the nominative case, e.g.:

- (5) Subjunctive: I asked [_{CP} [_C that] [_{IP} he [_I +Agr] take the medicine]].
-

head-to-head activation

Cf. *I asked he take the medicine.

Furthermore, finite V carries [+Tense, +Agr] in present-day English, but [+Tense, +Agr, +Mood] in earlier English, due to the fact that mood was morphologically realized on the surface of the Old English verb form by the subjunctive morpheme *e*, which disappeared in the period of Middle English. The claim is that V movement can be accounted for in terms of the numerical strength of V features: *The more, the stronger*. Thus all Vs used to raise over *not* with three positive features in older English, e.g.:

- (6) Obsolete: I know not *t*.

In present-day English, main verbs remain in situ, with two positive features, e.g.:

- (7) Indicative with main V: John often kisses Mary.
Cf. *John kisses often *t* Mary.
- (8) Indicative with *be*: You are always *t* lenient.

But no Vs move with only one positive feature in subjunctives and imperatives, e.g.:

(9) Subjunctive: I insist that you not be lenient.

Cf. *I insist that you be not *t* lenient. (archaic)

(10) Imperative: Do not be lenient.

Cf. *Be not *t* lenient. (archaic)

This hypothesis highlights the difference of V movement between English and other European languages. As long as mood is morphologically specified in the verb, the hypothesis functions even in the case of Dutch (Cf. Vikner 1997).

In Lithuanian as well, there are three morphological moods: the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. As a Baltic language, it reflects archaic characteristics of the Proto-Indo-European (Sakurai 2007). I will examine sufficient Lithuanian data and reach the conclusion that all finite Lithuanian verbs raise from V to I (and then to C) due to the existence of mood morphology, regardless of the mood to which they belong.

References:

Chomsky, Noam (1995) *The Minimalist Program*, MIT Press, Massachusetts.

Raposo, Eduardo (1987) "Case Theory and Infl-to-Comp: The Inflected Infinitive in European Portuguese" *Linguistic Inquiry* 18, 1; 85-109.

Sakurai, Eiko (2007) *New Express Lithuania-go* [Lithuanian], Hakusuisha, Tokyo.

Vikner, Sten (1997) "V⁰-to-I⁰ Movement and Inflection for Person in All Tenses" In *The New Comparative Syntax*, ed. by Haegeman, Longman, London and New York.

Gradability and events: past participles inflected as superlatives in Italian.

Napoli, Maria

(University of Pisa and University of Rome).

From a typological point of view, participles may have adjectival properties (cf. Levin and Rappaport 1986), and may be gradable. In Italian past participles (PPs) may allow an inflectional superlative, derived by adding the suffix *-issimo*. This paper focuses on the gradability issue with regard to Italian PPs inflected as superlatives, through a corpus-based analysis of written Italian (see References). Two issues are investigated: (i) the semantic readings available with the superlative of PPs, (ii) the constraints on the use of PPs as superlatives.

The discussion will show that the use of a past participle as a superlative in Italian may give rise to two different entailments, depending on the adjectival or verbal nature of the derived form. In the first case the participle is used as an adjective and denotes a property at its highest degree, as is proper with the superlative (Cuzzolin & Lehmann 2004: 1213). This is extended to a form like *morto* "dead" (ex. 1), generally taken as a paradigmatic case of non-gradable adjective (cf. Paradis 2001: 52):

- (1) *gli* *avevamo detto che era* *morto, mortissimo*
him have.we told that be.he dead dead: PP-superlative
"we had told him that he was dead, *very dead".

However, the superlative of the PP may imply the same reading(s) as the degree modifier *molto* "much", i.e. it occurs with an adverbial value, as in ex. (2):

- (2) *è* *bevutissimo* *il* *caffé* *d'orzo*
is drunk: PP-superlative the coffee burley
"Burley coffee is *much drunk (interpretable as 'drunk by many people')".

In order to account for this specific case, confirming that gradability is not a distinctive property of adjectives (as in Jackendoff 1977 and Croft 2001), but is common to all categories (cf. Sapir 1944, Kennedy and McNally 2005), I will first consider both the use of PPs as superlatives and their modification by "much", through a comparison of the scope characteristics of the two constructions.

I examine the Italian data starting from the approach put forward in Kennedy (1999), Kennedy and McNally (2005), and Doetjes (2008), according to which adjectives should be characterized in terms of scales, distinguished on the basis of their being *closed* or *open* (the scale has minimal and/or maximal elements, or lacks them): in particular, Kennedy and McNally assumed that "the scale structure of deverbal adjectives can be predicted based on the event structure associated with the source verb" (2005: 361).

I seek to determine whether this approach can throw new light onto the parameters determining the semantics and the distribution of the inflectional superlative with PPs in Italian. More specifically, I will try to explain how the interplay of the different aspectual properties of predicates and their specific semantic contents may influence the behaviour of the PP with respect to gradability.

References:

- Croft W. (2001), *Radical Construction Grammar*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Cuzzolin P. & Lehmann C. (2004), "Comparison and gradation", in Booij G., Lehmann C. & Mugdan J. (eds.), *Morphologie. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Flexion und Wortbildung/Morphology. An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, Berlin/New York, de Gruyter: 1212-1220.
- Doetjes H. (2008), "Adjectives and Degree Modification", in McNally L. & Kennedy C. (eds.), *Adjectives and Adverbs. Syntax, Semantics and Discourse*, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 123-155.
- Jackendoff R. (1977), *X'-Syntax: A Study of Phrase Structure*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Kennedy C. (1999), *Projecting the Adjective: the Syntax and Semantics of Gradability and Comparison*, New York, Garland.
- Kennedy C. & McNally L. (2005), "Scale structure, degree modification and the semantics of gradable predicates", *Language* 81: 345-381.
- Levin B. & Rappaport M. (1986), "The formation of adjectival passives", *Linguistic Inquiry* 17/4: 623-661.
- [Paradis C.](#) (2001), "Adjectives and boundedness", *Cognitive Linguistics*, 12/1: 47-65.
- Sapir E. (1944), "Grading. A study on semantics", *Philosophy of Science* 11/2: 93-116.

Corpora:

- Corpus *La Repubblica* (380 million words): <http://sslmit.unibo.it/repubblica>
- Corpus *ItWac* (2 thousand million words): www.sketchengine.co.uk

System-defining principles as a tool for describing areal-typological relatedness.

Nau, Nicole

(Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan).

The three Eastern Baltic languages Latvian, Latgalian and Lithuanian offer a vast array of structural properties that are interesting to study from an areal-typological perspective. With some of these properties Eastern Baltic as a whole displays areal relatedness to neighboring languages, while other features distinguish individual languages or dialects, bringing them closer to genetically non-related or not closely related neighbors. This is reflected in the literature on linguistic areas where Baltic languages have been taken into account: Where a large linguistic area is constructed, all three languages belong there – they are Circum Baltic languages (Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli 2001; Nau 1996), they belong to the large North East European area (Christen, Locher & Wälchli 1996) or the medium-sized Eastern Baltic area (Mathiassen 1986). On the other hand, groupings of languages into smaller areas with more common features cut through the Eastern Baltic branch: Latvian shows significant similarities with Finnic languages of the area and local varieties of German, while Latgalian and Lithuanian display closer areal relatedness to Belarusian and regional Polish (cf. Déczy 1973; Haarman 1976; Stolz 1991; Nau forthcoming).

While the geographic spread of linguistic structures has interested linguists for a considerable time, there are quite different views on goals and methods of their investigation. From the perspective of historical linguistics, parallels in languages are interesting only as results of certain processes of language change, and the main goal of areal linguistics consequently is to describe these processes, thus to answer the question "What happened?" (Campbell 2006b: 21-22). Other linguists understand areal linguistics and the construction of linguistic areas in a more general way as a special perspective within comparative (synchronic as well as diachronic) and descriptive linguistics (Muysken 2008: 2). It is this latter perspective that will be adopted here.

Linguistic areas are commonly constructed by a set of features shared by the respective languages. Quite often these sets look random: there is one phonological feature, one from verbal morphology, a third concerning word-order, and so on (see, for example, the lists given in Campbell 2006a). However, if our goal is to show that areal relatedness is reflected in a common profile of languages, more satisfying than a listing of isolated parallels is the exploration of parallels in subsystems of languages, as case marking, tense and aspect systems etc. This approach is reflected in the organization of the comprehensive overview on Circum-Baltic languages by Koptjevskaja-Tamm & Wälchli (2001).

Structural properties characteristic for a linguistic subsystem may be described in the form of statements. For example, the expression of modality in Latgalian is characterized by statements as "Epistemic and non-epistemic modality are expressed by different linguistic means", "Non-epistemic modality is expressed by verbs", "In constructions expressing non-epistemic necessity, the actor is marked with the dative". Such statements will be called system-defining principles, and the paper attempts to show how this concept can be used for the synchronic description of areal relatedness, focusing on Latvian and Latgalian.

The first field chosen to exemplify the method is modality. Here, both the large-scale and the closer areal relationships outlined above can be modeled by system-defining principles shared (completely or partially) among neighboring languages, which in turn favors parallel grammaticalization and material borrowing. The second example will show how the proposed method can also help comprehend the areal connection of structural parallels in non-neighboring, but still areally related languages: logophoric pronouns are found in Latgalian and Finnish dialects (Nau 2006), but not in Low Latvian and Estonian.

References:

- Campbell, Lyle. 2006a. Areal linguistics. In: Brown, Keith ed. in chief, *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. Second edition. Amsterdam: Elsevier, Vol. I, 454-460.
- Campbell, Lyle. 2006b. Areal linguistics: A closer scrutiny. In: Matras, Yaron, McMahon, April & Vincent, Nigel eds. *Linguistic areas. Convergence in historical and typological perspective*. Houndsmill & New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1-31.
- Christen, Simon / Locher, Jan Peter / Wälchli, Bernhard. 1996. *Narmon'Gi*. (Arbeitspapiere des Berner Projekts zur vergleichenden Darstellung der nordosteuropäischen Sprachen 1). Bern: Institut für slavische und baltische Sprachen und Literaturen, Universität Bern.
- Déczy, Gyula. 1973. *Die linguistische Struktur Europas. Vergangenheit – Gegenwart – Zukunft*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Haarman, Harald. 1976. *Aspekte der Arealtypologie. Die Problematik der europäischen Sprachbünde*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria & Wälchli, Bernhard. 2001. The Circum-Baltic languages: An areal-typological approach. In: Dahl, Östen & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, Maria eds. *Circum-Baltic languages*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins. Vol. 2, 615-750.
- Mathiassen, Terje. 1986. A discussion of the notion „Sprachbund“ and its application in the case of the languages in the Eastern Baltic area (Slavic, Baltic and West Finnish). *International Journal of Slavic Linguistic and Poetics* 1985/86: 273-281.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2008. Introduction: Conceptual and methodological issues in areal linguistics. In: Muysken, Pieter ed. *From linguistic areas to areal linguistics*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1-23.
- Nau, Nicole. 1996. Ein Beitrag zur Arealtypologie der Ostseeanrainersprachen. In: Boretzky, Norbert et al. eds. *Areale, Kontakte, Dialekte. Sprache und ihre Dynamik in mehrsprachigen Situationen. Beiträge zum 10. Bochum-Essener Symposium*. Bochum: Brockmeyer, 51–67.
- Nau, Nicole. 2006. Out of Africa: Logophoric pronouns and reported discourse in Finnish and High Latvian dialects. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica* LV, 55-87.
- Nau, Nicole. forthcoming. Modality in an areal context: the case of a Latgalian dialect. To appear in: B. Wiemer et al. (eds.) *New insights into grammaticalization and language contact*.
- Stolz, Thomas. 1991. *Sprachbund im Baltikum? Estnisch und Lettisch im Zentrum einer sprachlichen Konvergenzlandschaft*. Bochum: Brockmeyer.

Observing communication. A systems theoretical model of language.

Nielsen, Karsten Hvidtfelt
(Aarhus University).

In a recent survey of linguistic theory, O'Grady (2008) has pointed to the existence of two major paradigms of linguistic theory: *nativism* and *emergentism*. However, it seems to me that a more fundamental divide exists between, on the one hand, theories which like all of nativism and most of emergentism accept mental or representationalist descriptions and explanations of linguistic phenomena, and, on the other, those relatively few approaches which deny the need for (or even the legitimacy of) bringing in mental concepts when describing or explaining language. Although advocated by one of the founders of emergentism (Hopper 1998), and supported by philosophical arguments (Quine 1960, 1969, 1972; Devitt 2006) and neuro-physiological research (Maturana & Varela 1987), the latter stance (called *eliminativism* by O'Grady 2008, *anti-representationalism* by Varela 1990) has not as yet been as successful as its mental or representationalist analogue. The reasons for this bias are too numerous to be fully examined in this context. Most of them, I think, have to do with our 'innate' incapacity for imagining how language could *not* primarily be about mental representations (as illustrated by the Quine-Chomsky controversy). However, since I do not intend with this paper to launch a philosophical argument, I shall concentrate on a more specific or technical reason for the lack of interest in linguistic theories shunning mental (or semantic) concepts. I think it is only fair to say that anti-representationalist theory, of whatever strand, has not moved very far beyond a mere sketching of its positions (Maturana 1978; Maturana & Varela 1980; Winograd & Flores 1986; Hopper 1988, 1998; Becker 1991; Hartung 1997; Nielsen 2005, 2006; Kravchenko 2006, 2007). There is a serious lack of precise modellings, both with regard to the processes shaping language (explanation) and with regard to what language may look like when described from an anti-representationalist perspective (an exception to the latter is Nielsen 2008). The former problem may, I believe, to some extent be solved by modelling the processes of grammaticalization along the lines of structural coupling. As for the second problem, I shall argue that the relatively well-developed conceptual tools of communication systems theory (Luhmann 1985, 1997) may prove helpful. Both solutions stem from the framework of *autopoietic theory* largely due to the Chilean biologists Maturana and Varela. I leave aside both the task of explaining the central concept of *autopoiesis* and what the solution of the former problem may amount to. Instead, I shall, in my presentation, concentrate on indicating what an anti-representationalist view of language may amount to when modelled by means of the conceptual resources of Luhmann's

systems theory of communication. There are two sets of concepts relevant to linguistics in Luhmann's theory: (1) those pertaining to the observer, and (2) those pertaining to the events of communication. By *observation* Luhmann understands the twofold event of making a differentiating and designating (referring to) one of the poles of the differentiation. If the object of the observation is not itself an observation, the observation is of first order, otherwise of second order. By the *communicative event* Luhmann understands a triad consisting of message, information and understanding. I show, in some detail, how to make these two sets of concepts yield an anti-representationalist modelling of language (language use) and conclude my presentation by intimating the relevance of anti-representationalism to *decidability theory* (Quine 1960, Nielsen 2003).

References:

- Becker, A. L. 1991. Language and languaging. *Language & communication* 11.33-35.
- Devitt, Michael. 2006. *Ignorance of language*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hartung, Wolfdietrich. 1997. Text und Perspektive. Elemente einer konstruktivistischen Textauffassung: Die Zukunft der Textlinguistik. Traditionen, Transformationen, Trends, ed. by Gerd Antos and Heike Tietz, 13-25. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1988. Emergent grammar and the a priori grammar postulate: Linguistics in context: connecting observation and understanding, ed. by Deborah Tannen, 117-134. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1998. Emergent grammar: The new psychology of language. Cognitive and functional approaches to language structure, ed. by Michael Tomasello, 155-175. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Kravchenko, Alexander. 2006. Cognitive linguistics, biology of cognition and biosemiotics. Bridging the gaps. *Language Sciences* 28.51-75.
- Kravchenko, Alexander. 2007. Essential properties of language, or, why language is not a code. *Language Sciences* 29.650-671.
- Luhmann, Niklas. 1985. *Soziale Systeme. Grundriss einer allgemeinen Theorie*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Luhmann, Niklas. 1997. *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 2 vols. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Maturana, Humberto R. 1978. Biology of language: the epistemology of reality: Psychology and the biology of language and thought. Essays in honour of Eric Lenneberg, ed. by G. A. Miller and Eric Lenneberg, 27-63. New York: Academic Press.
- Maturana, Humberto R. 1990. The biological foundations of self consciousness and the physical domain of existence: Beobachter. Konvergenz der Erkenntnistheorien?, ed. by Niklas Luhmann et al., 47-117. München: Fink.
- Maturana, Humberto R., and Francisco J. Varela. 1980. *Autopoiesis and cognition. The realization of the living*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Maturana, Humberto R., and Francisco J. Varela. 1987. *The tree of knowledge. The biological roots of human understanding*. Boston: Shambhala Press.
- Nielsen, Karsten Hvidtfelt. 2003. Interpreting Spinoza's arguments. Toward a formal theory of consistent language scepticism. Lewiston: Mellen.
- Nielsen, Karsten Hvidtfelt. 2005. Braucht eine Textlinguistik Kategorien des Sinns? Sinnkritische Bemerkungen zu Frege, Coseriu und Luhmann. *Tidsskrift for Sprogforskning* 3.47-83.
- Nielsen, Karsten Hvidtfelt. 2006. On decidability in discourse analysis: Kalba ir Kontekstai, ed. by E. Račienė, 116-126. Vilnius: Leidykla
- Nielsen, Karsten Hvidtfelt. 2008. Aufbau und Leistung einer empirisch-formalen Rezeptions- und Koreferenzgrammatik der Wortform 'sich'. *Linguistische Berichte* 215.259-306.
- O'Grady, William. 2008. The emergentist program. *Lingua* 118.447-464.
- Quine, Willard Van Orman. 1960. *Word and object*. Cambridge, MA: MIT.
- Quine, Willard Van Orman. 1969. Reply to Chomsky: Words and objections, ed. by Donald Davidson and Jaakko Hintikka, 302-311. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Quine, Willard Van Orman. 1972. Methodological reflections on current linguistic theory: Semantics of natural language, ed. by Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman, 442-454. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Varela, Francisco J. 1990. *Kognitionswissenschaft-Kognitionstechnik*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Winograd, Terry, and Fernando Flores. 1986. *Understanding computers and cognition*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

On the origin(s) of the possessor doubling construction in Norwegian.

Norde, Muriel
(Universiteit Groningen).

Scandinavian languages and their dialects boast a wide array of possessive constructions, both prenominal and postnominal (see e.g. Delsing 2003a-b; Julien 2005). This paper focuses on the so-called possessor doubling construction in Norwegian, in which the possessor is followed by a 'pleonastic' reflexive possessive pronoun, as exemplified in (1a). Other possessive constructions in Norwegian varieties include, among others, the s-genitive in (1b), a postnominal possessor involving non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (1c), and, in older Norwegian, a prenominal possessor doubling construction involving non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (1d):

(1)	a.	<i>Kari</i> Kari 'Kari's house'	<i>sitt</i> REFL.NEUT	<i>hus</i> house	Modern Norwegian
	b.	<i>Karis</i> Kari=GEN 'Kari's house'	<i>hus</i> house	<i>hus</i> house	Modern Norwegian
	c.	<i>Huset</i> House-DEF 'Kari's house'	<i>hennes</i> her	<i>Kari</i> Kari	Modern Norwegian
	d.	<i>myn</i> my 'the hand of my lord's servant'	<i>herres</i> lord~GEN	<i>tiener</i> servant	<i>hanss</i> his
				<i>hand</i> hand	1521

In Norwegian, the construction is commonly referred to as *garpegenitiv*, *garp* (Old Norse *garpr*) 'tough guy; big mouth' being a common term of abuse for German merchants that lived in Norway in the days of the Hanseatic League (Torp 1992: 151). It is of controversial origin. The very name of the construction seems to suggest that the construction was borrowed from Low German. This view is corroborated by the geographical spread of the construction – it originates in coastal regions (with the city of Bergen as its epicentre) where contact with Middle Low German was at its most intensive. A second argument in favour of the claim that the construction is not of native origin is the reflexive form *sin* which some consider "ungrammatical" in this context (e.g. Knudsen 1967: 65), not least because other Scandinavian varieties use non-reflexive possessive pronouns in possessor doubling constructions. Middle Low German, on the other hand, does not distinguish between reflexive and non-reflexive possessive pronouns and has *sīn* for both. On the other hand, possessor doubling is very common in most Germanic languages and their dialects (Allen 2008: 186ff.), so (1a) may very well have been the result of an internal development (e.g. Lødrup 1989). A third possibility is that (1a) was modelled, in part, on one or more of the other possessive constructions in (1) (e.g. Overton 1967).

The purpose of this paper will be to assess earlier claims about the emergence of possessor doubling in Norwegian, both as a single-source development (either external or internal) and as a multiple-source development, building on theoretical analyses of various persuasions (e.g. Fiva 1987, Lødrup 1989, Julien 2005), as well as current theorizing about contact-induced grammatical change (e.g. Heine & Kuteva 2005). Data will be drawn from synchronic dialect syntax studies (e.g. Delsing 2003a-b) and historical studies (e.g. Nesse 2002), and supplemented with own corpus data.

References:

- Allen, Cynthia L. 2008. *Genitives in Early English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Delsing, Lars-Olof. 2003a. Syntaktisk variation i nordiska nominalfraser. In Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander, Anders Holberg & Lars-Olof Delsing (eds) *Dialektsyntaktiska studier av den nordiska nominalfrasen*, 11-64. Oslo: Novus.
- Delsing, Lars-Olof. 2003b. Perifrastisk genitiv. In Vangsnes, Øystein Alexander, Anders Holberg & Lars-Olof Delsing (eds) *Dialektsyntaktiska studier av den nordiska nominalfrasen*, 65-83. Oslo: Novus.
- Fiva, Toril. 1987. *Possessor chains in Norwegian* (= *Tromsø studier i språkvitenskap* 9). Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Heine, Bernd & Tania Kuteva. 2005. *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Julien, Marit. 2005. *Nominal phrases from a Scandinavian perspective*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Knudsen, Trygve. 1967. *Kasuslære II: Dativ, genitiv*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Lødrup, Helge. 1989. *Norske hypotagmer. En LFG-beskrivelse av ikke-verbale hypotagmer*. (= *Oslo-studier i språkvitenskap* 4).
- Nesse, Agnete. 2002. *Språkkontakt mellom norsk og tysk i hansatidens Bergen*. Oslo: Novus Forlag.
- Overton, Paul H. 1967. Periphrasis with "sin" to express possession in New Norwegian and West Norwegian dialects. *Scandinavian Studies* 39:3, 249-258.
- Torp, Arne. 1992. Der sogenannten "Garpegenitiv"—Ursprung, Alter und Verbreitung im heutigen Norwegisch. In Elmevik, Lennart & Kurt Erich Schöndorf (eds) *Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien III*, 151-166. (= *beihefte zur Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 6).

Language norm changes: success or failure?

Omdal, Helge
(Universitetet i Agder, Kristiansand).

A number of examples from different languages show that it has been possible to alter language and language use, although it is still unclear how far and under which conditions languages can be influenced by language planning programmes and political decisions.

A standard language reform may after some time either be accepted by the language community and practised by the language users, or it may fail. Another possibility is that the reform is only being accepted and practised by a part of the population and thus becomes a source of language conflict, or it may even stop half-way.

In Norway, some of the general spelling reforms in the first part of the 20th century were successful. The same applies to the 'Norwegianized' spelling of a number of imported words, like *sjåføør* (chauffeur), *filosof* (philosoph), *basseng* (bassin), *nasjon*

(nation), toalett (toilet) – while for example *departement* (not departemang), *bacon* (not beiken), and *pub* (not pøbb) remain unchanged.

However, another reform of a special kind has turned out to be only a partial success: In 1951 the Norwegian Parliament decided to adopt a new numerical system, i.e. *femti* 'fifty-one' (as in English and Swedish) instead of *enogfemti* 'one-and-fifty' (as in German). When this reform was discussed, nearly all authorities claimed that this new numerical system would after a short period of time be used by most Norwegians, as people soon would be convinced of its simplicity and rationality. Today, nearly six decades later, this 'new' system is mostly used in contexts where greater clarity is required, for example in the media, while the traditional system is still very much alive. Instead of a new counting system there are now two systems in use, and so far the greater clarity expected has not yet been achieved. It turns out that the two counting systems favour separate 'domains' for counting, i.e. age or telephone numbers, and these differences are part of a new (interesting, but complicated) sociolinguistic situation.

Knowing of the uncertainty involved in language control and change, one should be careful when language reform is being planned. Otherwise language planners might have to redo and undo language planning reforms (cf. the title of Clyne 1997).

When planning language reforms, language planners have often been too optimistic, and they have not always considered all the different factors involved. Therefore – according to Crystal (1987, 364) – «it is hardly surprising that those who study this subject have not yet reached the stage when they can explain why some planning proposals succeed, whereas others fail».

In my paper I will present some examples of language and spelling reforms in Norway in the 20th century and discuss whether it is possible to identify factors which might have promoted, as well as factors which might have delayed, the implementation of language change.

References:

Clyne, Michael (ed.) (1997): *Undoing and Redoing Corpus Planning*, Berlin/New York.

Crystal, David (1987): *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*, Cambridge/New York/Port Chester/Melbourne/Sydney.

Factivity and indirect question: the case of Russian *bespokoit'sja* 'worry'.

Paducheva, Elena
(Russian Academy of Science).

Zeno Vendler (Vendler 1980) associated factivity of the predicate (i.e. truth presupposition of the embedded clause) with its co-occurrence with indirect question (IQ). Subsequent investigations suggested that what is relevant is not exactly factivity but the component 'know' (also 'don't know', 'want to know', etc) in the semantic decomposition of the predicate. Hence the importance of the difference between predicates of **knowledge** (*know, understand, forget, ...*), which co-occur with IQ, and predicates of **belief** (*believe, suppose, ...*), which usually don't (Karttunen, Zaenen 2005).

An interesting case is represented by the Russian verb *bespokoit'sja* 'worry', which dominates IQ, contradicting all common knowledge about the contexts of accepted IQ: i) *bespokoit'sja* is a verb of emotion, and emotions do not dominate IQ; ii) dividing mental verbs into verbs of knowledge and verbs of belief we'd rather attribute *bespokoit'sja* to verbs of belief, which are assumed not to dominate IQ.

Explanation of this phenomenon is put forward, stemming from this verb's semantic decomposition (suggested by Ju.D.Apresjan, NOSS-2004): it contains a component 'don't know', famous for its predisposition to IQ (Bulygina, Shmelev 1997, Paducheva 2004). In this paper the semantics of *bespokoit'sja* is further explored, with the help of the Russian National Corpus, <http://www.ruscorpora.ru/>.

The verb *bespokoit'sja* in the context of a dependent IQ

Construction with a general question: *X bespokoitsja*, *V li* = 1) 'X doesn't know whether **situation V** takes place; 2) X wants V to take place; 3) X feels trouble'.

(a) Igor *bespokoilsja*, *spravitsja li* Andrej s rol'ju 'Igor worried whether Andrey would cope with the role'

Construction with WH-question: *X bespokoitsja* WH-V = 1) X is unaware of some **parameter of situation V** and doesn't exclude that V is negative; 2) 'X wants V to be positive; 3) X feels trouble'.

(c) Vladimir *bespokoilsja* – *kto*, *v sluchae ego smerti*, *budet prodolzhat' ego delo?* 'Vladimir worried who would, in case of his death, continue his task'.

The verb *bespokoit'sja* in the context of *that*-clause

Explication for the present or past tense in the dependent clause. *X bespokoitsja* *that V* = '1) situation V takes or took place [presupposition]; 2) X believes that V is bad or has negative consequences; 3) X feels trouble'.

(d) Leonja ochen' *bespokoilsja*, *chto v dome net deneg* 'Leonja worried because there was no money at home'.

Not the same in the context of the future tense – instead of the **presupposition** of existence of a "bad" V, X has an **opinion** that V might take place:

(e) Marija pervoe vrenja *bespokoilas'*, *chto muzh razorit sem'ju na skachkax* 'At first Marija worried that her husband would ruin the family at the races'.

So, we conclude that *bespokoit'sja* can be used as a verb of belief in propositional contexts, the dependent IQ being possible due to the implicit component 'don't know' in its semantics. Thus, the semantics of the Russian *bespokoit'sja* is an important contribution to the problem of factivity in its relation to indirect question.

References:

- Bulygina, Shmelev 1997. *Jazykovaja konceptualizacija mira (na materiale russko grammatiki)*. Moskva: JaRK, 1997.
- Karttunen, Zaenen 2005 – Karttunen L. , Zaenen A. Veridicity. // *Annotating, Extracting and Reasoning about Time and Events*. Dagstuhl Seminar Proceedings 05151, G. Katz, J. Pustejovsky, F. Schilder (eds.), Dagstuhl, Germany, 2005.
- NOSS-2004 – Novyj ob’jasitel’nyj slovar’ sinonimov russkogo jazyka. 2-e izdanie. Pod obshchim rukovodstvom akad. Ju.D.Apresjana. Moskva-Vena 2004.
- Paducheva 2004 –Dinamicheskie modeli v semantike leksiki. Moskva: JaRK, 2004.
- Vendler 1980. Telling the facts // F. Kiefer, J. Searle (eds). *Speech Act Theory and Pragmatics*. Dordrecht, 1980.

A comparison of copied morphemes in Sakha (Yakut) and Èven.

Pakendorf, Brigitte
(MPI for Evolutionary Anthropology).

It is widely accepted that there are differences in the ease with which items are copied from one language to another, with content words such as nouns, adjectives and verbs being more easily copied than function words, which in turn are more easily copied than bound morphemes. Furthermore, derivational morphemes are suggested to be more frequently copied than inflectional affixes (cf. the summary by Wilkins 1996). Weinreich (1953, cited in Wilkins 1996) proposes six properties of morphemes that affect the likelihood of their being copied, ranging from their formal integration and variability via their functional integration to the affectivity of their meaning. In order to further investigate the factors that play a role in the copying of morphemes, data from two typologically similar languages from northeastern Siberia, Turkic Sakha (Yakut) and Tungusic Èven, will be investigated.

Both Sakha and the dialect of Èven spoken in the village of Sebjan-Küöl have verb-final word order and agglutinative, suffixing morphology, and both show clear evidence of contact-induced changes: Sakha contains a large proportion of words of Mongolic origin (Kałużyński 1962), which were probably copied at a time period when the ancestors of the Sakha were still settled in southern Siberia. The Èvens settled in Sebjan-Küöl are all bilingual in Sakha, the dominant local language of that region, and several contact-induced changes are discernible in their Èven dialect, amongst others copied vocabulary of Sakha origin.

Interestingly, the two languages differ with respect to copied morphology. For Sakha, Kałużyński (1962) lists over 50 suffixes that he claims have been copied from Mongolic. A closer inspection of these, however, indicates that the majority entered the language only as part of copied lexemes and can thus not be regarded as ‘copied suffixes’ in their own right. Only 20 suffixes of Mongolic origin are or were actually productive in Sakha, occurring not only with copied Mongolic, but also with native roots. Of these, the vast majority are derivational suffixes, e.g. the nominalizer *-A : hIn*, which derives nouns from verbs (1). In contrast, in the Èven dialect spoken in Sebjan-Küöl, it is predominantly inflectional suffixes, and even entire inflectional paradigms, that have entered the language from Sakha, such as the Necessitative mood marker *-jEkte : k* plus person markers (2).

These distinctions between the types of morphemes copied by the two languages raise questions about the different copying processes involved in the Sakha-Mongolic and the Èven-Sakha contact situations. In order to obtain insights into these processes, a fine-scaled analysis of the types of copied morphemes as well as their productivity in Sakha and Sebjan-Küöl Èven will be undertaken, using corpora of oral narratives.

- (1) Sakha: copied Mongolic nominalizing suffix attached to Turkic root
gIn-a : hIn
do-NR
‘the doings’
- (2) Sebjan-Küöl Èven: copied Sakha necessitative marker plus person marker
em-e-jekte : k-kin
come-EP-NEC-2SG
‘you have to come’

References:

- Kałużyński, Stanisław. 1962. *Mongolische Elemente in der jakutischen Sprache*. Warsaw, 'S-Gravenhage: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Mouton & Co.
- Wilkins, David P 1996. Morphology. In Hans Goebel, Peter H. Nelde, Zdeněk Starý & Wolfgang Wölck (eds): *Contact Linguistics. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 109-117.

Tense, Aspect and Modality in Past verbal forms: a Cross-linguistic Perspective.

Patard, Adeline
(University of Antwerp).

The relation between tense and modality has been widely acknowledged and documented in the literature. For instance, many scholars (Fleischman 1989, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, Iatridou 2000, Declerck 2005, Barceló & Bres 2006, Barceló *et al.* 2006) have shown that, in several languages, *temporal distance* denoted by past tenses may convey *modal distance*. On the contrary, as Boogaart & Janssen (2007) point out, the role of (grammatical) aspect in the modal interpretations of tenses has been scarcely explored, except in a few works (Fleischman 1995, Trnavac 2006 and Abraham & Leiss 2008). However, aspect, just as tense, clearly determines the possibility for a given verbal tense to get a modal use. Indeed, in the following example from French, if one replaces the *past imperfective* form by a *past perfective* form, the counterfactual meaning attached to the imperfective aspect is lost:

- (1) Un pas de plus et elle tombait / tomba.
One step further and she fall-PAST.IMP / fall-PAST.PERF
'One step further and she would have fallen / fell'

In the present paper, we suggest to investigate the role of grammatical aspect interacting with temporal meaning in the modal interpretations of verbal tenses. We focus on the past verbal forms of five European languages which may express *imperfective*, *progressive* or *neutral*⁷ grammatical aspect, namely the French, Spanish and Italian *imperfects*, the English and Dutch *simple pasts* and the English *progressive past*. The study is two-fold.

Firstly, we survey and analyse the modal uses of the past forms under investigation, like the conditionnal use (2), the optative use (3), or the use as a "quasi-epistemic modal" (4) (Giorgi et Pianesi 1997 : 178):

- (2) a. Eng If it rained tomorrow, I would stay home (Thieroff 1999 : 147)
b. Dut Als ik geld had, zou ik op reis gaan.
If I money have-PAST.NEUT, would I on travel go.
'If I had money, I would go travelling'
- (3) a. Fren Si j' étais riche ! (Maupassant, *Les bijoux*)
If I be-PAST.IMP rich !
'If only I was rich !'
b. Eng If only they were coming (Thieroff 1999 : 150)
- (4) a. Spa Juan cantaba mañana. (Inclán 1991 : 130)
John sing-PAST.IMP tomorrow.
'John was supposed to sing tomorrow'.
b. Ital Domani cantava Pavarotti. (Giorgi et Pianesi 1997 : 178)
Tomorrow sing-PAST.IMP Pavarotti.
'Tomorrow Pavarotti was supposed to sing'

In doing so, we try to figure out what is the specific role of grammatical aspect and how it interacts with the past temporal meaning to produce modality. The objective is to suggest a model that may account for the relationships between tense, aspect and modality in the five languages studied.

Secondly we use these results to construct semantic maps (see Haspelmath 2003) that account for the modal interpretations of the past forms in the five languages under investigation.

References:

- Barceló G. J. & Bres J., 2006, *Les temps de l'indicatif en français*, Paris: Ophrys.
Barceló G. J., Bres J. & Patard A. (eds), 2006, *Aspectualité, temporalité et modalité*, *Cahiers de praxématique* 47.
Boogaart R. et Janssen T., 2007, "Tense and Aspect", in D. Geeraerts et H. Cuyckens (eds), *The oxford handbook of cognitive linguistics*, New York: Oxford university press, 803-828.
Declerck R., 2005, "The Relation between temporal and modal uses of indicative verb forms", *Cahiers Chronos* 13: 215-227.
Fleischman S., 1989, "Temporal distance: A basic linguistic metaphor", *Studies in language* 13, 1-50.
Fleischman S., 1995, "Imperfective and irrealis", in J. Bybee, S. Fleischman (eds), *Modality in grammar and discourse*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: Benjamins, 519-551.
Gosselin L., 2005, *Temporalité et modalité*, Bruxelles : Duculot.
Haspelmath M., 2003, "The geometry of grammatical meaning: semantic maps and cross-linguistic comparison", in M. Tomasello (ed.), *The new psychology of language*, vol. 2, New York: Erlbaum, 211-243.

⁷ We follow here Smith (1991) who makes a distinction between imperfective, perfective and neutral aspect.

- Inclán S., 1991, “Temporal adverbs and the structure of reference and event points”, in *Proceedings of ESCOL*, University of Maryland, 130-141.
- Smith C. S., 1991, *The Parameter of Aspect*, Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Thieroff R., 1999, “Preterites and Imperfects in the languages of Europe”, in W. Abraham *et al.* (eds), *Tense-Aspect, Transitivity and Causativity*, Philadelphia – Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 141-161.

Russian Partitive and the Verb Aspect.

Paykin, Katia
(Université Lille 3).

When applied to Russian, the label “partitive” can refer to two different linguistic phenomena: a separate case or a particular use of the genitive. Indeed, it has been argued (*cf.* Jakobson 1936, Neidle 1988, Paus 1994, Franks 1995) that Russian has a partitive case, a second genitive form ending in *-u* (*saxar-a-GENa* + *saxar-u-GENu* ‘sugar’), morphologically identical to the dative case, available for some singular masculine nouns. This *u*-form does often appear in semantically partitive contexts, but it can always alternate with the *a*-genitive (*cf.* Brown & Franks 1995). Moreover, the *u*-morphology is also possible with count nouns, such as *čas* ‘hour’, *dom* ‘house’, *etc.*, and it can be used without partitive meaning, namely when governed by prepositions.

- (1) a. kusok *saxar-a/saxar-u*
piece.NOM sugar-GENa/sugar-GENu
“a piece of sugar”
b. ujti iz *dom-a/dom-u*
leave from house-GENa/house-GENu
“leave home/the house”

Therefore we will consider the *u*-form as a variant of the *a*-form and reserve the label “partitive” for a particular use of the genitive, *i.e.* the genitive that appears on internal verb arguments containing mass nouns and bare plurals, as in (2).

- (2) Ja prinesla *vod-y/drov*.
I.NOM brought water-GEN/firewood.GEN
“I brought (some) water/firewood.”

In most cases, the partitive genitive competes with the accusative, but it can also appear on subjects of unaccusative verbs used in their impersonal form, thus competing with the nominative.

- (3) a. Ja prinesla *vod-y/vod-u*.
I.NOM brought water-GEN/water-ACC
“I brought (some) water/(the) water.”
b. *Ljud-ej nabežal-o!/ljud-i nabežal-i!*
people-GEN came.running-IMPERS/people-NOM came.running-PL
“People came running!”

We will argue that the opposition between the partitive and the accusative or the nominative does not coincide with the opposition between definite and indefinite NPs as expressed by articles in such languages as English or French, since the accusative and the nominative can give rise to both interpretations. Our hypothesis is that the indefiniteness expressed by the genitive is semantically different: the genitive NP emphasises quantity, while the accusative and the nominative NP denote a class.

Yet, the main emphasis of our presentation will be on the relationship between the partitive genitive and the aspect of the verb assigning it. According to Klenin (1978), the fact that Russian partitive genitive is much more frequent with perfective rather than imperfective verbs can be viewed as an “unexpected wrinkle”. Indeed, many studies assimilate partitive case to imperfective aspect. Kiparsky (1998), for instance, claims that the partitive case in Finnish and the imperfective aspect in Russian both express the unboundedness of the VP. In French, the use of a partitive article in the object confers a non-bounded reading to the predicate (*cf.* Bosveld 2000:52-54). However, in Russian, the imperfective aspect is hardly ever compatible with the partitive case.

- (4) *Ja vižu *xleb-a*.
I.NOM see bread-GEN
“I see (some) bread.”

Russian marks verb aspect independently from tense and from the case of the object. We will argue that since the partitive in Russian denotes a quantity, it always needs bounding by the process, which is provided by the perfective aspect.

References:

- Bosveld-de Smet, Leonie. 2000. "Les syntagmes en *des* et *du*: un couple curieux parmi les indéfinis". In *De l'indétermination à la qualification: les indéfinis*, L. Bosveld, M. Van Peteghem & D. Van de Velde (eds), 17-116. Artois Presses Université.
- Brown, Sue & Steven Franks. 1995. "Asymmetries in the Scope of Russian Negation". *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 3:2.239-287.
- Franks, Steven. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic morphosyntax*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Jakobson, Roman. 1936/1962. "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre. Gesamtbedeutungen der Russischen Kasus". In *Selected Writings*. Vol. 2.23-71. The Hague/Paris: Mouton.
- Kiparsky, Paul. 1998. "Partitive Case and Aspect". In *The Projection of Arguments: Lexical and Compositional Factors*, M. Butt & W. Geuder (eds), 265-307. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Klenin, Emily. 1978. "Quantification, Partitivity, and the Genitive of Negation in Russian". *International Review of Slavic Linguistics*, Special Issue 1978, B. S. Comrie (ed.), 163-82.
- Neidle, Carol. 1988. *The Role of Case in Russian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Paus, Charles. 1994. "Social and Pragmatic Conditioning in the Demise of the Russian Partitive Case". *Russian Linguistics* 18:2.249-266.

Some remarks on semantics of comparative structures in Czech.

Pečený, Pavel
(Charles University Prague).

One of the key means for conceptualizing and structuring of the image of the world in our minds is the cognitive process of comparison. Through permanent comparing of new perceptions with the already known we are able to orient ourselves in this world and to anchor notions in our mental lexicon. Furthermore Erben (1988) even claim that comparing is one of the basic human needs. He supports his idea by showing a huge amount of possibilities of the linguistic expression of the semantic relation of comparison. Of course, we cannot overrate such an opinion but it exist a lot of various ways how to articulate comparison and there are a lot of various language devices participating in it.

But the question is what the criteria for sorting the comparative structures are. The most frequently suggested points are: number of subjects which are compared or their semantic characteristic (for example human vs. not human) (Hahnemann 1999); number of reality levels in which we compare (Eggs 2006) etc. However we believe that (in cognitive viewpoint) the most important feature is the result of the process of comparison. We mean a frame of comparison based on unity and similarity on the one hand, and a frame of comparison based on difference on the other hand. Nevertheless, describing the comparative structures this distinction is sufficient only for the most abstract level.

In our paper we want to show some possibilities and problems of classification of the comparing structures in Czech going out from their semantic variants and based on the analysis of concrete language material. We work on assumption that the meaning of comparing structures is embedded in so called tertium comparationis (aspect of the comparison). Tertium comparationis is like a "generalisable essence" (e.g. adjective old → comparison of age → comparison of the degree of quality), which we use as an instrument to sort the comparing structures. Our study focuses on relevant semantic variants of comparison in Czech (comparison of processes, qualities, degree, proportionality etc.) and discusses some problematic points, like the difference between the semantics of comparison and simile.

The study is based on the analysis of material from the parallel Czech-German corpus and chosen corpora of the Czech national corpus. The comparative relation between comparandum and comparative basis is in Czech established most often with the syntactic devices – case relations (with and without preposition) or connecting devices (relative pronoun, conjunction etc.). Due to this fact, our study concentrates on comparative constructions with syntactic relation of comparison. Partial result of our work will also present inventory of syntactic devices used to expressing the particular semantic variant of comparison.

References:

- Bauer, J. – Grepl, M (1975): *Skladba spisovné češtiny*. Praha: SPN.
- Eggs, F. (2006): *Grammatik von als und wie*. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.
- ESČ: *Encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Praha: NLN, 2002.
- Erben, J. (1988): Vergleichsurteile und Vergleichsstrukturen. *Sprachwissenschaft*, 13. S. 309–329.
- French, P. (1981): Constructing comparative sentences: Linguistic marking and affect. In: *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*. Vol. 10, No. 6. Springer Netherlands. S. 529–536.
- Grepl, M. – Karlík, P. (1986): *Skladba spisovné češtiny*. Praha: SPN.
- Grepl, M. – Karlík, P. (1998): *Skladba češtiny*. Olomouc: Votobia.
- Hahnemann, S. (1999): *Vergleiche im Vergleich*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag.
- Kopečný, F. (1962): *Základy české skladby*. Praha: SPN
- PMČ: *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*. Brno: Nakladatelství lidové noviny, 1995.
- Svoboda, K. (1972): *Souvětí spisovné češtiny*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova.

- Šípková, M. (2005): Spojovací jak v dnešní mluvené češtině. In: *Oratio et ratio: Sborník k životnímu jubileu Jiřího Krause*. Ústav pro jazyk česká AV ČR. S. 313–317.
- Šmilauer, V. (1966): *Novočeská skladba*. Praha: SPN.
- Thurmair, M. (2001): *Vergleiche und Vergleichen*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag.

**Word order and performance optimality get on well in the history of English:
on complement+adjunct and adjunct+complement solutions.**

Pérez-Guerra, Javier & Martínez-Insua, Ana E.
(University of Vigo).

The aim of this paper is to check the distributional consequences that the placement of adjuncts (modifiers) and complements has for the parsing of the phrases in which they occur.

The study is couched in the theoretical framework of performance grammar described in Hawkins (1994, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007). The hypothesis is that the degrees of syntactic connection between heads and either complements or adjuncts exert an influence on the acceptability of lexical material in phrasal constituents. To give an example, as regards clause structure, (1) is claimed to be a better performance solution, on processing grounds, than (2) because of the amount of structure which has to be processed.

(1) Now I will deal [with the construction] [in a somewhat strange way which will lead to odd results].

(2) Now I will deal [in a somewhat strange way which will lead to odd results] [with the construction].

The assumption underlying this study is that the sequences of constituents in a sentence are connected in an optimal way whose goal is to reduce processing effort for both the speaker and the hearer. This principle is formalised in Hawkins' (2004) 'Minimize Domains' or MiD, as well as in his (1994) 'Early Immediate Constituents' or EIC rule.

In this paper we check, first, whether historical English data are in keeping with the theoretical assumptions described above and, more specifically, with Hawkins' (2007) hypothesis that MiD is relevant especially to examples of complementation. Second, we investigate whether the fixation of word order in English (see, for example, Fischer 1992: 371) is relevant to the placement of adjuncts and complements in the phrase. The data are gathered from three historical parsed corpora (The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose, the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English, and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English). The analysis is based on sequences like (1) and (2) above, not only in predicates governed by verbs but also in noun phrases (*the author [of this book] [from London]* versus *the author [from London] [of this book]*) and adjective phrases (*keen [on music] [to a large extent]* versus *keen [to a large extent] [on music]*).

Pérez-Guerra and Martínez-Insua (2010, submitted) shows that in the verb phrases the solution "complement plus adjunct" is preferred, and its proportion increases significantly when word order becomes fixed in the language. By contrast, in the noun phrases analysed the conclusion is different and the "adjunct plus complement" solution is practically the only pattern, since complements (commonly *that*-clauses) tend to be longer in them. In this paper we apply a fine-grained analysis to the corpus data in order to test whether in noun and adjective phrases with similar length metrics MiD predicts correct performance solutions.

References:

- Fischer, Olga. 1992. Syntax. In Norman Blake (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language. Volume II 1066–1476*, 207–408. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hawkins, John A. 1994. *A performance theory of order and constituency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2000. The relative order of prepositional phrases in English: going beyond manner-place-time. *Language Variation and Change* 11: 231-266.
- _____. 2001. Why are categories adjacent? *Journal of Linguistics* 37:1-34
- _____. 2004. *Efficiency and complexity in grammars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2007. Performance and grammatical variation in the ordering of verb, direct objects and obliques. Delivered at DGfS, Siegen.
- Pérez-Guerra, Javier and Ana E. Martínez-Insua. 2010. Diachrony and word order hand in hand: on complementation/adjunction performance solutions in English. Submitted for ICAME 31, Giessen.

On discourse markers of reformulation in Russian: semantics, syntax, pragmatics.

Perkova, Natalia
(Saint-Petersburg State University).

In my talk I'm going to discuss the properties of several Russian discourse markers of reformulation: *to jest'* (that is to say), *a imenno* (namely), *sirech* (that is) and *inymi slovyami* (in other words).

My analysis is mainly based on the data of large corpora (the National Corpus of the Russian Language, www.ruscorpora.ru), which helps to examine the evolution of reformulative constructions with different markers from the 18th century up to the present day.

First, there are several semantic types of reformulation (see, for example, (Pennec 2006), (Del Saz Rubio 2008)). Metalinguistic reformulation, or explanation, helps to establish equivalence relations between segments when at least one of them is a linguistic sign, or, more correctly, a signifier. This type of reformulation is mainly used to connect the constituents shorter than a sentence. The alternative function of reformulation is important for this domain: different descriptions of the same thing may be alternatively used here (as synonymous).

- (1) *Inache krasnorechivyy filosof riskujet proslyt' frazerom, to jest' / *a imenno pustomelej.*
'Otherwise, an eloquent philosopher has a risk of getting the reputation of a phraser, **that is** / ***namely a twaddler**.

Second, reformulative constructions may specify the reference of the reformulated. These constructions are used by the speaker who is going to provide the addressee with more strict and unambiguous information about the reformulated. In the reformulated there is a description of a set of some entities defined through a specific property. The addressee may, in principle, choose those elements of the set which have this property, but weren't meant by the speaker. Therefore an additional specification is introduced. The way of this specification is often determined by the use of some additional expressions in the first segments. The scope of *a imenno* seems to be restricted by the constructions of specification.

- (2) *Drugoj rod muzhchin sostavljali tolstye ili takie zhe, kak Chichikov, to jest' ne tak chtoby slishkom tolstyje, odnako zh i ne tonkije.*
'As for the other category, it comprised individuals who, stout, or of the same build as Chichikov (**that is to say, neither very portly nor very lean**), [backed and sidled away from the ladies].'

Reformulation may be interpreted as correction sometimes, if a discourse marker stays between expressions which represent non-adequate and adequate forms of the same idea. In such contexts negation may be used in the second segment. It is *to jest'* which is used in such contexts, establishing the equivalence of two segments based on the same underlying idea.

- (3) *Ja dazhe ochen' speshu... **to est'** ochen' speshil...*
'I'm actually in a hurry... **or rather** I've been in a hurry...'

The cases which are more difficult to interpret are connected with an inferential reformulation. Syntactically there is usually a relation between sentences: from what the speaker says in the first sentence it may be inferred what is added in the reformulation. Trying to avoid any case of misinterpretation, the speaker explicates his idea by adding some more information which seems to follow from his words and to be true simultaneously (and, moreover, relevant for the concrete situation).

Diachronically some of markers may shift to a stricter domain. For example, a relatively rare marker *sirech'* is mainly used nowadays in the position between two syntactically symmetrical constituents. The examination shows that the structures "*NP, sirech' NP*" constituted somewhat about 37 % of all the contexts with this marker in the 18th century, comparing to 70-80 % nowadays.

References:

- B. Pennec. *La reformulation en anglais contemporain: indices linguistiques et constructions discursives*. Thèse de doctorat. Université Rennes, 2006.
M. M. del Saz Rubio. *English Discourse Markers of Reformulation*. Volume 60 of Linguistic Insights. Studies in Language and Communication. Peter Lang AG, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Oxford, Wien, 2008.

Multiple sources in the copularization of *become*.

Petré, Peter
(University of Leuven).

This paper shows how general productivity (see Barðdal 2009: 38) of the copular function of the verb *become* abruptly followed when a pre-copular stage had reached a threshold value about 1150, prior to which *become* only occurred with a spatial sense 'arrive', and with extensions of this sense. It is argued that this abrupt switch to general productivity rather than a gradual increase in productivity results from the fact that copular *become* is not the end result of a single diachronic lineage of constructions (i.e. a simple grammaticalization process, see Croft 2000: 32-37), but instead resulted from an interaction between lineages, as well as external influence, and from the coming together of all factors involved in the twelfth century.

First, certain constructions in which *become* occurred gradually changed and interacted with each other. In a first stage, two constructions developed (through metaphor) out of *become* 'arrive'. These are the constructions in (1), with a human subject and *become* meaning 'attain', and in (2), with an inanimate subject, a dative experiencer and *become* meaning 'come upon'.

- (1) *Heo becom to soþum wisdome*. ‘She **attained** to true wisdom.’
 (2) *Seo þearlwisnīs þæs heardan lifes him becom*. ‘The austerity of life came upon him.’

In a second stage a two-participant resultative construction, as in (3), developed as a syntactic blend of (1) and (2) (cf. De Smet 2009: 1747), which provided a formal template for a one-participant prepositional copular construction as in (4).

- (3) *Andetnysse him becomēð to hæle* ‘Confession **results** (for him) in salvation’
 (4) *Þii fader bi-com* to one childe ‘Your father **turned** into a child.’

Another, unrelated construction provided a formal template for the adjectival copular construction. This is the depictive construction given in (5), in which an adjective serves as a secondary predicate, but *become* does not have a linking function (is not a copula).

- (5) *He gesund becom to Æðelingege*. ‘He arrived (and was) safe at Æðelinge.’

Second, the already existing copula *weorðan* ‘become’ (see Petré & Cuyckens 2009) provided a template of general productivity upon which the resultative construction could graft once it had become semantically sufficiently similar to a copular construction, and, once the copular stage was reached, the depictive construction also started to serve as a formal input for this analogical process, with as a result adjectival and nominal copular constructions.

Finally, Old French probably also contributed (though only as a strengthening factor) to the success of copular *become* in precisely the twelfth century.

From a balanced explanation taking into account all of these factors it is concluded that the sudden emergence of copular *becuman* is not as catastrophic as it at first seemed.

References:

- Barðdal, Jóhanna. 2009. *Productivity: Evidence from case and argument structure in Icelandic* (Constructional Approaches to Language 8). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
 Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change: an evolutionary approach*. London: Longman.
 De Smet, Hendrik. 2009. Analysing reanalysis. *Lingua* 119: 1728-1755.
 Petré, Peter & Hubert Cuyckens. 2009. Constructional change in Old and Middle English Copular Constructions and its impact on the lexicon. *Folia Linguistica Historia* 30: 311-365.

Lexical markers of reportive evidentiality in Macedonian.

Petroska, Elena
 (Indiana University).

The subject of our interest is the Macedonian entry *navodno* in the database. According to its semantic part it is a reportive (hearsay) evidential marker, referring to the topic. We want to prove that its epistemic component is not inherent. Its evidential value is inherent and can have modifications triggered by utterance context. In certain contexts / discourse conditions it expresses speaker negative stance toward P's veracity or toward the trustworthiness of the source from where P comes. This concerns the actual speaker's skeptical or negative evaluative attitude toward the trustworthiness or verisimilitude of the asserted state of affairs. We have data presenting that *navodno* has pragmatically conditioned overtones. The unit *navodno* is a free word, an adverb. Its function as an evidential marker has been neglected in Macedonian. It has scope over whole propositions (clauses, sentences). (In fact, *navodno* can also modify syntactic units below the clause level, and then it functions as declinable unit (adjective)). Its etymology might be from *navoditi* (this is not a contemporary Macedonian form, it is a Slavic verbal infinitive form, that could have meaning ‘to quote’).

The subject of our interest, also, is the possible interaction of *navodno* (as a lexical marker of evidentiality) and the grammatical markers (verbal *l*-forms) of evidentiality in Macedonian. Macedonian as a Balkan language, with grammatical marking of evidentiality, encodes two main indirect evidential meanings: reportive and inferential. The goal of this paper is to take into consideration not only the grammatical but also the lexical coding of the reportive evidentiality by *navodno*. The focus is on the grammatical evidential encoding a more general evidential meaning, and the evidential lexical marker specifying the reportive meaning (how *navodno* as a lexical item can specify the Macedonian indirect evidentials. We are eager to prove that *navodno* in Macedonian is an evidential markers comparing it with the units which can only count as evidential strategies. The use of the reported (non-confirmative) is associated with less of a degree of authority on the part of the speaker/writer than information represented from a personal experience (confirmative) since the reported meaning gives a positive claim that the information derives from someone else (not the current teller). That confirmative meaning compared to non-confirmative meaning is a distinction in everyday use in Macedonian (Friedman, 1979, 1986, 1999, De Haan, 2001). *Navodono* as an evidential marker can mark the information as non-confirmative. Example: Марко наводно веќе дошол во Охрид. ‘Reportedly, Marco has already come to Ohrid.’

Towards an (areal?) typology of aspectual systems: Slavic and non-Slavic aspect

Plungian, Vladimir A.
(Institute of Linguistics, Moscow)

The goal of the present paper is twofold. First, a preliminary set of cross-linguistically relevant parameters for analyzing aspectual systems will be introduced and tested against Slavic material. Second, the position of Slavic aspectual systems will be delimited within a broader typological space. For that purposes, the main properties supposed to constitute the peculiarity of Slavic aspectual systems (both formal and semantic) will be considered in turn.

Accordingly, the paper focuses on those aspectual properties of Slavic languages which happen to be particularly relevant cross-linguistically. Interestingly, a typological approach, when applied systematically, reveals a slightly different set of parameters as compared to what can be usually found in traditional Slavic linguistics studies. In other words, Slavic aspectual systems, when considered under a cross-linguistic view, look in a somewhat less familiar way.

Recall that a typological approach presupposes that particular grammatical systems all draw upon one and the same source, which is called the Universal Grammatical Inventory. Each grammatical system chooses some universal values for grammatical expression and assigns them to a given set of grammatical markers. Usually, one and the same marker assumes many different universal values, thus representing a polysemous grammatical cluster. (Actually a large part of grammaticalization theory is called upon to describe the existing patterns of grammatical polysemy, with recourse to such tools as semantic maps, among other things.) The important point is that a marker which appears polysemous on a universal level may not necessarily be considered as polysemous in traditional linguistic descriptions. However, splitting up grammatical markers according to the universal inventory guarantees a typological compatibility of individual grammatical systems, which is one of the main concerns of this approach.

The universal semantic inventory consists of several major domains; one of them is aspectual. The aspectual domain – like the other domains within this universal space – is defined on semantic basis. It means that, speaking about aspect both cross-linguistically and language-specifically, we have to distinguish between (semantically based) “aspectuality” and grammatical aspect as a complex formal and semantic phenomenon. Not all languages have grammatical expression of aspect (though quite a few), but some means of expressing aspectuality (be they lexical, or syntactical, or of any other nature) can be found universally.

The phonology of closing diphthongs in English and German.

Raffelsiefen, Renate
(IDS Mannheim).

Standard varieties of English (RP, GA) are claimed to have five closing diphthongs, Standard German is claimed to have three such diphthongs. The second component is phonetically transcribed variously as a glide, a tense, or a lax high vowel as in (1):

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| (1)a. Wells (2000)
[aɪ], [ɔɪ], [eɪ], [aʊ], [əʊ] (RP)/[oʊ] (GA) | b. Mangold (2005)
[aɪ], [ɔɪ], [aʊ] |
|---|---------------------------------------|

Assuming a discrete phonological level of representation the question arises of whether these diphthongs consist of single contour segments or are combinations of two independent phonemes. Based on neutralization patterns I will argue that the closing diphthongs in both English and German are bisegmental, ending in a phonologically tense high vowel. Focusing first on English we find that all intervocalic vocoids are high, either closing the syllable, in which case a non-high lax vowel precedes (e.g. *l[aɪ]on* 'lion', *ch[eɪ]os* 'chaos'), or forming the onset of the following syllable, in which case a tense high vowel precedes (e.g. *b[u:]on* 'bouillon', *k[i:w]i* 'kiwi'). This distribution suggests identical intervocalic vowels at the phonological level, which are syllabified as a syllable coda (cf (2a)), unless a sonority violation would result (i.e. sonority must increase towards the nucleus), in which case they form the onset of the following syllable (cf (2b)). The specific restrictions seen in first components of the diphthongs in (1) are then neutralizations conditioned by their position in the nuclei of closed syllables (cf. the neutralization to /ɔ/ and /a/ before word-internal coda /r/, the second most sonorant coda segment, in GA (e.g. *s[ɔ:r]did*, *h[a:r]vest*).

(2)	a.	Σ	b.	Σ	c.	Σ	d.	Σ
		/ \		/ \		/ \		/ \
		σS σW		σS σW		σS σW		σS σW
		/ \		/ \ / \		/ \		/ \ / \
		O N C N		O N O N		O N C N		O N O N
Phonology:		/s ɔ i ə/		/l u i ə/		/r ɔ i ə/		/k o i ə/
Phonetics:		[s ɔ ɪ ə]		[l uː j ə]		[r ɔ ɪ ə]		[k oː j ə]
		'soya'		'(halle)lujah'		'Reue'		'Koje'

German differs from English in that non-high tense and lax vowels can contrast before /iV/- sequences (cf. (2c) versus (2d)). This is also seen in the adaptation of loan words: German *Paran*[ɔɪ]a versus *Sequ*[oː]ja, *T[o]jota* (tense vowels are phonetically lengthened in stressed syllables); in English the contrast is neutralized and /i/ is always syllabified as a coda, resulting in the diphthong heard in *paran*[ɔɪ]a, *sequ*[ɔɪ]a, *T[ɔɪ]ota* (cf. also German *M[aː]ja* 'Maya', *K[oː]ote* 'Kojote', *G[oː]ja* 'Goya', all of which have a closing diphthong in English).

The study is based on comprehensive searches of all sequences consisting of three adjacent vowels (including glides) in the CELEX corpus of German and English. The transcriptions were subsequently checked in Wells (RP and GA) and Mangold, respectively. The relevant generalizations, including differences between RP and GA, will be discussed. A brief analysis in Optimality Theory will be presented to show how the generalizations can be accounted for in terms of the ranking of independently motivated constraints.

References:

- Mangold, M. (2005) Duden Aussprachewörterbuch. Dudenredaktion. Mannheim.
 Wells, J.C. (2000) Longman Pronouncing Dictionary. Pearson ESL.

The syntax of metaphoric pain verbs: a case study of the rebranding process

Rakhilina, Ekaterina, Anastasia Bonch-Osmolovskaya & Tatjan Reznikova
 (Moscow State University)

The paper deals with verbal metaphoric expressions of pain coming from different taxonomic sources. It is based on the data from over than twenty different languages. Typologically the pain domain is formed by two types of verbs: (i) lexemes specifically dedicated to PAIN, i.e. primary pain terms (cf. Fabrega/Tyma 1976) and (ii) lexical units drawn from other semantic fields, which are applied to pain through the semantic derivation process, i.e. secondary pain terms. The latter constitute the major part of the PAIN domain cf. English *my eyes are burning*, *my throat is scratching*; German *mein Kopf brummt* lit. 'my head buzzes', *meine Augen beißen* lit. 'my eyes bite'; Russian *nogi gudjat* lit. 'legs hoot', *serdce noet* 'heart whimpers'; Chinese *yǎobù cìtòng* lit. 'side pricks' *dùzi jiào* 'stomach screams'. The primary pain terms can have a general meaning and the most broad lexical combinability (such as English *hurt* or Russian *болеть*) or they can have a very specific meaning and very strong combinability restrictions (such as in Russian *gorlo peršit*, lit. 'the-throat tickles' or Czech *Trnou mi zuby* 'my teeth ache').

The questions considered in the paper are the following:

- 1) How is the pain situation conceptualized and what syntactic marking can different argument take?
- 2) What changes of morphosyntactic structure accompany the semantic shift from the physical domain to the physiological one in case of the secondary pain verbs?
- 3) What connection between primary and secondary pain verbs can be drawn from the evolutionary perspective

The Pain_situation involves three requisite participants: a Body_part experiencing pain, a Person experiencing pain and the Causer of the pain. All of them can get the subject coding, and in some languages constructions with dummy subject are used. Thus the change of argument structure in case of secondary verbs (comparing with their primary physical use) may involve changes in transitivity as well as in their aspectual characteristics. We propose the theoretical basis which explains the specificity of the semantic shift that caused the change of the whole construction. Our main idea is that secondary predicates denoting pain result from a joint interaction of metaphor and metonymy, or – to be more concrete – conventionalization of implicatures (rebranding).

A diachronic view of the semantic shift process reveals the emergence of a dedicated verb of pain. On the next stage the loss of combinability restrictions can yield "true" basic pain predicates (cf. German basic pain verb *schmerzen* is a result of such a cycle). Within a broader perspective we can consider the general pain verbs as an extreme point of semantic and lexical bleaching.

On the Origin of the Germanic Dual Adjective Inflection.

Ratkus, Arturas
(University of Cambridge).

In this paper I address the problem of the dual (indefinite/definite) adjective inflection system in Germanic. The older Germanic languages are characterised by the presence of two types of adjective: 'strong' (indefinite) and 'weak' (definite)—each adjective is inflected in two ways depending on whether it occurs in a definite or indefinite context. The definite context involves using an obligatory definite determiner (normally a demonstrative pronoun) with the weak form of the adjective, while the strong form normally occurs alone, as illustrated by the following Gothic examples:

STRONG	NEUT.SG.DAT	god-amma waurstwa 'good work'
WEAK	NEUT.SG.DAT	þamma god-in andahaita 'that/the good profession'

The origin of this system is a matter of debate, and no satisfactory explanation has yet been proposed (Žirmunskij 1966: 56-68, Bammesberger 1990: 217-230, Ringe 2006: 169-170). In this paper I advance a new hypothesis: in Proto-Germanic every attributive adjective form was preceded by an artroid (a kind of empty article), which is preserved in the form of a demonstrative pronoun with definite adjectives (Gothic NEUT.SG.DAT *þamma god-in andahaita* 'that/the good profession'). In indefinite adjectives, the artroid survives in the shape of a pronominal suffix (NEUT.SG.DAT. *god-amma waurstwa* 'good work').

Contrary to the convention of relating the Germanic weak adjective inflection to such Greek and Latin pairs as *strabós* 'squint-eyed' > *strábon* 'lit. squinter', *rufus* 'red' > *Rufō*, *Rufōnis* 'red haired man', I argue that Germanic weak adjectives are an internal analogical development, and the weak adjective inflection has been borrowed from the *n*-stem noun. The pre-posed determiner which survives with weak adjectives is a factor which polarised the old nominal inflection and played a role in the development of the adjective as a class of words in Germanic by breaking it away from the noun (no distinction having been made between adjectives and nouns in the Proto-Indo-European).

This explanation, based on the methods of internal and comparative reconstruction, has the advantage of addressing the question of the origin of both strong and weak adjectives as parts of a single system, rather than developments that are independent of each other. Strong support for this explanation is provided by a synchronic analysis of early Germanic noun and adjective paradigms on the basis of the 'canonical' methodology (Corbett 2005, 2007, 2009), originally developed for research in typology. The main conclusion is that the artroid was pre-posed to the adjective in Proto-Germanic in order to raise the canonicity profile of the paradigm by reducing the number of internal syncretisms and increasing the differentiation of slots.

My comparative examination of Germanic and Lithuanian data provides some compelling evidence in support of my conclusions. In particular, I show that Lithuanian indefinite adjectives are pronominalised in the same way as in Germanic, with the desinence of the demonstrative pronoun replacing the original nominal inflection: cf. MASC.SG.DAT *tam geram vaikui* 'that good child' This in turn suggests that the dual adjective systems in Germanic and Balto-Slavic are unlikely to have developed independently and represent an areal phenomenon.

References:

- Bammesberger, A. 1990. *Die Morphologie des urgermanischen Nomens*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Corbett, G. G. 2005. The canonical approach in typology. In Z. Frajzyngier, A. Hodges and D. S. Rood (eds). *Linguistic Diversity and Language Theories*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Corbett, G. G. 2007. Canonical typology, suppletion, and possible words. *Language* 83, 8-42.
- Corbett, G. G. 2009. Canonical morphosyntactic features. Paper presented at the Workshop 'Creating Infrastructure for Canonical Typology' on 9-10 January 2009, University of Surrey, Guilford.
- Ringe, D. 2006. *From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Germanic*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Žirmunskij, V. M. 1966. Prilagatel'nyje v germanskikh yazykakh. In E. A. Makaev (ed.). *Sravnitel'naya grammatika germanskikh yazykov, Vol. 4*. Moscow: Nauka.

A synchronic and diachronic approach of auxiliaries in Swedish. A case study of the verb *låta* 'let'.

Rawoens, Gudrun
(Ghent University).

The study presented in this paper takes its starting point in a group of Swedish auxiliaries that have been found to deviate from the prototypical auxiliary type (as defined by e.g. Heine 1993) in one way or another. As a case in point, the paper will zoom in on the Swedish verb *låta* 'let' which has previously been denoted as an untypical auxiliary (Enberg 1836:153; SAG II:536, III:574; Rawoens 2008:159f), for instance in that it has a specific semantic profile. The overall aim of the study is to

highlight the syntactic and semantic variation of *låta* from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view, which will be elaborated in two parts.

A synchronic perspective is adopted in the first part of the paper. As a main verb, *låta* is obsolete in Modern Swedish. Its occurrence is limited to a number of fixed expressions such as *låta åder* 'let blood' or to a few archaic phrasal constructions such as *låta fri* 'let free' or *överlåta* 'leave (over)' (SAOB). As an auxiliary, however, it is frequent in constructions with an infinitival complement where it conveys either a permissive or a causative meaning (SAG III:578; Rawoens 2008:146ff). A number of formal and semantic criteria that can be applied to clarify the relationship between factitive and permissive causation are examined. The findings presented here draw on a large-scale corpus-based investigation conducted within my PhD research (Rawoens 2008).

In the second part of the paper a diachronic perspective is taken. The verb *låta* is studied with particular focus on its morphosyntactic and semantic development and variation through time. On the basis of corpus data containing Old and Modern Swedish texts this verb is investigated within the framework of grammaticalization theory (Lehmann 1995; Hopper & Traugott 2003 [1993]) and auxiliation in particular (Heine 1993; Kuteva 2001; Anderson 2006). The aim is to describe the syntactic and semantic shifts of the verb attested through the centuries and to examine the factors that triggered them. This will be done in relation to the parameters as put forward by Heine (1993:54ff) concerning semantic, morphosyntactic, morphophonological and phonetic shifts. In this part of the study it will be shown that the verb *låta* as a main verb was much more widespread a few centuries ago than what it is today and that its meanings have shifted gradually. It should be noted that, whereas the counterparts in other Germanic languages (e.g. Baron 1974 for English and Verhagen 1994 for Dutch) have been studied to a certain extent, this has not previously been done for the Swedish verb *låta*.

References:

- Anderson, Gregory D.S. 2006. *Auxiliary verb constructions*. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baron, Naomi S. 1974. The structure of English causatives. *Lingua* 33. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, pp 299–342.
- Enberg, Lars Magnus (1836) *Svensk språklära utgifven af Svenska Akademien*.
- Heine, Bernd. 1993. *Auxiliaries: cognitive forces and grammaticalization*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003 [1993]. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kuteva, Tania. 2001. *Auxiliation. An Enquiry into the Nature of Grammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1995. *Thoughts on Grammaticalization*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Rawoens, Gudrun. 2008. *Kausativa verbkonstruktioner i svenskan och nederländskan. En korpusbaserad syntaktisk-semantisk undersökning*. (Göteborgsstudier i nordisk språkvetenskap 11) Göteborg: Göteborgs universitet.
- Verhagen, Arie. 1994. Taalverandering en cultuurverandering: *doen en laten* sinds de 18e eeuw. *Forum der Letteren* 35, pp 256–271.

Shared verbal morphology in the Transeurasian languages: copy or cognate?

Robbeets, Martine

(Leuven University & Mainz University).

The genealogical relationship of Japanese with the Transeurasian languages (Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic) is among the most disputed classifications of historical linguistics. A major impediment that prevents linguists from reaching a consensus on the matter is the role of copying in generating shared properties. This paper investigates correspondences of bound verbal morphology and weighs copying against genealogical retention as a possible explanation for the matches.

It is possible to advance etymologies for about twenty different verbal markers relating Japanese to the Transeurasian languages (Robbeets 2007a & b, 2010, forthcoming). These etymological data include form-function matches for a denominal verb marker, four markers of Aktionsart, five diathetical markers, three imperfective participles that in subordinate to finite present markers, two perfective participles that subordinate to finite past markers, a deverbal noun marker, at least one converb marker, at least one negation marker, and an interrogative marker.

On the basis of following criteria, it will be argued that these correspondences are more likely to indicate common ancestorship than code-copying.

- (1) As a result of the marked difference in the ease of linguistic borrowing between verbs and nouns, grammar and lexicon and, bound and free morphemes, shared bound verbal morphology is rather indicative of common ancestorship to begin with.
- (2) Moreover, the markers under discussion cluster in categories, such as diathesis and Aktionsart, that are least copiable because of their close position *vis à vis* the primary verb stem (Johanson 2002)
- (3) A third indication of genealogical continuity is the observation that the shared suffixes are not always attached to shared verb roots. Ajia Varvara Romani, for instance, has copied the Turkish present tense along with the entire paradigm of Turkish person marking attached to Turkish loan verbs only (Iglá 1989, Friedman 2006).
- (4) The verbal markers are monosyllabic, simplex morphemes, whereas copying often leads to shared suffix strings. The Uchur dialect of Evenki, for instance, has copied a hypothetical suffix from Yakut, which is morphologically complex, consisting of Yakut person marking along with the Yakut hypothetical mood in *-tax-* (Malchukov 2003, Comrie 2010).

(5) The verbal markers are polyfunctional and share multiple functions such as for instance causative-passive. Copied morphemes are often restricted to a single, secondary meaning such as the English 3rd person plural pronouns *they, them, their* that are copied from Scandinavian demonstratives, secondarily used as personal pronouns.

(6) Some verbal markers corresponding in form and function have pathways of grammaticalization in common. This observation projects the grammaticalization process back to the ancestral language. This is for instance the case for the development of passive morphology or for the insubordination of (im)perfective markers to finite forms.

(7) The inventory of verbal markers is systematic. There is a certain paradigmaticity in the fact that several elements belonging to a single category are retained together and in the parallel development of sets of finite forms.

(8) Finally, the observation that the verbal markers have cognates in each of the five Transeurasian branches helps to rule out code-copying. Testing a classificational hypothesis including languages that stand in a low-copying relationship, such as Japanese and Turkic, we reduce the probability that our cognates are copies in disguise.

References:

- Comrie, Bernard 2010. The role of verbal morphology in establishing genealogical relations among languages. In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2010. *Transeurasian verbal morphology in a comparative perspective: genealogy, contact, chance*. (Turcologica 78) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Friedman, Victor A 2006. Turkish in Romani outside of Turkey. Balkan perspectives. [Paper presented at the 13th International Conference on Turkish linguistics, University of Uppsala]
- Igla, Birgit 1989. *Das Romani von Ajia Varvara. Deskriptive und historisch-vergleichende Darstellung eines Zigeunerdialekts*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. *Structural factors in Turkic language contacts*. Richmond: Curzon.
- Malchukov, Andrej 2003. Russian interference in Tungusic languages in an areal-typological perspective. In: Ureland, Sture (ed.) 2003. *Studies in Euro linguistics. Vol 1. Convergence and divergence of European languages*. Berlin: Logos. 235-251.
- Robbeets, Martine 2007a. How the actional suffix chain connects Japanese to Altaic. *Turkic Languages* 11.1, 3-58.
- Robbeets, Martine 2007b. The causative-passive in the Trans-Eurasian languages. *Turkic Languages* 11.2, 235-278.
- Robbeets, Martine 2010. Transeurasian: Can verbal morphology end the controversy? In: Johanson, Lars & Robbeets, Martine (eds.) 2010. *Transeurasian verbal morphology in a comparative perspective: genealogy, contact, chance*. (Turcologica 78) Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Robbeets, Martine (forthcoming). Insubordination in Altaic. *Uralic and Altaic Studies Journal* 1

Rethinking apposition: Is inclusion a case of apposition?

Rodríguez-Abruneiras, Paula
(University of Santiago de Compostela).

The present paper is an attempt to shed some light on the relation between apposition and inclusion in English. Traditionally, inclusion has been considered as a subtype of apposition, though a peripheral one (cf. Quirk *et al.* (1985) or Meyer (1992), among others).

Apposition can be defined as a relation between two or more units (NPs in the prototypical cases) characterized by equivalence: the units in apposition refer to the same external reality, have the same status and carry out the same syntactic function, as example (1) shows.

- (1) Anna, my best friend, *was here last night*. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1301)

In this example, *Anna* and *my best friend* are two NPs which refer to the same person in the real world and function jointly as the subject of the sentence. Moreover, there is neither head nor dependent in the construction. As Huddleston (1984: 262) or Acuña-Fariña (1996: 13) point out, these two units tend to be 'placed alongside', as in our example. Moreover, the appositives can be linked by means of an appositional marker, although its use is normally optional (see Pahta and Nevanlinna 2001). In (1), an appositional marker could be inserted between the two appositives (cf. (1b) below), although its use responds to pragmatic considerations.

- (1) b. Anna, **namely** my best friend, *was here last night*.

On the other hand, dependency is one of the main features which characterize inclusion: the second element in constructions of this kind is included in the first one, as in (2) and (3).

- (2) *They visited several cities, for example* Rome and Athens. (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1315)

- (3) *The children liked the animals, particularly the monkeys.* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 1316)

In these examples, the second element (*Rome and Athens* and *the monkeys* respectively) are included in the reference of the first element (*cities* and *the animals*), which are the heads of the construction. In such cases, the markers *for example* and *particularly* cannot be left out, since their omission leads to an ungrammatical construction or a construction with a different meaning.

It seems therefore that there are significant differences between apposition and inclusion: whereas the former is a paratactic kind of relationship, the latter turns out to be a hypotactic relation. Taking these and other features into account, the analysis of inclusion as an appositional type will be questioned in this paper.

Examples (2) and (3) above illustrate the two types of inclusion available in English, namely exemplification and particularization. Even though in both types the second element provides an example of the first unit, in particularization (whose markers are, among others, *mainly, particularly, especially, mostly or notably*) the example given is somehow highlighted, whereas in exemplification (whose main markers are *for example, for instance, including, included, like, such as* or *e.g.*) there is no emphatic purpose. The similarities and differences between the two subtypes of structures of inclusion will also be considered in this paper.

References:

- Acuña-Fariña, Juan Carlos 1996. *The Puzzle of Apposition: On So-called Appositive Structures in English*. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.
- Huddleston, Rodney. 1984. *Introduction to the Grammar of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, Charles. F. 1992. Apposition in Contemporary English. *Cambridge: Cambridge University Press*.
- Pahta, Päivi and Saara Nevanlinna. 2001. "On Markers of Expository Apposition." *NOWELE* 39: 3-51.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

America's first vocabulary: linguistic aspects of Alonso de Molina's *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*.

Romero Rangel, Laura
(El Colegio de México).

Spanish missionary friars came to New Spain, since the early 16th century to work among the indigenous peoples. The linguistic fruit of the contact between Spaniards and Aztecs were published works such as grammars and dictionaries. In 1555, the missionary Alonso de Molina presented the first vocabulary published in America, his *Vocabulario en Lengua Castellana y Mexicana*, which served as guide to future efforts to elaborate bilingual dictionaries of Indian languages.

In this paper, I will show the organization of the linguistic data contained in the macrostructure and microstructure of the Molina's bilingual dictionary. This information can be split it up into three groups:

1. Phonology and phonetics reflected by the orthography. Firstly, during the Middle Age and Sixteenth century, Spanish underwent an adjustment in its phonemic system; on the other hand, in the Conquer and colonial period, Nahuatl language was for the first time written alphabetically. The orthography used by Molina can help to describe the Spanish as much as Aztec phonetic-phonological system. The corpus analyzed contains four types of discourse: spanish language, as in (1a.)-(1.c), nahuatl language, as in (2a.)-(2.c), nahuatl loanwords, shown in (3a.)-(3b.), and spanish loanwords, as in (4a.)-(4b.):

(1) Orthographic variation in Spanish text

- a. Acechar. busca asechar.
- b. Aztauhyatl. axenxos, o asenssos.
- c. Auelo, abuelo o aguelo. colli. tecol.

(2) Orthographic variation in nahuatl text

- a. Liendre. acilin. acelin.
- b. Oztoa. raposa.
- c. Vztoua. idem.

(3) Orthographic variation in nahuatl loanwords

- a. Azeite de aguacates. auaca chiaualotl. auaca azeite.
- b. Auacamilli. eredad, o tierra de auacates.

(4) Orthographic variation in spanish loanwords

- a. Nabo luengo y delgado. mimiltic nabox.
- b. Mimiltic nabos. nabo luengo.

2. On word meaning. This section deals with the issues of polysemy/homography (for example *poder1* 'to be able', in Molina: "Poder. **verbo.** ni, ueliti." and *poder2* 'power', in Molina: "Poder **nombre.** veliliztli.") and definitions, as "Nuera, **muger de tu hijo.** ciuamontli." and "Axi **o pimienta desta tierra.** chilli."
3. On collocations, phraseology and compounds. Here, I will explain the way that Molina give the entries to this kind of word combinations, as in (5):

- (5) Word combinations in Molina's dictionary
 - a. **Vino rebotado** o desuanecido. amo chicauac octli. (Collocation)
 - a'. **Rebotado vino.** oyhiyoquiz. (Collocation)
 - b. **Agua biua.** yulilizatl. yuliuani atl. (Compound)
 - b'. Yuliuani atl. **aguabiua.** (Compound)
 - c. **Hazerme la boca agua.** n, oztlac nictoloa. (Idiom)

I present the hypothesis that even though Antonio de Nebrija's dictionary *Vocabulario español latino* was the lexicographic model to Molina's work, the latest one has its own personality and originality on codifying the linguistic information, motivated mainly because the Latin and Spanish grammatical structure did not fit completely with Nahuatl structure, and secondly because of differences in cultural traditions between the two worlds: indigenous and european.

Null Referential Subjects in Germanic – Syntactic Properties and Diachronic Development.

Rosenkvist, Henrik
(Lund University).

In all of the modern Germanic standard languages, referential null subjects (RefNSs) are disallowed.

1. Henne känner *(jag) inte. (Swedish)
2. Sie kenne *(ich) nicht. (Standard German)
3. Ekki þekki *(ég) hann. (Icelandic)
4. Her *(I) do not know. (English)

This observation led Jaeggli & Safir (1989) and Rohrbacher (1999) to the assumption that RefNSs are universally incompatible with V2-word order. However, RefNSs appear in a number of Modern Germanic vernaculars (ie., Bavarian, Zürich German, Schwabian, Frisian, Övdalian etc.) as well as in all Old Germanic languages (Old English, Old High German, Old Swedish etc.), and it is thus clear that the V2-property does not per se prohibit RefNSs.

Germanic RefNSs have not been investigated systematically (but see e.g. Weiß 2005), and conflicting claims have been made about the presence of RefNSs in Old English and Yiddish, inter alia. In this talk, I will present examples of RefNSs from seven Modern Germanic vernaculars and four Old Germanic languages, highlighting some of the clashing statements that have been made; e.g., Speas (2006:60) claims that "Yiddish does not allow null referential pronouns", while traditional Yiddish grammarians acknowledge that "*du*, the second person singular pronoun is deletable" (Prince 1998:83). Prince herself (1998) presents a third alternative, assuming that not only *du*, but also all other referential subject pronouns, may be deleted in Yiddish. Hulk & van Kemenade (1995:245) explicitly state that there are no RefNSs in Old English: "The phenomenon of referential pro-drop does not exist in OE", while, on the other hand, van Gelderen (2000) discusses OE RefNSs in an entire chapter, drawing on earlier research (e.g. Berndt 1956).

An investigation of a number of linguistic properties of RefNSs in Germanic languages is also presented, showing that the RefNSs in Old and Modern languages fall into two distinct categories.

The Germanic null-subject languages, spoken in central parts of Europe, have not had any real empirical or theoretical impact on the ongoing research about RefNSs (cf. Barbosa 1995, 2009, Platzack 2004, Holmberg 2005, 2007, Frascarelli 2007, Ackema et al 2006, Sigurðsson 2008, Cole 2009 etc.). Studies of the syntactic patterns of RefNSs in Germanic V2-languages may however contribute significantly to the research about RefNSs, partly because V2-languages in general have relatively strict word order regulations, and hence allow for meticulous and elaborate investigations of which syntactic contexts allow or prohibit RefNSs. Furthermore, the Germanic languages also allow for detailed diachronic studies of the development of RefNSs.

In the final part of this talk, I will point at a few possibilities for future research that the word order patterns of e.g. Bavarian and Övdalian (cf. Rosenkvist 2009) offer, and at a couple of theoretical consequences regarding the connection between RefNSs and "rich" inflection and between RefNSs and discourse antecedents (cf. Cole 2009).

Development from Noun to Numeral: An Example of a Grammaticalization Process in a Binominal Syntagm.

Rutkowski, Paweł
(University of Warsaw).

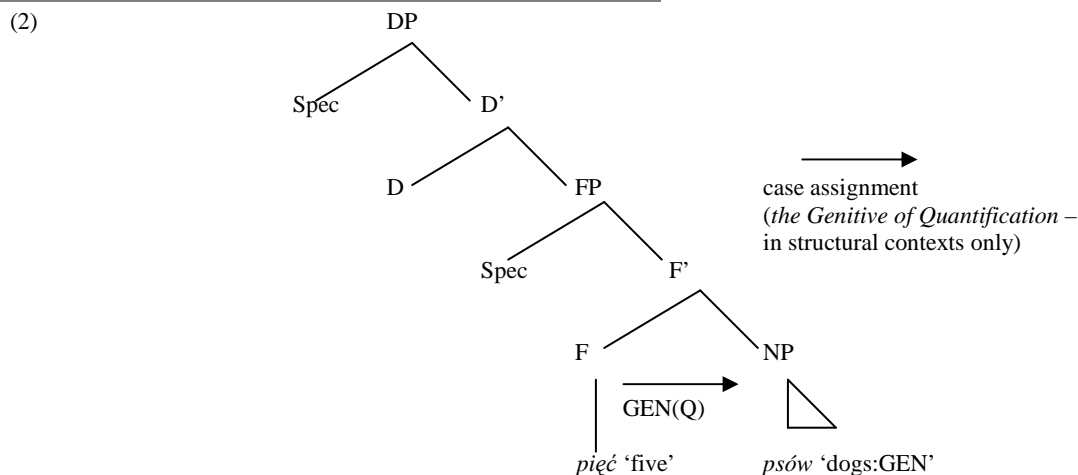
The properties of Polish cardinal numerals have been widely studied in current syntactic literature (see, e.g., Franks (1995)). Cardinals such as *pięć* 'five' assign genitive to the noun they quantify when the expression that they are part of is assigned a structural case from outside (nominative and accusative), whereas they agree in case with the noun in the context of inherent cases (e.g. instrumental) – see (1). Rutkowski (2001) explains the above mixed pattern of case assignment/agreement by assuming that numerals are located in a functional position above the main Noun Phrase (NP). Since Abney (1987), it has often been argued in generative literature that NPs are universally dominated by some functional material, headed by a determiner (therefore, this approach is usually referred to as the Determiner Phrase (DP) hypothesis). Many researchers (e.g. Ritter (1991)) assume that there are other functional layers between NP and DP. According to Rutkowski (2001), Polish numerals head one of them – see (2). Since functional elements are inserted into the syntactic derivation after inherent case assignment, cardinals cannot assign genitive in the inherent context.

However, in the 16th-century Polish language, numerals assigned genitive to quantified nouns in all contexts. The aim of this paper is to show that the diachronic difference in case assignment between the 16th century and today is a side effect of the process of grammaticalization. Roberts and Roussou (1999) suggest that, from a structural point of view, grammaticalization involves reanalysis of lexical material as functional material. This sort of reanalysis is connected with structural simplification. In the present paper, I aim to show that, in the 16th century, an expression containing a numeral consisted of two separate DPs. In terms of syntax, the cardinal was a regular **noun** (comparable to words such as *grupa* 'a group'), heading its own NP. Since the numeral was a lexical (and not functional) element, inherent case assignment from outside could not prevent it from assigning genitive to its complement (DP). On the other hand, as shown by Rutkowski (2001), modern numeral expressions are monophrasal. The assumption that present-day numerals occupy a functional position means that, from the diachronic point of view, they must have been moved from the lexical position N. The movement in question involved structural simplification – see (3).

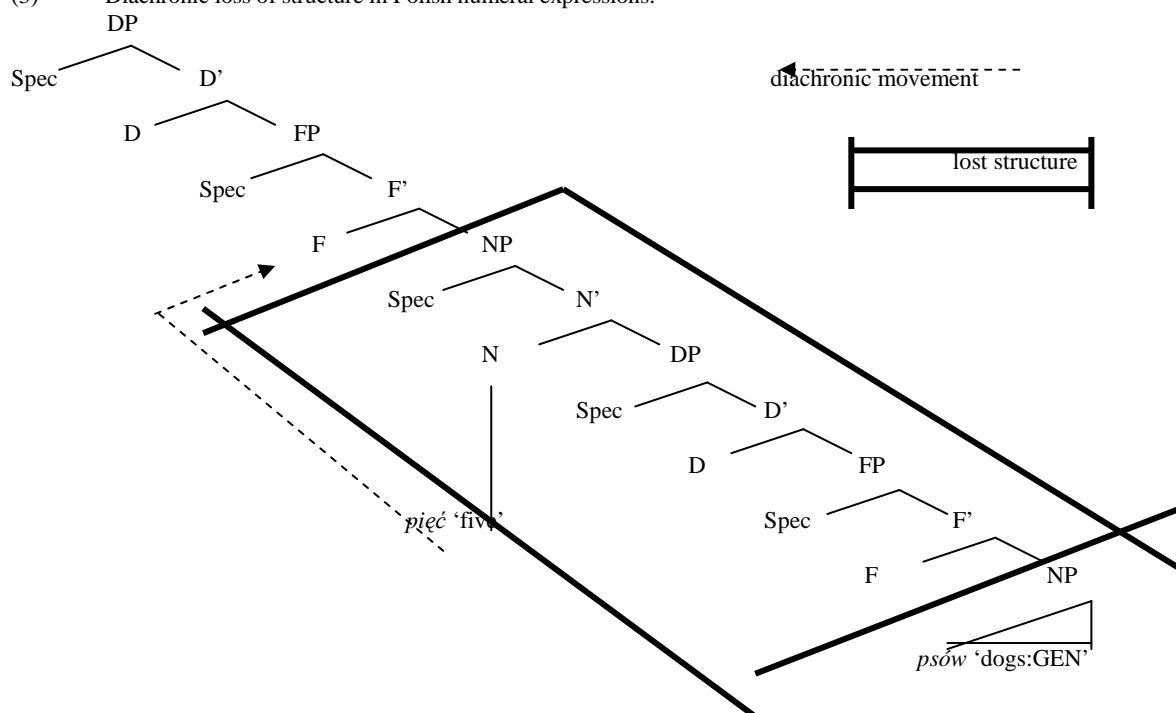
I argue that additional evidence for the above analysis derives from the fact that many numerals have undergone processes described by Croft (2000) as typical of grammaticalization (e.g. phonological attrition, morphological fusion, loss of independent syntactic status).

The analysis presented in this paper combines assumptions made independently in two linguistic frameworks, namely generative grammar and grammaticalization theory. This combination makes it possible to describe both the synchronic and diachronic syntax of Polish numerals in a consistent way. The theories complement each other. The generative idea that grammaticalization involves diachronic development of lexical into functional material helps to formalize the notion of grammaticalization. On the other hand, thanks to the idea that language change is driven by structural simplification we do not have to consider the syntactic change in binominal expressions random and unpredictable.

(1) Case Context	Numeral structures
Nom	<i>pięć</i> :NOM <i>psów</i> :GEN
Gen	<i>pięciu</i> :GEN <i>psów</i> :GEN
Dat	<i>pięciu</i> :DAT <i>psom</i> :DAT
Acc	<i>pięć</i> :ACC <i>psów</i> :GEN
Instr	<i>pięcioma</i> :INSTR <i>psami</i> :INSTR
Loc	<i>pięciu</i> :LOC <i>psach</i> :LOC
Gloss	'five dogs'



(3) Diachronic loss of structure in Polish numeral expressions:



References:

- Abney, S. 1987. *The English noun phrase in its sentential aspect*. PhD dissertation. MIT.
- Croft, W. 2000. *Explaining Language Change: An Evolutionary Approach*. (Longman Linguistics Library). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.
- Franks, S. 1995. *Parameters of Slavic Morphosyntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ritter, E. 1991. Two functional categories in noun phrases: Evidence from Modern Hebrew. In: S. Rothstein (ed.). *Syntax and semantics 25: Perspectives on phrase structure: Heads and licensing*. San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press. 37-62.
- Roberts, I. and A. Roussou. 1999. A formal approach to “grammaticalisation”. *Linguistics* 37. (Special Issue: *Functional properties of morphosyntactic change*. Ed. A. van Kemenade). 1011-1041.
- Rutkowski, P. 2001. Numeral Phrases in Polish and Estonian. In: A. Holmer, J.-O. Svantesson and Å. Viberg (eds.). *Proceedings of the 18th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics*. Vol. 2. (Travaux de l'Institut de Linguistique de Lund). Lund: Lund University Press. 181-190.

Attenuative morphological forms across varieties and registers: a corpus study of the diminutive *-ish*.

Ruzaitė, Jūratė
(Vytautas Magnus University, Kaunas).

Diminutive forms, including the suffix *-ish*, are an especially important category in English since they are used as attenuative or evaluative forms that de-emphasize information, express imprecision and subjective evaluations of a quantity or feature. Since diminutives have attitudinal meaning and are primarily used to evaluate the content of an utterance, words with the diminutive suffix *-ish* are sometimes treated as a vague language category (e.g. *boyish*, *fortyish*) (Crystal and Davy 1979). Therefore, such attenuative morphological forms are important not only in terms of morphology but also pragmatics and discourse functions.

Thus the main aim of the present paper is to carry out a detailed analysis of the suffix *-ish*; the primary focus of the study is put on the suffixed numbers, e.g. *nineish*, *twoish*, *threeish*, etc. The paper aims to answer the following research questions:

- (1) How are diminutive suffixes used across varieties;
- (2) How are diminutive suffixes used across different registers,
- (3) How are such suffixes used to achieve different communicative purposes.

To answer these research questions, the paper combines the methodological and theoretical approaches used in the fields of morphology, corpus linguistics and discourse analysis.

The corpus evidence is obtained from two corpora: the British National Corpus (BNC) and the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). These comparable databases allow comparing the use of *-ish* across two different varieties (British and American) and several registers (fiction, academic texts, newspapers and conversation). The corpora also provide sufficient evidence to reveal how speakers use morphology to evaluate the informative content of their utterances; these aspects are dealt with mainly from the perspective of discourse analysis.

The data show that the use of the diminutive *-ish* varies greatly across registers; it is used mainly in fiction to approximate the number that it is attached to. In addition, the frequency of such suffixed numbers differs in the two varieties of English, i.e. British and American. The data also show that the combinability of *-ish* with certain numbers is restricted: it very rarely attaches to numbers from one to ten, but it is considerably more frequently used with some tens. The corpus evidence demonstrates that a corpus approach can yield some revealing results in morphological studies by relating morphological aspects to register variation and cross-varietal differences. The obtained results also have some practical applications, especially in language teaching.

References:

Crystal, D., and D. Davy. 1979. *Advanced Conversational English*. New York: Longman.

Between idiomatic expressions and auxiliary constructions: problems of classification of Estonian complex predicates.

Sahkai, Heete and Muischnek, Kadri
(Institute of the Estonian Language, University of Tartu).

The presentation will examine a series of Estonian complex predicate constructions that are not easy to classify in terms of the previously posited categories of Estonian CPs. The constructions have aspectual or temporal semantics, expressing either progressivity or inchoativity/futurity. The progressive constructions consist of the verb *olema* 'be' in combination with the inessive form of the supine, or an inessive or adessive noun (usually a deverbal action nominalization). The constructions expressing inchoativity or futurity consist of the verb *minema* 'go' in combination with the illative form of the supine, or an illative, allative or translative noun. The constructions vary in productivity: the data includes groups of fixed expressions, patterns restricted to very specific semantic classes and instantiated by a number of fixed expressions, and more or less productive patterns possibly instantiated by some fixed expressions as well.

The constructions to be examined include an active progressive construction of the form [*olema* + inessive of supine]; active inchoative expressions of the form [*minema* + illative of supine]; a series of progressive and inchoative expressions of the form [*olema/minema* + locative noun], both active intransitive and passive; and three productive V+N constructions: a "passive progressive" of the form [*olema* + adessive noun] and a "future passive" of the form [*minema* + allative noun], in which the noun is a fully regular nominalization, and an "impersonal inchoative" construction of the form [*minema* + translative noun], allowing both regular and irregular nominalizations of transitive and intransitive verbs, but also root nouns.

The constructions display to variable degrees the diagnostic properties of CPs (e.g. argument structures that differ from those of the component elements, auxiliary-like behaviour of the finite verb, restrictions on the syntactic behaviour of the nominal component, realization of the arguments of the nominal component on the clause level) but are difficult to describe in terms of the existing classification of Estonian CPs, which includes the following categories (EKG II, Erelt 2003, Muischnek 2006):

1. particle verbs;
2. constructions resembling serial verbs;
3. so-called "expression verbs", which are idiomatic expressions consisting of a finite verb and a noun or adjective in a more or less frozen form (ex. 1);
4. support verb (or light verb) constructions;
5. various combinations of finite verbs with non-finite verbs, the latter being main verbs and the former expressing aspect, modality, causation or manner (ex. 2).

- | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|----------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| (1) | Ta | saab | luuletusest | hästi | aru |
| | S/he | gets | poem-elative | well | sense-partitive |
| | 'S/he understands the poem well.' | | | | |
| (2) | Ta | kihistas | naerda | | |
| | S/he | chuckled | laugh-inf | | |
| | 'S/he chuckled' | | | | |

The examined constructions are problematic in terms of this classification in that the V+N combinations in the data are neither expression verbs nor typical support verb constructions, and the inchoative [*minema* 'go' + illative of supine]

construction is not a typical auxiliary construction. In our talk, we will present a more detailed corpus-based analysis of these constructions and discuss their role in the lexical and grammatical system of Estonian.

References:

- EKG II = Erelt, M., Kasik, R., Metslang, H., Rajandi, H., Ross, K., Saari, H., Tael, K., Vare, S. 1993. Eesti keele grammatika II. Süntaks. Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut
- Erelt, M. (ed.) 2003. Estonian Language. *Linguistica Uralica* supplementary series vol 1, pp 101-102
- Muischnek, K. 2006. Verbi ja noomeni püsiühendid eesti keeles. *Dissertationes Philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis* 17, pp. 18-22

The polyphonic future. Intersubjective and modal shifts through multiple time lenses in discourse.

Sambre, Paul and Brône, Geert
(Lessius Antwerp - University of Leuven).

Context – This contribution deals with the conceptualization and grammatical realization of futurity. Expressing future newness through grammar is a locus for creativity, in the sense that it allows for the reflection on what is *likely* (projected future reality) or *possibly* (potentiality) going to be a future state of affairs. In addition, when studied in the broader context of ongoing discourse, grammatical constructions of futurity can be tied to various epistemic viewpoints with distinct perspectives on (future) reality. Cognitive linguistics (CL) may help us in grasping the complex interplay of grammar and discourse in the expression of future events through multiple time lenses.

Three cognitive frameworks – In order to arrive at a model for the analysis of futurity in discourse, the present paper functionally integrates three notions from CL:

- (1) Langacker's (1991) extended *epistemic model* offers a temporal and modal setting for represented time with a possible array of positions for future-oriented predications. This model contains two axes: the vertical axis of modality, reaching from (projected) reality, over potentialis to irrealis, and the horizontal axis of immediate, near and distant future mental spaces (Fauconnier 1997).
- (2) Langacker's *current discourse space* (CDS, Langacker 2001, 2008) represents time as discourse unfolds. It allows for the conception of a grammatical structure as a constructional assembly of time positions (indicated in (1)), referring to anticipated or past usage events in the ongoing discourse.
- (3) We further pursue Verhagen's (2005) notion of *intersubjectivity*: linguistic structures do not only profile the object of conceptualization but do so by aligning the (inter)subjective viewpoints of multiple conceptualizers involved in a current conceptualization. In our case, different viewpoints set up different time lenses, which refer to specific temporal positions.

Specific research questions – The combination of the three frameworks is targeted at addressing the question how grammar manages the representation of multiple temporal and epistemic viewpoints in ongoing discourse. More specifically, we focus on the constructional realization of three connected dimensions:

- (1) modal shifts on the vertical axis (realis-potentialis-irrealis);
- (2) temporal shifts on the horizontal axis of future events;
- (3) intersubjective shifts between positions set up by heterogeneous enunciative stances.

Methodology and sample data – Our empirical analysis explores the grammatical realization of futurity in the specific genre of science popularization. Science popularization translates technological innovation and science into a format that is accessible to the general audience. Our analysis presents a close reading of a EU Cordis documentary film on nanotech, displaying an interaction between a journalist taking the enunciative stance of the lay public and interviewees in life sciences and industry.

Results – We provide a unified CL framework for the representation of futurity in discourse. More specifically, this conceptual analysis shows the creative and dynamic nature of meaning construction, which integrates multiple temporal representations. This complex setting entails two aspects: a polyphonic network of enunciative stances and futuristic expressions that dynamically set up intricate relations with other temporal positions.

References:

- Fauconnier, G. 1997. *Mappings in Thought and Language*. Cambridge (Mass.): Cambridge University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. 1991. *Foundations of cognitive grammar. Volume 2: Descriptive applications*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (2001). Discourse in Cognitive Grammar. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 12, 2, 143-188.
- Langacker, R.W. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar. A Basic Introduction*. Oxford: OUP.

Analyzing coherence in advanced learner writing.

Schiftner, Barbara
(University of Vienna).

Discourse coherence is a central aspect of writing that students of foreign languages are required to achieve in the texts they produce. While experience shows that student foreign language papers are often found to be incoherent, the fact that coherence is an elusive concept makes it difficult to pinpoint what exactly causes this lack of coherence. While it may well be related to a general problem of structuring text, it could also be based in the difficulty for learners to operationalize argumentation in a foreign language. This paper will examine possibilities for the analysis of coherence in learner writing with the aim to conceive a reliable model for analysis, which can serve as the basis upon which the interface of various factors that contribute to coherence can be analyzed.

Conceptualizations of coherence range from models that relate it to cohesive elements on the textual surface level (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1985) to coherence as a broader notion, which involves context, world knowledge, and conceives of coherence as being co-constructed by the writer and the reader of a text (cf. e.g. de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981; Givón 1995; Widdowson 2004). Approaches to the analysis of coherence in learner language thus also vary widely from those relying on cohesive devices on the textual surface level to those using ratings of overall textual quality. These analyses are problematic in that they often either only cater for relations that are overtly marked in the text (thus harboring the risk of circularity) or are prone to subjectivity. The framework of Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) (Mann & Thompson 1987, 1988; Taboada & Mann 2006), which offers a range of possible logical relations that can occur in a text, is suggested as a possible solution to these problematic aspects of coherence analysis in learner language. To examine the advantages and disadvantages of RST for the description of coherence in advanced learner writing, a set of relations following the model of RST is used for the analysis of a corpus drawn from DELT, the Vienna Database of English Learner Texts. The corpus consists of texts written by L1 German students of English at the University of Vienna in the first year of their studies.

The RST analysis of the learner corpus shows which coherence relations students use to what extent and reveals both successful and problematic coherence relations. The insights drawn from the corpus analysis thus allow for a better understanding of coherence in learner writing, which can potentially be used to pinpoint problematic aspects more specifically. It will be argued that RST can serve as a valuable basis for the examination of different aspects involved in the operationalization of coherence relations in learner writing.

References:

- De Beaugrande, R. and W. U. Dressler (1981). *Introduction to text linguistics*. London: Longman.
- Givón, T. (1995). "Coherence in text vs. coherence in mind". In Gernsbacher, M. A. and T. Givón. *Coherence in Spontaneous Text*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 59-116.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan (1976). *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and R. Hasan (1985). *Language, context, and text: aspects of language in a social-semiotic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mann, W. C. and S. A. Thompson (1987). *Rhetorical Structure Theory: A Theory of Text Organization*, ISI: Information Sciences Institute, Los Angeles, CA, ISI/RS-87-190, 1-81. Available from http://www.sfu.ca/rst/pdfs/Mann_Thompson_1987.pdf.
- Mann, W. C. and S. A. Thompson (1988). "Rhetorical Structure Theory: Toward a functional theory of text organization". *Text* 8(3), 243-281.
- Taboada, M. and Mann, W.C. (2006): "Rhetorical Structure Theory: Looking Back and Moving Ahead". *Discourse Studies* 8(3): 423-59.
- Widdowson, H. G.. 2004. *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

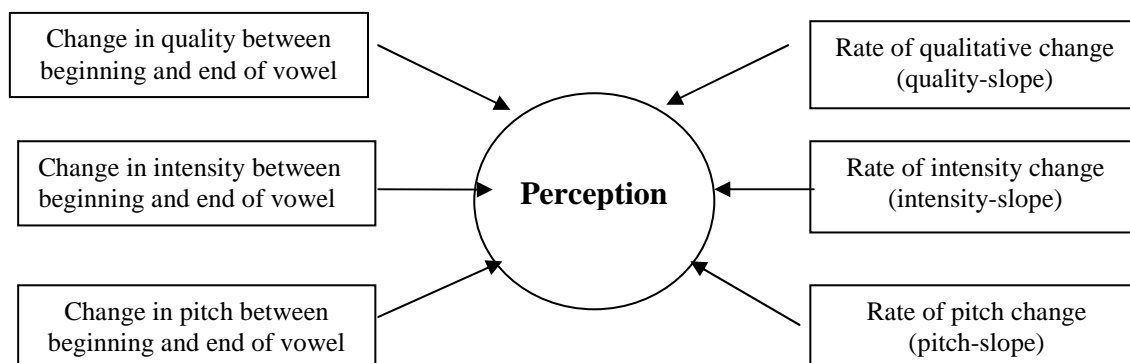
Exploring acoustic correlates of diphthong perception.

Schützler, Ole
(University of Bamberg).

This paper problematizes the interface of diphthong perception and diphthong acoustics from the perspective of experimental phonetics. It hypothesises that the perception of a vowel as a diphthong can be triggered not only by a change in quality (formant movement) but by other cues as well, the most notable of these perhaps being changes in pitch and intensity. A closer look will be taken at the idea that English diphthongs or incipient diphthongs are not necessarily best described in terms of quality alone, and that *diphthongal* should perhaps more generally be equated with *dynamic*.

The material used for analysis consists of 216 tokens of words from the English lexical sets BAIT and GOAT which are known to be variably diphthongal even within the same variety of the language (Cruttenden 2008). The samples were produced by 27 partly anglicised Scottish speakers. After randomization each token was rated as either diphthongal or monophthongal by independent listeners.

For the acoustic component, F1 and F2 frequencies, pitch and intensity were measured at the beginning and end of the vowel interval of each token. The subsequent statistical tests investigate the relationships between the outcome variable (perceived diphthong) and potential predictors, as represented in the following model:



The qualitative traveling-distance of a diphthong trajectory – defined as the Euclidean distance (e.g. Harrington & Cassidy 1999) between two relevant measuring points at the edges of the vowel (Ladefoged 2003) – has already been shown to correlate with auditory ratings (Schützler 2010). It is therefore expected that a change of vowel quality remains the strongest single factor, even in a more complex scenario. Pitch-movements also correlate highly with perceived diphthongisation, but there is considerable covariance between pitch and quality, i.e. the two are not fully independent. Intensity plays a minor role at best.

Apart from the respective roles and interactions of the six predictors sketched above the paper aims to show if there are critical thresholds in single acoustic variables whose transgression overrules the effects of other acoustic cues. Another interesting subsidiary question is if ratings are affected by the same cues to the same extent, irrespective of whether or not the raters are native speakers of (Scottish) English themselves.

References:

- Cruttenden, Alan. 2008. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. London: Hodder Education.
- Harrington, Jonathan & Steve Cassidy. 1999. *Techniques in Speech Acoustics*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Press.
- Ladefoged, Peter. 2003. *Phonetic Data Analysis. An Introduction to Fieldwork and Instrumental Techniques*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schützler, Ole. 2010. Unstable Close-mid Vowels in Modern Scottish English. In: Carlos Prado-Alonso et al., eds. *New Trends and Methodologies in Applied English Language Research. Diachronic, Diatopic and Contrastive Studies*. Bern: Peter Lang.

The semantics of space in Circassian preverbs.

Schwartz, Gabriele

(Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster).

The North-West Caucasian languages Kabardian and Adyghe are characterized by a sizable inventory of preverbs. A large proportion of these express spatial relations. Among those we find concepts that have been readily described in other languages of the world as well as others that are less commonly encountered. The question of how Northwest Caucasian languages fit into the typology of Space as proposed by Levinson 2003 and Levinson & Wilkins eds. 2008 among others will be addressed in this talk.

The database for the present study consists of two parts: Data found in the literature on Circassian languages (mainly Colarusso 1992, Matasović 2009, Paris & Batouka 1998-2005) and data elicited from diaspora speakers with the help of the MPI stimuli set Topological Relations Picture Series developed by Bowerman & Pederson 1992 and additional pictures.

First, I will present a brief introduction of the morphosyntax and the semantics of the system of spatial preverbs in Circassian languages as a whole. Then I will concentrate on two main points: First, spatial concepts encoded in Circassian preverbs that are less widely distributed in the languages of the world and second, preverbs that in addition to a spatial relation encode properties of the ground.

Those preverbs that include properties of the ground in their semantics rely on features similar to those found in classificatory systems in the languages of America (cf. Grinevald 2007), e. g. /çə-/ “into mass”, /da-/ “flat space”, /jə-/ “narrow space/abstract container”, /də-/ “in through opening” and /f'a-/ “sharp point” (data from Colarusso 1992). For these preverbs additional features of the ground crosscut the continuum from [containment] to [surface] proposed in the IN-ON-scale (Levinson & Meira 2003).

The current study presents a first investigation into the spatial preverbs of Circassian against the background of the typology of spatial relations. In addition, the analysis can serve as a basis to determine whether there seems to be evidence for areal features shared with neighboring languages in the Caucasus.

References:

- Bowerman, Melissa, & Pederson, Eric 1992. Topological relations picture series. Space stimuli kit 1.2. Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen.
- Colarusso, John 1992. A Grammar of the Kabardian language. Calgary: University of Calgary Press.
- Grinevald, Colette 2007. The linguistic categorization of spatial entities. Classifiers and other nominal classification systems. In: Aurnague, Michel, Hickmann, Maya & Vieu, Laure (eds.) The categorization of spatial entities in language and cognition. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Levinson, Stephen C. & Meira, Sérgio 2003. 'Natural Concepts' in the spatial topological domain – Adpositional meanings in crosslinguistic perspective: An exercise in semantic typology. *Language* 79(3):485-516.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 2003. Space in Language and Cognition. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity. (Language Culture and Cognition 5). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Levinson, Stephen C. & David P. Wilkins (eds.) 2006. Grammars of Space. Explorations in Cognitive Diversity. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paris, Catherine & Batouka, Niaz 1988-2005. Dictionnaire abzakh (tcherkesse occidentale), Paris: Peeters.

Interdependences between copied derivational and inflectional morphemes.

Seifart, Frank

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

Copying of the shapes of bound derivational and inflectional morphemes from one language into another through language contact (in terms of Johanson 1999) is rare when compared to the copying of shapes of lexical items, i.e. loanwords. This is captured in a number of claims about relative borrowability of linguistic forms, e.g. lexical > grammatical, free > bound, unintegrated > integrated (see the summary in Wilkins 1996). But if bound derivational and inflectional morphemes are copied at all, it is often the case that more than one form is copied. This talk investigates the relations between various morpheme copies present in the same language, based on some older published case studies and some newly available data. It starts from the hypothesis that the sets of derivational and inflectional morpheme copies are not random, but that they are structured by paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations between the copied morphemes.

This hypothesis is tested on three case studies: Morpheme copies in three languages of Arnhem Land (Heath 1978; see also Gardani 2008), morphology of Bisayan (Austronesian) origin in the Spanish-based creole Chabacano (Steinkrüger 2003, 2007, 2009), and morphology of Bora (Witotoan) origin in Resígaro (Arawakan) (Aikhenvald 2001; Seifart 2009). The majority of copied derivational and inflectional morphemes in the three languages of Arnhem Land (e.g. various case markers and noun class markers) are paradigmatically interrelated, i.e. they are members of paradigms of case marker, noun class markers, etc. The copied derivational morphemes in Chabacano belong to a large extent to paradigms of various derivational subsystems, e.g. adjectivizers. The set of copied morphology in Resígaro is not only structured by paradigmatic relations (as observable, e.g., in an entire paradigm of copied number markers), but also by syntagmatic relations. Syntagmatic relations hold, e.g., between copied number markers and classifiers, since number marking requires previous unitization of uncountable noun stems by copied classifiers.

This data necessitates a refinement of the claim that (morphosyntactic) integration of a form would inhibit borrowability (copying of forms). Taking the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations to be indicative of a certain degree of morphosyntactic integration, the integration into morphosyntactic subsystems (e.g. case marking systems, derivational subsystems, systems of expression of units and number) is to a considerable extent responsible for shaping the specific set of morphemes that are copied in language contact. It is suggested that the integrative force of morphosyntactic subsystems (in terms of paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations) should be given a place in a general theory of contact-induced language change, where it interacts with other factors, such as the typological closeness of the structures involved. This inclusion would help not only to account for the cases presented here, but also to bridge the gap between the study of morpheme copying and that of mixed languages.

References:

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2001. Areal Diffusion, Genetic Inheritance, and Problems of Subgrouping: A North Arawak Case Study. *Areal Diffusion and Genetic Inheritance. Problems in Comparative Linguistics*, ed. by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 167-194. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gardani, Francesco. 2008. *Borrowing of Inflectional Morphemes in Language Contact*. European University Studies, Series XXI Linguistics 320. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1978. *Linguistic Diffusion in Arnhem Land*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Johanson, Lars. 1999. The dynamics of code-copying in language encounters. *Language encounters across time and space*, ed. by Bernt Brendemoen, Elizabeth Lanza, and Else Ryen, 37-62. Oslo: Novus Press.
- Seifart, Frank. 2009. Resígaro documentation. In *A multimedia documentation of the languages of the People of the Center*.

- Online publication of transcribed and translated Bora, Ocaina, Nonuya, Resígaro, and Witoto audio and video recordings with linguistic and ethnographic annotations and descriptions*, ed. Seifart, Frank, Doris Fagua, Jürg Gasché, and Juan Alvaro Echeverri. Nijmegen: DOBES-MPI. http://corpus1.mpi.nl/qfs1/media-archive/dobes_data/Center/Info/WelcomeToCenterPeople.html.
- Steinkrüger, Patrick O. 2003. Morphological processes of word formation in Chabacano (Philippine Spanish Creole). *Phonology and Morphology of Creole Languages*, ed. by Ingo Plag, 253-268. Linguistische Arbeiten 478. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- 2007. Notes on Ternateño (a Philippine Spanish Creole). *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 22.367-378.
- 2009. Inflection in a Creole: A report on Chabacano (Philippine Spanish Creole). *On Inflection*, ed. by Patrick O. Steinkrüger and Manfred Krifka, 219-236. Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs 184. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Wilkins, David P. 1996. Morphology. *Contact Linguistics. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*, ed. by Hans Goebel, Peter H. Nelde, Zdenek Starý, and Wolfgang Wölck, 1:109-117. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gender fluctuation in Dutch.

Semplicini, Chiara
(University of Perugia).

According to Hockett (1958), genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behavior of associated words, a definition which focuses on the syntactic aspect of gender: agreement. Actually, grammatical gender is halfway between morphology and syntax; it is not only defined through agreement, but it also represents an inner property of nouns. In many languages there are formal criteria for gender assignment, but very often there are exceptions: sometimes gender can be motivated through semantics, in other cases it seems to be completely arbitrary.

If we consider Dutch gender the issue is even more complicated because of the instability of the category itself. The original system, which was morphologically transparent and distinguished among masculine, feminine and neuter nouns, has been undergoing a deep change, so that nowadays the Dutch nominal system is covert (Corbett 1991) and bipartite, with the merger of the original feminine and masculine nouns, while the pronominal system remains partially tripartite.

Recent studies on spoken Dutch stress an ongoing recategorization of pronominal gender on semantic grounds: the neuter being increasingly used for mass nouns and the masculine for count nouns, without any apparent relationship with lexical gender. Moreover, some Dutch nouns display more than one gender (a fluctuation reported even by dictionaries), a phenomenon which seems not to be connected with the pronominal semantic shift.

Considering the increasing opacity of Dutch gender and the ongoing resemanticization of pronouns, the aim of this study is the individuation of some similar cognitive processes responsible for the fluctuation of lexical gender. I suppose that in most cases gender instability will result for both kinds of gender (lexical and pronominal), but there could be some in which this correspondence does not exist at all, resulting in nouns having stable lexical gender but unstable pronominal agreement or the other way around.

To verify these hypothesis, some lexical databases will be investigated (such as CELEX or RBN) in order to isolate the double-gender nouns, then these results will be compared with the data retrieved from some speech corpora (such as the *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* and the *Jasmin Spraakcorpus*).

The analysis of speech data, providing the spontaneous syntactic context for the selection of gender, will be particularly useful to grasp the cognitive processes that are responsible for it, especially in cases of uncertainty. The variety of speakers (native and non-native of different ages and regions) is another important factor, because it could reveal interesting differences for gender selection in relation to different speaker typologies.

In my opinion this kind of analysis will display an ongoing "lexical" recategorization, with the gender fluctuation being motivated as a consequence of the semantic restructuring of a category perceived as no more functional.

For those nouns displaying instability, the selection of gender should be motivated as a consequence of the cognitive perception of the specific semantic properties activated by the noun once it enters the syntagmatic chain: a cognitive process leading to the restructuring of gender towards a higher transparency based on semantic grounds.

References:

- Audring, J., "Pronominal Gender in Spoken Dutch". *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 18:2, 85-116, 2006.
- Booij, G., *The Morphology of Dutch*, OUP, Oxford, 2002.
- Corbett, G., *Gender*, CUP, Cambridge, 1991.
- Corbett, G., "The Agreement Hierarchy". In *Journal of Linguistics* 15, 203-224, 1979.
- Craig, C., (ed.), *Noun Classes and Categorization*. John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 1986.
- Croft, W., *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical relations. The Cognitive organization of Information*, UP, Chicago, 1991.
- Donaldson, B., C., *Dutch: A linguistic history of Holland and Belgium*, Martinus Nijhoff, Leiden, 1983.
- Hockett, C., F., *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Macmillan, New York, 1958.
- Lakoff, G., *Women, Fire and Dangerous Things. What categories reveal about the mind*, UP, Chicago, 1987.
- Unterbeck, B., Rissanen, M. (ed.), *Gender in Grammar and Cognition. I. Approaches to Gender, II. Manifestations of Gender*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, 1999.

The rise of non-canonical transitivity in the North Russian perfect with comparison to some other Circum-Baltic languages.

Serzant, Ilja

(University of Bergen; Institute of Lithuanian Language, Vilnius).

This paper offers a historical analysis of the rise of non-canonical transitivity in the construction formed by the perfect participles in *-no/to-* in North Russian dialects, cf. (1):

- (1) **U nego korov-a** / **korov-u** podoje-n-o
at he:GEN cow:nom / cow:acc milk-part.perf.pass-neutr.sg
“He has milked the cow.”
This construction must have evolved out of P-oriented resultative construction as in (2) from Old Russian:
- (2) К večeru že priběgoša ljudije:
in the evening came people
- инь** rane-n-ъ **инь** nagъ
another:nom wound-PPP-nom another:nom naked:nom
“In the evening there came people [but what they found was:] some were wounded some were naked” (Cod. Laur. 225^v, from 1377)

The nominative-marked core argument of the *-no/to-* construction in Old Russian has the status of a syntactic subject in (2) and of a syntactic object in (1), while the adessive PP *u nego* in (1) shows up as a syntactic subject (cf. Timberlake 1975). The resultative construction in (2) is intransitive and has only one core argument, while the North Russian perfect construction (1) has two core arguments and thereby exhibits a higher degree of transitivity. Thus, we observe increase of transitivity correlating with the increase of subject (and object) properties of the core argument(s) in the course of development from (2) to (1). The paper aims to reveal the emergence of the new subject and object in (1) as opposed to the starting point in (2). The development from (2) to (1) will be reconstructed on the basis of data from Old Russian, using the method of internal reconstruction. The paper represents a case study on diachrony of non-canonical subjects and nominative objects.

First stage: the resultative construction (as in 2) is first reanalyzed as perfect construction, which manifests in the texts, i.a., by the fact that selection restrictions on verbs are abandoned: not only telic but also atelic verbs begin to occur in this construction very early. The consequence of this aspectual reanalysis is that agent becomes more prominent at semantic level as it was the case in the resultative construction before. Cf. Nedjalkov’s (2001: 930) observation: “after-effects of a perfect action are non-specific, and they are not necessarily attributed to any particular participant of the situation”, as opposed to the resultative construction which is only one argument oriented. Although the agent becomes present at semantic level, it cannot be overtly expressed, thus the construction becoming impersonal perfect construction. The syntactic status of the core argument (object or subject) plays crucial role in analyzing this construction as passive- or active-like one: at the *second stage*, the nominative-marked core argument has lost subject properties, i.e. the ability to trigger verb agreement, to control converbs, furthermore, in some North Russian dialects it has acquired accusative case-marking. Hence the construction has now an object and is thereby active-like. At the *third stage*, the adessive PP (*u + gen.*), originally an adverbial referring to Experiencer or Bene-/Maleficiary of the resultant state/situation, started to acquire subject properties. This was facilitated by the reanalysis of the adessive PP as exclusively Agent (of the preceding action) via ambiguity contexts (cf. Weiss 1999).

It will be emphasized that, against the common view that North Russian perfect is historically based on *mihi-est* type of possessive construction (cf. Kuteva & Heine 2004), there is strong evidence that the possessor of the possessive *mihi est* construction and the agent phrase in the North Russian perfect construction, although both being encoded by the adessive PP, are of different origin. The evidence against this assumption includes the fact that the impersonal perfect construction is attested at earlier stage (or in dialects) with other adverbials referring to the agent of the preceding action. Thus, e.g., in some North Russian dialects one finds also *v + locative NP* for the agent marking in plural, instrumental adverbial in Belorussian or ablative PP adverbial in Old Russian and in modern dialects, which cannot be connected with the possessive construction formally. Historically and areally (in Baltic) or areally (in Finnic) related constructions are found in other languages of the linguistic area, the origin out of the possessive construction can also be excluded there.

References:

- Kuteva, T. & Heine, B. 2004: On the possessive perfect in North Russian, *Word* 55(1), 37-71.
Nedjalkov, V. P. 2001: Verbal reflexives and the middle voice. In: *Language Typology and Language Universals Sprachtypologie und sprachliche Universalien La typologie des langues et les universaux linguistiques. An International Handbook / Ein internationales Handbuch / Manuel international*. Edited by / Herausgegeben von / Edité par M. Haspelmath, E. König, W. Oesterreicher, W. Raible. Volume 2/ 2. Halbband / Tome 2. Berlin, _New York: 928-941.
Timberlake, A. 1975: Subject properties in the North Russian Passive. In: Li & Thompson, *Subject and Topic*, New York, Academic Press. 545-594.

Weiss, D. 1999: D. Wajs, Ob odnom predloge, sdelařšem blestařřuju karjeru (Vorpros o vozmořžnom agentivnom značenii modeli "u + im'a_{pod}"). In: *Tipologija i Teorija Jazyka. Ot opisanija k objasneniju*. K 60-letiju Aleksandra Jevgenjeviča Kibrika. Moscow. 173-186.

The relation between the partitive genitive subject constructions in ancient Indo-European languages and Baltic, Slavic.

Serzant, Ilja

(University of Bergen - Institute of Lithuanian Language, Vilnius).

In the present paper, I will concentrate on the syntactic properties of the partitive-genitive in subject position. I will provide a descriptive comparison between the syntactic behaviour of the partitive genitive in subject position in ancient Indo-European languages like Ancient Greek and Vedic and its behaviour in Baltic and Slavic. The following claims will be made:

(i) The partitive genitive is an inherited category in Baltic (and Slavic) languages and is not the result of language contact with Balto-Finnic languages, as is sometimes assumed. However, the differences in the syntactic organization of the partitive genitive in Baltic and Slavic, on the one side, and Proto-Indo-European, on the other side, can be accounted for by assuming a contact influence of the Finnic languages. In fact, by comparing the partitive genitive in the subject position in Indo-European, in Baltic, and the partitive in the subject position in Finnic, we find that that the partitive genitive subject in Baltic has much in common on a morphosyntactic level with the Finnic partitive subject and less with the Indo-European partitive genitive subject. Thus, neither (ii) nor (iii) is valid for Baltic, Slavic and Finnic languages.

(ii) The NP marked with the partitive genitive plural itself is not specified for number in the ancient IE languages. In subject position, it can trigger both singular and plural verb forms depending on its semantic/logical number (semantic agreement). Thus, if the semantics of the partitive genitive NP is "some/any of X", then it triggers the plural verb form, while if the semantics is "someone/anyone of X" then it triggers the singular form, in contrast (1) with plural agreement and (2) with singular agreement:

(1) Eisi gar autōn
 be:3.pl.act. because they:gen.pl.
 kai para basilei tō Perseōn
 and at king the of Persians
 "Because the Persian king has some of them" (about exotic animals) (Hdt. 3.102.10)

(2) tōn atopōtatōn ment-an eiē, ei ...
 def.:gen.pl. awkward:superl.gen.pl. irreal.particle be:3.sg.opt. if
 "[It] would be, surely, [one] of the most awkward [things], if ... (he should)"
 (Demosthenes Ol.1 26.4-5)

(iii) Besides the ability to trigger subject-verb agreement (at least in number), there is another indication that the partitive genitive subject in Indo-European was a full-fledged subject: it was capable of being coordinated with nominative subjects, cf. (3) from Ancient Greek:

(3) ka-an gamē pot' autos
 if marry:subj.3.sg. sometime he:nom.sg.
 ē tōn sungenōn ē tōn philōn,
 or def.art relatives:gen.pl. or def.art friends:gen.pl.

husomen tēn nukta pasa ...
 we will rain the whole night

„If he or [one] of [his] relatives or [one] of [his] friends will ever marry, we will rain the whole night" (Arist. Nubes 1128f).

(iv) The classical, philological explanation of the partitive genitive subject in ancient languages, which simply assumes an ellipsis of the nominative head (i.e., accounts for it as for a stylistic and, thus, less grammatically-based phenomenon) is ruled out by the fact that one finds this "ellipsis" only with low transitivity predicates (in most cases, unaccusative predicates and never agentive predicates).

As for the semantics of the partitive genitive in Indo-European, I assume that alongside its core, partitive semantics it could also denote indefiniteness. However, the exact range of indefiniteness that could be marked with the partitive genitive in Ancient languages remains to be investigated.

References:

- Conti, Luz 2008: Synchronie und Diachronie des altgriechischen Genetivs als Semisubjekt, *HS 121*, in print.
- Luraghi, Silvia 2003. *On the Meaning of Prepositions and Cases. A Study of the Expression of Semantic Roles in Ancient Greek*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

The case raises a question: researching the pattern ‘inanimate subject + dynamic verb’ in English and Lithuanian linguistic discourse.

Šeškauskienė, Inesa
(Vilnius University).

Academic discourse (AD) is often thought of as dispassionate and objective, which is frequently given as a reason for prevailing passive structures in the academic text. A closer look reveals that the pattern ‘inanimate subject + active verb’ is also rather frequent, like in *the paper suggests* or *the case raises a question* etc. The pattern seems to be no less objective; however, verbs like *suggest* add the persuasive ‘flavour’ and often perform the function of hedging (see Hyland 2004).

The above pattern has been mainly researched in English in different frameworks and different academic discourse types. In hard sciences the pattern prevails in the explanatory context (see Master 2001 and Johns 2001); in linguistic discourse the same tendency has been confirmed (Šeškauskienė 2009); however, in other contexts (like cause-effect, change-of-state-or-location etc.) the pattern is more preferred in hard sciences. The purely rhetorical analysis seems to be limited due to a rather problematic identification of context types. The Cognitive Linguistic (CL) framework and its conceptual metaphor theory (CMT) in particular (see Low 1999, Deignan and Potter 2004, Šeškauskienė 2009) open more possibilities treating the above cases as metonymical and metaphorical meaning extensions.

The present paper has limited the above pattern to the formula ‘inanimate subject + dynamic verb’ and introduces the investigation aimed at measuring the frequency of the pattern in English (EN) and Lithuanian (LT) linguistic discourse and identifying cross-linguistic and language/culture-specific meaning extensions. The underlying assumption is that AD is not only dispassionate and objective; it is also agonistic, even though the battle follows certain established rules (Tannen 2002).

The materials (~100,000 words; ~50,000 from each language) for the investigation have been collected from EN and LT linguistic journals focussing on applied linguistics issues and covering the period of 2005-2008. The research has been conducted in the CL framework and in a contrastive perspective.

The preliminary results have shown that the above pattern in LT is no less frequent than in EN. The prevailing semantic model seems to be accountable for within the framework fluctuating between the metonymy PRODUCT FOR PRODUCER and the metaphor AN ESSAY/PAPER/RESEARCH IS A PERSON (see Low 1999; Evans and Green 2006: 310-326). The other two frequent metaphors in the data include RESEARCH IS A JOURNEY and RESEARCH IS BUILDING. In LT some cases seem to balance on the verge of acceptability or are confined to individual researchers. The prevailing verbs in EN are varied (*raise, fall, give*), in LT the majority of all cases include the verb *eiti* (‘go’) with all its derived (prefixed and suffixed) forms. The inanimate subjects include more general nouns, like *research* or *tendencijos*, in EN and more specific, like *sentences* or *words*, in LT, which seems to be indicative of English taking a larger-scale view onto linguistic research and Lithuanian keeping to fine-structural level (the latter term adopted from Talmy 1983).

References:

- Deignan, A. and L. Potter. 2004. A corpus study of metonyms and metaphors in English and Italian. *Journal of Pragmatics* 36: 1231-1252.
- Evans, V. and M. Green. 2006. *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Johns, T. 2001. From evidence to conclusion: the case of ‘indicate that’. In: M. Hewings (ed.) *Academic Writing in Context. Implications and Applications*. The University of Birmingham University Press. 55-62.
- Hyland, K. 2004. A convincing argument: corpus analysis and academic persuasion. In: U. Connor and T. A. Upton (eds) *Discourse in the Professions*. John Benjamins. 87-112.
- Low, G. 1999. “The paper thinks...”: Investigating the acceptability of the metaphor AN ESSAY IS A PERSON. In: L. Cameron and G. Low (eds) *Researching and Applying Metaphor*. CUP. 221-248.
- Master, P. 2001. Active verbs with inanimate subjects in scientific research articles. In: M. Hewings (ed.) *Academic Writing in Context. Implications and Applications*. The University of Birmingham University Press. 169-181.
- Šeškauskienė, I. 2009. “The paper suggests”: inanimate subject + active verb in English linguistic discourse. *Kalbotyra* 60 (3), 84-93.
- Talmy, L. 1983 How language structures space. In: H. Pick and L. Acredolo (eds.) *Spatial Orientation. Theory, Research and Application*. NewYork: Plenum. 225-282.
- Tannen, D. 2002. Agonism in academic discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics* 34, 1651-1669.

A logical answer to the Gricean maxims.

Seuren, Pieter

(Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen).

It is shown first that the Gricean maxims fail to do their job in so far as they are meant to account for the well-known clash between natural logical intuitions and standard modern logic. For example, according to De Morgan's Laws in propositional logic, NOT(P) AND NOT(Q) is equivalent with NOT(P OR Q) and NOT(P) OR NOT(Q) is equivalent with NOT(P AND Q). This is reflected in the fact that a sentence like *He doesn't like trains or planes* is immediately understood as "He doesn't like trains *and* he doesn't like planes". But the converse sentence *He doesn't like trains and planes* is not immediately understood as "He doesn't like trains *or* he doesn't like planes". Pragmatic theory is unable to explain this difference. But it follows immediately from a reasonable hypothesis about natural set theory and thus about natural logic. More examples of this nature, especially the case of "some but not all" versus "some perhaps all", are discussed. It is argued that there is no reason why natural logical intuitions should conform to standard logic, because standard logic is based on mathematics while natural logical intuitions derive from a cognitive system in people's minds, supported by their brain structures. A proposal is then put forward to try a totally different strategy, via logic itself, in particular via the notion of natural logic, based on a natural ontology and a natural set theory. Since any logical system is fully defined by (a) its ontology and its overarching notions and axioms regarding truth, (b) the meanings of its operators, and (c) the ranges of its variables, logical systems can be devised that deviate from modern logic in any or all of the above respects, as long as they remain consistent. This allows one, as an empirical enterprise, to devise a natural logic, which is as sound as standard logic but corresponds better with natural intuitions. It is hypothesised that at least two varieties of natural predicate logic must be assumed in order to account for natural logical and ontological intuitions, since culture and scholastic education have elevated modern societies to a higher level of functionality and refinement. These two systems correspond, with corrections and additions, to Hamilton's 19th-century logic and to the classic Square of Opposition. Finally, an evaluation is presented, comparing the empirical success of the systems envisaged. It should be understood that the perspective developed in the present paper amounts to a radical change in linguistic theory affecting not only the status of pragmatics but the whole range of existing paradigms in theoretical linguistics and their mutual relationships.

References:

- Grice, H. Paul (1975). Logic and conversation. In: P. Cole & J.L. Morgan (eds), *Speech Acts. (= Syntax and Semantics 3)*. Academic Press, New York-San Francisco-London.
- Seuren, Pieter A. M. (2009). *Language in Cognition. (= Language from Within, I)*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Seuren, Pieter A. M. (2010). *The Logic of Language. (= Language from Within, II)*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Moving beyond synchrony: Applying a diachronic corpus-based multivariate analysis to examine the development and use of *I + think* as an 'epistemic parenthetical'.

Shank, Christopher and Cuyckens, Hubert
(University of Leuven).

Diachronic analysis of *that/zero* variation with the matrix verb *think* (Rissanen 1991; Finnegan & Biber 1995) has shown clear evidence of the rise and predominance of the *zero*-complementizer form as an object-clause link in PDE. Furthermore, the research has been used to claim empirical support for several structural factors within the matrix and complement clause (e.g. *I* or *You* as matrix clause subject, matrix/predicate subject co-referentiality, absence of intervening elements in matrix and absence of intervening elements between the matrix and complement - summarized in Kaltenböck 2004), which facilitates the use of the *zero* form. Other authors have built upon these findings (Thompson and Mulac, 1991; Scheibman, 2002; Kärkkäinen, 2003) by postulating, solely via synchronic PDE spoken corpus data, that the *I+think* main clause construction has since grammaticalized, via reanalysis, and is now being used as an epistemic adverb or 'epistemic parenthetical' (Thompson and Mulac, 1991). However, this research, while important and informative, is upon closer inspection potentially hampered by a number of methodological confounds such as a lack of diachronic evidence / analysis, low or insufficient sample sizes, and a failure to distinguish between lexical and more epistemic uses of *I + think*.

This paper acknowledges Geeraerts & Cuyckens (2007) concerns regarding current methodological practices in cognitive linguistics by implementing a rigorous empirical framework and statistical analysis to reexamine the diachrony of *that/zero* complementizer variation from EModeE to PDE for the verb *think* and concurrent pathways of grammaticalization in the construction [*I + think + that/zero + finite complement clause*]. Attention is also given towards examining the increasing development of the (inter)subjective nature of the *I + think* collocation and its use as an epistemic parenthetical in PDE. Finally, and most importantly, special focus is placed on distinguishing between lexical and more epistemic uses of *I + think*.

Using Wordsmith, a total of 6340 hits were randomly extracted from 7 historical and PDE English corpora which contain either approximated or actual spoken English data: Old Bailey Corpus (1674-1834), London Lund Corpus (1960-1970), Brown Corpus (1960-1970), MICASE Corpora (2001), and the spoken components from the ANC (1990-2004), Cobuild (1995-

2005), and COCAE (1990-2009) corpuses. The analysis therefore covers 300+ years and utilizes a combined 282 million-word corpus database. All of matrix+complement *that/zero* constructions were coded for 28 structural variables including person, tense, polarity, and presence of modal auxiliaries, syntactic complexity, and complement clause subjects. The analysis acknowledges Geeraerts & Cuyckens (2007) concerns regarding current methodological practices in cognitive linguistics by implementing a rigorous empirical framework and multivariate statistical analysis to separate and identify the linguistic factors conditioning the observed diachronic patterns of *that-* versus *zero* complementizer and the emergence of the epistemic parenthetical usage. Statistically sufficient sample sizes ($n > 40$) for all historical periods were extracted and then statistically analyzed. This step was taken in order to gauge the relative magnitude and actual significance of effect between the different matrix+complement variables and it permitted the reporting the actual significance of an effect rather than the more common presentation of a simple proportion of occurrence between two variables.

The results reveal varying degrees of significance for each of the 4 matrix and complement clause features (Kaltenböck 2000); however stronger significance and implications are revealed when additional variables (e.g. polarity, length of the subject, etc) are incorporated via a ‘weighted’ variable analysis. These findings are then used to develop and present a preliminary framework for both evaluating the epistemic potential of the *think* matrix and identifying factors which contribute to more lexical interpretations.

References:

- Finnegan, Edward & Biber, Douglas 1995. “That and Zero complementizers in Late Modern English: exploring Archer from 1650-1990, in Aarts, Bas; Meyer, Charles, M. (Eds.) *The verb in contemporary English. Theory and description*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Geeraerts, Dirk & Cuyckens, Hubert. (2007) *The Oxford Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. OUP.
- Kaltenböck, Gunther. 2004. “That or no that – that is the question. On subordinator suppression in extraposed subject clauses”, *Vienna English Working Papers* 13 (1): 49-68.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise. (2003). *Epistemic stance in English conversation: A description of its interactional functions, with a focus on I think*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Rissanen, Matti. (1991). On the history of *that/zero* as clause object links in English. In Aijmer, K. & B. Altenberg (eds.), *English corpus linguistics; studies in honor of Jan Svartvik*. Longman. 272-289
- Thompson, Sandra A. & Mulac, Anthony. (1991a). A quantitative perspective on the grammaticalization of epistemic parentheticals in English. In Traugott, E. C. & Heine, B. (Eds.), *Approaches to grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 313-339.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Dasher, Richard B. (2002). *Regularity in semantic change*. Cambridge: CUP

Biaspectual borrowed verbs in Serbian – a case for Faith across languages.

Simonovic, Marko
(Utrecht University).

Slavic languages make the distinction between perfective and imperfective verbs lexically. There are tens of derivational procedures for (im)perfectivization, none of which is entirely productive (e.g. Serbian *raditi*_{IMP} – *uraditi*_{PF} “to do”, *zaradivati*_{IMP} – *zaraditi*_{PF} „to earn“). As a consequence of contact with languages which do not have the aspect distinction, a class of biaspectual borrowed verbs has arisen. In this presentation I will look at the dynamics of this class in Serbian with special attention for the present-day contact with English. I will show that Serbian biaspectual verbs are a language-contact phenomenon, whose properties are a consequence of copying of/faithfulness to the aspectual indifference of the verb in the source language. Finally, I will show how this copying of lexical properties in borrowing can be formalised in a more general model of loanword adaptation.

All modern borrowed biaspectual verbs are derived from foreign language verbs through suffixation of either one of the two non-native loan verb affixes (henceforth LV, for a typology see Wichmann & Wohlgenuth 2008) which are/were productively used for deriving verbs from foreign verbal stems, Greek *-is-* e.g. *fotografisati* and German *-ir-* e.g. *programirati*, or the native LV *-ov-* e.g. *protestovati*. These verbs slowly develop into aspectual pairs similar to those of native verbs, adding prefixes to derive the perfective form, leaving the old biaspectual form as imperfective only (e.g. present-day *kopirati*_{IMP} vs. *iskopirati*_{PF}). Based on a comparison with older descriptions of the biaspectual verbs in Serbo-Croatian (Lazić 1976 Stevanović 1979), we tentatively conclude that this process is more advanced in verbs derived with *-isa-* and *-ira-*, which are not currently used in loanword adaptation.

The LV *-ova-*, the only one productively used for adapting English verbs, e.g. *(an)zipovati*, *forvardovati*⁸ is a typologically interesting LV. It is homonymous to the imperfective affix *-ova-* used with native stems – e.g. *kup-ova-ti*_{IMP} vs. *kup-i-ti*_{PERF} “to buy”. However, the two differ in combinability– the imperfective *-ova-* is only attached to historically hard stems, whereas the LV is combined with all stems without restrictions, e.g. *atačovati*, *ingejdžovati*. Though unrestricted by phonology, the applicability of the biaspectual *-ova-* is severely constrained by the category of the stem - biaspectual verbs are only derived from *foreign verbs*. Recent formations which have nominal and adjectival stems e.g. *klabingovati*_{IMP},

⁸ For the most recent published data see Vasić et al 2001; I will report on the data from my own project data base and the national corpus, available on <http://www.korpus.matf.bg.ac.rs>.

*šopingovati*_{IMP}, *fejkovati*_{IMP}-*isfejkovati*_{PF} all have a single aspect. The same is true of back-formations such as *brejkovati*_{IMP} “to break dance”.

Finally, the most recent version of an OT-based model of loanword adaptation developed in Simonović (2009) will be briefly presented. Formalising the last finding, I conclude that FAITH(loan) (see Ito & Mester 2001, 2002), which enforces faithfulness to the biaspectual/aspectless verb in the source language, makes a class distinction and is vacuously satisfied in the case when the source words is not a verb.

References:

- Ito, Junko & Armin Mester. 2001. Covert generalizations in Optimality Theory: the role of stratal faithfulness constraints. *Studies in Phonetics, Phonology, and Morphology* 7. 273–299.
- Ito, Junko & Armin Mester. 2002. One phonology or many? Issues in stratal faithfulness theory. In *The Phonological Society of Japan*, ed. Phonological Studies 5. Tokyo: Kaitakusha. 121-126.
- Lazic, Margarita. 1976. Prefixation of Borrowed Verbs in Serbocroatian. *The Slavic and East European Journal* 205
- Simonović, Marko. 2009. Immigrants Start on the Periphery – A Unified Approach to Loanword Phonology. Masters thesis. Universiteit Utrecht.
- Stevanovic, Mihajlo. 1979. *Savremeni srpskohrvatski jezik: Gramaticki sistemi I književnojezička norma*. Beograd: Naučna Knjiga
- Vasić, Vera, Tvrtko Prčić & Gordana Nejgebauer. 2001. *Du you speak anglosrpski? Rečnik novijih anglicizama*. Zmaj, Novi Sad.
- Wichmann Søren & Jan Wohlgemuth. 2008. [Loan verbs in a typological perspective](#). In: Thomas Stolz, Rosa Salas Palomo & Dik Bakker (eds.): *Aspects of Language Contact. New Theoretical, Methodological and Empirical Findings with Special Focus on Romancisation Processes*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008. (= EALT 35). pp. 89-121.

Phonetic forms and linguistic functions of diphthongs.

Simpson, Adrian
(University of Jena).

We can define a phonetic diphthong as the acoustic product (formant movements) of articulatory movements sufficient to give rise to the audible percept of changing vowel quality. Phonetic diphthongs have four main phonological sources

1. In a linguistic context we tend to think first of the phonetic realisations of phonological terms in a vowel system which are primarily expounded by such audible vowel movements, in other words, a phonetic diphthong as the phonetic correlate of a phonological diphthong. However, the relationship between phonetic and phonological diphthongs is a complex one. The articulatory and acoustic realisations of phonological diphthongs can be essentially phonetically monophthongal under appropriate temporal conditions. For instance, in durationally short tokens of possessive pronouns *mein* or *dein* in German, the vocalic portion can be a phonetic monophthong.
2. Phonetic diphthongs can be the phonetic correlates of adjacent phonological monophthongs. A confusion of the phonetic and phonological levels of abstraction lead to apparently conflicting descriptions of vowel systems. For instance, Italian has been described as a language with and without diphthongs.
3. Phonetic diphthongs arise from the phonetic correlates of phonological monophthongs and adjacent consonants. Secondary articulations, such as palatalisation or velarisation associated with the phonetic correlates of a consonant often precede/follow the primary articulation giving rise to a marked on-/off-glide of the vowel. We can include here vocalisations of consonants such as /l/ and /r/, common in languages such as English or German.
4. The phonetic correlates of monophthongal terms in the vowel system may be diphthongal utterance finally or prepausally. These diphthongs can be seen to have delimitative function, or *Grenzsignale* (Trubetzkoy 1939), not having directly to do with the vowel system itself. So, for instance, Standard Swedish /e:/ and /o:/ have central off-glides in utterance-final syllables (Engstrand 2004).

The different sources of phonetic diphthongs are often reflected in differences in their articulatory and consequently acoustic dynamics within one and the same language, e.g. Peeters (1991) for Dutch. The different types of phonetic diphthongs as well as the alternation between monophthongal and diphthongal allophones of the same vowel term make for a rich source of sound change and intervocalic variation.

References:

- Engstrand, Olle (2004) *Fonetikens grunder*. Studentlitteratur, Lund
- Peeters, W. J. M., 1991. *Diphthong dynamics*. Ph.D. thesis, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, Utrecht.
- Trubetzkoy, N. S., 1939. *Grundzüge der Phonologie*. Travaux du cercle linguistique de Prague 7. Prague.

Language Contact between Turkic, Kartvelian, and Indo-European: Word Order in Caucasian Urum.

Skopeteas, Stavros
(University of Potsdam).

Caucasian Urum is a Turkic language spoken by ethnic Greek speakers in the Small Caucasus (Georgia) (see Podolsky 1986). The language is poorly documented and nowadays strongly endangered (estimated population: 1 500 native speakers in the original territory). The crucial point for this talk is that this language is a case of language contact between languages of three different linguistic families, namely Turkish, Georgian, and Russian. The Urum population was originally speaking Anatolian Turkish but had intensive language contact with Russian and Georgian in the last two hundred years (since the speakers moved to the Caucasian territory) to the effect that the currently spoken language in the Urum community has substantial loans from both languages, both in lexicon as well as in grammar. Most Urum speakers are trilingual – in Urum, Georgian, and Russian.

The research question of this talk is how language contact influences the expression of focus in Caucasian Urum. The three contact languages differ crucially with respect to the word order effects of focus. Turkish and Georgian are SOV languages; the focused constituent typically appears in the immediately preverbal position. The crucial difference between these languages is that postverbal material can be focused in Georgian (see Harris 1981), which is completely excluded in Turkish (see Kiliçaslan 2004). Russian is a SVO language; focus can be expressed in situ (through accentual prominence), but it frequently appears in a peripheral position, either at the beginning or at the end of the utterance (see Mehlhorn 2002, van Gelderen 2003).

This talk presents evidence from natural discourse (spontaneous narratives) and judgments of Urum speakers about the felicity of different word orders in different contexts. The spontaneously produced data shows a pattern that is most similar to the properties known for Turkish: the focused constituent most frequently appears in the immediately preverbal position. The intuition data shows a different pattern: Urum speakers judge as felicitous more options than the options that they actually produce. They allow for postverbal focus, a syntactic option that is not available in Turkish.

These empirical findings have consequences for a particular stage of language change induced through language contact in a radically multilingual community. Speakers are most frequently using the grammatical strategy of the language that constitutes the basic historical substratum, but they accept deviations from this pattern, if these deviations are licit in the languages of contact.

References:

- Gelderen, V. van 2003, *Scrambling unscrambled*. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Leiden.
Harris, A. C. 1981, *Georgian Syntax: A Study in Relational Grammar*. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.
Kiliçaslan, Y. 2004, Syntax of information structure in Turkish. *Linguistics* 42.4, 717-765.
Mehlhorn, G. 2002, *Kontrastierte Konstituenten im Russischen*. Frankfurt: Lang.
Podolsky, B. 1986, Notes on the Urum language. *Mediterranean Language Review* 2, 99-112.

Variable analyses of a verbal inflection in (mainly) Canadian French.

Smith, John Charles
(University of Oxford, St Catherine's College).

This paper examines the evolution of the third-person plural present-tense verb-ending *-ont* in French.

In standard French, *-ont* is found in the present indicative in only four verbs: *ils sont* 'they are', *ils ont* 'they have', *ils font* 'they do', *ils vont* 'they go'. However, in several Old French dialects (and some of their modern descendants), *-ont* was extended to first-conjugation verbs: thus, *ils portont* (standard *ils portent*) 'they carry' (see ALF, map 1064). Acadian French, spoken in the Canadian Atlantic Provinces, has inherited this pattern (arguably from the south-western *langue d'oïl* dialects spoken by the original settlers) and, in places, has extended it to other verb classes and to irregular verbs — and also to the subjunctive, imperfect and conditional (Péronnet 1990; Poirier 1993).

The extension of *-ont* in Old French is clearly analogical, and suggests that speakers analysed *sont* (etc.) as having the structure *s+ont*. However, the further extension of *-ont* in Acadian French is more complex, plausibly involving a 'take-over' or 'referral' (Carstairs 1984), whereby the first-person form (the homophonous *-ons*) is extended into the third person (in the typology of Baerman & Brown 2005, the syncretic form here 'belongs' to the first person). The result is a paradigm in which, in both singular and plural, the third-person form is phonetically identical to the first-person form. Strikingly, whilst the third-person plural in *-ont* is found in the speech of most Acadians, its distribution appears to be sensitive to age and sex; it therefore constitutes a sociolinguistic variable (Beaulieu & Cichocki 2009).

In some varieties of Québécois French, we find a quite different development: *-ont* is not extended as a verbal inflection, but the third-person plural of the imperfect indicative of the verb *être* 'be' is analogically remodelled on the same person of the present indicative — thus: *ils sontaient* (standard *ils étaient*) 'they were'. For instance, half-a-dozen speakers in the unpublished Cedergren-Sankoff corpus of spoken Montréal French (1971-1984) use this form. More rarely, a similar remodelling affects the verbs *avoir* 'have' and *faire* 'do'. In contrast to the spread of *-ont*, discussed above, this development, in which the third-person plural of the present indicative comes to serve as the stem of the corresponding imperfect form, suggests that forms such as *sont* are being treated as unanalysable by the relevant Québécois speakers.

My conclusions are twofold. First, the same form may come to be analysed in different ways in different varieties — specifically, forms such as *sont* may sometimes be represented as a stem plus an ending (*s+ont*) and sometimes as an unanalysable stem (*sont*). Second, the data demonstrate that the concept of (socio)linguistic variability must encompass **analyses** as well as **forms** — in the present instance, it is not merely (or even essentially) the inflection or stem which is the variable, but, rather, more abstract or underlying notions, such as segmentation, paradigm structure, and morphomic patterns (in the sense of Aronoff 1994: systematic formal regularities which are not simply due to sound change and which have no unique functional correlate).

References:

- ALF = Gilliéron, Jules & Edmond Edmont. 1902. *Atlas linguistique de la France*. Paris: Champion.
- Aronoff, Mark. 1994. *Morphology by Itself: stems and inflectional classes*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Baerman, Matthew & Dunstan Brown. 2005. Syncretism in verbal person/number marking. *The World Atlas of Language Structures*, ed. Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil & Bernard Comrie, 122-125. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beaulieu, Louise & Wladyslaw Cichocki. 2009. Patrons sociolinguistiques chez trois générations de locuteurs acadiens. *Historical Linguistics 2007: selected papers from the 18th International Conference on Historical Linguistics, Montréal, 6-11 August 2007*, ed. Monique Dufresne, Fernande Dupuis & Etleva Vocaj, 211-222. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins
- Carstairs, Andrew. 1984. Outlines of a Constraint on Syncretism. *Folia Linguistica* 18, 73-85.
- Péronnet, Louise. 1990. Système des conjugaisons verbales dans le parler acadien du sud-est du Nouveau-Brunswick. *Journal of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association* 12, 81-116.
- Poirier, Pascal. 1993. *Le Glossaire acadien: édition critique établie par Pierre M. Gérin*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.

On the status of epistemic overtones of Polish reportive particles (*podobno, rzekomo, jakoby*) and their treatment in the database.

Socka, Anne
(University of Gdansk).

Reportivity (hearsay) is a subdomain of evidentiality which indicates that the speaker of the actual utterance bases his/her assertion on previous utterances, usually made by another person (other persons). Like the majority of units marking evidential functions reportive particles in Polish additionally carry epistemic overtones, i.e. they express the speaker's reservations as for the truth of the reported utterance(s). With respect to the treatments of this lexemes in the semantic-pragmatic part of the database of evidential markers in European languages, I will ask the question whether the meaning alternation manifested by epistemic overtones should be interpreted as a sign of semantic indeterminacy (diffuseness) or rather a sign of polysemy. The meaning variants which can be distinguished vary in part with respect to the usage in different text types. It will be shown however that this question cannot be sensibly treated before the status of epistemic overtones is sufficiently understood, i.e. it is subordinate to the question whether epistemic overtones are the result of pragmatic implicatures, or rather an outcome of a conventionalized interplay between the epistemic and evidential components in the meaning of given unit.

As an example consider the particle *rzekomo*, which occurs mostly in contexts identifying the proposition in its scope as false or at least very doubtful. Is there a stable epistemic component of this lexeme's meaning, which constitutes the basis for this distribution and if yes, how should it be described? Is this component also existent in the few cases in which the context of use is neutral in this respect (like in the following text)? Is it just a pragmatic implicature which has been cancelled here by the context?

Wciąż trzyma się ostatni bastion talibów i ich faktyczna stolica Kandahar. Mułę Omara **rzekomo** widziano wczoraj, z ochroną, w centrum miasta. (PWN, *Życie Warszawy*, 26.11.2001)

'The Taleban's last bastion and their real capital of Kandahar is still holding out. Mullah Omar with his bodyguards was allegedly seen yesterday in the city centre.'

Or does the world knowledge trigger a reasoning like the following: Because this is a press news concerning things happening in a beleaguered city, which therefore are not and can not be verified, one must assume a doubtful stance? Does the text type matter? In an online corpus *rzekomo* occurs more frequently than other reportive particles for reporting of statements which are legally relevant such as accusations or admissions, and it seems to emphasize a distanced (which means 'strictly neutral') stance of the metaspeaker (e.g. the journalist) who does not take anybody's part but merely reports. Or must we assume in such cases a homonymous lexeme *rzekomo*₂ meaning 'presumably'?

Epistemic-evidential overlap: English *must* and its Lithuanian correspondences.

Šoliene, Audrone
(Vilnius university).

Epistemic-evidential syncretism has been widely discussed in the literature (van der Auwera and Plungian 1998; Mortelmans 2000; Plungian 2001; Pietrandrea 2005; Cornillie 2007, 2009; Squartini 2008 among others). Since this relation is not isomorphic and fine-grained cross-linguistic differences are difficult to discover by introspection or analysis of contrived examples, the corpus-based approach adopted in this study helps to reveal patterns which would be difficult to find otherwise. The possibility of combining comparable and translation corpora allowed us to map the correspondences between the formal and functional features in the source and target language texts and define parallels between them. The research is based on the analysis of the data obtained from a self-compiled bidirectional translation corpus — *ParaCorp_{E-LT-E}*. The corpus is designed following the ENPC model (Johansson 2007). It includes original English fiction texts and their translations into Lithuanian and original Lithuanian fiction texts and their translations into English.

The present paper focuses on the relation between the synchronic uses of English *must* and its Lithuanian correspondences (the adverbials *tikriausiai*, *greičiausiai*, *veikiausiai* ‘certainly/surely/most probably’, *turbūt* ‘probably’, *matyt* ‘seemingly’ and the modal verb *turėti* ‘must/have to’), e.g.:

- (1) *He must have broken the window!*
Tikriausiai jis išdaužė langą.
- (2) *That must have been horrible for you.*
Tau turėjo būti išties baisu.

The purpose of this corpus-based study is to see what means of expression are preferable in the given languages and what the scope of their meanings is. The paper also aims to determine whether there is any language-specific conceptualisation of the strength of the speaker’s commitment to the factuality of his/her proposition and to what extent the speaker’s evaluation of the proposition is influenced by the interactional context of use and available evidence (Squartini 2008; Boye and Harder 2009).

The quantitative results of the study show that English and Lithuanian differ in the use of verb and adverbial strategies for epistemic necessity realisation: Lithuanian joins the group of languages that use modal verbs much less than English, when it comes to expressing epistemic necessity. The analysis of the translational paradigm has indicated language-specific differences as well. The findings demonstrate that the Lithuanian adverbials *tikriausiai* ‘most probably’, *turbūt* ‘probably’, *matyt* ‘seemingly’ can cover the whole range of the epistemic scale. The analysis of the correspondences of *matyt* shows that the semantic structure of this modal word retains the element of inference which is an important factor in the extension of meaning of this verb from direct visual perception to mental perception and then further to an evidential (Usoniene 2003; Wiemer 2007). The data support the inferential nature of *matyt* ‘seemingly’; however, self-inference, as an unreliable source of information, triggers the meaning of uncertainty. What is more, the markers of epistemic necessity are used interchangeably with the markers of epistemic possibility in Lithuanian; this could suggest that the distinction between low and high degree of speaker certainty might be blurred in Lithuanian (Usoniene 2007).

References:

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boye, Kasper and Peter Harder. 2009. Evidentiality: Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language* 16 (1), 9-43.
- Brinton, Laurel J. and Elisabeth Closs Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and language change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coates, Jennifer. 1983. *The semantics of the modal auxiliaries*. London: Croom Helm.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2007. *Epistemic Modality and Evidentiality in Spanish (semi-) auxiliaries. A Cognitive-functional Approach*. Berlin - New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Cornillie, Bert. 2009. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: on the close relationship of two different categories. *Functions of Language*. 16 (1), 44-32.
- de Haan, Ferdinand. 1999. Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18, 83-101.
- Johansson, Stig. 2007. *Seeing through Multilingual Corpora: On the use of corpora in contrastive studies*. (Studies in Corpus Linguistics, 26). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mortelmans, Tanja. 2000. On the ‘evidential’ nature of the ‘epistemic’ use of the German modals *müssen* and *sollen*. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 14, 131-148.
- Palmer, Frank R. 2001. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pietrandrea, Paola. 2005. *Epistemic Modality. Functional Properties and the Italian System*. Amsterdam – Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of pragmatics* 33, 349-357.
- Simon-Vandenberghe, Anne-Marie and Karin Aijmer. 2007. *The Semantic Field of Modal Certainty. A Corpus-Based Study of English Adverbs*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Squartini, Mario. 2004. Disentangling evidentiality and epistemic modality in Romance. *Lingua* 114 (7), 873-889.
- Squartini, Mario. 2007. Investigating a grammatical category and its lexical correlates. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*. 19 (1), 1-6.

- Squartini, Mario. 2008. Lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality in French and Italian. *Linguistics* 46 (5), 917–947.
- Usonienė, Aurelija. 2003. Extension of meaning: Verbs of perception in English and Lithuanian. *Meaning through language contrast: The Cambridge Papers*, I, ed. by K. M. Jaszczolt, K. Turner. (Pragmatics and beyond, new series, 99), Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 193-220.
- Usonienė, Aurelija. 2007. Degrees of Confidence and modal words in Lithuanian. Available online: <http://www.lietuviukalba.lt>.
- van der Auwera, Johan and Vladimir Plungian. 1998. Modality's semantic map. *Linguistic Typology* 2, 79-124.
- Wiemer, Björn. 2007. Lexical markers of evidentiality in Lithuanian. *Italian Journal of Linguistics*. 19 (1), 173-208.

Flexibility of noun phrases in Latin.

Spevak, Olga
(University of Toulouse).

Latin is a language with a variable constituent order and its noun phrases allow discontinuity. It is the most flexible language in Bakker's (1998) typological study of the languages of Europe. The aim of this contribution is to show two main aspects of flexibility of noun phrases in Classical Latin prose (Cicero, Caesar, and Sallust): (i) mobility of modifiers (adjectives, determiners, and genitive complements), i.e. their placement before and after their head nouns, and (ii) discontinuity of noun phrases. It has already been stated that mobility of modifiers can be explained by pragmatic reasons (de Jong 1983 and Pinkster 1995, working in the framework of Functional Grammar, Dik 1997²), such as contrast and emphasis. For my demonstration, I will establish a distinction between "productive" noun phrases (for example, *orator bonus* 'good orator') and "fixed idioms" (*res publica* 'republic') in order to show that for pragmatic reasons, mobility is allowed, to some extent, also in the case of fixed idioms. The second point of my contribution concerns discontinuity of noun phrases. In general, discontinuity of a noun phrase can be produced by its own complement (for example, when a genitive complement is inserted between a head noun and its complement; this I will call "internal" hyperbaton, or "framed noun phrases", cf. Siewierska and Uhlířová 1998), or by an alien element that does not belong to the noun phrase. Distinction between "free" and "fixed" noun phrases is important for explaining discontinuity by alien elements. In Latin, there are enclitic particles, such as *enim*, that separate all noun phrases, including proper names (*Quintus enim Ligarius*) and highly fixed lexical units (*res enim publica*). This type of discontinuity is a placement constraint that is not linked with pragmatics. Separations produced by one or more alien element(s) other than enclitic particles do have a pragmatic motivation and are rare in the case of proper names and highly fixed lexical units. In sum, the examination of three parameters, i.e. mobility of modifiers, intervention of enclitics and discontinuity (in my corpus 10 % of noun phrases show internal hyperbaton, 12 % discontinuity by alien element(s)), provides us with results that fully support, and even emphasize the statement about the high flexibility of Latin noun phrases.

References:

- Bakker, D. 1998. Flexibility and consistency in word order patterns in the languages of Europe, in: A. Siewierska (ed.), *Constituent order in the languages of Europe*, Berlin/New York, 383-419
- Dik, S. C. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar*, I-II, 2nd revised edition, Berlin/New York
- Jong, J. R. de, 1983. Word order within Latin noun phrases, in: H. Pinkster (ed.), *Latin Linguistics and Linguistic Theory*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 131-144
- Lehmann, Ch. 1991. The Latin nominal group in typological perspective, in: R. Coleman (ed.), *New Studies in Latin Linguistics*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 203-232
- Pinkster, H. 1995. *Sintaxis y semántica del latín*, revised and enhanced edition of *Latin Syntax and Semantics* (1990), Madrid
- Rijkhoff, J. 2002. *The Noun Phrase*, Oxford
- Siewierska, A., Uhlířová, L. 1998. An overview of word order in Slavic languages, in: A. Siewierska (ed.), *Constituent order in the languages of Europe*, Berlin/New York, 105-149
- Spevak, O. 2010. *Constituent Order in Classical Latin Prose*, Amsterdam, Benjamins

Italian multi-word determiners and the grammaticalization of countability in Romance.

Squartini, Mario
(Università di Torino).

The morphosyntactic marking of indefinite expressions shows a complex pattern of interlinguistic variation among Romance languages, especially as far as mass nouns and countable plurals are concerned (Stark 2007). While French mass nouns require an indefinite determiner, the so called 'partitive article', which also occurs (even though not obligatorily) in Italian (Fr. *J'achète *(du) pain*, It. *Compro (del) pane* 'I buy (some) bread'), Spanish only admits bare mass nouns (*Compro pan* 'I buy (some) bread'). This distribution has been typologically interpreted as sensitive to classificational distinctions based on countability, French and Italian 'partitive articles' being considered as 'nominal classifiers' (Herslund 2004, Stark 2007). Nonetheless, as noted by Herslund (2003), an opposite behaviour can be observed in Spanish, if the marking of indefinite plurals is also taken into account. Unlike Italian and (modern) French, Spanish displays a plural inflectional form of the

indefinite article restricted to countable nouns (*Compro (unos) libros* 'I buy (some) books'). This has been interpreted as a preference for the grammaticalization of quantifiers instead of classifiers in Spanish (Herslund 2003), but it can also be accommodated within a classificational interpretation, in which the Spanish (singular and plural) indefinite articles can be analyzed as morphologically transparent markers of countability. These hypotheses will be now tested by extending the scope of the analysis to multi-word quantificational determiners such as Spanish *un montón de*, French *un tas de*, Italian *un sacco di* 'a lot of', whose status as 'complex determiners' has been repeatedly pointed out (Dessaux 1976, Buvet 2001, Mirto / Necker 2007, Vietri 2008). The origin of some of these constructions as pseudo-partitives (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2009) as well as their gradual grammaticalization (Brems 2003) and intermediate nature between (mensural) classifiers and quantifiers have also been controversially discussed in various languages (see Lehrer 1986 and Aikhenvald 2000, among others), which makes their study particularly relevant in a context focusing on the grammaticalization of classificational properties. However, due to the crosslinguistic and intralinguistic diversity of the vast array of Romance multi-word determiners, the analysis will concentrate on two Italian constructions (*un sacco di* 'a lot of' and *una serie di* 'a series of') that are particularly frequent in various text genres according to recent corpus investigations (Mirto / Necker 2007, Onesti / Squartini 2007). Elaborating on a set of morphosyntactic properties, including selectional restrictions with mass / countable nouns as well as pronominalization and the possibility of occurring as non-nominal modifiers (e.g. as adjectival modifiers: It. *un sacco bello* 'very beautiful'), a contrastive analysis of the two constructions under scrutiny will be presented in detail. It will be concluded that they might be representative of two productive structural types, in which the modifier *tutta* 'all, whole' in *tutta una serie di* 'a whole series of' also plays a collocational role. More generally, it will be claimed that their different morphosyntactic properties can be ultimately ascribed to opposite strategies variously based on classificational distinctions along the lines sketched out above for the system of simple determiners.

References:

- Aikhenvald, A. (2000). *Classifiers. A typology of noun categorization devices*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brems, L. (2003), "Measure noun constructions: An instance of semantically driven grammaticalization", *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8:283-312.
- Buvet, P.-A. (2001), "Les déterminants intensifs", in X. Blanco, P.-A. Buvet, Z. Gavriilidou (eds.), *Détermination et formalisation*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 101-113.
- Dessaux, A.-M. (1976), "Déterminants nominaux et paraphrases prépositionnelles: problèmes de description syntaxique et sémantique du lexique", *Langue Française* 30:44-62.
- Herslund, M. (2003), "Le pluriel de l'article indéfini en ancien français", in P. Blumenthal, J.-E. Tyvaert (eds.), *La cognition dans le temps. Etudes cognitives dans le champ historique des langues et des textes*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, pp. 75-84.
- Herslund, M. (2004), "Articles et classificateurs", *Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure* 56:21-33.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (2009), "A lot of grammar with a good portion of lexicon: towards a typology of partitive and pseudopartitive nominal constructions", in J. Helmbrecht, Y. Nishina, Y.-M. Shin, S. Skopeteas, E. Verhoeven (eds.), *Form and Function in Language Research. Papers in Honour of Christian Lehmann*, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 329-346.
- Lehrer, A. (1986). "English classifier constructions", *Lingua* 68:109-148.
- Mirto, I. M., H. Necker (2007), "Complex nominal determiners. A contrastive study", in P. Ramat, E. Roma (eds.), *Europe and the Mediterranean as linguistic areas. Convergencies from a historical and typological perspective*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 215-243.
- Onesti, C., M. Squartini (2007), "*Tutta una serie di*. Lo studio di un *pattern* sintagmatico e del suo statuto grammaticale", in M. Barbera, E. Corino, C. Onesti (eds.), *Corpora e linguistica in rete*, Perugia: Guerra, pp. 271-284.
- Stark, E. (2007), "Gender, number, and indefinite articles: About the 'typological inconsistency' of Italian", in W. Abraham, E. Leiss, E. Stark (eds.), *Nominal Determination: Typology, context constraints, and historical emergence*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, pp. 49-71.
- Vietri, S. (2008), "La grammatica dei determinanti", *Studi italiani di linguistica teorica e applicata* 37:381-401.

What is a sentence in Classical Nahuatl?

Stolz, Thomas
(Universität Bremen).

Classical Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan) is probably the most richly documented indigenous language of the erstwhile Spanish colonial empire. This wealth of literary data provides an ideal testing ground for many hypotheses of contemporary linguistics. Even basic concepts of Western Linguistics can be tested against the data of Classical Nahuatl. Michel Launey (1994) - inspired by the morphosyntactic analysis of Classical Nahuatl proposed by Andrews (2003 - first published in 1975) - describes Classical Nahuatl as an omnipredicative language. Simplifying, the principle of omnipredicativity presupposes that each content word (=verbs and nouns) is fully predicative in the sense that it forms a sentence/clause of its own. This interpretation is based on the assumption that each content word represents a combination of subject and predicate. A bona fide noun like e.g. pilli "child" can be analysed as 0-pilli "(s/he is a) child" with a zero-prefix for 3rd person subject just as any bona fide verb of the language, cf. 0-tzàtzi "(s/he) cries". Since ni-pilli "I am a child" and ni-tzàtzi "I cry" show that (in

the present tense), nominal predicates and intransitive verbal predicates behave in parallel fashion morphologically, Launey's argument must be considered strong. It comes as no surprise, that data from Classical Nahuatl receive considerable attention in Stassen's (1997) crosslinguistic study of intransitive predication. In Launey (2004), the concept of omnipredicativity is reaffirmed.

This concept has a bearing on many notions modern Western linguistics has inherited from traditional descriptive grammar and the various schools of European and American structuralism. From the perspective of omnipredicativity, terms like "word", "phrase", "clause", "(simple/complex sentence)", "clause combining", etc. do not lend themselves easily to being applied to a language like Classical Nahuatl. Stolz (2008) demonstrates that even the distinction of primary vs secondary predication does not do justice to the givens of Classical Nahuatl. Overt connectors are largely optional in the language (whereas juxtaposition prevails). Strategies of predicativisation and depredicativisation exist. However, especially the latter often create "arguments" which are equally related to the "predicates" between which they are sandwiched such that a kind of "argument sharing" seems to be the rule. Extensive noun incorporation (object, instrumental, adverbial), auxiliary and verb incorporation, polysynthesis, pro-drop, and non-configurationality are properties which add to the difficulties one has to face if it comes to determining syntactic boundaries which are not identical with the ones which separate individual words from each other in a chain.

On the empirical basis of Book 12 of the Florentine Codex (a bilingual Spanish-Classical Nahuatl account of the conquest of Tenochtitlan by the Spaniards, written in the second half of the 16th century), I put forward quantitative and qualitative arguments for a critical assessment of the omnipredicativity hypothesis by way of checking how predicates ("clauses") are combined in this classic text. At the same time, I test the feasibility of a (macro-)syntactic analysis employing the received terminology of functional linguistics. My analysis will shed light on the question of whether or not the notional system of linguistics needs to be revised.

References:

- Andrews, J. Richard. 2003. *Introduction to Classical Nahuatl*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. [2nd edition]
- Launey, Michel. 1994. *Une grammaire omniprédicative - Essai sur la morphosyntaxe du nahuatl classique*. Paris: CNRS Editions.
- Launey, Michel. 2004. "The features of omnipredicativity in Classical Nahuatl." *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 57 (1), 49-69.
- Stassen, Leon. 1997. *Intransitive predication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stolz, Thomas. 2008. "Primary and secondary predication in Classical Nahuatl." In: Schroeder, Christoph; Hentschel, Gerd & Boeder, Winfried (eds.), *Secondary Predication in Eastern European Languages and Beyond*. Oldenburg: BIS, 359-380.

Syntactic liability in the New Indo-Aryan languages. Evidence from Hindi dialects.

Stronski, Krzysztof
(Adam Mickiewicz University Poznan).

The NIA languages are generally considered to be nominative/accusative at the level of syntax. The phenomenon of ergativity, however strong it is, is only attested at the morphological level. In contemporary NIA languages, all behavioral properties of subjects are possessed by the argument which in perfective tenses receives ergative marking. However, there is evidence from earlier stages of NIA that the syntactic status of the subject-like argument marked by the oblique case does not necessarily control conjunction reduction, i.e. there are traces of the Dixonian SO pivot (1994). In previous research, Khokhlova (1995; 2000; 2001; 2006) has found instances of the SO pivot in Old Rajasthani prose.

The present paper argues that the early NIA tongues can be interpreted as mixed pivot languages, and such a claim can be additionally supported by other early varieties of Hindi such as Braj and Awadhi. A closer examination of early NIA texts (Chand Bardai's 'Prithvi Raj Rasau', Jayasi's 'Padumavati' and Tulsidas' 'Ramacaritamanasa') reveals the liability of the syntactic pivot. In other words, not all ergative subjects in early NIA are endowed with the expected subject properties. Examples of co-referential object deletion found in the texts indicate the possible existence of the SO pivot.

The hypothesis that the early NIA tongues (here, in particular, old varieties of Hindi) were not fully accusative at the syntactic level can be further verified by comparison with the Pahari group, for which we do not have older written records (except for inscriptions whose authenticity is still disputed). Examination of selected contemporary Pahari texts (e.g. Pant 2006) as well as those collected over a hundred years ago by Grierson (1916) shows that even today syntactic liability may be present in the ergative domain of NIA, although it has been preserved only in the most conservative dialectal groups.

Even though syntactic ergativity has not been fully attested in NIA, its traces can be found at different historical stages of NIA. This fact may result in reformulation of the well-established views on ergativity vs. accusativity of NIA, by showing the instability of both systems. In our opinion the assumed liability can shed new light on the notion of subject or even lead to the challenging of subject as a relevant category for early NIA (for Hindi cf. Monaut 2004). It should also be possible to verify to what extent convergences between syntactic phenomena attested in early NIA (Rajasthani, Eastern Hindi, Western Hindi) and in contemporary dialects (Pahari) can complete our understanding of the development of the ergative alignment in NIA.

References:

- Dixon Robert M.W., 1979. 'Ergativity', *Language* 55, 59–138.
- Dixon Robert M.W., 1994. *Ergativity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Khokhlova Ludmila V., 1995. 'The Development of Patient-Oriented Constructions in Late Western NIA Languages', *Osmania Papers in Linguistics*, 21, 15–51.
- Khokhlova Ludmila V., 2000. 'Typological Evolution of Western NIA Languages', *Berliner Indologische Studien (BIS)* 13/14, 117–142.
- Khokhlova Ludmila V., 2001. "Ergativity Attrition in the History of Western New Indo –Aryan languages (Punjabi, Gujarati and Rajasthani)", *The Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics*, 159–184.
- Khokhlova Ludmila V., 2006. 'Sintaktičeskaja evolucija zapadnykh novoiindijskich jazykov v 15-20 vv.' In: Dybo et al. 2006, 151–186.
- Grierson, G. A. 2005 [1916]. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IX. Part VI. Delhi: Low Price Publications.
- Montaut Annie 2004. 'Oblique Main Arguments in Hindi /Urdu as Localizing Predications' in Bhaskararao, Peri and Karumuri Venkata Subbarao (eds.) 33–56.
- Pant Prabhā 2006. *kumānī lok kathā*. Almorā: Manish Prakāśan.

The Expression of the Perfect in Asian Englishes.

Suárez-Gómez, Cristina & Seoane, Elena

(University of les Illes Balears & University of Santiago de Compostela).

This paper deals with perfect meaning, that is, the expression of actions within "a time span beginning in the past and extending up to now" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 143; cf. also Quirk *et al.* 1985: 192-195; Biber *et al.* 1999: 467). Though perfect meaning is traditionally ascribed exclusively to the analytic construction *have*+past participle, alternative constructions are possible, in particular the synthetic preterite, which competes with the analytic construction in some registers (e.g. spontaneous informal English, cf. Miller 2000, 2004) and in some geographical varieties of English, such as American English (Elsness 1997, 2009), Scottish English (Miller 2004), Irish English (Kirk 2009) and other varieties of English known as 'New Englishes' (Kortmann & Schneider 2004). More marginal ways of expressing perfect meaning have also been attested, as in the preterite+*there* construction in Scottish English (Miller 2000) and the present tense form in Irish English (Kirk 2009). This type of variation has traditionally been attributed to temporal indefiniteness, which leaves room for individual interpretations (Elsness 2009: 228); in fact, the analytic construction seems to be favoured in contexts where time is made explicit by an adverb, so much so that some authors maintain that, in spoken English, the perfect is splitting into three independent constructions differentiated by the occurrence or absence of particular adverbs, namely *just*, *yet*, *ever* and *never* (Miller 2004: 244). The traditional analysis of the expression of perfect meaning no longer holds for Present-day English, and therefore a more adequate account must now be sought.

While in certain varieties of English the issue has already been examined in detail (see above), in the different New Englishes further study is still needed. Accordingly, in this paper we analyse the expression of the perfect in Asian Englishes: Englishes from Hong Kong, India, Singapore and the Philippines. We focus on the spoken language as it is generally considered the most vernacular type of language and therefore the most likely locus of change (Miller 2006: 689). In particular, we analyse all the constructions that contain the above-mentioned adverbs (*just*, *yet*, *ever* and *never*), since these adverbs, which make the time reference explicit, would unambiguously require the use of the present perfect. The aim of the study is to answer the following questions: (i) What forms are available for the expression of perfect meaning? (ii) How are they used in spoken language (context, meaning, type of verb, grammatical environment, etc.)? (iii) Are these forms and the manner in which they are used the same in each of the four varieties? And (iv) does the variation observed match the variation described for American, Scottish and Irish Englishes?

Answering these questions has only recently been made possible by the collection and publication of the ICE corpora (*International Corpus of English*), from which we have taken a selection of 200,000 words of spoken language for each variety. Preliminary analysis of just one corpus sample has shown that, in combination with time adverbs, perfect meaning is expressed not only by the perfect and preterite forms, but also by constructions such as the simple present tense (*so far I never regret to come to Hong Kong*) and the *have*+bare infinitive form (*I haven't take up the whole job yet*).

References:

- Biber, Douglas et al. (1999). *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.
- Elsness, Johan (1997). *The perfect and the Preterite in Contemporary and Earlier English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Elsness, Johan (2009). The present perfect and the preterite. In Gunther Rohdenburg & Julia Schlütter (eds.). *One Language, Two Grammars?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 228-246.
- Huddleston, Rodney and Geoffrey Pullum (2002). *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- International Corpus of English*: <http://ice-corpora.net/ice>.
- Kirk, John (2009). Tense and aspect in Irish Standard English. Paper presented at *The Third International Conference on the Linguistics of Contemporary English (ICLCE3)*, London 14-17 July 2009.
- Kortmann, Bernd and Edgar W. Schneider (2004). *A Handbook of Varieties of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

- Miller, Jim (2000). The perfect in spoken and written English, *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 98(2): 323-352.
- Miller, Jim (2004). Perfect and resultative constructions in spoken and non-standard English. In Olga Fischer, Muriel Norde and Harry Perridon (eds). *Up and Down the Cline The Nature of Grammaticalization*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: 229-246.
- Miller, Jim (2006). Spoken and written English. In Bas Aarts and April McMahon (eds.). *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell: 670-691.
- Quirk, Randolph *et al.* (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Learning from the past: An ecolinguistic approach to reconstructing and predicting biocomplexity in Lithuanian watersheds.

Sullivan, Mazeika and Joseph, Brian
(The Ohio State University).

River ecosystems are among the most imperiled worldwide, and are expected to be subjected to multiple stressors in the coming centuries. In particular, predicting future ecological responses of rivers to changes in climate, land use, and precipitation represent a significant challenge and will require a solid understanding of the historical interplay among climate, landscape, and the ecology of watersheds. Using a linked ecological-linguistic approach, our driving objective is to reconstruct historic patterns of biocomplexity in Lithuanian watersheds, using salient relationships with climate and landscape change to predict likely future environmental changes. To capture both functional and mechanistic characteristics of biocomplexity, we are using habitat characteristics, species presence, biodiversity, and riverine food webs as our focal measures.

Ecologically, we are using stable isotope analysis of carbon ($\delta^{13}\text{C}$), nitrogen ($\delta^{15}\text{N}$), deuterium ($\delta^2\text{H}$), and oxygen ($\delta^{18}\text{O}$) on extant and museum preserved floral and faunal specimens to reconstruct a chronosequence of habitat and species distributions as well as trophic interactions in Lithuanian watersheds over the past 1000 years. Our field efforts focus on the seven principal river basins of Lithuania: Nemunas, Venta, Musa-Nemunelis, Dauguva, Baltic Sea tributaries, Bartuva, and Pregol. Current surveys of species presence, biodiversity, and food webs are being used as a counterpoint to historical patterns and as the underpinnings of predictive models.

Linguistically, we draw on an analysis of a number of ecologically important lexical items in Lithuanian, including various typonyms, food words, and terms for flora and fauna. Our hypothesis, drawing on the fact that the Lithuanian people have a uniquely long, rich, and possibly even largely monolingual history in their native homeland, is that these lexical domains will show considerable stability and will therefore reveal archaisms, thus providing clues to earlier ecological patterns that can be correlated with what is known about the region's ecological history from non-linguistic evidence. The richness of dialectological material in these sectors of the lexicon will also prove useful in pinpointing the location of detailed environmental correlates. In this way, Lithuanian offers a unique opportunity to use linguistic evidence as a complement to ecological methods to reconstruct historical patterns of biocomplexity.

Perspectives from this ecolinguistic effort are expected to result in unique outcomes including reconstructions of the historic biodiversity and food webs of Lithuanian watersheds and predictive models of future ecological patterns, and to offer a novel interdisciplinary methodology employing linguistic evidence in tandem with laboratory- and field- based ecological findings.

Partitive semantics and semantic partitives in the Uralic languages.

Tamm, Anne
(University of Florence - RIL HAS, Budapest).

Several languages have cases that are referred to as “partitive”, but I claim that the semantics of these cases diverges from the generally assumed notion of “partitive”. I propose a distinction between “partitive semantics” and “semantic partitives”. While the partitive semantics has “part-of-N” properties, the semantic partitive cases have developed different semantics in each language. I propose a motivated link between “partitive semantics” and “semantic partitives”, realized in a structure for a database for Uralic partitives, containing verb classification, morphosyntactic patterns, and categorial status.

The semantic partitive, “part-of-N”, refers to a part or quantity out of a group or amount (*one of my friends, uno dei miei amici, the youngest of my children, dei miei figli la piu piccola, a glass of wine, un bicchiere di vino*). The semantic partitive is expressed by a case in some European languages only, as in *čajju* ‘tea’ in *čaška čajju* ‘a cup of tea’ (pseudo-partitive, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001).

The semantic partitive appears on Uralic complements, e.g. some incremental theme verbs, (1), or in “part-of-N” phrases (2). For instance, Hungarian lacks a morphological partitive, but it has three separative cases; relative is a semantic partitive.

- (1) *Evett az almából.*
eat.3S DEF apple-ELA
‘She ate some of the apple.’

- (2) *gyerekeimből a legfiatalabb*
 child-PL.1S.PX-ELA the youngest
 'the youngest of my children' (Hungarian)

The typical semantic partitives are realized by the elative or ablative case in most of the Uralic languages. The Estonian semantic partitive is realized by elative (3); only the pseudo-partitive is realized by morphological partitive.

- (3) *noorim mu lastest / klaas veini*
 youngest my child-PL-ELA glass[NOM] wine.PART
 'the youngest of my children; a glass of wine' (Estonian)

Partitive semantics. In languages with less frequently used morphological partitives, such as the Inari or Skolt Sami, partitive is not as an instance of semantic partitive, being restricted to specific constructions only. Most Uralic morphological partitives retain a semantic link to the semantic partitive. The aspectual partitive marks objects in sentences describing incomplete events, not parts of objects, and the partitive evidential appears in sentences that encode incomplete evidence. Instead of the "part-of-N" semantics, the Finnic partitives mark:

a) **event structural properties and aspect**, combined with verbal semantics, as in (4) (Ackerman and Moore 2001). Presently, the Estonian partitive object case is independent of the part-whole relationships or partial affectedness (Tamm 2007).

- (4) *Mari sõi (ühte) õunapirukat/ (ühe) õunapiruka (ära).*
 M[NOM] eat.3S.PST one.PART apple tart.PART one.TOT apple tart.TOT up/PRT
 'Mari was eating an/the (/one) apple tart/Mari ate an/the(/one) apple tart (up).' (Estonian)

b) **epistemic modality and evidentiality.** Another peculiarity of the Uralic languages—case on non-finite verbs—has led to the spread of partitive semantics to epistemic modality and evidentiality. This presentation tries to capture the coherent link between the semantics of the Uralic partitives:

- 1) the NP-partitive, "the semantic partitive"
- 2) the aspectual partitive
- 3) epistemic modal partitive
- 4) evidential partitive

Situationality in social deixis: forms of address.

Tárnyiková, Jarmila
 (Palacky University, Olomouc).

This paper is theoretically anchored in Halliday's (1978) conception of language as social semiotic and his assumption that in conveying meaning, 'people act out of the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of values and knowledge' (1978:2).

Projecting Halliday's theory into the processes of deixis, we would like to emphasize that the social dimension of 'pointing via language' (Yule:1996:2), i.e. social deixis, has to be approached as an integral part of other language manifestations of indexicals (cf. local, temporal, and discourse deixis in Yule:1996:9).

In order to verify the validity of our standpoint, two dimensions 'fundamental to the analysis of all social life' will be considered in our data-based analysis. These include the dimension of power (distance) and the dimension of solidarity (Brown & Gilman 1977:252).

While the former is based on asymmetrical relationships between the interlocutors, the latter reflects symmetry.

Our discussion of social indexicals will be narrowed to the forms of address, including both bound forms (pronouns), and free forms (titles, names, terms of endearment) - and to the strategies in dynamic shifts on the imaginary scale from solidarity to distance or vice versa in the process of interaction.

Instead of looking for static grids, the preference will be for a data-based analysis of dynamic on-line processes of negotiation of social deixis, in which the forms of address are looked upon as context-sensitive language variables.

The questions addressed included the following:

1. What kind of data is relevant for approaching the forms of address from the above mentioned perspective.
2. Should the forms of address be considered on the vertical (pragmatic) axis of possible alternative choices (or 'rules' in Ervin-Tripp:1973; i.e. whether Professor, Mr Smith, Joe will be preferred in a given situation) - or should also the horizontal (syntagmatic) axis of co-occurrence 'rules' be activated in their analysis.
3. Which contextual factors influence the shifts on the imaginary scale from distance (power) to solidarity or vice versa.

As for the data, a live phone-in talk show was selected, since it offered a natural setting for the need of the moderator and the callers to address each other.

The results (some illustrative samples of which will be presented), supported our hypothesis about the need to activate both the paradigmatic axis of alternation and the syntagmatic axis of co-occurrence of the forms of address, with other supportive means of social 'equalisers'. The shifts from distance to solidarity (or vice versa) proved to be context-sensitive correlates, influenced by such factors as the creation of likemindedness between the interlocutors, the seriousness of the topic, and the expression of deference / empathy towards the callers.

References:

- Brown, R. and A.Gilman. 1977 [1960]. The pronouns of Power and Solidarity. In *Language and Social Context*, ed. P.P. Giglioli, 252-282. London: Penguin Books.
- Brown, P. and S.Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan M. 1973. *Language Acquisition and Communicative Choice*. Stanford: University Press.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. *Language as social semiotic. The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Yule, G. 199. *Pragmatics*. Oxford introductions to language study. Oxford: OUP.

Estonian Diphthongs.

Teras, Pire
(University of Helsinki, University of Tartu).

Diphthongs are defined as sequences of two qualitatively different vowels belonging to the syllable nucleus. In the present paper the problems related to the number and classification of Estonian diphthongs are discussed. In addition the quality of diphthongs occurring in the secondary stressed syllables is analysed.

In Standard Estonian there are 36 diphthongs. Only 3 diphthongs [ai ei ui] are allowed in non- initial syllables (foreign words excluded). All nine Estonian vowels /i y u e ø ɾ o æ α/ can appear as the first component of a diphthong. Only five of them / a e i o u/ occur as the second component of a diphthong. Diphtongs ending in /a e o/ are considered late diphthongs.

The diphthongs are usually divided into two groups: own and foreign diphthongs. Different authors give a little different number of own and foreign diphthongs. The number of own diphthongs is 25–26 and foreign diphthongs 10–11 (cf. Piir 1982, 1985, Eek, Meister 1999, Viitso 2003, Asu, Teras 2009). One reason of this difference is the diphthong [yi], that is not written, but is pronounced in native words, e.g. *piüian* [pyijɑn] 'I catch, I try'.

The own diphthongs occurring in native and loanwords are in turn divided into two groups. In the bigger group there are 18 diphthongs that occur both in Q2 and Q3 words, e.g. *naeru* [næru] (Q2) 'laughter, gen.sg.', *naeru* [næ:ru] (Q3) 'laughter, part.sg.', *koera* [koera] (Q2) 'dog, gen.sg.', *koera* [koe:ra] (Q3) 'dog, part. sg.'. In the other group there are 8 diphthongs that have arisen as a result of quality alternation and occur only in Q3 words, e.g. *söed* [søe:t] 'charcoals' (nom. sg. *süsi* [sysi^h]), *teod* [teo:t] 'snails, acts' (nom. sg. *tigu* [tiku^{*}] 'snail', *tegu* [teku^{*}] 'act'). The foreign diphthongs occur often in an unstressed first syllable followed by a primary stressed second syllable. Their pronunciation is not stable and they are sometimes pronounced with a syllable boundary between diphthong components (Eek, Meister 1999).

In the analysis part, the acoustic phonetic quality of 3 diphthongs [ai ei ui] occurring in the secondary stressed syllable is analysed, e.g. *teibaid* ['tei:,pai:t] 'pole, part. pl.', *leigeid* ['lei:,kei:t] 'tepid, part. pl.', *looduid* ['lo:ɪ:,tui:t] 'created one, part. pl.'. The material was recorded by two male speakers. The quality of diphthongs in the secondary stressed syllables is compared to the quality of diphthongs in the primary stressed syllables (Piir 1985) and to the quality of vowels pronounced as isolated (Eek, Meister 1994). The diphthong components affect each other mutually. For example, the quality of [i] varies depending on the quality of the first component. In [ai] the F1 of [i] is much lower than in [ui] and [ei]. The values of F1 and F2 of the first components of diphthongs have quite big standard deviations: there are less vowel oppositions to be recognised and that enables a bigger variation. Also the analysis of the diphthongs of primary stressed syllables has shown the bigger variation in the quality of five vowels occurring as a second component of the diphthong.

References:

- Asu, Eva Liina, Pire Teras. Illustrations of the IPA: Estonian. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 2009, 39 (3), 367–372.
- Eek, Arvo, Einar Meister 1994. Eesti vokaalide sihtväärtused hääldus- ja tajuruumis. *Keel ja Kirjandus*, 404–413.
- Eek, Arvo, Einar Meister 1999. Estonian speech in the BABEL multilanguage database: Phonetic-phonological problems revealed in the text corpus. *Proceedings of the Linguistics and Phonetics conference (LP'98)*. Prague: The Karolinum Press, 529–546.
- Piir, Hille 1982. On the classification of Estonian diphthongs. *Estonian Papers in Phonetics* 1980–1981, 66–70.
- Piir, Hille 1985. Acoustics of the Estonian diphthongs. *Estonian Papers in Phonetics* 1982–1983, 5–103.
- Viitso, Tiit-Rein 2003. Phonology, morphology and word formation. In: *Estonian Language. Linguistica Uralica. Supplementary series, volume I*. Ed. Mati Ereht. Tallinn: Estonian Academy Publishers, 9–92.

Learner language as a diversified, genre-dependent concept: from corpus analysis to data-driven learning.

Thewissen, Catherine and Liesbet Heyvaert
(University of Leuven at Kortrijk; FWO-Flanders).

The field of learner corpus research hasn't stopped growing since the 1990s and has come to include studies on all major areas of language structure whether it be syntax (e.g. Granger 1999 on the use of tenses by learners), lexis (e.g. De Cock 2005 on phrasal verbs and learners), phraseology (e.g. Altenberg and Granger 2001 on the patterning of 'make', Granger 1998 on prefabricated patterns in advanced EFL writing) and discourse (e.g. Gilquin 2008 on hesitation markers among EFL learners). The majority of these studies have been based on corpora of written learner English consisting mainly of general essays or academic text types (as Nesselhauf (2004:132) points out, corpora "are often restricted to one medium, to one or only a few text types, and to one level of proficiency"). The contrastive type of analysis that underlies them typically involves quantitative or qualitative comparisons with native corpora or with non-native data produced by learners with a different L1 background (e.g. Granger and Tyson 1996). A desirable development in the field of learner language would be, according to Nesselhauf (2004:132), to create corpora "containing data from learners of different proficiency levels and of corpora of different media and *text types* [italics CT and LH]". Numerous studies comment on the fact that thus far most studies have focused on one register, written English, and one text type, the academic essay. While studies strongly advocate greater variety in text type in learner corpora (e.g. Granger 2002), development in that field has been slow.

In our paper, we seek to redress this imbalance by considering learner language not as a monolithic but as a diversified entity that performs differently depending on text type. The contrastive type of Interlanguage Analysis that we present therefore involves the qualitative and quantitative comparison of a group of learners' production of English in two different text types: we compiled a corpus of learner language consisting of academic (i.e. essay) writing and one that was made up of narratives, both of which are produced by the same group of advanced learners of English with Dutch as their mother tongue. To map out the differences between both corpora, we kept our focus of interest broad and considered lexicogrammatical phenomena ranging from, for instance, the expression of the possessive case in English and the choice between the three variants available in English (the *of*-phrase, the possessive 's and compounding), to collocational patterning and cohesion phenomena. In our paper, we report on these differences, as well as on the similarities that we found between the two corpora. On the basis of the results that we obtained, we developed data-driven activities to be integrated in our own language teaching. A number of these activities will be presented as well.

References:

- Altenberg, B. and Granger, S., (2001), The grammatical and lexical patterning of make in native and non-native student writing, *Applied Linguistics* 22 (2), pp. 173-194.
- Granger, S., (1999), Use of tenses by advanced EFL learners: evidence from an error-tagged computer corpus, in Hasselgård H. and Oksefjell S. (eds.), *Out of Corpora – Studies in Honour of Stig Johansson*, Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, pp.191-202.
- Granger, S., (1998), Prefabricated patterns in advanced EFL writing: collocations and formulae, in COWIE, A., (ed.), *Phraseology: Theory, Analysis and Applications*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 145-160.
- Granger, S. and S. TYSON (1996), Connector usage in the English essay writing of native and non-native EFL speakers of English. *World Englishes* 15, pp. 19-29.
- De Cock, S., (2006), Getting down to business: monolingual learners' dictionaries and business English, in CORINO, E., MARELLO, C., ONESTI, C., (eds), *Proceedings XII Euralex International Congress*, Torino, Italia, September 6th-9th, 2006, Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 819-824.
- De Cock, S., (2005), Phrasal verbs and learners: how well do they get on?, in *Macmillan Phrasal Verbs Plus*, Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Gilquin N, G., (2008), Hesitation markers among EFL learners: pragmatic deficiency or difference?, in J. ROMERO-TRILLO (ed.), *Pragmatics and Corpus Linguistics: A Mutualistic Entente*, Berlin; Heidelberg, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 119-149.
- Nesselhauf, N., (2004), Learner corpora and their potential in language teaching, in J. SINCLAIR (ed.), *How to use Corpora in Language teaching*, Amsterdam: Benjamins, pp. 125-152.
- Granger, S., 2002, A bird's-eye view of computer learner corpus research, in GRANGER, S., HUNG, J. and PETCH-TYSON, S., (eds), *Computer Learner Corpora, Second Language Acquisition and Foreign Language Teaching, Language Learning and Language Teaching* 6, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: Benjamins, pp.3-33.

Explorations old and new in learner corpora: looking towards the future.

Thompson, Paul
(University of Birmingham).

The creation and investigation of learner corpora is still a relatively recent development in corpus-based approaches to linguistic research. This paper will present an overview of the learner corpus resources that have been established to date, the differing approaches taken to annotation and to investigation of the resources, and the contexts in which these studies have been conducted. The findings of these initial explorations of learner corpora will be summarised and points of difference as well as points of similarity will be remarked. Where differences exist, the reasons for such divergence will be investigated, and issues relating to corpus representativeness and to choices of comparison data will be discussed.

In the latter half of the paper, the focus turns to a consideration of the range of new approaches and possibilities that interdisciplinary projects bring to the field of learner corpus research, with particular attention given to the range of papers that are to be delivered in this workshop. These new approaches are both expanding the notion of what a linguistic corpus is, and of how linguistic corpora can be assembled, annotated and analysed.

'Some good HOPE', or 'a glimmer of HOPE': On the uses of the English noun HOPE and the verb TO HOPE in Early Modern and Present-Day English.

Tissari, Heli
(University of Helsinki).

Hope is an interesting concept because it both attests and does not attest characteristics of emotion, as listed, e.g. by Loos et al (1999) in terms of conceptual metaphors. Fabiszak and Hebda (in preparation) have noted that the cause of hope, placed in the future, is not a typical cause of emotion, considering an emotion in terms of its consisting of a stimulus, its assessment and a reaction. Indeed, hope may be seen in terms of expectation (Sylvester 1994).

My own research on hope so far has indicated that conceptual metaphors indicating emotion-like qualities occur more rarely with the verb and noun *hope* than, for example, with the verb and noun *fear*. While these two emotions appear opposite in terms of their main metaphors (treasure vs. refuse, upward movement vs. downward movement, light vs. darkness; Tissari 2004: 218), they also share linguistic characteristics: above all, they tend to be used when predicting the future, and they often occur in fixed expressions, especially with the first person pronoun *I*.

Having considered expressions with *fear*, in particular *I fear* in length (Tissari 2007), I would like to extend my research to expressions with the verb and noun *hope*, such as the Early Modern English *I hope*, *(some) good hope*, and *in (the) hope (of)*, as well as considering how the usage of *hope* has changed between Early Modern and Present-Day English. In this pilot study, I plan to use as data the Early Modern English period of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts* (226 occurrences of the verb and noun *hope*) and the *Freiburg-LOB Corpus of British English* (342 occurrences), with potential extra reference to other sources. Questions to investigate include at least:

1. What kind of contexts (e.g. text types) does *hope* occur in?
2. Is there any interesting variation in the usage of personal pronouns with *hope*?
3. Does 'hoping' seem to correspond to wishing or can it be rather definite as well? How do people express the certainty vs. uncertainty of their future hopes?
4. How often do people's 'hopes' correspond to their plans?
5. What kind of polite purposes can be served with phrases including *hope*?
6. What role do metaphors serve in the conceptualization of hope?
7. What do these findings tell us about hope as an emotion or a non-emotion?

References:

- Fabiszak, Małgorzata & Anna Hebda. In preparation. Hope in Old English.
- Loos, Eugene E., Susan Anderson, Dwight H. Day Jr., Paul C. Jordan, W. Douglas Wingate (eds.). 1999. *Metaphors in English*. (SIL International: LinguaLinks Library.) <<http://www.sil.org/lingualinks/lexicon/MetaphorsInEnglish/>> (accessed 22 December 2009)
- Sylvester, Louise. 1994. *Studies in the Lexical Field of Expectation*. Amsterdam & Atlanta: Rodopi.
- Tissari, Heli. 2004. Vistas of fear and hope: On metaphors occurring with the English words *fear* and *hope*. *Papers from the 30th Finnish Conference of Linguistics, Joensuu, May 15–16, 2003*, ed. by Marja Nenonen. (Studies in Languages 39.) Joensuu: University of Joensuu. 214–220.
- Tissari, Heli. 2007. Compressing emotion to politeness: On *I fear* and *I'm afraid*. *Change in Meaning and the Meaning of Change: Studies in Semantics and Grammar from Old to Present-Day English*, ed. by Matti Rissanen, Marianna Hintikka, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka & Roderick McConchie. (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki LXXII.) Helsinki: Société Néophilologique. 57–90.

The Israeli Hebrew (IH) tense system with special focus on the future.

Tobin, Yishai
(Ben-Gurion University of the Negev).

It is assumed that verb tense is equivalent to the notion of time: In Hebrew the grammatical term for tense is *zman* - 'time' similar to Greek (*khronos*) and Latin (*tempus*). The three basic tenses have been labeled: "past," "present," and "future." However, there is not always a direct, causal, or one-to-one connection between time and tense. The tenses in IH have several functions and moods which override their temporal meanings:

- (a) The "present" tense expresses actions that have taken place in the past, present and the future, as well as "'timeless' events".
- (b) The "past" tense not only designates past actions, but *irrealis* or hypothetical events, as well as polite requests.
- (c) The "future" has at least six functions:
 - (i) to designate future actions where the future is in opposition to the present tense;
 - (ii) to designate polite requests, demands, directives, or *irrealis* or hypothetical actions where the future is in opposition to the past and present tenses;
 - (iii) to designate positive imperative messages where the future is in opposition to the traditional imperative morphology;
 - (iv) to designate all negative imperative messages;
 - (v) to designate stronger negative messages where the future is in opposition to the infinitive form used for impersonal commands or directives;
 - (vi) to designate subjunctive-like messages (wishes, desires, hopes, fears, doubts) etc.

Our analysis of the IH tense system is based on two semantic systems. System #1: The Space-Time-Existence System places actions in a spatial-temporal-existential relation to the encoder at the "here-and-now" point of speaking/writing. The Space-Time-Existence System has two invariant meanings which exhaustively divide the semantic domain in the following ways:

- (a) PROXIMATE – invariably paired to present tense morphology places an action in spatial-temporal-existential proximity to the encoder;
- (b) REMOTE – invariably paired to past and future morphology places an action in spatial-temporal-existential distance to the encoder.

The Space-Time-Existence System is interlocked with the System of Experience. The System of Experience has two invariant meanings which exhaustively divide this semantic domain in the following way:

- (a) EXPERIENCED – invariably paired to present and the past tense morphology signals that the action is readily perceived by or accessible to the senses;
- (b) NOT-EXPERIENCED – invariably paired to future tense morphology signals that the action is not readily perceived by or accessible to the senses.

Thus, in this analysis of the IH tense system, each tense has a unitary and fixed meaning based on these two interlocked systems:

- (a) the present tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: PROXIMATE-EXPERIENCED;
- (b) the past tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: REMOTE-EXPERIENCED;
- (c) the so-called future tense morphology simultaneously signals the meanings: REMOTE-NOT-EXPERIENCED;

Therefore, this analysis claims that the use of the past, present and future tenses is not always determined by the physical time of the occurrence of actions in the real world, but by the encoder's perception of the actions as being either PROXIMATE or REMOTE and/or EXPERIENCED or NOT-EXPERIENCED at the here and-now point of speaking / writing.

Prosody in a contrastive learner corpus.

Tortel, Anne
(LPL-Université de Provence).

This talk will present the ANGLISH corpus, a contrastive learner database designed at the University of Provence at the Laboratory Parole & Langage (LPL) for a PhD project. ANGLISH is currently made up of more than 5:30 of oral English L1 & L2. Sixty-three speakers were recorded in an anechoic room for reading & repeating tasks as well as for continuous unprepared speech. Three groups were recorded in order to obtain a representative sample of different levels of English: (i) native speakers of British English (GB), (ii) non-specialist working adult speakers of English (FR1), (iii) second and third-year university students of English (FR2).

Using customized scripts with PRAAT, rhythm of French learners of English was compared with the realisations of native speakers. Investigations of the acquisition of speech rhythm by first and second language learners are really scarce. However a study led by Adams (1979)¹ can be mentioned. The author emphasizes the difficulties of acquiring rhythm of English. This has been observed among several non native speakers from different nationalities. Several reasons were put forward such as (i) insufficient durational difference between unstressed and stressed syllables, (ii) unstressed syllables not reduced appropriately, (iii) misplaced stress (*etc.*)

Our study attempted to examine the utility of recently-developed rhythm metrics of speech to underline rhythmic differences between natives and French learners of English.

Indeed recent work on rhythmic classification develops rhythm metrics using the syllable structure as basis of different combinations of measures which help distinguishing between so-called stress-timed and syllable-timed languages as they should express the degree of rhythmic variability contained in the acoustic speech. Among the metrics used for this analysis, we used the most popular approaches presented in the literature (Ramus *et al.*, 1999²; Grabe & Low, 2002³; Dellwo, 2006⁴; White & Mattys, 2007⁵).

Our hypothesis is that since rhythm measurements tend to demonstrate rhythmic differences between different languages and dialects, they can also be used to observe rhythmic differences between L1 (French) and L2 (English). Then oral productions of French will be distinguished from those of native speakers. In our experiment we analysed the reading part of the corpus ANGLISH. It represents 1:30 of readings of 4 passages of 5 semantically linked utterances. These sentences were selected because they were composed of different polysyllabic words containing vowel reductions such as 'unfortunately' and 'comfortable'. 1260 sentences were manually segmented into phonemes and labeled CVC with the PRAAT⁶ software. The rhythmic variations of vocalic and consonantal intervals were automatically calculated.

The results showed that L1 French rhythm influences the rhythmic tendencies of the productions of French-speaking learners. It was also demonstrated that it was possible to set up an objective evaluation distinguishing between L1 & L2 speakers by using a combination of rhythmic parameters. It has been showed by a discriminant analysis that it was possible to classify the speakers according to three different levels.

References:

- Adams, C. *English Speech Rhythm and the Foreign Learner*, The Hague: Moulton, 231p., 1979.
Ramus, F.; Nespor, M.; Melher, J. Correlates of linguistic rhythm on the speech signal, *Cognition* 72:1-28, 1999.
Grabe, E.; Low, E.L. Durational variability in speech and the rhythm class hypothesis, In Gussenhoven C., Warner, N. (eds), *Laboratory Phonology 7*, coll. *Phonology and Phonetics*, 4-1, Berlin, Allemagne:Mouton de Gruyter, 515-546, 2002.
Dellwo, V. Rhythm and Speech rate: A variation coefficient for ΔC ., *Language and Language-Processing*, 231-241, 2006.
White, L., Mattys, S. Calibrating rhythm: First language and second language studies, *Journal of Phonetics*, 35 (4): 501-522, 2007.
Boersma, P.; Weenick, D., *Praat: a system for doing phonetics by computer*, version 5.1.04., www.praat.org, 2009.

Origin of the English *get*-passive: contact with Old Scott.

Toyota, Junichi

(Lund University/University of Belgrade).

The origin of the English *get*-passive has been debated and there are two lines of arguments, i.e. the adjectival origin (Gronemeyer 1999; Hundt 2001) and the reflexive causative origin (Givón and Yang 1994; Toyota 2006, 2008). The problem between them is that the former can comply to the chronology set by a general principle of grammaticalisation, but fails to explain its semantic peculiarities (Toyota 2008). The latter can account for its semantic features, but its chronology is rather unconventional (i.e. the period of changes is too short). Facing this controversy, it is argued here that the causative origin is perhaps the right origin, but this was not a result of regular grammaticalisation, but contact-induced changes, as in a sense of Heine and Kuteva (2005, 2006).

In this case, the contact is between Southern England dialects and Scottish English in the 16th to 17th centuries when the migration of a large number of people from Scotland to London took place after the enthronement of the Scottish King, James II. The corpus of Older Scott suggests that the use of the *get*-passive in Old Scott was rare, and it normally contains a structure 'S *get* DO V-ed'. The impact of Old Scott and Northern dialects might have been neglected in general, but its influence was so powerful that we observe in different parts of the English grammar today, such as a verbal conjugation (third person singular present indicative -s), third person plural pronouns starting *th-* (e.g. *they*, *their*, *them*), etc. Thus, it is possible that the *get*-causative found its way into Southern, more standard, dialect of English and in the process of replication, it was reanalysed as the passive voice, perhaps due to the lack of the structurally dynamic counterpart to the *be*-passive, which was historically stative.

By the time the *get*-causative reached Southern England, the *be*-passive had been more or less grammaticalised. In Old Scott, however, the passive had not been firmly established around the same period. The reinterpretation of the causative as the passive was possible because the *be*-passive has already been grammaticalised in Southern dialects by the 17th century, and this can be considered as a historical accident. As a proof, the use of *get* as an auxiliary for the passive or an origin of the passive affix is very rare in the world languages.

In the case of the *get*-passive, the language or dialectal contact is perhaps the key to understand its historical development, and this will support the causative origin very neatly and solve a conflict between two opposing arguments presented so far.

Three Types of Comitative Constructions: Syntactic Structure and Semantic Representation.

Trawinski, Beata
(University of Vienna).

Comitative Constructions (CCs) are expressions consisting of two NPs connected by a comitative preposition such as the English *with*, German *mit*, French *avec*, or Polish *z*, and are attested for a vast number of languages. Three interpretations have previously been identified as being available for CCs: accompanitive, conjunctive and inclusive. This ambiguity is illustrated by the Polish sentence in (1), where the three readings of the CC *oni z Janem* 'they with Jan' are indicated by the three different translations: T1, T2 and T3.

- (1) Oni z Janem wyjechali.
they with Jan_INSTR left
T1: 'They left with Jan.' / T2: 'They and Jan left.' / T3: 'Jan and he / they left.'

In assuming that the domain of individuals contains just three individuals: Jan, Iwo and Wit, the intuition behind the three readings can be explained as follows: Under the accompanitive reading, indicated by T1, the pronoun *oni* refers to Iwo and Wit, and Jan accompanies the two of them in the event of leaving. The denotation of the entire CC *oni z Janem* can thus be assumed to include the denotation of the pronoun, i.e., Iwo and Wit, and the denotation of the NP *Janem*, i.e., Jan, but these denotations are disjoint. Under the conjunctive interpretation, indicated by T2, the pronoun refers to Iwo and Wit. These two individuals and the individual denoted by the NP *Janem*, i.e., Jan, are members of a set of equal participants involved in the event of leaving. The pronoun *oni* and the NP *Janem* thus function as conjuncts, being in the same thematic relationship to the predicate. In this case, it is reasonable to assume that the denotation of the entire CC *oni z Janem* involves an entity composed of the denotation of the first NP and the denotation of the second NP. Finally, under the inclusive interpretation, indicated by T3, the denotation of the pronoun *oni* includes Jan and either Iwo, or Wit, or Iwo and Wit. The denotation of the NP *Janem* is thus a proper part of the denotation of the pronoun. The availability of these three interpretations is supported by the different behavior of CCs under the corresponding interpretations with regard to (1) presuppositional effects, (2) the (in)ability to occur in collective and distributive contexts, (3) contrastive focus assignment, and (4) a number of coreference phenomena, such as control of pronouns and PRO subjects (examples will be provided in the full paper).

The focus of the majority of previous approaches to CCs lies on syntactic aspects. Ladusaw (1989), McNally (1989), Dalrymple et al. (1998), Vassilieva and Larson (2005) and Feldman (2002) also discuss some semantic issues, but none of them offers a coherent and formally satisfactory analysis accounting for accompanitive, conjunctive and inclusive readings. The objective of this paper is to propose a syntactic and compositional semantic analysis which uniformly accounts for all three of these interpretations. Our analysis is based on the assumption that CCs have a uniform, adjunction-based syntactic structure, and that the semantic difference between the particular types of CCs is triggered by the denotation of the comitative preposition, for which we propose three different semantic representations.

References:

- Dalrymple, M., I. Hayrapetian, and T. King (1998). The Semantics of the Russian Comitative Construction. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16, 597-631.
- Feldman, A. (2002). On NP-Coordination. In *Yearbook 2002*, pp. 39-67. Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS.
- Ladusaw, W. A. (1989). Group Reference and the Plural Pronoun Construction. In *Papers on the Plural Pronoun Construction and Comitative Coordination*, pp. 1.7. UCSC Syntax Research Center Report SRC-89-02.
- McNally, L. (1989). Comitative Coordination in Russian. In *Papers on the Plural Pronoun Construction and Comitative Coordination*, pp. 9-15. UCSC Syntax Research Center Report SRC-89-02.
- Vassilieva, M. B. and R. K. Larson (2005). The Semantics of the Plural Pronoun Construction. *Natural Language Semantics* 13, 101.124.

Markers of futurity and aspect in West Greenlandic.

Trondhjem, Naja
(University of Copenhagen).

West Greenlandic, a polysynthetic language, belongs to Inuit languages. In Inuktitut (Canada) and West Greenlandic (Inuit languages) tense is marked by optional tense suffixes and in both languages the temporal systems are based on a future/ non-future opposition. In Inuktitut the tense suffixes have developed a complicated remoteness system. In West Greenlandic the future tense suffixes have a distinction between vague and inevitable future, and the past time suffixes have developed different perfect meanings. In Iñupiaq (Alaska), the temporal system is based on an opposition between past, present and future, where tense is marked in the flecional morpheme, but only in the indicative mood. There are only a few tense suffixes. The meanings of these tense suffixes are the same as those of the West Greenlandic tense suffixes.

My current work is a typological investigation about the aspectual marking and future marking in West Greenlandic. There are about 40-50 aspectual suffixes, divided into 'inner' phasal and 'outer' phasal aspect (Kristoffersen 1991) and about five future tense suffixes in WG (Fortescue 1980). The order of the suffixes is *stem + inner aspect + outer aspect + tense + modality + inflection*. In this presentation I shall talk about the future tense suffixes only. The future tense suffixes have a distinction between vague and inevitable future. All future tense suffixes have more than one meaning and belong to different semantic categories. It means that the same suffix can appear more than one time in the same word, and the meanings will be different depending on the telicity of the stem, the context and the suffixes added to it. The sources of the future tense suffixes are different, *-niar* (inevitable future, will) from *intension* and belongs to five different semantic categories, *-ssa* (should, future) from *should* and has a modal meaning too, *-jumaar* (vague future) from *wish*, *-ler* (near future/be about to) from *begin*, and *-ssamaar* (planned future) a compound suffix coming from *wish* and *should*. *-ssa* (should, future) seems to be the default future suffix, and it is used when none of the others can be used. It seems that some of the tense suffixes i.e. past (*-sima*, perfective, perfect, preterite) and future (*-ler*, begin, be about to, near future) originally had a more or less concrete aspectual meanings and have developed into more abstract tense meanings (Fortescue 1996). The aim of the project is to find out when to use the different meanings in both written and spoken languages. It is based on interviews where the informants are talking about things about future, daily spoken language from colleges and in the media, and a questionnaire where the informants should fill in the empty slots in a verbal context with different inherent aspectual meanings.

References:

- Fortescue, Michael (1980) *Affix ordering in West Greenlandic derivational processes*. In: International journal of American linguistics. – vol. 46, no. 4, p. 259-278.
- Fortescue, Michael (1996) *Tense, mood and aspect grammaticalization in West Greenlandic and Chukchi*. In: La dynamique et la culture inuit. /Nicole Tersis et Michèle Terrien (eds.) p. 151-175.
- Kristoffersen, Lars (1991) *Verbal derivation and inflection in a functional grammar of West Greenlandic*. Magisterkonferens, Københavns Universitet, Institut for Eskimologi.

Binominal construction in non-standard varieties.

Trousdale, Graeme
(University of Edinburgh).

Binominal syntagms have been regularly reported as the source of grammatical constructions in standard varieties of a range of languages. In standard English, for example, binominals are the source of degree modifiers such as *sort of* and *kind of* (Denison 2002), and quantifiers such as *a bit of*, *a lot of*, *(not) a jot of*, *a bunch of* and so on (Traugott 2007, Brems 2007). However, evidence from nonstandard varieties suggests a much wider range of binominal sources for grammaticalized constructions. Evidence for this has been presented from a number of languages, including Dutch (e.g. the development of intensifier *massa's* in the informal language of young speakers of Dutch in the western part of Flanders, De Clerck and Coleman 2009), Scots (e.g. the development of intensifier *helluva* before adjectives and adverbs) and English (e.g. the use of *gobs* as a quantifier, as in *gobs of money*, and as an intensifier, as in *gobs better*, in Texas English, among other varieties).

In this paper, I will use these data, and others – from non-standard varieties of languages, predominantly from non-standard varieties of English – to explore some of the main themes of the workshop, and to answer the following questions.

1. Research on grammatical constructionalization involving binominal constructions of this kind (e.g. Traugott 2007; Trousdale 2008) has suggested that this particular type of grammatical change involves a reconfiguration of the constructional network, specifically an increase in constructional productivity and generality, with a concomitant decrease in compositionality. What light do data from non-standard dialects shed on the nature of grammatical constructionalization involving binominal syntagms?

2. What is the relationship between the kinds of binominal syntagms that develop into quantifier and degree modifier constructions, and the kinds of binominal syntagms that develop other functions? For instance, evaluative

constructions in English, such as *that swine of a professor* and *this handkerchief of a lawn* (Aarts 1997, Verhagen 2009) typically do not serve as source constructions for more typical grammaticalized functions (with the notable exception of constructions involving *hell* as the first noun), yet there is evidence to suggest that the emergence of these forms often involves processes similar to those characteristic of grammaticalization (such as decategorialization and subjectification).

3. What does such evidence from non-standard varieties of language suggest about gradience and gradualness in grammatical variation and change (Traugott and Trousdale 2010), and what, in turn, does this suggest about the nature of synchronic layering in grammaticalization?

Theory and data in diachronic Construction Grammar: the case of 'what with' absolutes.

Trousdale, Graeme
(University of Edinburgh).

This paper is concerned with the relationship between theory and data in diachronic cognitive linguistics, particularly diachronic Construction Grammar. I explore some of the ways in which corpora of various kinds may be used to track the emergence of grammatical constructions over time, i.e. the process of grammatical constructionalization. Much work on grammatical constructionalization (and traditional grammaticalization) has concerned the development of grammatical forms from lexical items. However, recent work on the grammaticalization of information structure has shifted the focus to the development of grammatical constructions without lexical sources. The present paper concerns the development of another construction which does not have a lexical source, the *what with* absolute. The construction has been in existence since the Middle English period, but the range of type-collocations seems to have expanded over time: *what with* originally appeared with unmodified nouns, as in (1), and has undergone expansion in the recent history of the language, so that it now appears with non-finite clauses with both non-overt and overt subjects (2a and 2b). A recent example from online blogs (3) suggests an even greater collocational range in contemporary English:

(1) So what with hepe and what with crok, Thei make here maister ofte winne (c. 1393 Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, 5.2872).

(2a) What with palming one fellow, kissing another, and coaxing with thousands, [she] has driven me almost horn-mad (1784 *New Spectator* XII.1/2, [*OED*, s.v. *coax*, v.]).

(2b) Wilbur Willard all mulled up to a million, what with him having been sitting out a few seidels of Scotch with a friend (1930 D. Runyon in Collier's 1 Feb. 12/1 [*OED*, s.v. *seidel*, n.]).

(3) I didn't think it was possible for a 'professional movie news source' to make errors, what with how much better they are than we lowly bloggers (18 December 2009, <http://screenrant.com/lobo-guy-ritchie-directing-rumor-kofi-38685/>; accessed 28 December 2009).

Using data from historical corpora of English, I provide a description of the historical development of the construction, with specific reference to changes in compositionality and to the kinds of expansion which the construction undergoes. I then relate these findings to more general issues addressed in recent debates in the literature. For instance, while some researchers (e.g. Riehemann and Bender 1999) have foregrounded the idiosyncratic nature of absolute constructions, others (e.g. Felser and Britain 2007) have argued that such constructions are much more compositional. Given that changes in compositionality are central in the evolution of grammatical constructions, this construction should enable us to explore more fully how compositionality is affected in instances of grammatical change. This paper will also seek to clarify the role of different kinds of expansion (syntactic, semantic-pragmatic and hostclass, as described by Himmelmann 2004) in this instance of grammatical constructionalization.

Lexico-Semantic Structures as Historical Markers: 'Sun' and 'Moon' around the Pacific.

Urban, Matthias
(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig).

This talk reports on the possibility of lexico-semantic structures as historical markers in the sense of Nichols and Peterson (1996), that is, as historical traces of relationships either genetic, areal, or both- between languages beyond the time depth accessible by reconstruction with the standard Comparative Method.

The theoretical part of the talk presents basic structures in the lexicon that may be of high temporal stability, namely characteristic polysemies and morpho-semantic patterns in compounds and other morphologically complex expression. It also deals with the methodological problem of distinguishing cases that can be considered true historical markers from cases due to areal diffusion (calquing, etc.) at relative shallow time depths.

In the data-oriented part of the talk, empirical results based on a world-wide representative sample of 150 languages for which translational equivalents for 160 basic nominal vocabulary items were gathered (organized in three

semantic domains: nature-related and topological terms, such as ‘river’, ‘star’, ‘ashes’, names for artifacts and body-part terms) is presented. One particular case of such a deep marker in the domain of the lexicon revealed by the sample data is discussed in more detail, namely lack of lexical differentiation for the concepts ‘sun’ and ‘moon’, i.e. presence of only one general term for both luminaries (for instance Quileute (Chimakuan) *pit’itsc’ho*² ‘sun, moon’, cf. Powell & Woodruff 1976). This phenomenon is largely restricted to the coastal regions of the Americas, but is also found in many so-called “Paleosiberian languages” of Northeastern Eurasia. The sample data indicate that it is completely unattested in other parts of the world. This peculiar distribution, which is very unlikely to be due to chance, is interpreted as a very old areal phenomenon that witnesses the common history of Siberian and American languages as part of the even wider Pacific Rim distribution, which is well established on independent grammatical grounds (Bickel & Nichols 2006). Further cases of other possible lexico-semantic historical markers based on the sample will also be discussed.

References:

- Bickel, B. and J. Nichols. 2006. “Oceania, the Pacific Rim, and the theory of linguistic areas.” *Proceedings of the 32nd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*.
- Nichols, J. and D.A. Peterson. 1996. “The Amerind Personal Pronouns.” *Language* 72, 336-371.
- Powell, J. V., and F. Woodruff Sr. 1976. *Quileute Dictionary*. Moscow, Idaho: Anthropological Research Notes Memoirs 3.

On the morphosyntactic status of parenthetical CTP clauses in Lithuanian.

Usoniene, Aurelija
(Vilnius University).

It is generally agreed that complementation (type of complement clause and complementizer) is directly linked to lexical encoding of the information source, which is regarded either as lexical evidentiality (Chafe & Nichols 1986) or as “evidentiality strategy” (Aikhenvald 2006). A list of most common “complement-taking predicates” (CTPs) (Noonan 1987: 43) usually contains a broad range of verbs of communication (*say, claim, call*, etc.) and mental verbs (*think, know, see, feel*, etc.). They can easily parentheticalize and “the syntactic effect of the parenthetical use of the CTP is to make the complement the main clause” (Noonan 1987: 86). The given observation has been further elaborated by (Boye & Harder 2007: 577) who claim that a distinction should be made between “stance-marking as an aspect of lexical meaning and stance marking as an inherently secondary, ‘parenthetical’ discourse or usage function”.

Though traditionally Lithuanian belongs to the group of languages that possesses non-obligatory verbal grammatical means of expressing evidentiality, there is a vast number of the so-called parentheticals (particles, modal words, words) that are commonly used to encode “attitudinal categories of evidentiality and epistemic modality” (Cornillie 2009: 44). Many of them are traceable back to the corresponding CTP clauses. Among the well-known CTPs like perception verbs and verbs of cognition, the range of Lithuanian CTP clauses that parentheticalize includes nouns, neuter adjectives, neuter present passive participles and adverbs, e.g.:

- (1) V: *Tai šiandien, vyrai, matau, nesėkminga diena*
(‘So today, men, I SEE, it’s a bad day’)
- (2) N: *Žinia, tos tarnybos yra slaptosios.*
(‘The MESSAGE/KNOWLEDGE IS, the service is secret’)
- (3) ADJ.N: *Dabar kaime situacija, aišku, nepavydėtina.*
(‘Now, the situation in the country, IT’S CLEAR, is bad’)
- (4) PTC.P.N.PRS.PASS.
<...> *prasideđa atostogų ir, suprantama, kelionių sezonas.*
(‘A holiday season starts and, IT’S UNDERSTANDABLE, travel season’)

The parenthetical use of the given CTP clauses opens up a question of their morphosyntactic status, thus an attempt will be made to see how much lexical and grammatical, primary and secondary “adverbial CTPs” in Lithuanian are by testing the criteria suggested by Boye and Harder (2007). The corpus-driven analysis will be carried out in the light of the results of recent studies on lexical vs. grammatical evidentiality (Boye & Harder 2009, Dendale & Van Bogaert 2007, Pietrandrea 2007, Pusch 2009, Squartini 2008, Whitt 2009, Wiemer 2007, Wiemer forthcoming).

References:

- Aikhenvald, A. 2006. Evidentiality in grammar. In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd edition, vol. 4 (ed. K. Brown). Oxford: Elsevier. 320-325.
- Boye, K. & P. Harder. 2007. Complement-taking predicates. Usage and linguistic structure. *Studies in Language*, 31:3, 569-606.

- Boye, K. & P. Harder. 2009. Evidentiality. Linguistic categories and grammaticalization. *Functions of Language* 16:1, 9-43.
- Chafe, W. & J. Nichols. 1986. *Evidentiality: the Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*. Norwood: Ablex Publishing Company.
- Cornillie, B. 2009. Evidentiality and epistemic modality: on the close relationship of two different categories. *Functions of Language* 16:1, 44-62.
- Dendale, P & J. Van Bogaert. 2007. A Semantic description of French lexical evidential markers and the classification of evidentials. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19:1, 65-98.
- Noonan, M. 1987. Complementation. In *Language Typology and syntactic Description*, vol. 2. (ed. T. Shopen). N.Y., e. a.: Cambridge University Press. 42-140.
- Pietrandrea, P. 2007. The grammatical nature of some epistemic-evidential adverbs in spoken Italian. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19:1, 39-63.
- Pusch, C. 2009. Noun-based complement-taking constructions as modal markers: distributional and discourse-functional aspects in a Romance and cross-linguistic perspective. *SLE Workshop on "Modality at Work"* Lisbon. 68-69.
- Whitt, R. J. 2009. Auditory evidentiality in English and German: the case of perception verbs. *Lingua* 119, 1083-1095.
- Wiemer, B. 2007. Lexical markers of evidentiality in Lithuanian. *Rivista di Linguistica* 19:1, 173-208.
- Wiemer, B. (forthcoming). Hearsay in European languages: toward an integrative account of grammatical and lexical marking.

**Role of attitudes in the process of “demotizierung”:
qualitative interviews with Lithuanian journalists in spoken media.**

Vaicekauskiene, Loreta
(Vilnius university).

In theoretical literature there have been discussions on social changes going on in contemporary (late modern) societies for some time. It has been stated that those changes force changes of language ideologies and promote different transformations of language standards. This presentation presents a qualitative study of attitudes in Lithuanian media in 2009. There were conducted 24 qualitative interviews (total length of interviews is 22 hrs) with well-known media actors: 32–42 years old males, professional and non-professional journalists, working in national and commercial TV and radio stations in youth programs as well as programs for academic audience. When analyzing interview data most attention is paid to the following aspects: respondents' attitudes towards the concept of good language or good way of speaking, models of good language, evaluation of their own linguistic behavior (convergence, register shifts, etc.), attitudes towards variation in spoken media, willingness to conform to the official (prescriptive) rules of standardization and valuable ideals in the society in general (preference to either diversity or uniformity). The study is based on theoretical assumption that attitudes of dominant personalities in (spoken) media play an important role in changes of linguistic behavior. In Lithuania no research has been done on variation of language in spoken media, therefore the research question of this study is following: what direction of movement do attitudes of the dominant media speakers support: the movement towards standardization or – in contrary – towards so called “demotizierung” (demotisation)? With some explicable exceptions interview data show a rather clear shift and can serve as basis for different interpretations and theoretical considerations. One could argue that in strong standardized Lithuania the process of the so called demotisation is going on, i. e. the old concept of the best language is being filled with another language ideal. The conservative, highly prescriptive standard is evaluated negatively and therefore can be replaced by modern, urban standard of „popular language”. Those changes of attitudes are obviously related with the changes in public discourse, public speakers, and auditorium of spoken media: there has been a move from written, monologue way of speaking towards spontaneous and live polylogue of very different speakers and audiences.

References:

- Auer, P. 2005: Europe's sociolinguistic unity, or: A typology of European dialect/standard constellations, in: N. Delbecque et al (eds.) *Perspectives on Variation*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 7–42.
- Chambers, J. K. 1997: Myth 15. TV Makes People Sound the Same, in: L. Bauer & P. Trudgill (eds.) *Language Myths*. London: Penguin Books, 123–131.
- Coupland, N. 2007: *Style. Language Variation and Identity*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Fairclough, N. 1992: *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Mattheier, K. J. 1997: Über Destandardisierung, Umstandardisierung und Standardisierung in modernen europäischen Standardsprachen, in: K. J. Mattheier & E. Radtke (eds.). *Standardisierung und Destandardisierung europäischer Nationalsprachen*. Frankfurt: Lang, 1–9.
- Vaicekauskienė, L. 2008: Preskriptyvumas ir deskriptyvumas (skolinių) norminimo politikoje, in: *Darbai ir dienos* 50, 31–41.

A constructional approach to the grammaticalization of *I think* and other complement-taking mental predicates.

Van Bogaert, Julie
(Ghent University).

In the present paper, a constructional approach is presented to complement-taking mental predicates (CTMPs), e.g. *I think, I believe, I reckon*. As such, it seeks to accommodate a whole class of CTMP types (I THINK, I EXPECT, I IMAGINE, etc.) and their variant forms (e.g. *I would think, I would expect, I should have imagined*, etc.) in a constructional taxonomy. This approach is meant to overcome a notable problem one encounters when applying commonly agreed-upon grammaticalization criteria to CTMPs, viz. their lack of internal fixation into a single form.

CTMPs are generally believed to depend on their occurrence in the simple present in order to convey an interpersonal meaning (see e.g. Urmson 1952; Aijmer 1972; Hooper 1975). On the basis of a quantitative and qualitative analysis of present-day spoken British English corpus data from the ICE-GB (International Corpus of English – the British Component) and the BNC (British National Corpus), it will be shown, however, that there exist several variant forms that equally function as interpersonal modifications (e.g. *I thought, I should imagine*). Such variation has long presented a stumbling block to studies approaching CTMPs from the point of view of grammaticalization theory, since this framework has traditionally been rather inimical to the idea that a grammaticalized item may encompass a paradigm of variant forms and instead requires internal fixation into a an unalterable form. It will be argued that CTMPs should be regarded as constructions constituting a taxonomy characterized by several levels of schematicity (Trousdale 2008). Hence, it is not so much individual strings like *I think* or *I should have thought* as the abstract schema according to which these sequences are formed that are subject to grammaticalization.

Within the constructional network, the CTMP I THINK occupies a central position. It can be regarded as the pacemaker of the taxonomy, leading the other CTMPs to higher levels of entrenchment by virtue of its high frequency of occurrence. It will be argued that high frequency correlates with paradigmatic richness rather than with internal fixation. The most frequently used CTMP, I THINK, has reached the highest degree of entrenchment and schematicity and has consequently sanctioned the widest range of variant forms, which are disseminated throughout the taxonomy by virtue of analogization (Traugott & Trousdale 2008). The analogy between I THINK and other CTMPs, i.e. their structural and semantic resemblance, serves as a motivation for the expansion of the constructional network. As a result of its high frequency and concomitant cognitive salience, I THINK exerts pressure on the other members of the taxonomy, imposing its variant patterns on other CTMPs like I GUESS, or I IMAGINE which have sanctioned the use of, for example, *I would guess* and *I would imagine*. The present paper hopes to show that the integration of insights from Construction Grammar into the grammaticalization framework as pertaining to CTMPs proves worthwhile in that it does justice to the constructions' grammatical peculiarities.

References:

- Aijmer, Karin (1972) *Some aspects of psychological predicates in English*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
Hooper, Joan B. (1975) On assertive predicates. In Kimball, J. P. (ed.), *Syntax and Semantics*. New York: Academic Press. 91-124.
Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Trousdale, Graeme (2008) Gradience, gradualness and grammaticalization – An overview. *Paper presented at New Reflections on Grammaticalization 4*. Leuven, 16–19 July 2008.
Trousdale, Graeme (2008) Constructions in grammaticalization and lexicalization: Evidence from the history of a composite predicate construction in English. In Trousdale, G. & Gisborne, N. (eds.), *Constructional approaches to English grammar*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 33-67.
Urmson, James O. (1952) Parenthetical verbs. *Mind* 61: 480-496.

The Absolute Construction in Old and Middle English: A Case of Latin Influence?

van de Pol, Nikki
(University of Leuven).

This paper addresses the absolute construction in OE (Old English) (and to some extent Middle English), with special focus on its origin. This non-finite construction consists of a participle and a nominal subject, usually both in the dative, and functions as an adverbial clause. An example is *ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge* in *Ðæt Mercna mægð, ofslegenum Pendan hyra cyninge, Cristes geleafan onfengon* (The Mercians received Christ's faith, when their king Pendan was slain).

Earlier research on this topic provides two opposite views: either the construction is considered Latin in origin and is treated as a syntactic loan (Kisbye, 1971; Visser, 1973), recently sometimes as a lexical loan (Timofeeva, 2009), or it is regarded as a native, Germanic construction (Bauer, 2000). Preference has generally been with the former. My position is situated in between: taking my cue from Matsunami (1966), who states that 'Generally the use of the [...] participle was declining in all the G[er]m[ani]c dialects but that the classical languages reinforced its functions', I argue that absolutes constitute a native OE construction that was on the brink of disappearing, as is shown by its low frequency in native text

material (cf. Timofeeva, 2009), but was kept alive by the practice of Latin translation (cf. Johanson's 2002 'selective frequential copying').

Recent investigation indeed favours the idea of absolutes as an Indo-European construction (Costello, 1982; Bauer, 2000). As such it is likely for Germanic, and in a later stage OE to have inherited this structure from the proto-language. Evidence is provided by the fact that most Germanic languages at some point used this construction and shared the dative as preferred case (Gothic: Costello, 1980). Further arguments against viewing OE absolutes as loans come from a quantitative and qualitative corpus investigation of OE texts (cf. appendix):

(i) Latin ablative absolutes, when indeed translated in OE as absolutes, are consistently put in the dative case, from the earliest OE records onwards, both in glosses and real translations. If these translations were to be regarded as loans, a more diversified case choice (genitive, accusative) reflecting the translator's hesitation could be expected, at least in the early records, as the ablative itself is not available in OE.

(ii) The absolute construction, as a translational equivalent of the Latin absolute, is seen to be in decline towards the early Middle Ages (30% → 10%) and is reluctantly used during the whole OE period (15%-20%), except in glosses (95%). If borrowing were at stake, one would anticipate the reverse: cautious use in the beginning and gradual increase when the construction becomes more familiar. The divergence in translational options (e.g. by finite adverbial clauses) also shows there was no especially urgent need for this construction in the OE language that would justify a loan in the first place.

(iii) It is sometimes argued that absolutes were borrowed to be able to stay as true as possible to the 'divine' Latin word order and syntactic structure when translating religious material. But if this was sufficient reason to incite borrowing, again one would suppose frequencies to be much higher than what my analysis reveals (from 0% to 35% across the various texts).

More generally, this study is part of a more extensive investigation which via the discussion of the origin of absolutes in general, their use both in translated and native OE texts, as well as general translational theory in Anglo-Saxon culture, wishes to shed a new light on the presence of dative absolutes in Old and Middle English.

References:

- Bauer, Brigitte. 2000. *Archaic Syntax in Indo-European. The Spread of Transitivity in Latin and French*. Berlin – New York: Mouton de Gruyter;
- Costello, John R. 1980. 'The absolute construction in Gothic'. *Word* 31.1. 91-104;
- Costello, John R. 1982. 'The Absolute Construction in Indo-European: a Syntagmemic Reconstruction'. *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 10.3-4. 235-252;
- Johanson, Lars. 2002. 'Contact-induced change in a code-copying framework'. In Mari C. Jones & Edith Esch (eds.) 2002. *Language change. The interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors*. Contributions to the sociology of language 86. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 285-313;
- Kisbye, Torben. 1971. *An historical outline of English syntax*. Aarhus, Denmark: Akademisk Boghandel;
- Matsunami, Tamotsu. 1966. 'Functional Development of the Present Participle in English: Native Syntactic Functions of the OE Present Participle (I)'. In Department of Literature in Kyushu University (eds.) 1966. *Studies in Commemoration of the Fortieth anniversary of the Department of Literature in Kyushu University*. Fukuoka: Department of Literature in Kyushu University. 315-348;
- Timofeeva, Olga. 2009. 'Translating the Texts where *et verborum ordo mysterium est*: Late Old English Idiom vs. absolutes absolutus'. *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 19;
- Visser, Frederikus Theodorus. 1973. *An Historical Syntax of the English Language*. Leiden: Brill.

Corpus:

The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose (YCOE). 2003. Compiled by Ann Taylor, Anthony Warner, Susan Pintzuk, and Frank Beths. University of York: (<http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/YcoeHome.htm>).

Texts analysed include: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Gregory's *Dialogues*, the *Blickling Homilies*, *The Gospel according Saint Matthew from the West-Saxon Gospels*, the *Regularis Concordia glosses*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle E*, Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*, Ælfric's *Homilies Supplemental* and *Mary of Egypt*.

Soulmate or macho man. A critical discourse analysis of the representation of men in two popular Flemish women's magazines.

Van de Voorde, Maaike & Temmerman, Martina
(Erasmus University College Brussels).

If we adopt the definition of women's magazines as 'journals (that) help to shape both a woman's view of herself, and society's view of her' (Ferguson 1983:1), it becomes clear that the representations in these magazines are of great value. Women's magazines address all kinds of issues: beauty, health, love, work, sex and also (overtly or between the lines) men. It is highly interesting to look at the way men are represented in these magazines and to find out how the women readers' role towards men is being defined.

While studies on the representation of women and men have mostly paid attention to images, this study focuses on the textual representation of men. To uncover the ways in which language is used to portray men, we build on the tradition of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak & Meyer, 2001; Wodak & Chilton, 2005). A critical discourse analysis of women's magazines analyses the representations of men by examining which textual and linguistic resources are used to nominate them and how these choices contribute to the representations.

The objective of our presentation is to sketch the way men are represented in two popular Flemish women's magazines, *Flair* and *Libelle*. These are the two most read weeklies for women in Flanders. They have a different target group: the *Flair* reader tends to be younger than the *Libelle* reader. Moreover, whereas the *Flair* reader is generally unmarried and without children, family life is of core interest for the *Libelle* reader.

The corpus is limited to 12 randomly chosen issues of each magazine from the year 2008. From these issues, we have analyzed all articles that pertain to the subject of men. The articles are subdivided into four categories, according to the *author* (Goffman 1981): Testimonies, Experts & Figures, Introductions & Titles and Current Affairs. The distinction between these categories is not without significance: it can be expected that experts represent men in a different way than women readers do.

The articles are analyzed along two different lines, inspired by Critical Discourse Analysis. In the first part a lexical analysis examines which names are used to refer to men. Moreover, we seek to find an answer to the following questions: how (if at all) do the names in both magazines differ? And what's the underlying cause for the differences or similarities between the magazines?

A second part of the analysis, the transitivity analysis (Halliday, 1994), is restricted to the titles of the articles. In this part, we scrutinize the verbs and examine the way in which 'the man' relates to the other actors in the titles. In this analysis too, both magazines are compared: what are the differences and similarities between the magazines?

References:

- Ferguson, M. (1983). *Forever feminine. Women's magazines and the cult of femininity*. Heinemann Educational Books
Goffman, Erving (1981). *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Halliday, M.A.K. (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). 'Principles of critical discourse analysis', *Discourse & society*, 4(2), 249-283.
Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.
Wodak, R. & Chilton, P. (2005). *A new agenda in (critical) discourse analysis: theory, methodology and interdisciplinarity*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Switch reference in South America: facilitating oral transmission.

Van Gijn, Rik
(Radboud University Nijmegen).

Cultures without a written tradition depend entirely on the oral channel to transmit highly complex information. It is not surprising that in the languages of such cultures linguistic devices evolve that enhance textual coherence. These devices should ideally also be economical in terms of morphosyntactic complexity in order to facilitate both production and comprehension. In this talk I will argue that switch reference (SR) systems fulfill these requirements of cohesion and complexity reduction, making them particularly apt for orally transmitting texts. The features of SR that are favorable for oral text transmission may also be partly responsible for the skewed geographical distribution of the phenomenon, in areas where there is no indigenous written culture (the Americas, Australia, Papua New Guinea), as well as for some the patterns found within SR systems.

As a first step, I will argue by discussing South-American language data, that SR is best regarded as a form of discourse deixis, and not (solely) as reference tracking devices (cf. Haiman & Munro 1983: xi). The South-American SR systems often go beyond the notion of subject, and even beyond participant (dis)continuity. The South-American data in particular show a strong interaction with temporal organization of combined events. These facts underline the idea that SR is about text coherence, in accordance with proposals by e.g. Givón (1983) and particularly Stirling (1993).

Apart from enhancing text coherence, SR markers can also be seen as flags for attention flow for the hearer. Moreover, they give the hearer information about semantic aspects of other events in the discourse. These two hearer-

oriented aspects facilitate successful transmission of complex information and may be responsible for the tendency of marked clauses (i.e. the clause carrying a SR marker) to precede reference clauses (the clause to which reference is made). In this way, the hearer gets signals that prepare him or her for what is coming. This hearer advantage is maximized if the SR markers are cataphoric.

From the speaker's point of view, SR offers a number of possibilities for reduction of complexity, without losing the hearer-oriented advantages. One way of reducing production complexity is, since SR systems are typically binary, to have an unmarked category. This is typically the continuation marker, which makes sense if one takes discontinuation markers to be flags for attention switches to the hearer. Another way of reducing complexity is that continuation markers allow for a reduction of complexity of the marked clause, since the information can be reconstructed.

In the second part of the talk, I will zoom in on the SR system of Yurakaré an unclassified language of central Bolivia (Van Gijn 2006), and focus on how the issues of discourse coherence and complexity reduction pan out in the uncommon SR system of this language.

References:

- Givón, T. (1983) Switch reference and topic continuity. In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds.): *Switch reference and universal grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 51-82.
- Haiman, John & Pamela Munro (1983). Introduction. In: John Haiman & Pamela Munro (eds.): *Switch reference and universal grammar*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. i-xv.
- Stirling, Leslie (1993) *Switch-reference and discourse representation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Gijn, Rik (2006) *A grammar of Yurakaré*. Ph.D. dissertation Radboud University Nijmegen.

Binominal constructions in the midst of aspectualization?

Van Rompaey, Tinne
(University of Leuven).

In this paper, I will outline the history of the 'preposition + NP1 + of + NP2' construction in which NP1 originally referred to a spatial midpoint, such as middle and midst, and in which a progressive aspectual representation may be imposed on the event expressed by NP2, as shown in (...) objects that seem in the midst of transformation or in the midst of transforming (examples taken from COCA). My analyses are based on corpus linguistic evidence from the Helsinki Corpus, the Corpus of Early Modern English Texts, the Corpus of Late Modern English Texts, the Cobuild Corpus and the Corpus of Contemporary American English.

Two research questions will be focused on:

- (i) The general diachronic changes will first be traced by inquiring into (the loosening of) the semantic and morphosyntactic restrictions on the NP2. The development from a binominal construction with two lexically full nouns into a periphrastic expression of aspect involved lexicalization of the 'preposition + NP1 + of' sequence (Rostila 2004). In this lexicalized string we can witness a gradual shift from concrete bounded objects (e.g. in the middle of the court) to abstract referents (e.g. in the middle of the night, in the middle of the conversation) expressed by NP2 (Himmelmann 2004:36). A crucial moment in the development of the aspectual (hence more grammatical) meaning of the construction seems to have been the rise of nominalizations in this NP2 slot. My data show that event NP2s (c1550, e.g. a fight or a transformation) chronologically precede the V-ing forms (c1990) as well as proportionally outnumber them in Present-Day English.
- (ii) I will then focus on discourse conditions for the emerging aspectual value and will address the question why nominal constructions such as in the middle/midst of come to function as aspectualizers. As nominalization is commonly described as a means to "package" previously mentioned processes "into nominal groups" (Halliday 1997:193), I expect that NP2 nominalizations are characterized by high accessibility and topicality of the expressed event prepared by the preceding context. This will be verified by quantified analysis of diachronic and synchronic datasets and should allow me to answer the question what 'motivational' role was played in the development of progressive nominal aspectualizers such as in the middle/midst of by the predominant position of nominalized events and the pragmatic choice it offered of condensing information in nominal constructions.

References:

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1997. On the grammar of scientific English. Torsello C. (ed.), *Grammatica: studi interlinguistici*. Padova: Unipress. Reprinted in Webster J. (ed.), *The Language of Science*. Collected Works of M.A.K. Halliday. New York: Continuum.
- Himmelmann, N.P. 2004. Lexicalization and grammaticization: opposite or orthogonal? In W. Bisang, N.P. Himmelmann & B. Wiemar (eds.), *What makes grammaticalization: a look from its fringes and its components*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2006. *Grammaticalization*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Navalpatro-Gómez, A. 2000. The expression of imminence in English, Spanish and Galician: some questions. *Düsseldorf Working Papers in Linguistics*. Vol. II: 33-48.
- Rostila, J. 2004. Lexicalization as a Way to Grammaticalization. In F. Karlsson (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th Scandinavian Conference of Linguistics, Helsinki*, Publications No. 36.

The demonstrative determiner. An attempt of systemization.

Vanderbauwhede, Gudrun
(University of Leuven).

We will focus on three delimitation problems of the major uses of the demonstrative determiner, which are due to the absence of a systematic model. We will propose a new perspective on these problems by presenting a flexible model under the form of a triangle and valorise it through the example of a corpus study of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner systems.

Himmelman (1996) and Diessel (1999) distinguish four major - commonly accepted - uses of the demonstrative determiner: the anaphoric, the situational, the discourse deictic and the recognitional use.

First, it appeared from the analysis that the class of discourse deictic demonstratives seems to be problematic on several points: (a) there is a lot of confusion on the level of its sub-types (Lyons (1977), Levinson (1983), Fillmore (1997): pure textual deixis; Himmelman (1996): pure textual deixis + reference to propositions or events; Diessel (1999): reference to propositions or events), (b) discourse deixis seems to be reserved to the demonstrative pronoun rather than to the demonstrative determiner, (c) there doesn't exist any specific form of the demonstrative fulfilling this use and (d) discourse deixis is a well-known phenomenon in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, but almost completely absent in the French tradition.

Second, there seems to be confusion on two points with respect to the recognitional use of the demonstrative: (a) the reactivation of the referent (specific or stereotype) and (b) the notion of *shared knowledge* (by the community or by the communicating parties). Therefore, it is necessary to define more precisely the category of the recognitional use.

Third, the bipartition pragmatic - semantic definiteness (Löbner (1985), Diessel (1999), De Mulder - Carlier (2006)) also seems to be problematic on the level of the demonstrative: (a) semantic effects are always involved in the pragmatic uses of the demonstrative, (b) there is a substantial, implicit zone of transition between these two types of definiteness and (c) our results show that pure semantic definiteness is almost exclusively reserved to the definite article rather than to the demonstrative.

Taking these multiple observations into consideration, we propose the following model to systemize the referential uses of the demonstrative determiner:

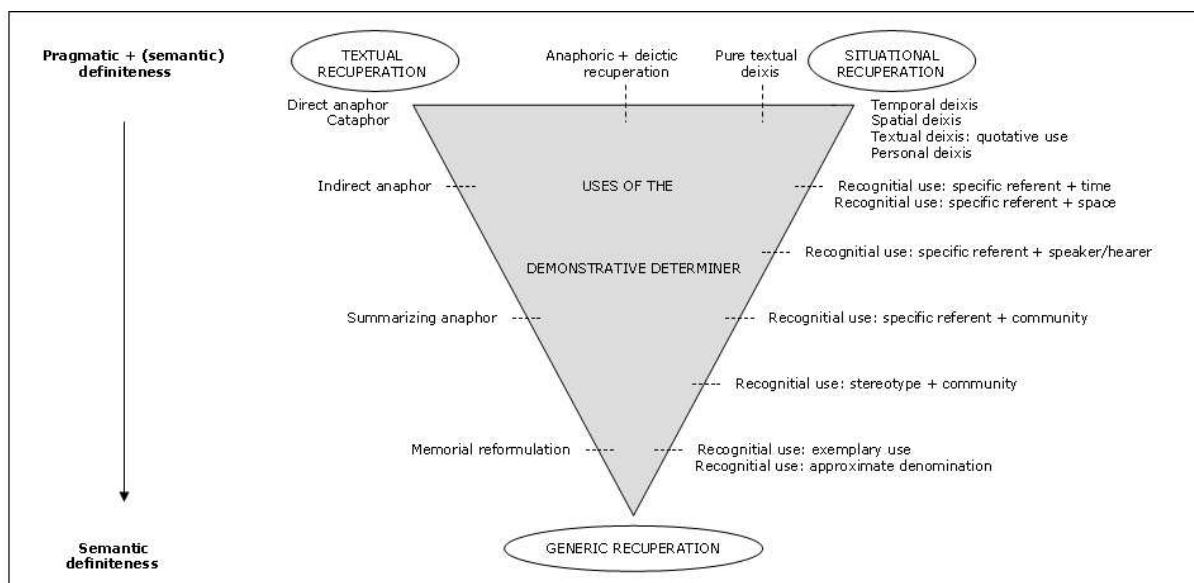


Figure 1: The uses of the demonstrative determiner (model)

The interests of the model are numerous: (a) it is a systematic model including all types of (isolated) uses of the demonstrative determiner (e.g. sub-types of recognitional use), (b) it is a flexible model including zones of transition, (c) it gives a new perspective on the link between semantic and pragmatic definiteness, (d) it shows to what extent the class of discourse deictic demonstratives is hybrid and (e) it can be applied to different languages and even be extended to the definite article.

For example, our corpus study (based on the *Dutch Parallel Corpus* and the *Namur Corpus*) of the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner, applied to the model, allowed us to prove that there is a structural difference between the French and Dutch demonstrative determiner system, i.e. the current tendency of the bleaching of the French demonstrative determiner on the level of the recognitional use:

References:

- De Mulder, W. - Carlier, A. 2006. "Du démonstratif à l'article défini: le cas de "ce" en français moderne". *Langue française* 152. pp. 96-113.
- Diessel, H. 1999. *Demonstratives: form, function and grammaticalization*. Typological studies in language 42. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Fillmore, C.J. 1997. *Lectures on deixis*. Stanford: CSLI.
- Himmelmann, N.P. 1996. "Demonstratives in Narrative Discourse: A Taxonomy of Universal Uses". In: FOX. (ed.) *Studies in anaphora*. Typological Studies in Anaphora 33. Amsterdam: Benjamins. pp. 205-254.
- Levinson, S.C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Löbner, S. 1985. "Definites". *Journal of Semantics* 4. pp. 279-326.
- Lyons, C. 1999. *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ergativity and its relation with transitivity: an illustration from the Hindi varieties.

Verbeke, Saartje

(Ghent University/ Research Foundation Flanders).

The standard definition of an ergative language has been given by Dixon (1994: 1): ergative languages display a grammatical pattern "in which the subject of an intransitive clause [S] is treated in the same way as the object of a transitive clause [O], and differently from transitive subject [A]". Even a superficial investigation of the agreement and case marking patterns in the Indo-Aryan languages reveals that none of these languages completely conforms to this definition. This is not surprising, as ergative features tend to occur only under certain circumstances. Most Indo-Aryan (IA) languages for instance, display a tense-aspect split in which ergative features only appear in constructions with a perfect verb form.

However, what is more surprising, is the extensive variation in the argument structure of sentences with a perfect verb form (cf. also Deo & Sharma 2006). Variations on the standard definition of the ergative pattern are found in the Hindi varieties and the Rajasthani languages. For instance, the marking of the definite/animate O in Hindi, Braj and Harauti among others (cf. ex. 1), is a well-known non-ergative phenomenon. The unmarkedness of A in Awadhi and Marwari is also unusual as ergative pattern (cf. ex. 2). Moreover, in Awadhi, all typical features of ergativity are absent, as A is unmarked and the agreement is with the subject in all circumstances.

(1) *maĩ =ne kitāb=ko paRh-ā* [Hindi]
I.M=ERG book.F.SG=ACC read-PAST.M.SG
I read a book

(2) *mhai sītā=ne dekh-ī* [Marwari]
I.NOM. S.=ACC. see-PAST.F.SG.
'I have seen Sita.'

Hence, the IA languages display more exceptions on the ergative pattern than regular features. This leads to the question if ergativity is a relevant concept at all for the classification of the IA languages, considering that none of the IA languages is completely and prototypically ergative.

We contend that ergativity should be replaced by transitivity (cf. Hopper & Thompson 1980) as the functional concept which may be the ultimate motivation of the variation in the argument structure of the IA languages. Returning to the Hindi varieties, the argument structure of both Braj and Awadhi is determined by an additional marking of the transitivity of the verb. The ergative features shown in Braj, i.e. the marking of A and the agreement with O, are in the first place indications of the transitivity level of the verb (cf. Givón 2001: 208). Transitivity also explains the variation in the marking of O, caused by the definiteness/animacy of O, which indicates a higher or lower level of transitivity. Secondly, although Awadhi does not have the ergative features found in Braj, the language has a separate verb conjugation for transitive verbs. The indication of transitivity is hence equally important in Awadhi, although it is expressed by a different means than typical ergative features. When extrapolating the results of the Hindi varieties to the IA languages, the marking of the transitivity of the verb, and by extension the marking of the agentivity of A, appears to be a more important classifying mechanism for the IA languages than ergativity.

References:

- Deo, Ashwini and Devyani Sharma. 2006. Typological variation in the ergative morphology of Indo-Aryan. *Linguistic Typology* 10-3: 369-418.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Givón, Talmy. 2001. *Syntax, an introduction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1980. Transitivity in grammar and discourse. *Language* 56, 251–299.

Gender-assignment as a marker of Different Object Marking.

Vezzosi, Letizia
(University of Perugia).

The phenomenon whereby direct object may be case-marked depending on its semantic and pragmatic properties is well known as differential object marking (DOM) and has been studied in detail in the functional-typological literature (Bossong 1985, 1998; Comrie 1979; Croft 1988 CERCA ALTRI). According to these studies, properties influencing differential object marking include animacy, definiteness, specificity and topicality.

It has been claimed that DOM represents a grammatical strategy to mark the marked status of highly definite and animate direct objects (markedness approach; see Croft 1988, 2003) or a high degree of affectedness (indexing approach; see Næss 2004, 2007) or the pragmatic role of secondary topic (Nikolaeva & Darymple 2007). However, they all exclusively take into account case-marking in their analysis.

In the present paper on the basis of Old English data I would like to investigate the role played by gender assignment in DOM. Like other Germanic languages, Old English is characterized by a formal gender assignment system based and differentiates feminine, masculine and neuter nouns. However, it is less widely acknowledged, yet undeniable, that there are nouns with more than one assigned gender. This phenomenon has been connected with the degree of individuation a noun has in a specific textual context (Vezzosi 2007). Given that animacy, definiteness, topicality are all properties that might be relevant in gender-assignment, ultimately I would like to show the relationships between an 'aberrant' gender of a given noun and its grammatical role (subject vs. object): more precisely, whether un-prototypical direct objects, or objects with particular properties, can favour the assignment of a different gender from the grammatical gender pertaining to the corresponding noun.

References:

- Bossong, Georg. 1985. *Differentielle Objektmarkierung in den Neuiranischen Sprachen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Bossong, Georg. 1998. "Le marquage différentiel de l'objet dans les langues d'Europe". In Feuillet, Jack (ed.) *Actance et valence dans les langues d'Europe*. Berlin-New York : Mouton de Gruyter : 193-258.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1979. "Definite and animate objects: a natural class". *Linguistica Silesiana* 3: 15-21.
- Croft, William. 1988. "Agreement vs. case Marking in direct objects". In Barlow Michael and Charles Ferguson (eds.) *Agreement in natural languages*. Chicago: CSLI: 159-179.
- Croft, William. 2003. *Typology and universals*. II ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Næss, Åshild. 2004. "What markedness marks: the markedness problem with direct object". *Lingua* 114: 1186-1212.
- Næss, Åshild. 2007. *Prototypical transitivity*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nikolaeva, Irina and Mary Darymple. 2007. *Topicality and nonsubject marking: Agreement, casemarking, and grammatical function*. Ms. Centre for Linguistics and Philology. Oxford University.
- Vezzosi, Letizia. 2007. "Gender Assignment in Old English". In Maurizio Gotti et al. (eds.) *English Historical Linguistics 2006. Vol. I: Syntax and Morphology*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: Benjamins: 89-108.

'saying' and 'talking', 'asking' and 'answering'. Basic verbal communication verbs in Swedish and English from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Viberg, Åke
(University of Uppsala).

Speech act verbs or Verbal communication verbs (VCVs) as they will be referred to in this article represent one of the most extensive semantic fields of verbs in English and Swedish. The more or less complete inventory of VCVs have been thoroughly studied in English (Ballmer & Brennenstul 1981, Wierzbicka 1987; cf for German Harras et al 2004, 2007). The FrameNet database contains representations of English verbs based on selected corpus examples (the Communication frame). A taxonomy of Swedish communication verbs has been proposed in Allwood (1977; cf. Allwood 1976, ch. 14). From a contrastive perspective, Proost (2007) looks at lexical gaps in the inventories of VCVs in English, German and Dutch. There are also two studies that similar to the present one are based on translation corpora: Rojo & Valenzuela (2001) of Spanish to English translations and Shi (2008) of narratives in English and Chinese.

The major focus of the present study is the most frequent verbs. In spite of the fact that there are around 400 Verbal communication verbs in the Swedish SUC-corpus (1 million words, mixed written genres), the most frequent verb *säga* 'say' accounts for 22% and the 10 most frequent verbs belonging to the field account for close to 50% of the textual occurrences of verbal communication verbs in this corpus. The most frequent verbs are also the most varied with respect to the range of constructions they can appear in and the patterns of polysemy that characterize them. (See for English: Rudzka-Ostyn 1989, 1995 and Dirven et al. 1982).

English and Swedish will be compared on the basis of data from the English Swedish Parallel Corpus (ESPC) prepared by Altenberg & Aijmer (2000), which contains original texts in English and Swedish and their translations. Data will also be taken from the Multilingual Parallel Corpus (MPC), which at present consists of extracts from 20 Swedish novels and their translations into English, German, French and Finnish (around 500 000 words in the Swedish originals).

The semantic analysis is primarily based on data from original texts in each language. From a contrastive perspective, translation corpora make it possible to identify more or less unique items in one of the languages and to compare the patterns of use of the closest equivalents across languages. Even when meanings appear to correspond to one another across languages, there may be striking contrasts with respect to the actual usage patterns.

Translations also serve as a test of the semantic analysis of individual languages, in particular with respect to polysemy. The existence of different sets of translations corresponding to the senses that have been proposed for a word represent one type of corroborating evidence for the sense boundaries that have been drawn.

The crosslinguistic (contrastive and typological) comparison of languages is of importance also for translation studies and for second language acquisition and as a general background for all types of studies of language contact.

References:

- Altenberg, Bengt & Aijmer, Karin 2000 The English-Swedish Parallel Corpus: A resource for contrastive research and translation studies. In: *Corpus linguistics and linguistic theory*. Eds. C. Mair and M. Hundt. Rodopi, Amsterdam and Atlanta: 15-23.
- Allwood, J. 1976. *Linguistic Communication as Action and Cooperation*, Gothenburg Monographs in Linguistics 2, University of Göteborg, Dept of Linguistics.
- Allwood, J. 1977. "Om analys av kommunikationsverb" *Nysvenska Studier* 57.
- Ballmer, Thomas T & Brennenstuhl, Waltraud. 1981. *Speech act classification: a study in the lexical analysis of English speech activity verbs*. [Springer series in language and communication 8] Springer, Berlin.
- Dirven, R., Goossens, L., Putseys, Y. Voral, E. 1982. *The scene of linguistic action and its perspectivization by speak, talk, say and tell*. Amsterdam: Benjamins..
- Harras, Gisela et al. 2004. *Handbuch deutscher Kommunikationsverben. 1. Wörterbuch*.
--- 2007 *Handbuch deutscher Kommunikationsverben 2. Lexikalische Strukturen*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Proost, K. 2007. *Conceptual structure in lexical items*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Rojo, A. and Valenzuela, J. 2001. "How to Say Things with Words: Ways of Saying in English and Spanish". *Meta* 44 (3): 467-477.
- Rudzka-Ostyn, Brygida. 1989. Prototypes, schemas and cross-category correspondences: The case of ask. *Linguistics* 27, 613-661.
- 1995. Metaphor, Schema, Invariance: The Case of Verbs of Answering. In: Goossens, L., P. Pauwels, B: Rudzka-Ostyn, A-M. Simon-Vandenberg and J. Vanparys. 1995. *By word of mouth*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 205-243.
- Shi, Dongqin. 2008. Communication verbs in Chinese and English. A contrastive analysis. *Languages in Contrast* 8:2, 181-207.
- SUC 1.0. 1997 The Stockholm Umeå Corpus. Produced by Dept. of Linguistics, Umeå University and Dept. of Linguistics, Stockholm University. CD ROM.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1987. *English speech act verbs. A semantic dictionary*. Sydney: Academic Press.

Electronic source:

FrameNet: <http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/~framenet/>

The 'Unusual' Diphthongs in Ancient European Languages and their Interpretation.

Vijunas, Aurelijus

(National Kaohsiung Normal University, Kaohsiung, Taiwan).

The majority of diphthongs in the world's languages consist of a nucleus and a glide, common nuclei being the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *u*, and the most common glides being *j* and *y*. In many early European languages, diphthongs with a different structure occur. In the texts, these diphthongs are spelled using graphic symbols which normally occur as nuclei, e.g. Latin <ae> and <oe>, Old High German <ao> and <ae>, Old English <eo>, <ea>. Although phonological descriptions of all these diphthongs are readily available in numerous handbooks, and, in the case of Latin, the pronunciation of the diphthongs *ae* and *oe* has even been described by contemporary grammarians, a number of issues need further clarification, and they will be addressed in this presentation. Among these issues is the actual phonetic realization of these "unusual" diphthongs. The common belief that the Latin diphthongs *ae* and *oe* were pronounced articulating both vowels is to a large extent based on contemporary Latin grammars (cf. such standard Latin grammars as *NLG*, p. 2). Yet, since these diphthongs, on the one hand, reflect earlier *ai* resp. *oi* (both are well attested in archaic Latin), and, on the other hand, they later developed into [ɛ] resp. [ɛ̃], the intermediate stages [ae] resp. [oe] are phonetically unlikely. Transcribing them as [aẽ] resp. [oẽ] (Meiser 1998), is a poor solution since, on the one hand, it is not clear what the symbol [ɛ̃] represents *phonetically*, and, on the other hand, if it may be

said to be somehow similar to [ɪ], [i] or [e], it is very unlikely that *such a very slight phonetic* change would have influenced the spelling system (whereas evidence to the contrary is abundant). Moreover, spellings like <aei, ei, e> for the diphthong *ae* make it much more likely that its pronunciation was [æ], or perhaps [æi] (whether the diphthong *oe* for a short period may have been a rounded monophthong [ø] is now impossible to determine).

The Old High German diphthongs *ao* and *ae*, written thus in early manuscripts and often believed to have been “intermediate stages” between earlier *au* resp. *ai* and later *ō* resp. *ē* (Guxman 1964, et al.) face the same problems as the Latin diphthongs discussed earlier. Whereas beside the spelling *ao* also *oa* occasionally occurs, the alleged “diphthong” *ae* is frequently spelled as <æ, aie, ei, e>. All these spellings, together with the later phonological development of OHG *au* and *ai*, imply that these were perceived not only as new sounds, but also as new *phonemes* by the speakers, whence so many attempts to accurately represent them. Phonetically, however, <ae> and <ao> must have been monophthongs [æ] resp. [ɑ:]/[ɔ:]. Comparable palaeographic evidence may be adduced from Old Icelandic.

The Old English graphs *ea*, *eo*, *io*, *oe* have diverse origins, and not all of them were diphthongs. Among these, the short diphthong *ea* (< **a* by breaking) is of greatest interest, and it perhaps can be compared with a similar “diphthong” [ɛa] (or [æa]) in modern Faroese

The Finnish modal verbs *täytyy* and *pitäisi* as expressions of inferentiality and epistemic modality.

Vilkki, Liisa
(University of Helsinki).

The main purpose of my presentation is to discuss inferential and epistemic functions of the two Finnish modal verbs *täytyy* (‘must’) and *pitäisi* (‘should’) and their treatment in the database of evidential markers. Finnish also has some other modal verbs, such as *taitaa*, and other types of expressions, such as particles, adverbs and tense markers, that indicate evidential functions. Among the various evidential expressions, *täytyy* and *pitäisi* are most interesting, since they combine inferential and epistemic notions in their semantic content. Moreover, these verbs are also used to indicate dynamic and deontic modality, and it is not always possible to distinguish the dynamic or deontic interpretation from the inferential-epistemic interpretation even on the basis of contextual clues. Thus, examples of merger between different types of interpretations (cf. Coates 1983:16-17) can be found. From the typological perspective, the diachronic development of these verbs and its reasons are quite unusual. It does not represent the common grammaticalization paths for modals as proposed by, for example, Bybee & al. (1994). According to Laitinen (1995:87), the modal verb *pitää* originates out of the old intransitive meaning of *pitää* ‘stick, get or be stuck’. In modern standard varieties of Finnish, this modal verb occurs in the conditional mood *pitäisi*, when it is used in inferential-epistemic functions. The modal verb *täytyy* has developed from a reflexive verb *täytyy* ‘become full, ripe, full-size’, which is derived from the adjective *täysi* ‘full’ (cf. Laitinen 1995:87,89). The detailed analysis of Laitinen (1992,1995) suggests that the development of different modern functions of these modal verbs from the lexical sources started at the same time from practical necessity – by means of pragmatic inferencing of the speakers. In the light of this hypothesis which has remained unchallenged, it is not surprising that these verbs often merge different functions, especially in Finnish dialects and other non-standard varieties.

Previous studies of *täytyy* and *pitäisi* by Laitinen (1992, 1995) and other Finnish linguists have provided interesting results concerning their semantic and morphosyntactic development and their use in dialects and other non-standard varieties. Kangasniemi (1992) has studied different properties of these verbs in the standard present-day Finnish, and my purpose is to continue this study on the basis of larger corpora of written and spoken language. In this talk, I will present the results that I have obtained. My approach is functional-cognitive and as a background study, I will refer to the results of my large-scale typological study of 130 languages. The data consists of utterances, containing *täytyy* and *pitäisi* used in inferential-epistemic functions. Usually it is also important to take the context of these utterances into account. The data is included in The Finnish Language Text Collection which is a selection of electronic research material representing written Finnish from 1990’s. This collection is available through The Language Bank of CSC, Finnish IT center for sciences. I have used the Lemmie software for searching the relevant concordances and the contexts. My main research questions are: How can combinations of inferential and epistemic components in the semantic content of *täytyy* and *pitäisi* be described and explained? Are there contextual properties that trigger or background inferential vs. epistemic components? Which context conditions evoke the merger between inferential-epistemic and dynamic/deontic interpretation? What kinds of more general implications this study has for the analysis of inferential expressions in European languages?

So far, my data consists of 100 examples of both *täytyy* and *pitäisi*, but I will gather more examples during the next months. The results and the expected results make it possible to state that in the database of evidentials, both verbs are inferential (subfunction layer 1). This means that in the inferential use, they always evoke the abstract inferential structure, consisting of the information source part and the conclusion part. They do not necessarily refer to inferential processes in the context. The important distinction between the notions of ‘inferential structure’ and ‘inferential process’ will be discussed in the presentation. *Täytyy* has both +perceptual and –perceptual functions, while *pitäisi* seems to indicate only –perceptual functions (subfunction layer 2). More exactly, *pitäisi* codes functions ‘inference from reasoning’ and ‘inference from report’. I will argue that these two subfunctions should be distinguished. Both verbs have conventionalized epistemic components. *Täytyy* expresses ‘certainty’, and *pitäisi* expresses ‘probability’ on the epistemic scale. Harmonic combinations with purely epistemic expressions may highlight the epistemic component, while the explicit reference to inferential processes in the context may highlight the inferential component. *Pitäisi* represents the merger between inferential-epistemic and deontic/dynamic functions clearly more often than *täytyy*. I would suggest that the notion of ‘merger’ should be added into

the database, for example in the diachronic part. Although my talk will focus on semantic and pragmatic issues and their illustration by means of several examples, I will also briefly discuss my treatment of these verbs concerning structural part (IV), distribution (V), diachronic part (VI) and restrictions or preferences in usage (VII) in the database.

References:

- Bybee, Joan L., Revere Perkins, and William Pagliuca 1994. *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Coates, Jennifer 1983. *The Semantics of the Modal Auxiliaries*. London: Croom Helm.
- Kangasniemi, Heikki 1992. *Modal Expressions in Finnish*. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Laitinen, Lea 1992. *Välttämättömyys ja persoona*. Suomen murteiden nesessiivisten rakenteiden semantiikkaa ja kielioppia. Helsinki: Suomalaisen kirjallisuuden seura.
- Laitinen, Lea 1995. Metonymy and the Grammaticalization of Necessity in Finnish. *Yearbook of the Linguistic Association of Finland*, 79-102. Helsinki: Hakapaino Oy.

“Degrammaticalization” and elliptic constructions.

von Mengden, Ferdinand
(University of Hamburg).

A number of recent publications (most importantly, Norde 2009) have brought the notion of ‘degrammaticalization’ back on the agenda. Although there is no doubt that linguistic changes by which an expression or construction gains in autonomy (in whatever respect) are attested, it remains disputed whether or to what extent alleged cases of “degrammaticalization” have common properties, except for the rather vague notion of a ‘movement up the cline’. The central question of this paper will therefore be: which properties (if any) do cases of “degrammaticalization”, or rather ‘upgrading changes’, have in common. The most comprehensive study on ‘degrammaticalization’ is certainly Norde’s recent (2009) monograph. Norde categorizes linguistic changes which include an element’s increase in syntactic autonomy and/or a movement counter-directional to prototypical grammaticalization processes. By discussing a wide range of linguistic changes categorised as ‘degrammaticalization’ processes, Norde does not only show the importance of the phenomenon for a broader understanding of language change, she also provides a fine grained categorization of these types of changes and thus a valuable basis for studying upgrading changes systematically. Yet, while Norde’s “parameter analysis” reveals the heterogeneity of “degrammaticalization” changes it does not offer a common explanation of all upgrading changes under discussion.

In this paper I will argue that ‘upgrading changes’ – heterogeneous though they may be – have at least one feature in common: the linguistic expression which undergoes an upgrading process profits from the loss or breakdown of some other, concomitant element with which it used to co-occur or with which it used to be incorporated into one construction.

I will discuss a number of alleged cases of “degrammaticalization” on different linguistic levels (syntax, morphology) in order to demonstrate that whenever a linguistic development gains in substance or autonomy, it is primarily the loss or the obsolescence of other, concomitant elements that causes its upgrading. This assumption would account for the fact that instances of “degrammaticalization” are so heterogeneous. It is thus not the upgraded element which becomes “degrammaticalized”, but the surrounding of an element which is primarily affected by change. Only as a result of this, the “degrammaticalized” element is forced to take on functions or meanings previously carried by the lost element – and thus becomes upgraded. In short, what seems to be a case of “degrammaticalization” is the result of a previous ellipsis (either of morphological material or of syntactic constituents). “Degrammaticalization”, therefore, can be taken as a mere conventionalisation of some kind of elliptic construction.

If this hypothesis can be confirmed, we will gain an explanation of why there are linguistic changes that run counter to a number of strong tendencies in language change such as phonetic reduction and loss of autonomy. We would gain, in other words, an explanation of why linguistic forms occasionally develop in what seems to be an opposite direction to major forces of language change .

Reference:

- Norde, Muriel. 2009. *Degrammaticalization*. Oxford: OUP.

The prosodic properties of the Nganasan negation.

Wagner-Nagy, Beata and Tamm Anne
(Universities of Vienna and Hamburg - University of Firenze - RIL HAS, Budapest).

This presentation discusses the audio data with Nganasan negation, primarily abessive or caritive marked verbs and nouns, as they are recorded during fieldwork. We found that the negative forms tend to carry accent. The aim is to find out the prosodic properties of the Nganasan negation, and to find out why the negative words are accented as if they were in focus. The

abessive and caritive verbs and nouns have strong presuppositions about an expectation of the situation described by the positive counterpart of the sentences. We hypothesize that presuppositionality is the property that is shared by focus and negation, and related to accenting.

Abessive and caritive negation can be compared to the English examples formed with the affixes *-less*, *un-*, or *without* as in *He is speechless/unprepared*, or *he did it without thinking*; and is formed with a suffix on a noun in Nganasan, as in (1).

- (1) *Мэнэ дэсымэ кѳмаа-зѳли учу.*
 I father-1SG knife-CAR be-3SG
 'My father does not have a knife.'

The abessive negation is formed with a suffix on a verb as in (2).

- (2) *мэнэ ѳи итэ-нэ кона-мэтуми ѳэ-м басу-д'а*
 I yet-GEN.1SG leave-ABESS-1SG hunt-INF
 'I have not gone hunting yet.'

Nganasan has also an abessive participle, as in (3).

- (3) *Таа-ѳи һудуртэка-мэтума ѳа куэд'үму ма-тэ ѳи-ѳэ.*
 reindeer-PI3SG harness-ABESS man tent-Lat enter-AOR.3SG
 'The man who had not harnessed the reindeers yet entered the tent.'

The caritive NP (*kümaa-gial'i*) 'knifeless', the abessive verb *konamätumi ѳэм*, 'not left' and the participle *һудуртэка-мэтума ѳа* 'not yet having harnessed' in (1) - (3) bear accent.

Several studies have shown that focus and negation share many properties in the primarily discourse configurational Uralic languages. In Hungarian, the syntax of negation is similar to focus (e.g., É. Kiss 1995). However, Hungarian differs from the Uralic languages since it does not have morphological negation and some interactions between prosody, focus, and negation cannot be studied. Estonian has abessive-caritive on nouns and on non-finite forms, which get accent in sentences regardless of their syntactic function or position (Tamm 2009).

An interesting link that has been little studied in terms of focus and negation is their presuppositionality. Hungarian focus has been related to presuppositionality by some authors and the received knowledge is that negative sentences trigger presuppositions and implicatures more than their positive counterparts. Tamm and Wagner-Nagy (2009) found that the abessive-caritive sentences have stronger Speaker expectations about the state of affairs expressed by their positive counterpart. The contrast between the reality and the expectation is sharper in abessive and caritive sentences than in sentences with existential negation. In our proposal, accent is related to semantics or pragmatics of presuppositionality rather than to the syntactic positions of focus or negative constituents as in Hungarian.

The study sheds new light upon the relationships between meaning (Speaker's attitudes) and form. The prosodic similarity between focus and negation in terms of their shared presuppositionality is highly likely to predict meaning-form patterns in other languages as well.

References:

- É. Kiss, K., 1995. *Discourse Configurational Languages*. Oxford University Press.
 Tamm, A., 2009. The prosody of finiteness and non-finiteness: the accent on Estonian verbs. Paper presented at Finiteness and Non-Finiteness, Tallinn, November 25, 2009.
 Tamm, A., Wagner-Nagy, B. 2009. The caritive and abessive negation in Nganasan. Paper presented at 9th International Conference on Tense, Aspect and Modality. University Paris-Diderot - Paris 7 & University of Chicago Center in Paris. September 2-4, 2009.

Deriving insights about Tungusic classification from derivational morphology.

Whaley, Lindsay
 (Dartmouth College).

Due to significant lexical borrowing and other language contact effects, it has proven difficult to demonstrate the genetical affiliations among Tungusic languages, not to mention the possible affiliation of Tungusic to other members of the Altaic phylum. Most efforts to examine these genetic issues have used the standard comparative tool of establishing potential cognates and determining sound correspondences. This strategy, to date, has not been successful in producing a convincing cladistic structure for the Tungusic family or establishing the hypothesis of an Altaic phylum. As a result, several scholars (e.g. Whaley et al. 1997, Robbeets 2007) have proposed that alternative methods be employed, including the use of comparative data on derivational morphology. This paper describes the one aspect of derivational morphology in Tungusic languages--Aktionsart suffixes on verbs--to determine whether such data provide a useful tool for determining genetic relatedness. It is argued that these data are, in fact, suggestive of an internal genetic structure to the Tungusic family.

The finite verb in Tungusic languages typically has the following morphological structure:

Verb root-(Causative/Passive)-(Aktionsart)-Tense-Person

The Aktionsart category is notable in three important ways. First, the suffixes are relatively close the verb root. Second, the morphological slot in which it occurs is grammatically optional in the sense that the presence (or absence) of the Aktionsart suffix has no effect on the acceptability of the clause in which it occurs. Rather, the use of an Aktionsart suffix serves to highlight some temporal or spatial feature of the verbal event such as iteration, distributivity, duration, and so on. Third, more than one Aktionsart suffix can occur together, unlike the other suffixal categories. Such characteristics make Aktionsart suffixes an intriguing source of data for determining genetic relatedness. The closeness to the verb root suggest a historical conservatism in form (Johanson 1992). The optionality and repeatability suggest a semantic robustness that also tends towards conservatism in form.

Raising the potential felicity of using Aktionsart suffixes for comparative purposes (a point also brought up by Robbeets 2007), the paper supplies Aktionsart data from Manchu, Udige, Even, Evenki, Hezhe and Oroqen. These data demonstrate that the Aktionsart category is, in fact, an intriguing indicator of genetic relatedness since similarity in the use of the category does not align with well-known areal properties in the family.

The paper ends on a cautionary note. Though derivational morphology, in this instance, does seem to offer a helpful point of comparison for determining genetic relatedness, there are other examples of derivation (e.g. reduplication in color terms) that clearly do not. Therefore, insights from the comparison of derivational process must be tested against the findings of traditional sound/lexical data and scholars must determine whether certain types of derivation are more reliable than others for reconstructing family structures.

Borrowability of basic vocabulary.

Wichmann Søren

(Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology).

For a meaningful modeling of language contact it is necessary to set realistic parameters. Some basic parameters are rates of diffusion and change (Schulze et al. 2008), and a crucial question relating to these is whether different parts of languages have different or similar behaviors. Wichmann and Holman (2009) is an empirical investigation of abstract grammatical features showing (1) that different features (e.g., phonological inventories, different morphological categories, word order, etc.) have different inherent rates of change, but also (2) that borrowability is not something which is inherent in such features. In other words, while it can, to a certain extent, be predicted how rapidly a given feature will change, it cannot be predicted which feature will tend to diffuse in a given geographical area.

The present investigation looks at items of basic vocabulary asking the same kinds of questions: do different items (1) have different rates of change and/or (2) different degrees of borrowability? We draw upon the data collected within the so-called Automated Similarity Judgment Program (ASJP; cf. Holman et al. 2008). The ASJP database consists of lists of words for 40 concepts drawn from more than half of the world's languages. Among a total of more than 130,000 words for the different concepts in the various languages we have identified 335 loanwords at this preliminary stage. Holman et al. (2008)—as well as our more recent results—show that different lexical items, just like structural features, have different inherent rates of change. But preliminary results also show that with regard to borrowability lexical items behave differently from structural features, inasmuch as they appear to have different degrees of borrowability. Nevertheless, stability and borrowability do not appear to be correlated. We discuss why this is the case. Briefly, stability is negatively related to the average length of words and to the frequency with which concepts are attested across the sources consulted. Both of these factors probably relate to token frequency in discourse, since we know from Zipf's law that more frequent words tend to be shorter, and it is also plausible that more frequent words should be more likely to be recorded by linguistic fieldworkers. Thus, more frequent words tend to be more stable. Borrowability, on the other hand, would seem mainly to be affected by cultural factors, i.e., by the differential availability of corresponding cultural items.

Related research has been carried out within the Loanword Typology project (Haspelmath and Tadmor 2009). A premise of that project was that borrowability is something inherent in different lexical items, but given the small number of languages investigated this premise could not be confirmed. Our results, however, confirm the basic premise, at least as concerns the words for our small selection of concepts.

Thus, this paper contributes important yardsticks for the computational modeling of language contact and adds to the empirical knowledge of the genealogical and areal behaviors of basic words in human languages across the world.

References:

- Haspelmath, Martin and Uri Tadmor (eds.). 2009. *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Holman, Eric W., Søren Wichmann, Cecil H. Brown, Viveka Velupillai, André Müller, and Dik Bakker. 2008. Explorations in automated lexicostatistics. *Folia Linguistica* 42.2: 331-354.
- Schulze, Christian, Dietrich Stauffer, and Søren Wichmann. 2008. Birth, survival and death of languages by Monte Carlo simulation. *Communications in Computational Physics* 3.2: 271-294.

Grammatical relations without syntactic transitivity.

Witzlack-Makarevich, Alena
(University of Leipzig).

Traditional research on grammatical relations and alignment typology relies heavily on the notions of syntactic transitivity and syntactic argumenthood (Dixon 2009). Thus, syntactically intransitive predicates take only one argument (viz. intransitive subject or S) and syntactically transitive predicates take two arguments (viz. transitive subject (or A) and object (or O)). Syntactic arguments share certain morphosyntactic properties (also known as subject and object properties). The way these properties are distributed among the three arguments determines the basic alignment type of a language (e.g. nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive or neutral).

Over the last forty years, important advances were made in investigating the behavior of a wide range of morphosyntactic properties. An important outcome of this research was the recognition of the fact that these properties need not converge on a single set of grammatical relations in a language. This idea has become known in the literature as the construction specific nature of grammatical relations (Kachru et al. 1976; Comrie 1978; Moravcsik 1978; Van Valin and LaPolla 1997; Dixon 1994; Croft 2001; Bickel 2004, in press). As syntactic transitivity in the traditional sense is dependent on such generalized notions as subject and object, what are then the implications of the construction-specific nature of grammatical relations for syntactic transitivity? Is it also construction-specific then? The difficulty of determining syntactic transitivity becomes even more obvious if one considers non-canonically marked arguments (e.g. non-nominative subjects, dative and adpositional objects, etc.) and arguments of passive and antipassive clauses which simultaneously show morphosyntactic properties common to clauses of different syntactic transitivity depending on what construction one looks at. One way to solve this conflict is to consider certain properties as more indicative. For instance, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) rank passivization higher than certain other morphosyntactic properties in determining syntactic transitivity. But then, why go with evidence from passivization and not some other morphosyntactic properties (cf. the discussion in Haspelmath 2008)?

As an alternative, I suggest an approach to grammatical relations based exclusively on semantic transitivity (following Bickel in press). In this approach, such gross syntactic notions as subject and object are abandoned. Instead, the attention is shifted to argument alignment of single syntactic processes, rules, constructions or restrictions traditionally regarded as subject and object properties. In contrast to syntactic argumenthood, semantic argumenthood provides a precise coordinate system defined independently of the phenomena it describes, i.e. independently of single syntactic rules, constructions, etc. (cf. Croft 2001; Lehmann 2006; Haspelmath 2007). This combination of semantic argumenthood and construction-specific vision of grammatical relations allows for an integrated account of within-language variation of grammatical relations (including construction-specific behavior of non-canonically marked arguments and arguments of passive and antipassive clauses) and enables an adequate cross-linguistic comparison of grammatical relations.

References:

- Bickel, Balthasar. 2004. Hidden syntax in Belhare. In *Himalayan linguistics*, ed. Anju Saxena, 141–190. Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bickel, Balthasar. in press. Grammatical relations typology. In *The Oxford Handbook of Language Typology*, ed. Jae Jung Song. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1978. Ergativity. In *Syntactic typology: studies in the phenomenology of language*, ed. Winfred P. Lehmann, 329–394. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar: syntactic theory in typological perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dixon, Robert M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R. M. W. 2009. *Basic linguistic theory, vol. 2: Grammatical topics*. Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2008b. Ditransitive constructions: towards a new Role and Reference Grammar account? In *Investigations of the syntax-semantics-pragmatics interface*, ed. Robert D. van Valin, 75–100. Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Kachru, Yamuna, Braj B. Kachru, and Tej K. Bhatia. 1976. The notion ‘subject’: a note on Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, and Panjabi. In *The notion of subject in South-Asian languages*, ed. Manindra K. Verma, 79–109. Madison: South Asian Studies Publications Series, University of Wisconsin.
- Lehmann, Christian. 2006. Participant roles, thematic roles and syntactic relations. In T. Tsunoda and T. Kageyama, editors, *Voice and Grammatical Relations. In Honor of Masayoshi Shibatani*. Benjamins, Amsterdam and Philadelphia.
- Moravcsik, Edith. 1978. On the distribution of ergative and accusative patterns. *Lingua* 45:233–279.
- Van Valin, Robert D. Jr., and Randy J. LaPolla. 1997. *Syntax: structure, meaning, and function*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coalescence and Retention of Diphthongs in Baghdadi Arabic: a unified analysis.

Youssef, Islam
(University of Tromsø).

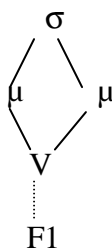
Like most modern Arabic dialects, Baghdadi Arabic (BA) long mid vowels [ee] and [oo] are claimed to have historically developed from Classical Arabic (CLA) diphthongs [aj] and [aw] respectively via monophthongization (Holes 1995, Iványi 2006, inter alia). The appearance of both surface diphthongs and new non-alternating long mid vowels have led to claims that long mid vowels are underlying in BA and that monophthongization no longer applies (Altoma 1969, Blanc 1964). However, a thorough examination of the synchronic status of BA mid vowels and diphthongs reveals that long mid vowels are only (and still) derived from underlying diphthongs in this dialect.

A puzzling fact is the absence of short mid vowels in BA vowel inventory – long vowels imply short vowels under some theories of structural markedness and vowel length (e.g. Morén 1999). However, if all mid vowels are derived by assimilation and if the product of this process is always a long vowel, then there is no source for short mid vowels. Learners will allow non-alternating forms to take a ‘free ride’ (McCarthy 2005) by deriving them from an underlying diphthongal base.

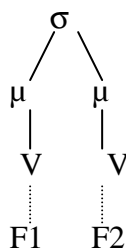
The systematic exceptions to BA monophthongization in which diphthongs appear on the surface can be explained as a case of Derived Environment Blocking (Hall 2006), where a surface structure is excluded when it is derived, but allowed when it is non-derived. My data provide ample evidence that mid vowels and diphthongs are in complementary distribution, thus indicating that the monophthongization process is still active and that there are particular environments in which it does not apply. These are morphologically derived environments (diphthongs derived across morpheme boundaries), some unproductive derivations or when a geminate glide (onset) is involved – contexts which commonly resist phonological processes.

The analysis outlines the featural and moraic representations of long vowels and diphthongs and investigates the mechanisms leading to the monophthongization or preservation of underlying diphthongs. Importantly, the appearance of ‘false’ long mid vowels in BA is explained as the result of total assimilation of two adjacent vocalic root nodes of an underlying diphthong (b→c). As a consequence, all BA surface forms can be derived from diphthongal underlying forms. The occasional occurrence of [i:] as a reflex of the CLA diphthong [aj] (Altoma 1969) is explained via the preservation of both moras and the loss of a root node (b→a).

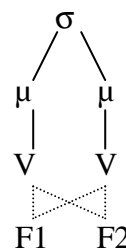
(a) True Long Vowels



(b) Diphthongs



(c) False Long Vowels



References:

- Altoma, S., (1969). *The problem of Diglossia in Arabic*. Harvard University Press.
Blanc, H. (1964). *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*. Harvard University Press.
Hall, T. A. (2006). “Derived Environment Blocking Effects in Optimality Theory.” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 24 : 803–856.
Holes, C. (1995). *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions and Varieties*. London: Longman.
Iványi, T. (2006). “Diphthongs.” In Versteegh et al. (eds.) *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*, vol. 1, 640–643. Leiden: Brill.
McCarthy, J. (2005). “Taking a free ride in morphophonemic learning.” In Lloret and Jiménez (eds.) *Morphology in Phonology*, thematic issue of *Catalan Journal of Linguistics* 4, 19–55.
Morén, B. (1999). *Distinctiveness, Coercion and Sonority: A Unified Theory of Weight*. PhD dissertation, University of Maryland at College Park.

Ergativity in Modern Indo-European languages of India.

Zakharyin, Boris
(Moscow University).

A number of Modern Indo-European (MIE) languages of India: from Gujarati in the West to Assamese in the East and from (? Dardic) Kashmiri in the North to Sinhalese in the South, - belong to nominative/non-accusative/partially ergative (= 'ergativoid') typological class. Their further differentiation may be based on morpho-syntactical characteristics of predicates and of subject and direct object NPs of the sentence. E.g., there might be three main situation-types with Patient-oriented NPs: (1) the P-NP is absent from the surface structure; (2) the P-NP is present in the sentence and marked by a certain postposition or an oblique case inflection; (3) the P-NP is manifested in the sentence and marked by the 'zero' inflection of the Absolute case. Situation (2) is 'mediating' between (1) and (3) as polar points and is susceptible to neutralization and merging with either (1) or (3). In ergative sentences of Kashmiri (which is, at least, genetically Dardic) the situation (2) is not at all possible, and (1) is rather rare. In case of (1) the verbal form G/N markers are 'fixed' (always m/sg) and followed by the optional P/N postfixes reflecting the properties of the ergative subject NP; these P/N postfixes formally differ from those of the subject NPs in non-ergative sentences, e.g., *kōr'-i* (f/sg/obl.) *kh'-o-W* (Past m/sg) 'The girl ate [something]', *m'a* (1st pers. pron. obl/sg) *kh'-o-W* 'I ate' or *kh'-o-m* 'eaten-[by]-me', but *col-u-s* (Past 1st pers./m/sg) '[I] moved'.

Gujarati and Marwari (as well as some other dialects of Western Rajasthan) imply the contrast: '(1) ↔ (2) + (3)'. In (1) the verb of the ergative sentence is always 'fixed' in accordance with G/N and P/N categories: n/sg in Gujarati, m/sg in Marwari; 3rd person only; the verb form is always agreeing with any (morphologically marked or unmarked) P-NP. E.g., Gujarati: *meM sod-o* (m/sg/abs.) *kar-y-o* (m/sg) *ha-t-o* (m/sg/3rd pers.) 'I [some] bargain have committed (lit. 'done')', *meM sod-ā* (m/sg/obl) + *ne* (postpos.) *kar-y-o ha-t-o* 'I [this very] bargain have committed' ↔ *meM hatyā* (f/sg/abs.) *kar-ī* (f/sg-pl/3rd pers.) 'I killing have committed'.

The 'ergativoid' MIE languages of Central India (the most typical among them is Hindi-Urdu) imply the '(1) + (2) ↔ (3)' type of contrast. - Only in (3) of ergative sentences the verb – always having the form of the 3rd person - agrees in G/N with the P-NP; in (1) and (2) the verb-form is consistently 'fixed' (m/sg). Thus, the ergativity sphere in Hindi-Urdu and Punjabi is narrowed in comparison with the Gujarati-Marwari group. - Compare H.-Ur.: *śilā* (f/sg) + *ne* (postp.) *ām* (m/sg) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate mango', *śilā* + *ne roTī* (f/sg) *khā-y-ī* (f/sg) 'Shila ate [some] bread', *śilā* + *ne roTī* (f/sg) + *ko* (postpos.) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate [this very piece of] bread', *śilā* + *ne khūb* (adv.) *khā-y-ā* (m/sg) 'Shila ate well'. The other 'ergativoid' MIE languages demonstrate different degrees of similarity with this or that of the described subtypes. Thus, Eastern Punjabi is similar to H.-Ur., but more archaic; Siraiki of Western Punjab, Sindhi and Marathi are nearer to Kashmiri subtype; Assamese, Nepali and Central Pahari dialects might be qualified as languages with dominant early accusativity and peripheral but unlimited ergativity; Classical Dakkhini belonged to the same type, but Modern Dakkhini is accusative and non-ergative.

The displacement of the 'ergativoid' MIE languages on the proposed ergativity scale will be described in detail in my talk at the Conference.

Affricate shortening in Belarusian-Russian mixed speech.

Zeller, Jan Patrick
(University of Oldenburg).

This paper deals with an instance of phonic variation – possibly a recently ongoing sound change – in the contact of Belarusian and Russian language in today's Belarus.

Belarus has two official standard languages, Belarusian and Russian. De facto, Russian dominates in all official and public spheres, Belarusian (in its standard form, as opposed to belarusian dialects) is spoken only by a minority (cf. Zaprudski 2007). Both east slavic languages, Belarusian and Russian are genetically closely related, share a huge amount of similar and congruent structures and elements on all linguistic levels and are to a high degree mutually intelligible. The contact of these languages, which thus bears some striking similarity to instances of dialect contact, resulted in the phenomenon of mixed Belarusian-Russian speech, which is used by wide population parts in Belarus, in particular in unofficial speech situations. This so-called *trasjanka* is characterised by variation of Russian, Belarusian and, partly, hybrid structures and elements on all linguistic levels (cf. Hentschel 2008).

Instances of this mixed speech are investigated within a project at the Department for Slavonic Studies at the University of Oldenburg. Our corpus covers family conversations of two generations of *trasjanka* speakers who in some aspects can be considered as typical for the situation in today's Belarus. The first generation are speakers who grew up in rural environments with belarusian dialects. In the 1960-ies and 1970-ies, these people migrated as young adolescents into the cities, where they had to accommodate to a linguistically Russian-dominated environment. The second generation presented in our data are the children of these migrants, who on the one hand grew up with the mixed speech of their parents and do not use the original dialects actively, on the other hand show a high competence of standard Russian as a result of their schooling.

Due to historical sound change, Belarusian has palatalised dental affricates [dʒ] and [tʃ] where Russian has palatalised dental stops [dʲ] and [tʲ] (cf. Wexler 1977). As the affrication of palatalised dental stops is also typical for standard Russian spoken by Belarusians (cf. Bondarko & Verbickaja 1987), it is no surprise that in the data of the first analysed family of our corpus, (tʲ) and (dʲ) are overwhelmingly affricated as well, constantly across generations. In case of (tʲ), however, the two representatives of the younger generation show a shorter realisation (61ms and 65ms) than their parents (75ms and 82ms). In order to identify whether this shortening is a general tendency for younger trasjanka speakers – which then could be interpreted as a phonetic compromise between a short “Russian” stop and a long “Belarusian” affricate – I will consider data from further families in our corpus. I will also look on the variable (dʲ), where a first glance in our data does not hint at such a straight-forward tendency: Here, it is the daughter who shows the longest mean duration of the family, while her brother again shows some shortening.

References:

- Bondarko, L. V. & Verbickaja, L. A. 1987: *Interferencija zvukovyh sistem*. Leningrad
- Hentschel, G. 2008: Zur weißrussisch-russischen Hybridität in der weißrussischen „Trasjanka“. In: P. Kosta & D. Weiss (eds.): *Slavistische Linguistik 2006/2007*. [= Slavistische Beiträge 464], 169-219
- Wexler, P. 1977: *A historical phonology of the Belorussian language*. Heidelberg
- Zaprudski, S. 2007: In the grip of replacive bilingualism. The Belarusian language in contact with Russian. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 183, 97-118

The retrieval of potentially morphologically complex clusters in Polish and English.

Zydorowicz, Paulina
(Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan)

The aim of the study was to establish the retrieval of potentially morphologically complex clusters in the native production of Polish and non-native production of English. The study has been inspired by the proposal of morphonotactics, developed by Dressler and Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2006).

The term *mophonotactics*, which has been introduced rather recently to cover the area of interaction of phonotactics and morphotactics (Dressler & Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2006), in fact refers to the first of the three parts of morphonology introduced by Trubetzkoy (1931), that is, the study of the phonological structure of morphemes. In other words, morphonotactics can be understood as phonotactics at morpheme boundaries.

Dressler and Dziubalska-Kołaczyk place consonant clusters on a continuum between purely morphonotactic (morphologically driven) and lexical ones (monomorphemic). Thus the following groups of clusters have been distinguished.

- 1) Clusters which occur only across morpheme boundaries
- 2) Clusters which by default occur morpheme boundaries, however, one can find very few morphologically unmotivated clusters (a strong default)
- 3) Clusters which by default occur morpheme boundaries, however, one can find quite a few morphologically unmotivated clusters (a weak default)
- 4) Clusters which occur both across morpheme boundaries and within morphemes
- 5) Clusters which occur exclusively within morphemes

The aim of the study was to check whether clusters belonging to groups 2, 3, and 4 exist in the mind of language users as rather lexical or morphonotactic ones.

The methodology of the study was the following. The subjects of the study were first year students of English Philology, who were in the process of receiving formal instruction in practical English phonetics as well as theoretical phonetic and phonological background of English and (to some extent) Polish. In the experiment the students were provided with an auditory presentation of initial and final clusters, accompanied by the phonetic transcription of the clusters. The target clusters represented one of the groups listed above, i.e. strong default clusters (group 2), weak default clusters (group 3), and clusters which may function both as lexical clusters and morphonotactic ones (group 4). Students were instructed to provide three examples of words that came to their minds when presented with a given cluster. The same procedure was applied to elicit Polish word initial and final and English word final clusters.

The results of the study showed that the association of a cluster with a word depends on which group (2, 3, or 4) the cluster belongs to. In the case of Polish, default clusters were represented by morphologically complex words, whereas clusters occurring both within and across morpheme boundaries were rather exemplified by morphologically simple words. In the case of English finals, strong default clusters were naturally associated with morphologically complex words (97% of the cases). Weak default clusters were associated with morphologically complex words in 59% of the cases. Clusters occurring both inter- and intramorphemically were exemplified by morphologically simple words (22% of the cases). These findings fully justify Dressler and Dziubalska-Kołaczyk's division of consonant sequences.

References:

- Dressler, Wolfgang U. – Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kołaczyk. 2006. “Proposing Morphotactics”, *Rivista di Linguistica* 18.2: 249-266.
- Trubetzkoy, Nikolaj S. 1931. “Gedanken über Morphonologie” [Some thoughts on morphonology], in *TCLP*. Vol. 4: 337-342.



Societas Linguistica
Europaea 2010



Vilnius University
2-5 September 2010

Workshop descriptions

1. Bound morphology in common: copy or cognate?

Convenors: Martine Robbeets (K.U.Leuven & Mainz University) & Lars Johanson (Zürich University & Mainz University)

Recent decades show an increase in contact studies, while genealogical studies seem to loose in interest. However, contact linguistics and genealogical linguistics are no antonyms: they complement each other.

Shared properties between languages may have arisen independently in each of them by chance or nature, they may be copied or diffused between them, or they may have arisen only once, when the languages were one and the same. Whereas chance explanations can be ruled out by regularity and paradigmaticity and violations of the arbitrary relationship between sound and meaning can often be unmasked at face value, it is much more difficult to distinguish between copies and cognates. A major obstacle for the establishment of language families and the reconstruction of proto-languages is the fact that copies are often mistaken for cognates.

Going beyond the concept of basic vocabulary on which lists of copy-proof meanings, such as the Swadesh list or the Leipzig list, are based, we would like to organize a panel on the stability and copiability of bound morphology. As a result of the marked difference in the ease of linguistic borrowing between grammar and lexicon and between bound and free morphemes, bound morphology is held to be one of the most fruitful parts of language structure when it comes to the distinction between copies and cognates. The goal of the workshop is to discuss a hierarchy of morphological copiability and to work out criteria to distinguish between cognates and copies in bound morphology. The approach is empirical. We welcome comparisons of borrowed and inherited morphology in a particular group of languages that display contact in their family as well as typological contributions that compare borrowing patterns with genealogical patterns in a cross-linguistic sample of languages.

Specific issues to be addressed include, among others:

- Are there any constraints on morphological borrowing?
- Is it possible to copy processes of grammaticalization?
- Is agglutinative morphology more copiable than fusional morphology?
- Is derivational morphology more copiable than inflectional morphology?
- Is nominal morphology more copiable than verbal morphology? Is there an inequality for different parts of speech when it comes to morphological borrowing?
- Is there an inequality for different verbal categories when it comes to morphological borrowing?
- Are there universal tendencies that allow predictions about the stability of structural features in morpho-syntax?
- Is shared paradigmatic morphology a *conditio-sine-qua-non* for genealogical relationship?
- Is it possible to establish linguistic relationship on the basis of shared morphology alone?
- Should phonological comparison always precede morphological evidence in matters of genealogical relationship?
- Is it possible to find tendencies or to set up criteria to distinguish between cognates and copies in bound morphology?

2. Subject and transitivity in Indo-European and beyond: A diachronic typological perspective

Convenors: Leonid Kulikov (Leiden University) & Ilya Seržant (University of Bergen)

The recent decades are marked with a considerable progress in the study of grammatical relations (subject, object) and their relationships with transitivity (see, among others, Hopper & Thompson 1980; Kittilä 2002; Næss 2007). Impressive results are achieved both in the study of the notion of prototypical transitive and intransitive clauses, with canonical subject and object marking (see, in particular, Aikhenvald et al. 2001; Bhaskararao & Subbarao 2004), and in the research of intermediary, 'quasi-transitive' ('quasi-intransitive')

types, often correlating with non-canonical encoding of the core relations (non-nominative subjects etc.). Meticulous research of subject properties has discovered an amazing variety of criteria of subjecthood that can be used as a powerful tool for detecting (non-canonical) subjects and, virtually, to arrive at a more adequate definition of subject.

Indo-European languages are particularly notorious for their diversity of non-canonical subject marking, ranking from nominative (standard), to dative, genitive, accusative etc., as in Icelandic (1) (see, among others, Barðdal 2001), Lithuanian (2a), Polish (Holvoet 1991), or Bengali (Onishi 2001):

- (1) Icelandic
 Mér likar þessi tilgáta
 I:DAT like:PRES:3SG this hypothesis
 'I like this hypothesis.'
- (2) Lithuanian
 a. *Man nuo lietaus sušalo rankos*
 I:DAT because of rain freeze:PAST:3SG hand:NOM.PL
 'My hands became frozen because of rain.'

While the synchronic study of subject and transitivity in Indo-European languages (and beyond) has furnished detailed descriptions of syntactic patterns, inventories of features and types and valuable cross-linguistic observations, little attention was paid to the diachronic aspects of the phenomena in question. We cannot yet explain why and how the non-canonical subject marking emerges and disappears, how does it correlate with changes in the system of transitivity types. Correlations between different transitivity types and the status of the syntactic arguments (in particular, their subject/object properties) can be illustrated with the Lithuanian example in (2b). In contrast with (2a), it instantiates a higher degree of control of the subject over the situation, and the canonical subject marking is in correlation with the whole construction becoming more transitive as compared to (2a) (Seržant, forthc.):

- (2) Lithuanian
 b. (Kol ėjau į universitetą,) sušalau rankas,
 (While I was going to university) freeze:PAST:1SG hand:ACC.PL
 (nes visą kelią spaudžiau sniegą rankose.)
 (because all the way I pressed snow in the hands)
 'While I was going to the university, I froze up my hands, because all the way I pressed snow in the hands.'

Thus, of particular interest are such constructions where we observe increase of transitivity correlating with the increase of subject (and object) properties of the core argument(s). This is the case with the North Russian 'possessive perfect' constructions, as in (3), which originates in possessive construction of the *mihi-est* type with the passive participle (cf. Kuteva & Heine 2004), and attests acquiring subject properties by the oblique 'possessor' noun (Timberlake 1976):

- (3) U nego korov-a / korov-u podojen-o
 at he:GEN cow-NOM / cow-ACC milk:PART.PERF.PASS-SG.N
 'He has milked the cow.'

Another issue relevant for a diachronic typological study of subject and transitivity is the evolution of alignment systems. The developments in the system of subject-marking and expansion of non-canonical subjects, typically accompanied by rearrangements of transitivity types, may open the way to dramatic changes in the type of alignment – for instance, from nominative-accusative to ergative-absolutive (as in Indo-Iranian), or from ergative-absolutive to nominative-accusative (as it was, presumably, the case in Proto-Indo-European, according to some hypotheses; cf. Bauer 2001 and Bavant 2008, among others). The relationships between these syntactic phenomenon are not yet sufficiently studied. In particular, our knowledge of the subject and transitivity features of the Indo-European proto-language is still quite limited (see Barðdal & Eythórssón 2009).

Indo-European languages, with their well-documented history and long tradition of historical and comparative research, offer a particularly rich opportunity for a diachronic typological study of the above-listed issues (see Barðdal 2001 on Icelandic). One of the first research projects concentrating on the diachronic aspects of these phenomena started in 2008 in Bergen, under the general guidance of J. Barðdal (see <http://ling.uib.no/IECASTP>).

The idea of our workshop is to bring together scholars interested in comparative research on subject and transitivity in Indo-European and to open up new horizons in the study of these phenomena, paying special

attention to its diachronic aspects. While the workshop concentrates mainly on evidence from Indo-European, papers on non-Indo-European languages which could be relevant for a diachronic typological study of the issues in question will also be welcome.

The issues to be addressed include theoretical and descriptive aspects of a study of subject and transitivity:

- criteria for subjecthood and subject properties in Indo-European
- features of transitivity and transitivity types in Indo-European; how to define transitivity in constructions with non-canonical subjects and/or objects?
- mechanisms of the rise or disappearance of non-canonical subject-marking
- evolution of transitivity and changes in the inventory of transitivity types in the history of Indo-European
- relationships between subject marking and transitivity types: evolution of subject-marking with different semantic classes of verbs
- the main evolutionary types (from the point of view of subject marking and transitivity types) attested for Indo-European
- subject and changes in the type of alignment: the emergence of ergativity out of constructions with non-canonical subject
- voice, valency-changing categories and subject marking: their relationships in a diachronic perspective

References

- Aikhenvald, A.Y. et al. (eds) 2001. *Non-canonical marking of subjects and objects*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Barðdal, J. 2001. *Case in Icelandic: A Synchronic, Diachronic and Comparative Approach*. Lund: Dept. of Scandinavian Languages, Lund University.
- Barðdal, J. & Eythórsson, Th. 2009. [The Origin of the Oblique Subject Construction: An Indo-European Comparison](#). In: V. Bubeník et al. (eds), *Grammatical Change in Indo-European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 179–193.
- Bauer, B. 2001. *Archaic syntax in Indo-European: the spread of transitivity in Latin and French*. Berlin: Mouton.
- Bavant, M. 2008. Proto-Indo-European ergativity... still to be discussed. *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 44/4: 433-447.
- Bhaskararao, P. & Subbarao, K. V. (eds) 2004. *Non-nominative Subjects*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Holvoet, A. 1991. *Transitivity and clause structure in Polish: a study in case marking*. Warszawa: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy.
- Holvoet, A. 2009. Difuziniai subjektai ir objektai. In: A. Holvoet & R. Mikulskas (eds), *Gramatinių funkcijų prigimtis ir raiška*. Vilnius: Vilniaus universitetas & Asociacija „Academia Salensis“, 37-68.
- Hopper, P. & Thompson, S. 1980. Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse. *Language* 56/2: 251-299.
- Kittilä, S. 2002. *Transitivity: toward a comprehensive typology*. Åbo: Åbo Akademiska Tryckeri.
- Kuteva, T. & Heine, B. 2004. On the possessive perfect in North Russian. *Word* 55: 37-71.
- Næss, Å. 2007. Prototypical transitivity. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Onishi, M. 2001. Non-canonically marked A/S in Bengali. In: A.Y. Aikhenvald et al. (eds), *Non-canonical marking of subjects and objects*. Amsterdam: Benjamins, 113-147.
- Seržant, I. A. forthc. Labiality across oblique subject predicates in Baltic. In: L. Kulikov & N. Lavidas (eds), *Typology of labile verbs: Focus on diachrony*.
- Timberlake, A. 1976. Subject properties in the North Russian Passive. In: Ch. N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press, 545-594.

3. Theory and Data in Cognitive Linguistics

Convenors: Nikolas Gisborne (University of Edinburgh) & Willem Hollmann (Lancaster University)

Cognitive linguistics has an honourable tradition of paying respect to naturally occurring language data, as is witnessed by the workshop series ‘Empirical Methods in Cognitive Linguistics’, a regular biennial occurrence since its first instalment in 2003 at Cornell University (see also Gonzalez -Marquez et al. 2006). There have been fruitful interactions between corpus data and aspects of linguistic structure and meaning, see e.g. Gries &

Stefanowitsch (2006) for applications in construction grammar; Cuyckens et al. (2003) for uses in lexical semantics; Bybee (2001) for a usage-based approach to phonology. More recently, dialect data and sociolinguistic data collection methods/theoretical concepts have started to generate interest, see e.g. Hollmann & Siewierska (2006, 2007). In addition to this, there has also been an increase in several kinds of experimental work (e.g. Bergen et al. 2007, Dąbrowska 2008), as well as in attempts to combine evidence from various sources, e.g. Gries et al. (2005).

However, not all linguistic data is simply naturally occurring or derived from experiments with statistically robust samples of speakers. Other traditions, especially the generative tradition, have fruitfully used introspection and questions about the grammaticality of different strings to uncover patterns which might otherwise have gone unnoticed: the difference between 'control' and 'raising' patterns (Rosenbaum 1967), the distributional constraints on reflexive pronouns (Reinhart 1983), the existence of island constraints (Ross 1967), and *that*-trace effects (e.g. Chomsky & Lasnik 1977) all come to mind. Some of these data sets have benefited from a response from within the cognitive tradition: Van Hoek (1997) wrote on anaphora, and island constraints were discussed by Deane (1991), who attempted to locate the constraints in a view of language that was consistently embedded within a larger theory of human cognition. Barðdal's work (e.g. 2008) offers a cognitive perspective on 'quirky' case marking, another topic that has received extensive discussion in the generative literature. Polarity, another traditionally popular topic in logic-based approaches to language structure and meaning, has received a cognitive linguistic treatment in the work of Israel (e.g. 2004). Moreover, some data which have been discussed within the generative tradition have been subject to challenges as to their reliability status from cognitive linguists, as in e.g. Dąbrowska's (1997) study on WH-clauses. We might call the data sets analysed in these studies 'theoretically uncovered' data, i.e. facts about language that linguists have discovered as a result of their wearing particular 'theoretical goggles'.

There is also a diachronic tradition which has to pay attention to real language data (because it could not otherwise describe phenomena) but where the degree to which data are (necessarily) idealized is contingent on whether language change is viewed as sudden and abrupt (e.g. Lightfoot 1979) or gradual and incremental (Croft 2000, Hopper & Traugott 2003). The gradualist tradition is in line with cognitive assumptions about the organization of lexical and grammatical categories, and although it's usually not explicit, most (functionalist) work in grammaticalization is consistent with many of the research results of the cognitive tradition. (There is now an emerging body of work in diachronic construction grammar (Israel 1996, Traugott 2003, Trousdale 2008, Patten 2010) which addresses just this issue.) However, although there is work where the grammaticalization tradition has examined the same data sets as generative linguists, such as the emergence of the English modals, there are areas where the two research paradigms have not converged. For instance, generative grammarians are more apt to explore changes in word order or negation (see e.g. Van Kemenade 1999, Pintzuk 1999, Koopman 2005) than cognitive linguists.

Linguistic typology has not received as much attention from cognitive linguists as one would perhaps expect, given that crosslinguistic facts may give clues as to cognitive structure (see e.g. Croft 1998). But again we see that the response to the data is different here than in generative grammar. Generative work (e.g. Baker 2009) is generally motivated by a search for Universal Grammar and tends to be based on relatively small language samples. Cognitive work on linguistic typology, by contrast, continues the legacy of the Greenbergian approach by using relatively large language samples, and in arguing that what is universal does not lie in language structure as such, but in speakers' conceptual spaces and in the constraints on the mappings between functions and structures (see e.g. Croft 2001, Cristofaro 2003).

Summing up the observations made thus far, we can see that the divide between generative and cognitive approaches to language is intimately connected to the kinds of data drawn on, and the way in which generalisations are derived from these data. The divide is wide, but we note that there are attempts to bridge it, to some extent on the cognitive side (Croft 1999), but more clearly by generative linguists (e.g. Culicover & Jackendoff 2005). There are other cognitive approaches to data which have been tackled within the generative tradition; for example, Hudson (2003) is an exploration of gerunds, within a cognitive theory of linguistic categories and Gisborne (2010) includes a discussion of the perception verb complements which were a motivation for situation semantics and event semantics. We would like to suggest that in order to add to growing perception of cognitive linguistics as an (at least) viable alternative paradigm even to colleagues raised and working within formalist traditions, the onus is on us to provide coherent and empirically sound accounts of the kinds of theoretically uncovered data referred to above. The great advantage of our treatment then obviously lies in the compatibility with findings in cognitive psychology. In addition, we believe that just as is the case in some recent work in generative grammar, we must critically evaluate our growing set of theoretical constructs and assumptions. Some of these may not make clear contributions to our understanding of language (see e.g. Broccias & Hollmann 2007). Importantly, this may lead to resistance in linguists, cognitive and generative alike, and thus hamper the development of the field.

Against this background, the specific questions we would like to address are given below. Against each question we also indicate some of the workshop participants who will address this question, either implicitly or explicitly. In our introductory talk to the workshop we will elaborate on these connections, anticipating the general discussion to be held at the end of the event.

1. Can cognitive linguistics uncover generalisations not so easily uncovered in other approaches? (e.g. Barðdal, Gisborne, Patten, Trousdale)
2. Are there theoretically uncovered data that other linguists haven't thought about at all? (e.g. Broccias, Dąbrowska)
3. Are there theoretically uncovered data which cognitive approaches cannot say very much about? (e.g. Broccias)
4. What is the reliability status of theoretically uncovered data and generalisations? (e.g. Dąbrowska, Hollmann)
5. Are there assumptions in cognitive theories which do not have obvious benefits in the analysis of linguistic data? (e.g. Broccias, Cristofaro, Hollmann)

References

- Baker, Mark. 2009. Formal Generative Typology. In B. Heine and H. Narrog (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of linguistic analysis*. Oxford: OUP.
- Barðdal, Johanna. 2008. *Productivity: evidence from case and argument structure in Icelandic*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bergen, Benjamin, Shane Lindsay, Teenie Matlock & Srinu Narayanan. 2007. 'Spatial and linguistic aspects of visual imagery in sentence comprehension.' *Cognitive Science* 31:733-764.
- Broccias, Cristiano & Willem B. Hollmann. 2007. 'Do we need summary and sequential scanning in (Cognitive) grammar?' *Cognitive Linguistics* 18:487-522
- Bybee, Joan L. 2001. *Phonology and language use*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Chomsky, Noam & Howard Lasnik. 1977. 'Filters and Control.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 8:425-504.
- Cristofaro, Sonia. 2003. *Subordination*. Oxford: OUP.
- Croft, William. 1998. 'Linguistic evidence and mental representations.' *Cognitive Linguistics* 9:151-173.
- Croft, William. 1999. 'What (some) functionalists can learn from (some) formalists.' In M. Darnell, E. Moravcsik, F. Newmeyer, M. Noonan and K. Wheatley (eds.), *Functionalism and formalism in linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp.85-108.
- Croft, William. 2000. *Explaining language change: an evolutionary approach*. Harlow: Longman.
- Croft, William. 2001. *Radical construction grammar*. Oxford: OUP.
- Cuyckens, Hubert, René Dirven and John R. Taylor (eds.). 2003. *Cognitive approaches to lexical semantics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Dąbrowska, Ewa. 1997. 'The LAD goes to school: A cautionary tale for nativists.' *Linguistics* 35:735-766.
- Dąbrowska, Ewa. 2008. 'Questions with long-distance dependencies: A usage-based perspective.' *Cognitive Linguistics* 19:391-425.
- Deane, Paul D. 1991. *Grammar in mind and brain*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gisborne, Nikolas. 2010. *The event structure of perception verbs*. Oxford: OUP
- Gonzalez-Marquez, Monica, Irene Mittelberg, Seana Coulson, and Michael J. Spivey. 2006. *Methods in cognitive linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Gries, Stefan Th. and Anatol Stefanowitsch (eds.). 2006. *Corpora in cognitive linguistics: corpus-based approaches to syntax and lexis*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter
- Gries, Stefan Th., Beate Hampe, and Doris Schönefeld. 2005. 'Converging evidence: bringing together experimental and corpus data on the association of verbs and constructions.' *Cognitive Linguistics* 16:635-676.
- Hollmann, Willem B. and Anna Siewierska. 2006. 'Corpora and (the need for) other methods in a study of Lancashire dialect.' *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 54:203-216.
- Hollmann, Willem B. and Anna Siewierska. 2007. 'A construction grammar account of possessive constructions in Lancashire dialect: some advantages and challenges.' *English Language and Linguistics* 11:407-424.
- Hopper, Paul and Elizabeth Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: CUP
- Hudson, Richard. 2003. 'Gerunds and multiple default inheritance.' *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21:579-615
- Israel, Michael. 1996. 'The Way Constructions Grow.' In Adele E. Goldberg (ed.), *Conceptual Structure, Discourse and Language*. Stanford: CSLI, pp. 217-230.

- Israel, Michael 2004 'The Pragmatics of Polarity.' In Laurence Horn and Gregory Ward (eds.) *The Handbook of Pragmatics*, Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 701-723.
- Koopman, Willem. 2005. Transitional syntax: postverbal pronouns and particles in Old English. *English Language and Linguistics* 9:47-62.
- Lightfoot, David W. 1979. *Principles of diachronic syntax*. Cambridge: CUP
- Patten, Amanda. 2010. Cleft sentences and grammaticalization. University of Edinburgh, PhD thesis.
- Pintzuk, Susan. 1999. *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Word Order*. New York: Garland.
- Reinhart, Tanya. 1983. *Anaphora and semantic interpretation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Rosenbaum, Peter S. 1967. *The grammar of English predicate complement constructions*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ross, John Robert. 1967. Constraints on variables in syntax. MIT, PhD thesis.
- Traugott, Elizabeth. 2003. 'Constructions in grammaticalization'. In Brian D. Joseph and Richard D. Janda (eds.), *A handbook of historical linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 624-647.
- Trousdale, Graeme. 2008. 'Constructions in grammaticalization and lexicalization: evidence from the history of a composite predicate in English.' In Graeme Trousdale and Nikolas Gisborne (eds.), *Constructional approaches to English grammar*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp.33-67
- Van Hoek, Karen. 1997. *Anaphora and conceptual structure* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Van Kemenade, Ans. 1999. 'Sentential negation and word order in Old English'. In Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, Gunnel Tottie and Wim van de Wurff (eds), *Negation in the history of English*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 147-166.

4. Future Tense(s) / Future Time(s)

Convenors: Philippe De Brabanter (Université Paris 4-Sorbonne - Institut Jean Nicod), Mikhail Kissine (FNRS, Université Libre de Bruxelles) & Saghie Sharifzadeh (Université Paris 4-Sorbonne)

Among tenses and linguistic expressions that anchor events and situations in time, those that refer to the future occupy a special place. The most obvious reason is the 'open' or 'indeterminate' character of the future: at least from our present point of view, the future course of events is not fixed while there is arguably only one past. This problem has exercised the minds of all those who have attempted to provide a semantic account of future temporal reference. Not surprisingly, this has led numerous linguists to argue that (at least certain) linguistic markers of futurity belong to the categories of modality or evidentiality or aspect rather than to the tense system proper. Interestingly such judgments are sometimes extended beyond periphrastic expressions of futurity (e.g. modal auxiliary + infinitive in Germanic languages) to non-periphrastic future tenses, those that constitute a separate morphological paradigm. On those accounts, future time reference is only inferred or derived indirectly.

In this workshop we invite our participants to tackle one of the following issues:

- what are the relations between future tenses (or other expressions usually assumed to indicate futurity) and grammatical/semantic categories such as modality, evidentiality, or aspect?
- under what conditions do expressions of futurity (as traditionally understood) locate eventualities in the present or the past? Can this happen independently of the expression of a modal, evidential or aspectual value?
- how do 'less well-known' languages represent futurity? Do they do so by means of a future tense proper or by enlisting markers of aspect, modality or evidentiality?
- what other verbal forms can be used to locate an eventuality in the future? What is the modal/evidential/aspectual supplement (if any) that is contributed by such uses?
- How do languages express proximity vs. remoteness in the future?

In our selection of papers, we have sought to represent several 'ways of doing linguistics', with the hope that fruitful exchanges can take place across languages— Indo-European: Romance, Germanic and Slavic; Inuit; Native American; Hebrew; others still — and across methodological and theoretical barriers. The future-related topics in those languages are thus approached from radically different angles. Some of the papers are written in a Functionalist or a Cognitive-Linguistic vein; others appeal to various brands of Formal semantics; others still are more typological in essence; and finally some are written from a linguistic pragmatics perspective.

5. Baltic Languages in an Areal-Typological Perspective

Convenors: Peter Arkadiev (Institute of Slavic Studies, Moscow) & Jurgis Pakerys (University of Vilnius)

The languages of the Baltic area have been subject to areal-typological research for quite a long time, especially during the last several decades (cf. such contributions as Stolz 1991, Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.) 2001, Wiemer 2002, 2004, Holvoet 2003, 2004, Nau 2006, Kehayov 2008). The current workshop aims at focusing specifically on the Baltic language group (Lithuanian, Latvian, Latgalian and their dialects), which has been up to now underrepresented in the general linguistic and typological discourse.

The main topics the workshop will cover include, but are not limited to, the following:

- contact-induced phenomena at different levels of language structure (phonology, morphosyntax, grammatical categories, semantics, and lexicon);
- the interplay between inherited and contact-induced features in the structure of Baltic languages;
- typological divergences between different Baltic varieties due to areal influences of other languages (Slavic, Germanic, Finnic);
- the role of the Baltic data for the more general issues of areal linguistics, language typology, and linguistic theory.

References:

- Dahl Ö. & M. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (eds.) (2001). *The Circum-Baltic Languages. Typology and Contact*. Vols. I–II. (Studies in Language Companion Series, Vols. 54–55). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Holvoet A. (2003). Modal constructions with ‘be’ and the infinitive in Slavonic and Baltic. *Zeitschrift f. Slavistik*, Bd. 48, No. 4, 465–480.
- (2004). Eine modale Konstruktion ostseefinnischer Herkunft im Lettischen. *Etymologie, Entlehnungen und Entwicklungen = Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki* LXIII, 117–127.
- Kehayov P. (2008). *An Areal-Typological Perspective to Evidentiality: The Cases of the Balkan and Baltic Linguistic Areas*. Dissertationes Linguisticae Universitatis Tartuensis 10. Tartu: Tartu Univ. Press, 2008.
- Nau N. (2006). Out of Africa: Logophoric pronouns and reported discourse in Finnish and High Latvian dialects. *Acta Linguistica Lithuanica*, 55 (2006), 55–87.
- Stolz Th. (1991). *Sprachbund im Baltikum? Estnisch und Lettisch im Zentrum einer sprachlichen Konvergenzlandschaft* (= Bochum-Essener Beiträge zur Sprachwandelforschung 13). Bochum: Brockmeyer.
- Wiemer B. (2002). *Grammatikalisierungstheorie, Derivation und Konstruktionen: am Beispiel des klassifizierenden Aspekts, des Passivs und des Subjektimpersonals im slavisch-baltischen Areal*. Habilitationsschrift, Universität Konstanz.
- (2004). The evolution of passives as grammatical constructions in Northern Slavic and Baltic languages. In: W. Bisang, N.P. Himmelmann, B. Wiemer (eds.), *What Makes Grammaticalization? A Look for its Fringes and its Components*. Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 271–331.

6. Variation in clause combining: Views from the New World

Convenors: Pier Marco Bertinetto (Scuola Superiore, Pisa), Marianne Mithun (University of California, Santa Barbara) & Jeanette Sakel (University of Manchester)

It has long been recognized that the density of syntactic complexity is greater in written varieties of certain languages than in their spoken counterparts (Chafe 1985, Romaine 1992, Newmeyer 2002, Karlsson 2007, Mithun 2009, Laury and Ono in press, and others). Such differences are not surprising: writers have the luxury of time to construct elaborate complex sentences, and readers the leisure to unpack them, while speakers and listeners must perform on the fly. Furthermore, writers must communicate without the benefit of prosody, a key dimension of speech which can indicate much about the relationships between propositions. Writers are obligated to specify such relationships by other means, typically complex syntactic constructions. Some languages with uniquely oral traditions have been argued to lack syntactic complexity altogether, as seen in the

recent flurry of discussion about Pirahã (Everett 2005, 2009, Nevins, Pesetsky, and Rogrigues 2009a,b, Sakel and Stapert in press). Many languages without longstanding written traditions have recently borrowed conjunctions, complementizers, and relativizers from the European languages of colonizers, languages with deeply entrenched literary practices. Spanish loans of this type, for example, are particularly prominent in indigenous languages of Mesoamerica and South America. We know that structures developed within literary genres can enter the speech of writers, perhaps first in more formal registers. From there they might be passed on to other languages without writing through bilinguals. The effects need not be restricted to lexical loans. As illustrated by Johanson (2002), Heine and Kuteva (2006), and others, contact can affect grammar through grammatical replication or copying of structures from one language to another, even with no transfer of substance. These observations raise questions about how and why languages might differ in their distribution of information over sentences, in particular, in the forms, functions, and density of dependent clause constructions.

In addition to the written/spoken channel, and exposure to languages with extensive literary traditions, certain typological features might correlate with differences in clause-combining strategies. There might, for example, be correlations between basic constituent order and the types of dependent clauses that develop and that can be processed easily enough by listeners to persevere. Certain patterns of syntactic complexity, such as clause chaining, might be handled more easily than others in spoken language. Many languages, particularly in the New World, can convey within a single word what can only be expressed in a multi-word sentence in most European languages. Does the difference in the distribution of information between morphology and syntax impact the distribution of information between simple and complex sentences? In a number of languages of the Americas (and beyond), formal dependency marking is used not only to mark syntactic dependency within the sentence, but also discourse dependency in larger stretches of speech (Mithun 2008). Such patterns raise interesting questions about the status of the sentence in languages without prescriptive norms for written texts.

The goal of this workshop is to investigate what various languages indigenous to the Americas, most without lengthy literary traditions and many with quite different grammatical structures from those of Europe, can tell us about variation in the functions and density of syntactic complexity, both across and within languages. Among the issues to be considered are the following.

*The status of the sentence: How clear is the notion of the sentence in the language in question, and does it correlate tightly with that of better-known languages?

*Interclausal relations: Is there a strong contrast between clause coordination and subordination? Are intermediate structures detectable?

*Order: Are all alternative orders possible between main and subordinate clauses, and if so, does order have syntactic, semantic, or pragmatic consequences?

*Inventories of dependent clauses: What kinds of dependent clauses exist in the language? What are their forms and functions? Do their uses and densities correspond to those of better-known languages? If formally dependent clauses are rare or nonexistent, what alternatives are there for indicating relationships among propositions?

*Prosody: How do prosodic patterns correlate with grammatical patterns of clause combining?

*Genre: Do patterns and densities of clause combining differ across genres or registers within the language? Ritual language, for example, can resemble literary languages in the fact that it is not typically created on the fly, but is the result of generations of polishing, and is familiar to both the speaker and the listeners. Formal oratory and traditional legends often show similar characteristics. Do such genres differ significantly in their complexity of clause combining from more informal speech, particularly conversation?

*Contact: Can any effects be discerned of contact with a language that does have a literary tradition (Spanish, Portuguese, French, English)? Is it possible to correlate these effects with degrees of bilingualism in the communities?

*Translations: How do the density and functions of dependent clauses in translations of works from European languages, such as the Bible, correlate with those in native speech?

*The impact of writing: If the indigenous language is written, how does the density and nature of syntactic complexity differ in written language from that of spoken language? How old is the written tradition, and how widespread is it? What proportion of writers are bilingual in another language with a lengthy written tradition?

References

- Chafe, Wallace. 1985. Linguistic Differences Produced by Differences between Speaking and Writing. In David R. Olson, Andrea Hildyard, and Nancy Torrance (eds.), *Literacy, Language, and Learning*, 105-123. Cambridge.
- Everett, Daniel 1005. Cultural constraints on grammar and cognition in Pirahã. *Current Anthropology* 46:621-46.
- 2009. Pirahã culture and grammar: A response to some criticism. *Language* 85:405-42.
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva 2006. *The changing languages of Europe*. Oxford.
- Johanson, Lars 2002. Contact-induced linguistic change in a code-copying framework. In Mari Jones and Edith Esch (eds), *language change: The interplay of internal, external and extra-linguistic factors*, 285-313. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Karlsson, Fred 2007. Constraints on multiple initial embedding of clauses. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 12(1): 107-118.
- Laury, Ritva & Tsuyoshi Ono in press. Recursion in conversation: what speakers of Finnish and Japanese know how to do. In Harry van der Hulst (ed.) *Recursion and human language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Mithun, Marianne 2008. The extension of dependency beyond the sentence. *Language* 83.69-119.
- 2009 Re(e)volving complexity: Adding intonation. *Syntactic complexity: Diachrony, Acquisition, Neuro-cognition, Evolution*. T. Givón and M. Shibatani, eds. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 53-80.
- Nevins, Andrew, David Pesetsky, and Cilene Rodrigues 2009a. Pirahã exceptionality: A reassessment. *Language* 85:355-404.
- 2009b Evidence and argumentation: A reply to Everett 2009. *Language* 85:671-81.
- Newmeyer, Frederick 2002. Uniformitarian assumptions and language evolution research. *The transition to language*. A. Wray, ed. 359-75. Oxford.
- Romaine, Suzanne 1992. The evolution of complexity in a creole language: Acquisition of relative clauses in Tok Pisin. *Studies in language* 16:139-82.
- Sakel, Jeanette and Eugenie Stapert in press. Pirahã: in need of recursion? In Harry van der Hulst (ed.) *Recursion and human language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

7. Diphthongs – phonetic, phonological, historical, and typological perspectives

Convenors: Adrian Simpson (Universität Jena) & Klaus Geyer (Universität Erfurt)

Around one third of the world's languages are assumed to have diphthongs as a part of their sound systems, but a sufficiently fine-grained means for analysis and description is still lacking – a fact, that could explain why the issue of diphthongs is often left aside in many language descriptions. Taking, on the other hand, a closer look at in principle very well described and documented languages such as Finnish with its rather extensive diphthong inventory or system, as provided by grammatical sketches and reference grammars, reveals surprisingly wide differences and even contradictions – although, at first glance, discerning, analysing, and describing diphthongs seems to be a simple task: Most often, the objects of “diphthongology” are defined as combinations of two vowels which occur within one syllable. But this is where the trouble starts: Is it vowels or rather vocoids that are the basic sound elements in diphthongs? What does *two* mean in this context? Furthermore, what types of diphthongs can be identified according to their features, e.g. opening vs. closing, rounding vs. de-rounding/spreading, rising vs. falling, crescendo vs. decrescendo? How do diphthongs and diphthong types vary cross-linguistically? Besides that, questions like the analysis of diphthongs within the non-linear syllable structure and their controversial status as mono- or biphonemic units could be addressed.

8. Situational and non-situational deixis

Convenors: Nicole Delbecque (K.U.Leuven) & M. Josep Cuenca (University of Valencia)

Deixis has a special status in language and language evolution. Cognitive linguistics, discourse analysis and contrastive analysis highlight its complexity as a linguistic process by which referents are introduced, actualized and maintained in discourse. Findings in linguistic typology, historical linguistics, language acquisition and developmental psychology, among other fields, support the idea that deixis in general and demonstratives in particular constitute a basic class of linguistic items. They seem to be a universal category, have a key-role in children's communication, and are source for many grammatical markers cross-linguistically. From a communicative point of view, demonstratives relate text and context in a number of complex ways which can exhibit subjective and intersubjective effects.

The first in-depth studies of deixis have shown that situational deixis or, in Bühler's terms, *ad oculos*, is only one of the uses of deictic units. (A good overview of the various (non-situational) uses of demonstratives can be found in Himmelmann, 1996.) However, grammars usually restrict the description of demonstratives to this use, that is, they are characterized in terms of spatial proximity or distance. Yet, any corpus analysis highlights many uses which do not fit this perspective since nonsituational uses of demonstratives (e.g. text deixis, deixis am Phantasma, so-called 'expletive' uses, etc.) do not follow neither a unique nor a simple pattern which can be accounted for in terms of physical proximity or distance.

For instance, text-deictic referential processes transform the prototypical pointing function of demonstratives, allowing these linguistic units to refer to entities in the metaphorical spatial text domain. By using a demonstrative and by choosing a proximal or a distal form, the addressor can convey her current state, as for the adoption of a certain point of view or her emotional implication. She can also indicate that she considers an element as new to the reader, while outlining it as medium or high focus in discourse, that is, she can express «the degree of attention the hearer should pay to the referent» (Strauss, 2002: 135). In fact, differences in the use of demonstratives uncover dissimilarities in the distribution of deictics and purport various discourse and cognitive values. Thus the traditional description of demonstrative systems in absolute terms of two or three degrees within a spatiotemporal opposition (proximal vs. distal) fails to explain how demonstratives work in discourse as text-deictic devices and in other non situational uses.

In this session several non-situational uses of demonstratives (determiners, pronouns or adverbs) will be addressed: text deictic uses, deictic elements in impersonal constructions, grammaticalization of modal and locative deictic elements, the relation between indicating and describing, the functionality of ternary vs. binary deictic systems. The main aim of the session is discussing a variety of non-situational uses and seeing to what extent they are conditioned by subjective and intersubjective values.

The analyses show that demonstratives as non-situational deictics often create an array of cognitive non-identificational effects. It also suggests that choosing one demonstrative expression or another often implies a shift in the deictic center or a different specification of the (inter)subjective perspective.

9. Multiple source constructions in language change

Convenors: Freek Van de Velde (University of Leuven / Research Foundation FWO), Lobke Ghesquière (University of Leuven / IAP) & Hendrik De Smet (University of Leuven / Research Foundation FWO)

In recent work on grammaticalization and language change in general, it has often been stressed that change does not affect individual lexemes, but entire constructions (see Bybee et al. 1994: 11; Croft 2000:62, 156, 163; Heine 2003: 575; Bybee 2003: 602-3, 2007; Traugott 2007). However, although most case studies on diachronic language change now recognize the importance of the source construction as a whole, they generally focus on just one such construction, drawing gradual, yet straight lines from one particular source construction to one specific syntagm. Using the metaphor proposed in Croft (2000: 32-37), constructions form diachronic lineages as they are replicated in usage, and change is typically conceived of as occurring *within* a lineage through altered replication. Recent studies, however, demonstrate that innovations in language change may derive not just from one, but from different sources at once. That is, change often seems to involve some interaction *between* lineages or between the branches of a lineage.

Multiplicity of source constructions can be witnessed on two levels. On the *macro-level*, the involvement of multiple source constructions entails a merger of clearly distinct lineages. One linguistic item or construction can then be traced back to two independent items or constructions, each with its own prior history. Several types of merger can be discerned, which are however not mutually exclusive:

- Syntactic blends ('intraference' in Croft 2000): the formal and functional features of different lineages are recombined into a new construction. For example, the Lunda passive has been argued to combine two source constructions, a left-dislocated object construction and an impersonal construction (Givón & Kawasha 2006). The history of English gerunds and present participles seems to be a protracted series of mergers, with exchange of formal, semantic and distributional features (Fanego 1998; Miller 2000), to the point that the two clause types are now believed to have merged completely (Huddleston & Pullum 2002).
- Contact-induced change ('interference' in Croft 2000): the function of a foreign construction is merged with a 'home-bred' form. Examples are the use of the locative preposition *bei* instead of *von* to mark the agent of passives in Pennsylvania Dutch under the influence of English (Heine & Kuteva 2003: 538), or the emergence of a periphrastic perfect in Silesian Polish, calqued on the German perfect (Croft 2000: 146).
- Two lineages produce paradigmatic alternates in a single construction. Here lineages merge on a functional level, but their different forms are retained and integrated in a new paradigm. The clearest case is morphological suppletion, as in English *go/went* or Classical Greek *trekh-/dram-* 'run'. However, the

phenomenon also occurs in syntax, as illustrated by the alternation of Dutch *hebben/zijn* or German *haben/sein* as perfect auxiliaries. As is well known, the choice for one auxiliary or the other depends on the semantics of the verb: transitives and unergatives take *hebben/haben*; unaccusatives take *zijn/sein*. Though currently functioning as alternates within a single grammatical category, the *hebben/haben*-perfect and the *zijn/sein*-perfect can be traced back to different source constructions (Van der Wal 1992:152-153).

- A constructional slot attracts new items: it has been proposed that when functional domains recruit new items through grammaticalization, this may in part be due to analogical attraction by a more abstract syntactic construction (Fischer 2007). This seems particularly plausible when, in the extreme case, an abstract slot recruits productively from a single source domain. For instance, the English evidential *be-Ved-to-V*-construction has become productive for verbs of perception, communication and cognition (Noël 2001). But the issue is more complicated when items from different source domains are involved. Prepositions, for instance, may be derived from very different sources yet converge on a single new category, as illustrated by German *statt* and *wegen*, deriving from nominal constructions, as opposed to *während*, deriving from a participle (Kluge 2002).

On the *micro-level*, innovation can take place within what is historically a single lineage, but under the influence of different uses of the same item.

- In lexical semantics, Geeraerts (1997) proposes that two senses of a polysemous lexical item may conspire to produce a third.

- The same seems to happen in grammar. New uses of a grammatical or grammaticalizing item may be triggered by pragmatic implicatures arising (seemingly?) independently in a number of its collocations. For example, the aspectual meanings of the English phrasal verb particle *out* arose in several specific collocations at once (De Smet *forthc.*). The development of the emphasizing meaning of *particular* was influenced by two other sense strains of the adjective – a descriptive and a determining one – each associated with its own specific collocational set. (Ghesquière 2009).

- The most dramatic cases are certain examples of degrammaticalization. For example, Fischer (2000) has argued that, long after it had been reanalysed as an infinitive marker, English *to* has developed back in the direction of the preposition *to*.

The recurrent involvement of multiple source constructions in language change raises a number of questions, from methodological/descriptive to theoretical:

1. *How do we prove that different source constructions have a genuine impact?* Clearly, mere resemblance of constructions does not necessarily imply that they actually interact as sources of an innovation.

2. *How should we typologize the various changes involving multiple source constructions?* For a start, involvement of multiple sources may be more likely in some domains of grammar than others (semantics, morphology, syntax) and is certainly more conspicuous in some cases than in others (macro-level vs. micro-level). It is not entirely clear, then, whether in all cases we are dealing with a similar phenomenon, triggered by fundamentally similar mechanisms.

3. *How common is the involvement of multiple source constructions in language change?* It is possible that the involvement of multiple source constructions is a significant catalyst for change, which could even imply that ‘uncontaminated’ lineage-internal changes form the exception. Alternatively, the involvement of multiple sources could be merely apparent or accidental and have no great impact on change.

4. *How can developments involving multiple source constructions be modelled in a theory of grammar and language change?* Especially if change canonically involves multiple sources, this has implications for how constructions are represented in speakers’ minds and how language change takes place (Joseph 1992). Proper theoretical modelling of different changes is also necessary to determine to what extent multiplicity of source constructions in change is a homogeneous phenomenon.

References

- Bybee, J., R. Perkins & W. Pagliuca (1994). *The evolution of grammar. Tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bybee, J. (2003). Mechanisms of change in grammaticalization. The role of frequency. In: Joseph, B.D. & R.D. Janda (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 602-623.
- Bybee, J. (2007). Historical Linguistics. In: Geeraerts, D. & H. Cuyckens (eds.) *The handbook of cognitive linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 945-987.
- Croft, W. (2000). *Explaining language change. An evolutionary approach*. Harlow: Longman.

- De Smet, H. (forthc.). Grammatical interference. Subject marker *for* and phrasal verb particle *out*. In: Traugott, E. & G. Trousdale (eds). *Gradualness, gradience and grammaticalization*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fanego, T. (1998). Developments in argument linking in early Modern English gerund phrases. *English Language and Linguistics* 2: 87-119.
- Fischer, O. (2000). Grammaticalisation: unidirectional, non-reversible? The case of *to* before the infinitive in English. In: Fischer, O., A. Rosenbach & D. Stein (eds.). *Pathways of change. Grammaticalization in English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 149-169.
- Fischer, O. (2007). *Approaches to morphosyntactic change from a functional and formal perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Geeraerts, D. (1997). *Diachronic prototype semantics. A contribution to historical lexicology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Ghesquière, L. (2009). (Inter)subjectification and structural movement in the English NP. The adjectives of specificity. *Folia Linguistica* 43 (2): 311-343.
- Givón, T. & B. Kawasha. (2006). Indiscrete grammatical relations. The Lunda passive. In: Tsunoda, T. & T. Kageyama (eds.). *Voice and Grammatical Relations. In Honor of Masayoshi Shibatani* (Typology Studies in Language 65). Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 15-41.
- Heine, B. (2003). Grammaticalization. In: Joseph, B.D. & R.D. Janda (eds.). *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell. 575-601.
- Heine, B. & T. Kuteva (2003). "On contact-induced grammaticalization". *Studies in Language* 27:529-572.
- Huddleston, R. & Pullum, G. (2002). *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Joseph, B.D. (1992). Diachronic explanation. Putting the speaker back into the picture. In: Davis, G.W. & G.K. Iverson (eds.). *Explanations in historical linguistics*. John Benjamins. 123-144.
- Kluge, F. (2002). *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Miller, G.D. (2002). *Nonfinite structures in theory and change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Noël, D. (2001). The passive matrices of English infinitival complement clauses. Evidentials on the road to auxiliarihood? *Studies in Language* 25: 255-296.
- Traugott, E. (2007). The concepts of constructional mismatch and type-shifting from the perspective of grammaticalization. *Cognitive Linguistics* 18: 523-557.
- Van der Wal, M. (i.c.w. C. van Bree) (1992). *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*. Utrecht: Spectrum.

10. The languages of the Caucasus: Occurrence and distribution of intriguing grammatical properties

Convenors: Silvia Kutscher (Humboldt University Berlin) & Stavros Skopeteas (University of Potsdam)

It is widely acknowledged that languages of the Caucasus display a long array of intriguing grammatical properties that significantly differ from the properties of the neighbouring languages and language families. Some textbook examples are the large sets of consonants and the minimal vowel inventory in North-West Caucasian languages, the availability of inclusive/exclusive distinction in several languages of North Caucasus, noun classification in North-East Caucasian languages, large systems of spatial cases and complex functions of preverbs in several languages, different alignment patterns such as ergative-absolutive (e.g., Ingush, Lezgian), split ergativity and case inversion (Georgian), etc. (see also outline in Comrie 2005).

It is clear that languages of the Caucasus contain languages from different language families: three indigenous Caucasian language families as well as single languages from non-indigenous families (Indo-European, Altaic and Semitic). The distribution of grammatical properties in languages of the Caucasus as well as the historical facts support the view that the languages at issue do not constitute a single historical unit but rather a geographically determined set of languages, several subsets thereof are historically related in terms of language genealogy and/or in terms of language contact (see Tuite 2004).

The enterprise for the research on the languages of this geographical area is to describe the distribution of grammatical phenomena and its relation to areal and/or genetically related language groups, as well as to identify the extent to which particular grammatical properties allow us to assume a typological profile that distinguishes the languages of this area from other languages.

This workshop hosts original empirical studies that promote the linguistic understanding of intriguing grammatical phenomena that are characteristic of particular languages of the Caucasus: spatial preverbs and their functions (Schwartz, Kutscher, Khizanishvili), aspectual categories (Molotchieva), focus position (Skopeteas), noun classification (Khalilova), complement clauses (Foraker). Beyond a thorough description of the phenomenon at issue, each contributor will give an outline of the distribution of the property at issue in the

languages of the Caucasus and discuss the relevance of the phenomenon for the identification of the typological profile of the languages of this area.

References

- Comrie, B. 2005, Introduction to Caucasian. *Lingua* 115, 1-4.
Tuite, K. 2004, The myth of the Caucasian Sprachbund: The case of ergativity. Ms. Univ. of Montreal.

11. Multidisciplinary perspectives to learner corpora

Convenors: Nicolas Ballier (Université Paris Diderot/Paris 7) & Ana Díaz-Negrillo (Universidad de Jaén)

After the major achievements of learner corpus research in its first two decades, the workshop is aimed to raise awareness of the complex network of subdisciplines which play a role in this booming area of research and, more important, which may benefit from the use of corpora.

In a recent publication, Meurers (2009: 469)¹ lays emphasis on the need “[...] to determine which learner language properties are useful or important to analyse in order to provide feedback and model language acquisition — a question that highlights the need for an intensive interdisciplinary dialogue between the fields of Intelligent Computer-Assisted Language Learning (ICALL), Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Foreign Language Teaching (FLT)”. Contributions of the multidisciplinary nature of learner corpora are, therefore, in higher and higher demand, although research still requires discussions and consensus among the parts involved. This workshop proposal is intended to bring together researchers on learner corpora from a range of such perspectives to foster dialogue among them about their respective objectives, approaches and exploitation in the analysis of learner language. Some general perspectives comprehend the fields of Descriptive Linguistics, Corpus Linguistics, Computational Linguistics, Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA), which are intended to be covered in the workshop. In these general areas, the speakers will discuss issues related to phonetics and phonology, morphology, syntax and text structure, with a view to tackle questions like:

- State of the art in learner corpus research
- Interlanguage studies
- Methodological approaches to the study of learner language performance and acquisition
- Spoken and written learner corpora and querying interfaces
- Interoperability of tools
- Annotation practices: tools and schemes
- Current research projects

12. Partitives

Convenors: Silvia Luraghi (Università di Pavia) & Tuomas Huomo (University of Tartu)

Some languages, notably Baltic Finnic and Basque, have a partitive case, which is usually said to indicate partial affectedness of patients (cf. Blake 2001: 151). Such function is also attributed to other cases in languages that do not have a separate partitive, as in the case of the Hungarian partitive/ablative, and the partitive/genitive of various Indo-European languages (a separate partitive, lexically restricted, also exists in Russian).

Depending on the language, the use of partitives may be more or less restricted. In Basque, for example, the partitive occurs in negative sentences and it can indicate either the object of transitive verbs or the subject on intransitive verbs (in other words, it can substitute the absolutive case in negative sentences; it only occurs as subject with unaccusative verbs). A connection between negation and partitive (genitive) also occurs in the Slavic and the Baltic Finnic languages. The alternation between the partitive and other cases sometimes also has connections with aspect: this has been argued for Baltic Finnic, Slavic (see e.g. Fischer 2004), and possibly Sanskrit (Dahl 2009). In fact, partitivity is not only a possible feature of patients: in Finnish existentials, for examples, even agentive intransitive verbs such as *juosta* ‘run’, *opiskella* ‘study’, etc. (unergative), take partitive subjects.

In some Indo-European languages, besides partitive objects and partitive subjects (mostly with unaccusative verbs, cf. Conti 2009 on Ancient Greek), partitive adverbials also exist, for example in time expressions (such as *Nachts* ‘during the night’ in German). In Ancient Greek, some locative occurrences of the partitive genitive are attested (see Luraghi 2003, 2009):

ἢ ἠαλὸς ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς

or sea:GEN or on land:GEN

“either at sea or on land” (Homer, *Od.* 12.26-27).

In one of the few existing cross-linguistic description of partitives, Moravcsik (1978: 272) summarizes typical semantic correlates of partitives as follows:

- a. the definiteness-indefiniteness of the noun phrase;
- b. the extent to which the object is involved in the event;
- c. the completedness versus non-completedness of the event;
- d. whether the sentence is affirmative or negative.

Moravcsik further remarks that marking difference brought about by the partitive “does not correlate with any difference in semantic case function”. Thus, the use of the partitive seems to be at odds with the basic function of cases, that is “marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads” (Blake 2001: 1): rather than to indicate a specific grammatical or semantic relation that a NP bears to the verb, the partitive seems to indicate indeterminacy (in various manners). In fact, this has been noted by several authors. For example, Laka (1993: 158) suggests that “what is referred to as ‘partitive case’ in Basque is a polar determiner, much like English *any*”. In Finnish, the functions of the partitive are also related to indeterminacy, unboundedness and polarity, and it is noteworthy that the partitive is not the sole marker of any grammatical function but participates in a complementary distribution with other cases in all its main functions, i.e. as marker of the object (PART~ACC), the existential subject (PART~NOM) and the predicate nominal (PART~NOM), or as complement of adpositions (PART~GEN).

In this connection, one must mention the so-called partitive article of some Romance varieties, which derives from the preposition which has substituted the Latin genitive (Latin *de*). In French, the partitive article is clearly a determiner and not a case marker, as shown by its distribution:

L'enfant joue dans le jardin / un enfant joue dans le jardin

the child plays in the garden / a child plays in the garden

*Les enfants jouent dans le jardin / **des** enfants jouent dans le jardin*

the children play in the garden / some(=part. art.) children play in the garden

The brief survey above shows that there are striking similarities among partitives across languages, which are not limited to the indication of partial affectedness. However, research on partitives is mostly limited to individual languages. In this workshop we would like to bring together and compare data from different languages in which a case (or an adposition, as in French) are classified as partitive.

Research questions

- (a) The distribution of partitives in different syntactic positions (objects, subjects, other roles) and across constructions;
- (b) Partitives as determiners;
- (c) Types of verbs with which partitive subjects (or objects) can occur;
- (d) The diachrony of partitives: what are the sources of partitive markers? What is the diachronic relation between ablative, genitive, and partitive? (cf. Heine and Kuteva 2002: 32-33, 241);
- (e) Partitives as non-canonical grammatical markers: Finnish partitive subjects and objects have been treated under the heading of ‘non-canonical marking’ (Sands and Campbell 2001). However, it is highly questionable that the occurrence of partitive subjects and objects marked by a partitive article, as in French, should also be considered under this heading. Is the change from case marker (including adpositions) some kind of grammaticalization process and at what stage should a morpheme start to be considered a determiner, rather than a case marker?

(f) Discourse functions of partitives: Since partitives indicate indeterminacy, it might be expected that they are not topical elements in discourse. For instance, Helasvuo (2001) has shown that the referents of Finnish partitive subjects (unlike those of nominative subjects) are typically not tracked in discourse. What is the discourse function of partitives crosslinguistically?

(g) Partitives, aspect and quantification: The Baltic Finnic partitive object is well-known for its function of indicating aspectual unboundedness. Other BF partitives (existential, copulative) do not share the aspectual function proper but often indicate an incremental theme (in the sense of Dowty 1991), which gives rise to unbounded “nominal aspect” (Huomo 2003, 2009). What are the aspectual and quantificational functions of partitives crosslinguistically?

13. Ergativity in Indo-Aryan

Convenors: Eystein Dahl (University of Bergen) & Krzysztof Stroński (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

Although cross-linguistic investigations like Klimov (1974) or Dixon (1994) have contributed significantly to our understanding of the synchronic and diachronic properties of Ergativity systems, studies of this type inevitably limit themselves to a somewhat simplified account of complex language-specific data. This workshop aims at bringing together linguists working on Ergativity in the Indo-Aryan languages from different perspectives thereby complementing existing studies on the origin and typology of Ergativity systems by focusing on data from one specific language family.

The Indo-Aryan languages present a broad array of data which significantly enrich previous research on Ergativity, partly because this language family has a longer written record than most other comparable languages and partly because the semantic principles motivating the patterns of Ergative marking and their relationship to coexisting Nominative/Accusative patterns varies considerably across the individual languages. Accordingly, we envisage two minor sections in the workshop, one primarily focusing on diachronic issues and another mainly dealing with synchronic and comparative issues. From a historical perspective it is significant that Old Indo-Aryan in many respects appears to have a more consistent nominative/accusative structure than its Indo-European sister languages which in turn has developed into a variety of different Ergative patterns. Even though several individual works have studied particular aspects of the Indo-Aryan data, various central issues remain controversial. An important question concerns the origin of the Ergative marker found in Hindi and Nepali, which has been variously interpreted as an instrumental and as a dative (cf. Butt 2001, 2005 with references). Another, related question concerns the passive to ergative shift vs. genuine ergative patterns in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan as well as the influence from substrate languages on the argument realization patterns inherited from Old Indo-Aryan (cf. e.g. Miltner 1965; Pirejko 1968; Klaiman 1978; Zakharyin 1979, 1982; Andersen 1986a, 1986b; Hock 1986; Bubenik 1996, 1998; Peterson 1998; Bynon 2005). Other important questions concern the evolution of the tense-aspect system motivating ergative alignment (cf. e.g. Montaut 2006) and subject/object case marking (cf. e.g. Butt 2005). In recent years, the problem of ergativity in the less documented IA dialects has been investigated in some detail (cf. e.g. Sigorsky 2000), suggesting that extensive field work within the dialectology of New Indo-Aryan can still shed new light on the intricacies of ergativity patterns existing in Indo-Aryan. Hence, our understanding of the origin and typology of Ergativity in the Indo-Aryan languages remains far from satisfactory and more detailed research within this field is a desideratum both from the perspective of Indo-Aryan linguistics and linguistic typology more generally. We conceive of the present workshop primarily as a forum for researchers with particular interests closely related to ergativity in Indo-Aryan from a synchronic, diachronic and comparative perspective, but we also solicit papers dealing with closely related topics such as evolution of verbal aspect and the origin and evolution of subject/object case marking within Indo-Aryan. We expect the papers to be accessible to an expert audience as well as an audience with a more general interest in typological aspects of Ergativity.

14. Binominal syntagms as a neglected locus of synchronic variation and diachronic change: Towards a unified approach

Convenors: Lieselotte Brems (K.U.Leuven – Research Foundation Flanders), Bernard De Clerck (Ghent University) & Katrien Verbeek (K.U.Leuven – Research Foundation Flanders)

In recent years various theoretical frameworks have shown an increasing interest in the semantico-syntactic organization of noun phrases in general and that of binominal syntagms in particular. Binominal syntagms are a type of complex noun phrase attested in many European languages (e.g. Akmajian, Adrian & Lehrer 1976,

Everaert 1992, Aarts 1998, Keizer 2001, Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001, Denison 2002, Joosten 2003, Brems 2003, Foolen 2004, Willemsse 2005, Verveckken 2007, Traugott 2008, Rijkhoff 2009, Langacker forth.) that involves two nominal elements, possibly linked by means of a linking element (prepositions, case markers, etc.), e.g. *a lot_{NI} of people_{N2}, that swine_{NI} of a professor_{N2}, in front_{NI} of the building_{N2}*. Despite the recent attention, this construction still poses many descriptive-theoretical challenges to both formal and cognitive-functional frameworks.

A key problem in the literature has been that of identifying the head of binominal syntagms. Some authors or reference grammars argue for one analysis that covers all instances of the binominal construction (Quirk *et al.* 1985); others consider a distinction between a syntactic and a semantic head of the construction a useful way out (Halliday 1994); yet others allow head status to shift between NP₁ and NP₂ (e.g. Brems 2003, Traugott 2008). Different semantic and syntactic tests for determining head status have been proposed in the literature (e.g. Hudson 1987, Aarts 1998). It would be interesting to address their reliability and conclusiveness in the workshop.

Another central issue is the question of whether different types of binominals can be distinguished and on what grounds. Syntactically speaking, binominals may differ according to the presence or absence of determiners with the second nominal element (e.g. *a wonder of a man, the book of John, heaps of people, un bouquet de roses* (French: *a bouquet of roses*), *la moitié du travail* (French: *half of the work*)), presence or absence of a linking element (e.g. *the poet Shakespeare, John's book, the majority of the guests, ogi pitin bat* (Basque: *a bit of bread*, lit.: 'bread bit a')) and allowing non-nominal elements in the NP₂-slot, e.g. (comparative) adjectives (*loads softer, massa's lekker* (Dutch: lit. 'masses tasty'), De Clerck & Coleman 2009). From a semantic point of view, the nominal elements may have referential value (e.g. *city in a wonder of a city*), intensifying value (e.g. *wonder in a wonder of a city*), possessive value (*the manager's office*), quantifier value (*heaps/lots of in heaps/lots of people*), hedging meaning (*kind of in She is kind of a groupie*), (es)phoric value (*the lights of a car*), aspectual value (*un colpo di telefono* (Italian: *a ring* (lit. 'a blow of telephone') etc. Furthermore, different types of relations between the two nominal elements have been observed (Keizer 2007): modification, complementation, predication, qualification, quantification. Typically, the traditional typology of binominal syntagms comprises possessive constructions, partitive constructions, pseudo-partitive constructions, 'predicative' binominal noun phrases, close appositions, etc. An important question is whether these constructions can be linked in a constructional network, with macro-, meso- and micro-level schemas generalizing over subsets of binominal syntagms, and if so, to what degree this taxonomic pattern holds cross-linguistically.

In addition to the attested synchronic variation, this workshop also wants to address the claim that binominals are a locus of (ongoing) grammaticalization, subjectification and decategorialization processes. In some (types) of binominals, the nominal elements seem to have lost or are losing typically nominal features such as the potential for pre- and postmodification, pluralization, etc. (e.g. **a nice wonder of a city, *bunches of idiots*, etc.) and may be shifting to the categories of quantifier, intensifier, hedger, etc. Such issues also touch on interesting concepts such as 'categorical gradience', i.e. fuzzy boundaries between two or more categories (Denison 2006, Aarts, Denison, Keizer & Popova 2004). The current variation in binominal constructions could then be seen as a case of synchronic layering (Hopper & Traugott 2003). This workshop aims to arrive at a better understanding of the organization and development of (different types of) binominal constructions in order to account for the rich synchronic and diachronic semantico-syntactic variety they harbour. We particularly welcome empirically based talks that contribute to the aforementioned theoretical issues. We welcome papers on English as well as on other languages and contributions may be language-internal or comparative in nature. The following list sums up possible avenues of thinking that may be addressed in the talks:

- How can the synchronic variation in binominal syntagms be analyzed syntactically, semantically, collocationally, etc. in a unified way?
- Are there (partial) syntactic and/or semantic tests to determine headedness and categorial noun status of the nominal elements in a binominal syntagm and what is their validity?
- What are possible typologies of binominal syntagms and on what grounds?
- Which kinds of tests can be used to distinguish between types of uses, and what is their validity (e.g. Rijkhoff 2009)
- Binominal syntagms as a locus of grammaticalization, e.g. in which paths of change do binominals engage crosslinguistically?

- Which properties in the binominal as a source construction explain the wide variety of synchronic variation and potential for diachronic change it displays?
- What can specific theoretical frameworks contribute to the analysis of binominal syntagms, e.g. cognitive grammar, construction grammar, functional grammar, usage-based approaches?

References:

- Aarts, Bas. 1998. "Binominal Noun Phrases in English". *Transactions of the Philological Society* 96: 117-158.
- Aarts, Bas, David Denison, Eveline Keizer & Gergana Popova. 2004. *Fuzzy Grammar: a reader*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Akmajian, Adrian and Adrienne Lehrer. 1976. "NP-like quantifiers and the problem of determining the head of an NP". *Linguistic Analysis* 2: 395-413.
- Brems, Lieselotte. 2003. "Measure Noun constructions: an instance of semantically-driven grammaticalization". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 8 (2): 283-312.
- De Clerck, Bernard & Timothy Colleman. 2009. "*Het was massa's lekker!* From noun to intensifier: *massa's* in (Flemish) varieties of Dutch". Presentation at *Current Trends in Grammaticalization Research*, Groningen, 7-9 October 2009.
- Denison, David. 2002. "History of the *sort of* construction family". Paper presented at the Second International Conference on Construction Grammar, University of Helsinki, 7 September 2002. [Online draft version available at <http://www.llc.manchester.ac.uk/subjects/lel/staff/david-denison/papers/thefile,100126,en.pdf>]
- Denison, D. 2006. "Category change and gradience in the determiner system." In Ans Van Kemenade & Bettelou Los, eds. *The Handbook of the History of English*. 279-304
- Everaert, Martin. 1992. "Nogmaals: Een schat van een kind". In Hans Bennis & Jan W. de Vries, eds. *De binnenbouw van het Nederlands: een bundel artikelen voor Piet Paardekooper*. Dordrecht: Foris. 45-54.
- Foolen, Ad. 2004. "Expressive binominal NPs in Germanic and Romance languages". In Günter Radden & Klaus-Uwe Panther, eds. 75-100. *Studies in Linguistics Motivation*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Halliday, Michael A.K. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 2nd edition. London: Arnold.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003 [1993]. *Grammaticalization*. Second Edition. [First Edition]. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hudson, Richard A. 1987. "Zwicky on heads". *Journal of Linguistics* 23: 109-132.
- Joosten, Frank. 2003. *Collectiva en Aggregaatsnamen in het Nederlands: Begripsbepaling en Typologie*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Leuven.
- Keizer, Evelien. 2001. "A classification of sort/kind/type-constructions". Ms. University College London.
- Keizer, M.E. (2007). *The English Noun Phrase: the Nature of Linguistic Categorization*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. 2001. "A piece of the cake" and "a cup of tea": Partitive and pseudo-partitive nominal constructions in the Circum-Baltic languages". Dahl, Östen & Koptjevskaja-Tamm, M. (eds.) *Circum-Baltic Languages. Vol. 2: Grammar and Typology*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins. 523-568.
- Langacker, Ronald W. forthcoming a. "A lot of quantifiers". In Sally Rice and John Newman, eds. *Experimental and Empirical Methods* (provisional title). Proceedings from CSDL 2004.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London/ New York: Longman.
- Rijkhoff, J. 2009, 'On the co-variation between form and function of adnominal possessive modifiers in Dutch and English', in McGregor, W.B. (ed.), *The Expression of Possession (The Expression of Cognitive Categories [ECC] - Volume 2)*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin/New York, pp. 51-106.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2008. "The grammaticalization of NP of NP patterns". In Alex Bergs & Gabriele Diewald, eds. *Constructions and Language Change*. Berlin: Mouton. 23-45.
- Verveckken, K. 2007. *Grammaticalization of Spanish Size Noun-Constructions. A cognitive perspective*. Unpublished Masterpaper. University of Leuven
- Willemse, Peter. 2005. *Nominal reference point constructions: possessive and esphoric NPs in English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Leuven.

15. Evidentials. Towards a unified account of evidential markers of the languages of Europe.

Convenors: Bert Cornillie (K.U.Leuven & Research Foundation Flanders), Katerina Stathi (Free University Berlin) & Bjoern Wiemer (University of Mainz)

Evidentiality defines a functional-conceptual domain pertaining to the cognitive and/or communicative ground (e.g., hearsay, perceptual evidence or reasoning leading to different kinds of inferences) on the basis of which the speaker makes a statement. Languages have several means for encoding the source of evidence for a judgment; e.g., Germ. *sollen* as a hearsay auxiliary, Engl. *apparently*, *be supposed to* or parenthetical *it seems* as markers of perception-based inferences or hearsay. The encoding of evidentiality can be arranged along a lexicon-grammar cline ranging from grammatical markers (bound affixes, e.g. Turk. *-mİş*, or functional extensions of tense, mood or aspect paradigms) via auxiliaries (see above) toward functional lexemes such as particles (e.g. Russ. *budto* by, *vrode*), complementisers (Pol. *jakoby* etc.) or adpositional phrases (headed, e.g., by Germ. *laut*, *zufolge*).

As a categorial distinction, evidentiality has become a subject of research in both functional and formal linguistic frameworks. With evidentiality studies proliferating, there is a need for a more unified and verifiable theoretical framework (see Mainz workshop 2009). Such a framework involves several ongoing tasks:

- (i) on what functional criteria are evidentiality and its subfunctions best delineated?
- (ii) how can confluences of evidential and epistemic function be described and explained?
- (iii) how are various markers of evidentiality to be distinguished along a lexicon-grammar cline, and how are these distinctions related with their structural and distributional properties?
- (iv) which procedures allow to distinguish stable semantic components from pragmatically triggered ones?
- (v) along which diachronic paths do evidential markers develop?
- (vi) which are the specific discourse conditions favouring the evolution of evidential markers, and how are they distributed over genres and registers?

An appropriate joint treatment of these six issues provides an integrated approach to evidentiality marking.

The workshop aims at further disentangling the research lines involving the above-mentioned questions and, by doing so, is concerned with research directed toward an integrative theory of the marking of evidential functions. It is a follow-up of previous workshops (see Lund 2005, at SLE 2006, Bremen, and at the DGfS-meeting 2008, Bamberg), but first of all of the workshop *Database of evidential markers in European languages* (Mainz University 2009), as it pursues the aim of elaborating on theoretical and technical details needed to establish a database of evidential markers in European languages. During the Mainz workshop a preliminary version of the database was defined, the template of entries was agreed upon and participants started using it with a sample of markers of their respective languages. The present workshop will present new data and new problems arising from them.

16. Modelling language contact: linguistic data and interdisciplinary approaches

Convenors: Johannes Kabatek (Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen) & Lucía Loureiro-Porto (Universitat de les Illes Balears)

This workshop will bring together scholars who have studied specific examples of language contact, scholars who have provided general typologies of language contact from a linguistic point of view, and scholars who are trying to systematize language contact by designing interdisciplinary models. The aim is to enrich the vision of this complex phenomenon by breaking traditional discrete classifications of disciplines.

Language contact has been a hot issue in linguistics above all since Weinreich published his *Languages in Contact* in 1953, because it represents one of the most common environments of language variation and change. Likewise, it is the scenario for the study of bilingualism, language competition and shift and the emergence of new linguistic varieties, including creoles and code-switching varieties (cf., to cite just a few, Hamers & Blanc 1989, Romaine 1989, Fishman 1991, Grenoble and Whaley 1998, 2006, Nettle and Romaine 2000, Bradley and

Bradley 2002, Mufwene 2004, 2008). Since the emergence of the study of language contact, myriads of case-studies have been published on specific situations all over the globe.

The exact role of the factors involved in any of these phenomena has always been of high interest among scholars who would like to provide general typologies and / or models that would allow for individual analyses of specific situations. Thus, general characterizations and classifications of bilingualism have been proposed, among others, by Appel and Muysken (1987), Hamers and Blanc (1989), and Romaine (1989). The emergence of creoles and the existence or not of “killer languages” have been intensely addressed by scholars such as Mufwene (2001, 2008). The emergence and structure of code-switching varieties has been carefully studied by Auer (1999), who offers a typology of bilingual speech in which he makes a distinction between code-switching, language mixing and fused lects, and by Muysken (2000), who provides a typology of code-mixing, based on insertion, alternation and congruent lexicalization. Both approaches have proved highly valuable as a tool of analysis of utterly different situations (cf. Pena-Díaz 2006, Deuchar *et al.* 2007). Language competition and shift has also undergone different attempts to be modelled, usually with the aim of finding a way of preserving or revitalizing endangered languages (cf., for example, Grenoble and Whaley 1998).

In addition to these (socio-)linguistic approaches to language contact, which are on occasions combined with sociological or psycholinguistic aspects, recently scholars from other disciplines have begun to design models of language contact that attempt to account for the major factors that are involved in language maintenance. Thus, Abrams and Strogatz (2003), two engineers, provided the first non-linguistic model of language competition, which was based on the effects of prestige and density of speakers of each of the languages in the community. At about the same time, other research groups offered other models, including factors such as bilingualism or the transmission of languages from generation to generation (cf. Wang and Minett 2005, Minett and Wang 2008), and combining these models with complex networks in which the interaction among agents represents a crucial factor (cf. Castelló *et al.* 2007).

The contribution of all these multi-disciplinary works to the understanding and systematization of language contact is highly valuable, however, the forums in which scholars from the different disciplines meet do not usually allow for a clear inter-disciplinarity in which members from all fields can trade knowledge and opinions about ongoing work. It is within this context that we propose a workshop that can serve as a meeting point for researchers that try to approach the systematization of language contact from different perspectives. Thus, the questions we would like to answer in this workshop are:

- a) In what way can case-studies contribute to the general modelling of language contact?
- b) Is it really possible to systematize multilingual human behaviour, or the variables involved are too many to be seized in a model?
- c) What are the basic steps to be followed in the search for a model of language contact?
- d) Do existing models exclude one another or are they complementary?
- e) Is there any possibility that contact linguistics can profit from other disciplines, at the same time that other disciplines profit from contact linguistics?
- f) In what way does the topological structure of a community affect language maintenance in a situation of language contact?
- g) What is the role of bilingualism in language maintenance or death?
- h) Have factors such as pride and prestige been overestimated in the literature on language maintenance?

References

- Abrams, D.M., Strogatz, S.H., 2003. “Modeling the dynamics of language death”. *Nature* 424, 900.
- Appel, René & Pieter Muysken. 1987. *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Arnold.
- Auer, Peter. 1999. “From codeswitching via language mixing to fused lects: Towards a dynamic typology of bilingual speech”. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3(4): 309-332.
- Bradley, D., Bradley, M. (Eds.), 2002. *Language Endangerment and Language Maintenance*, Routledge Curzon, London/New York.
- Castelló, Xavier, Víctor M. Eguíluz & Maxi San Miguel. 2006. “Ordering dynamics with two non-excluding options: Bilingualism in language competition”. *New Journal of Physics* 8, 308.
- Deuchar, Margaret, Muysken, Pieter and Wang, Sung-Lan. 2007. “Structured Variation in Codeswitching: Towards an Empirically Based Typology of Bilingual Speech Patterns”. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 10:3,298-340.
- Grenoble, L.A., Whaley, L.J., 2006. *Saving Languages: An Introduction to Language Revitalization*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge/New York.

- Grenoble, Lenore A. & Lindsay J. Whaley. 1998. "Toward a typology of language endangerment". In Lenore A. Grenoble & Lindsay J. Whaley (eds.) *Endangered Languages. Current issues and future prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamers, Josiane F. & Michel H.A. Blanc. 1989. *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Minett, James W. & William S-Y. Wang. 2008. "Modelling endangered languages: The effects of bilingualism and social structure". *Lingua* 118: 19-45.
- Mufwene, S., 2004. "Language birth and death". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, 201–222.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 2001. *The Ecology of Language Evolution* (Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact 1). Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Mufwene, Salikoko. 2008. *Language Evolution. Contact, Competition and Change*. London / New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2000. *Bilingual Speech: A Typology of Code-mixing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nettle, D., Romaine, S., 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages*. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York.
- Pena-Díaz, Carme. 2006. *Bilingual Speech: A case study of a bilingual community*. Alcalá de Henares (Spain): Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alcalá de Henares.
- Romaine, Suzanne. 1989. *Bilingualism*. Oxford / New York: Blackwell.
- Wang, William S-Y. and James W. Minett. 2005. "The invasion of language: emergence, change and death." *Trends in Ecology and Evolution* 20: 263–269.
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in contact. Findings and Problems*. The Hague / Paris: Mouton.